The Pickering Masters

The Works of Aphra Behn

Poetry

Edited by
Janet Todd

Routledge

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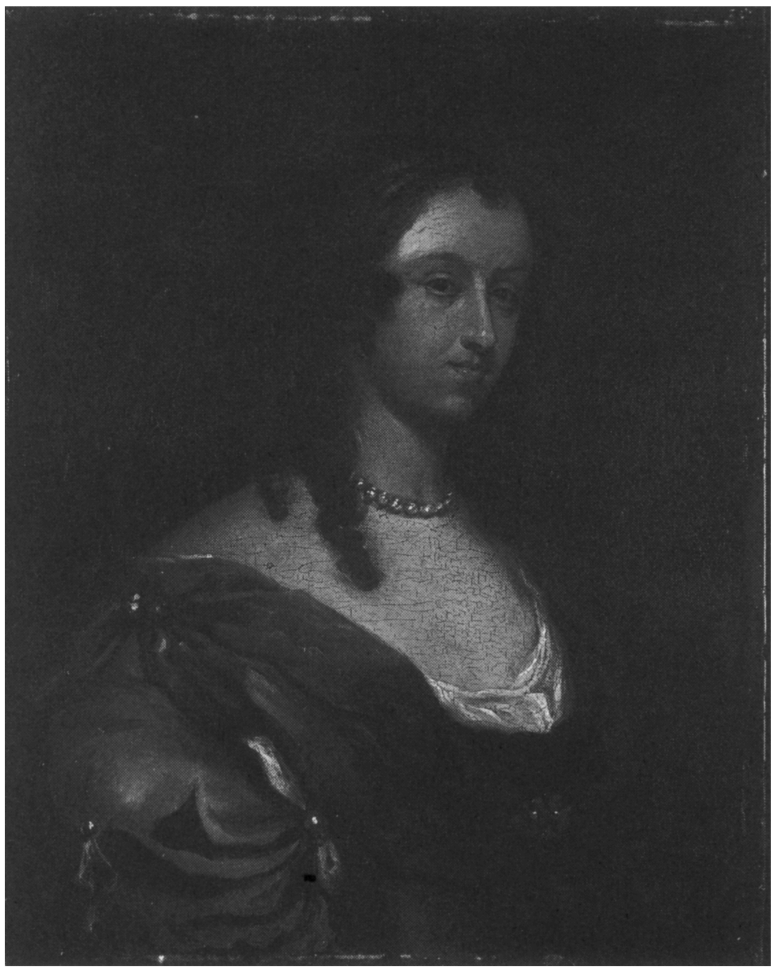
Volume 1. *Poetry*



Portrait of Aphra Behn attributed to Mary Beale.

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APHRA BEHN

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JANET TODD

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1

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PREFACE

The Poetry of Aphra Behn is the first of a multi-volume edition of the works of Aphra Behn. It draws on the pioneering scholarship of Montague Summers whose edition of Behn's writings appeared in 1915 when her reputation hardly warranted it. Summers' textual decisions and omissions may be faulted but it is difficult to match the literary and anecdotal knowledge of the Restoration he reveals in his attributions and endnotes. The present edition responds to a new attention from scholars and other readers to the work of early women writers, since Behn's professional life and achievement must give her a prominent place in any history of female writing. It also responds to an interest in the literary history of English in general, now in the process of revaluation; in this too Behn, with her generic breadth and innovation, must be a significant figure. I have intended to provide texts and variants as accurate as possible so as to facilitate the scholarly process of literary and cultural evaluation and reveal the extent and richness of Behn's literary accomplishments. In addition I hope that the completed edition will be a spur to biographical research and perhaps some restraint on biographical speculation. Because I have aimed to provide a tool for critics and scholars, the introductory material is less literary and evaluative than historical and textual, presenting a summary of the sparse documentation of Behn's life and publications.

Given the recent increased interest in Behn, revealing itself in a growing number of scholarly biographical and literary articles and in conferences and colloquia in England and the United States, it is inevitable that these volumes should be part of a collaborative effort at establishment and rehabilitation, and that they should make use of the work of many people who are not individually acknowledged. Among those who must be mentioned are Mirjam de Baar, Bernard Dhuicq, Alison Gill, Allan Lambart, Francis McKee, David Norbrook, Derek Pearsall, Jacqueline Pearson and Sharon Valiant. In addition, special thanks are owed to Colin Davis and J. R. Jones for their invaluable help with historical references, to Keith Davey for his enthusiastic engagement with historical records and to Paul Hopkins for bringing to my attention Roger Morrice's 'Entring-Books' in Dr Williams's Library. I also owe thanks to Virginia Crompton for locating 'Rebellions Antidote' and 'A Satyr on

Doctor Dryden' and for many conversations on the attributions of works, an area in which I also owe gratitude to Peter Beal. Maureen Duffy, Germaine Greer and Jane Jones have been generous with information about their own biographical research and Melanie McGrath has been a helpful and supportive editor. As anyone will know who has looked into the bibliography of Mary Ann O'Donnell, this present edition could not have been attempted without her careful scholarship; her textual decisions form the basis of many of those taken here and I am deeply grateful for her considerable help in establishing copy texts.

Many libraries have been ransacked for evidence of Behn's published work or possible manuscripts, but special gratitude is owed to the British Library, not only for all the help given, but also for permission to reprint the manuscript of 'A Satyr on Doctor Dryden', to the Pierpont Morgan Library for permission to reproduce the holograph of Behn's poem on the death of Edmund Waller and to the fellows of St Hilda's College, Oxford, for permission to reproduce their portrait as frontispiece. I also wish to thank the staff of the Alderman Library of the University of Virginia, the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library of Yale University, the Bodleian Library and the Library of the Taylorian Institution at Oxford, the Brotherton Collection at Leeds, the William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, Los Angeles, the Edinburgh and Glasgow Libraries, the Houghton Rare Book Library at Harvard, the Huntington Library at San Marino, California, the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Dr Williams's Library, London. I would finally like to thank Cambridge University Library, especially Brian Jenkins and the other staff of the Rare Books Room, who have born the brunt of repeated requests for help and information over a period which must now feel very long to them.

The Leverhulme Trust has made the work possible by an institutional grant through the University of East Anglia, and I am deeply grateful to the Trust for its support, especially during a time of relative scarcity of academic funding. It has enabled me to obtain the help of Elizabeth Spearing for this volume of poetry; with her wide knowledge of both languages and literatures and patience in the minutiae of the editing and establishing of texts, she is largely responsible for any strength there may be in this edition.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

'. . . the vizor, which you your self put on' The Feign'd Curtizans, II, 1.

Aphra Behn refuses to reveal a single plausible life.[1] Her end is clearer than her beginning: she died on 16 April 1689 and was buried four days later in the East cloister of Westminster Abbey. The inscription on the black marble slab was unusual for its brevity: few women are buried without reference to husband or father, age or place of birth. Below her name are the lines: 'Here lies a Proof that Wit can never be / Defence enough against Mortality.'

Restored in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the original tomb gave the name Aphara Behn, later changed to Aphra, while the Abbey's register for April 20 reads 'Mrs Astrea Behn'. In her lifetime her first name was given variously as Aphra or Affara, Ann or Anne.[2] 'Aphra' was not an uncommon name at the time in Kent whence she supposedly derived;[3] it is also the name of the saint of prostitutes, a class to which many male satirists assigned women writers. 'Astrea', the most usual of the names for Behn as author, was taken from D'Urfeé's romance *L'Astrée* in 1664 by an official in Surinam to refer to a woman visitor who may have been Aphra Behn; Behn herself perhaps derived her *nom de plume* more directly from the ambivalent virginal and fecund goddess of justice, once identified with Elizabeth I, whose anti-Catholic political significance in the Restoration would not have appealed to Behn but whose sex may well have had some meaning for the woman writer. The goddess Astrea presided over a golden age of undisguised sexual and social intercourse which Behn, despite her many masks, fantasized in her poetic and prose works.

'[a] Thing piec'd together with romantic Accidents' The Fair Jilt

Three related biographical accounts were published after Aphra Behn's death in 1696 and 1698, probably in response to the great popularity of Southerne's dramatic adaptation of her short story of an enslaved black

prince, *Oroonoko*, to which reference is made in each. Despite the ascription of two of them to 'a Gentlewoman of her Acquaintance' or 'one of the Fair Sex', they may all have derived from the main editor of the posthumous Aphra Behn, Charles Gildon. He was the likely male author of the anonymous skeletal account which prefaced *The Younger Brother* and which occasionally coincided in content with the fuller and more famous narratives.[4]

The possibility of Gildon's authoring all three accounts is suggested in several ways. First, the writer of the supposedly female-authored texts asserts that 'she' will not be discovered and so subjected to sexual criticism. Secondly, Gildon, a playwright and a great manipulator of the literary market, was himself known for his fashionable and fictional letters and tales in the 1690s, such as 'From an Author to a Friend' in *The Post-boy Rob'd of his Mail* (1692); much of the additional material in the fuller accounts comes in the form of letters ascribed to Aphra Behn. Thirdly, the author of the account in *The Younger Brother* states that 'to draw her to the Life, one must write like her'. This statement gains resonance when read in the context of the two other narratives which openly display their fictional strategies. Gildon may have been an acquaintance of Behn's but only in the last years of her life, and it is not encouraging that he was so distrusted as a biographer by her dramatic successor, Delarivier Manley, that the rumour of his writing her life sent Manley immediately into print herself.[5] Yet, whatever his limitations as a purveyor of biographical 'fact' (and despite his open misogyny), Gildon is interesting as a critic partly because he seems to have shared Behn's sceptical opinions – as expressed in his *Oracles of Reason* (1693) and in her commendatory verses to the translation of Lucretius (1683). He also shared her situation: both Gildon and Behn had to make a living from professional writing.

The two-and-a-half page 'Account of the Life of the Incomparable Mrs Behn' prefacing *The Younger Brother* states her name as Johnson, her place of birth as Canterbury, and her father as 'a Gentleman of a good Family'. She was very young when she went to Surinam, where she lost 'Relations and Friends' and was obliged to return to England. There she married 'an Eminent Merchant' before being employed by Charles II in Flanders, owing to her reputation for wit, secrecy and 'Management of Publick Affairs'. The author has forgotten whether or not she was rewarded for her services but declares that the King's court greatly inspired her writing. There ensues an admiring but patronising assessment of Behn's character beginning, 'She was of a generous and open temper'; it ends with the sadness of Behn's many years of 'Indisposition' followed by her final 'tedious Sickness' and a vignette of the author's watching her write *Oroonoko* while conversing sociably with friends.

Of all the 'biographies' this 'Account' seems to me to have the loudest ring of truth, and the author's concluding point that he has seen several pieces in Behn's own handwriting, of which the play that follows was one, might suggest the derivation of many of the incidents in the fuller 'biographies': Behn's unpublished scraps and tales.[6]

'Memoirs of the Life of Mrs Behn. Written by a Gentlewoman of her Aquaintance' prefaced *Histories and Novels* also in 1696 (on the volume's title page the work is confusingly called 'The Life and Memoirs of Mrs Behn. Written by one of the Fair Sex'). If the 'Memoirs' preceded the 'Account', the author of the latter has been remarkably restrained in what he borrowed since the most extreme assertions of status appear only in the 'Memoirs' and in the later 1698 text.[7] Given the probable inspiration in Southerne's very popular *Oroonoko*, it is unsurprising that the 'Memoirs' closely coincides with the biographical details given for the narrator of the short fiction. At one point it even adds to the fiction by providing a defence of Behn against the charge of having been sexually involved with the princely black hero and thereby causing a fracas with Lord Willoughby, the governor of Surinam. The plays for which Behn was most known in her time are hardly mentioned in the 'Memoirs' which is clearly written as an introduction to the prose fiction including 'Love-Letters'; it is welded even more closely to this fiction by its tonal ambiguity: the simultaneous slighting and magnifying of women so characteristic of Behn's female narrative voice takes the place of the patriarchal condescension of the 'Account'.

The Behn of the 'Memoirs' is again a 'Gentlewoman by Birth, of a good Family in the City of Canterbury', but her father, who dies on the voyage to Surinam, is much elevated by kinship with Lord Willougby through whom he is appointed 'Lieutenant-General of many Isles, besides the Continent of Surinam'. The family including 'Afra ... our Future Heroine, and Admir'd Astrea' – already as a child given to writing 'the prettiest, soft-engaging Verses in the World' – leave Canterbury before their daughter is old enough to ease the hearts she breaks. After Surinam the transition to Antwerp is effected through the impression Behn makes on the King with her account of her stay in the New World; consequently, after marrying a 'Merchant of this City, tho' of *Dutch* extraction', she is employed on royal business in Antwerp where she uses her sexual allure so cleverly that she brings into the King's service a 'Dutch merchant of great interest and authority in Holland', Vander Albert, a man who was in love with her during her husband's time in England (suggesting that Mr Behn was dead when she left for Antwerp). The 'Memoirs' continues with farcical incidents worthy of Defoe involving Behn and the amorous Vander Albert, in which beds are swopped and bodies mistaken, before Behn returns to London to

await Albert, whose marriage plans are interrupted by his death (his earlier marriage seemingly forgotten by the author).

On her voyage from Dunkirk occurs the curious incident before a storm: an apparition, seen by Behn and the other travellers through telescopes, of a 'pageant' of love floating on the water and embellished with cupids (the telescopes reminiscent of the device in *The Emperor of the Moon* and the cupids of those fluttering to greet passengers in *Voyage to the Island of Love*). Presumably the incident was intended to prefigure her later amorous and stormy life in England. The 'Memoirs' concludes with an assessment and justification of Behn's character which begins as the 'Account' had done but emphasizes less her masculine judgement than her frank love of pleasure. To the 'Account's' notice of the 'Wretched Verses' on her tomb, it adds the information that they were composed by the man whom the malicious accused of writing some of her works, presumably the lawyer John Hoyle.

A later version of the 'Memoirs' becomes 'The History of the Life and Memoirs of Mrs. Behn. Written by one of the Fair Sex', placed in front of the third edition of the prose works, now entitled *All the Histories and Novels* (1698).[8] The 'History' largely follows the earlier 'Memoirs' but the narrator has dropped the class-conscious 'Gentlewoman' from her titles, retaining only the gender identity of 'the Fair Sex'; she has also, in part, abandoned the role of discreet female friend: instead of divulging only a portion of what she knew of Behn's amorous affairs and declaring that particulars of her work for the King were 'not proper to insert in this Essay' as the writer of the 'Memoirs' had done, the author of the 'History' insists that Behn might have saved the nation much money and disgrace if her information about Dutch plans to destroy English ships in the Thames had been heeded. Much is made of the contempt Behn suffered from her masters in England and of her consequent decision to abandon her 'Pretences of State' and start writing 'some pleasant Adventures in Antwerp'. At this point the Behn of the 'History', who is largely delivered in personal letters, declares that, though she may have done no 'great Matters with my Politicks', she made 'two *Dutch*-men in Love' with her. The repeated farce with Vander Albert is prefaced by the equally absurd episode involving the portly and ageing Van Bruin, kinsman of Albert, whose hyperbolic writing style is much mocked as he sets out on his voyage to 'the Island of Love'. Before the character assessment, repeated with a few emendations, the 'History' continues with other comic love incidents depicting men used 'as Fools shou'd be us'd, for her Sport'. The process of biography-making is clear in the movement of 'Love-Letters', now with the addition 'to a Gentleman', from its position at the end of the stories in the 1696 work to become part of the life; it is addressed to Behn's 'real love', 'Lysander'

according to the 'History', though the recipient in the text is in fact 'Lycidas'. The 'History' leads into the stories as Behn apologizes for sending her friend no more 'Intrigues', declaring in presumed reference to *The Fair Jilt*: 'Those of a Prince that had happened here, are too long'. The 'History' does not emend the incorrect date of death given as 1686 in the 'Memoirs'.

To the private comments and romanticized biographies concerning Behn's early life must be added remarks about the narrators of her stories other than those used (or confirmed) by the 'Memoirs' and 'History', as well as biographical assertions about the presenters of her plays and poems. These produce the following 'fact' among others: that she came into the world venerating the illustrious Howards and had been brought up hearing their continual praises, as asserted in the dedication of *The City Heiress* (1682) to Henry Howard, Earl of Arundel. One of her earliest poems was a commendation of a play by Edward Howard (who returned the favour) and, in the *Pindarick on the Coronation* to James II, she called the Duke of Norfolk 'Maecena of my Muse, my Patron Lord', in possible reference to his payment for this and other poems.[9] In addition, she shared Dryden's almost idolatrous attitude to William Howard, Viscount Stafford, beheaded in 1680 on evidence from Titus Oates; with his son (to whom she later dedicated one of the poems of her 1685 *Miscellany*), Stafford was travelling to Ostend when Behn set out on her spying mission and she was able to see him in Flanders: "twas my chance, so Fortune did ordain, / To see this great, this good, this God-like Man'.[10]

Connected with her veneration of the Howards was her apparent attraction to Roman Catholicism. Stafford was a Catholic, as was his nephew, Philip, who erected a convent for English women in Flanders and became a cardinal. It is just possible that Behn was a lifelong Catholic, educated on the Continent during some portion of the Commonwealth, hence the choice of her for a spying mission in Antwerp. In *The History of the Nun*, curiously – considering its theme of the danger of broken vows – dedicated to the errant Hortense Mancini, Duchess of Mazarine, herself a Catholic, the narrator says she was once 'design'd an humble Votary in the House of Devotion' but chose to deny herself 'that Content'. Since the references to Catholicism come towards the end of Behn's life, the most eulogistic occurring in the later suppressed portion of the Epistle Dedicatory of *Oroonoko* to Lord Maitland in 1688, it is just as likely that she was a late convert, perhaps while abroad in Flanders or Italy. In this case it is difficult to explain the anger in the poem ascribed to her, 'A Satyr on Doctor Dryden', concerning the poet's conversion to a religion of images, unless it can be attributed simply to the seemingly opportunistic nature of the act at the beginning of a Catholic King's

reign. An open espousal of Catholicism at any time on Behn's part is difficult to relate to two other facts: that the Biblical references she makes appear to be from the Anglican Authorized rather than the Douay Bible, and that she is buried in Westminster Abbey.

Whether a Catholic or a fellow-traveller, Behn appears to have appreciated baroque Catholic style rather than Catholic doctrine and there is little evidence of piety in her works.[11] Since she states in the 1683 dedication to *The Young King* that she visited 'many and distant shores', conceivably she travelled in later as well as early life and was on the Continent to see such splendid events as Cardinal Philip Howard's entry into Rome in 1675. The lush descriptions of Catholic ceremony in *Love-Letters between a Nobleman and his Sister* portray a spectating narrator deeply affected by religious theatre.

'What I have mention'd I have taken care shou'd be Truth'
Epistle Dedicatory to Oroonoko

The account of Behn's early life that demands most credence is given by Thomas Colepeper in his eighteen-volume manuscript 'Adversaria' probably written in the 1690s:

> Mrs Aphara Bhen was Born at Canterbury or Sturrey, her name was Johnson. She was foster sister to the Colonell, her mother being the Colonels nurse, she was a most beautifull woman, & a most Excellent Poet.

Several pages later is a further note on 'BEENE the famos female Poet':

> did 29 April 1689. Her mother was Colonell Culpeper's nurse & gave him suck for some-time, Mrs Been was Borne at Sturry or Canterbury, her name was Johnson, so that she might be called Ben Johnson, she has also a fayer sister maryed to Capt [*there follows an illegible name which could be Wrils, Erils, Erile or Write*] their names were ffranck, & Aphora, was Mr. Beene[12]

This account, mistaking the date of death, gives Behn a place of birth, a mother, a sister named Frances, a military brother-in-law and a husband. The suggested status is lowly, although the Colonel himself, a relative of the Sidneys through his mother, indicates a possible connection with some of the well-born people Behn later appears to know. Certainly she became acquainted with the Colonel's cousin, Henry Crisp, who contributed to her *Miscellany* of 1685. Colepeper was born in December 1637 and his sister in 1639; in 1643 both their parents died. By 1659 Colepeper was acting as steward for his half-brother by his mother's first marriage and joining with him in royalist intrigues for

which they were arrested. Later in life the Colonel appears to have been an eccentric and pugnacious man, much obsessed with lawsuits, inventions and romantic genealogies, but there is no reason to suppose that he would have bothered to lie in his private papers about such a matter as wetnursing.

The Colonel's testimony is helped by its agreement with the birth in 1640 in Harbledon near Canterbury of a girl named Eaffry to a Bartholomew and Elizabeth Johnson, already the parents of a daughter named Frances;[13] it also agrees with a marginal note by Anne Finch, Countess of Winchilsea, whose husband owned lands in the area: 'Mrs Behn was Daughter to a Barber, who liv'd formerly in Wye . . . in Kent'.[14] Bartholomew Johnson was a barber for at least part of his life. He was also an overseer of the poor, which argues him a Protestant (so making his daughter's supposed Catholicism a matter of later conversion); yet in her posthumously published short story 'The Black Lady' Behn goes out of her way to vilify such officers as 'wolves' and 'vermin', a strange action for someone so devoted to patriarchal piety as she appears to be in her dedications.[15] If Eaffry Johnson is indeed Aphra Behn, then nothing in the background of barbering father and apparently illiterate mother (though with some gentlemanly and royalist relatives) explains the extraordinary education in languages and literary genres of a woman who would be the first female author to write copiously for the English stage, contribute impressively to the development of prose fiction, and compose some of the most acclaimed political poetry of the period.

Only one section of Behn's life is much illuminated by official documents: the espionage in Antwerp in 1666. It follows the voyage to Surinam which may, but cannot with certainty, be confirmed by outside testimony.

In *Oroonoko* the villain is the deputy governor of Surinam, William Byam. In his reports from the colony in late 1663 and early 1664 he refers to lady visitors, one of whom, 'Astrea . . . the fair Shepherdess', inspired 'the sympatheticall passion of the Grand Sheapheard Celedon' who pursued her when she left the colony early in 1664. Another account refers to 'Ladeyes that are heare' living 'at St Johnes hill', the residence of the narrator of *Oroonoko*.[16] Men mentioned in the story other than Byam (John Trefry, Major Banister and George Marten) are all historical figures associated with Surinam, while the chaotic political state of the colony which Behn describes (and may also have depicted in the Virginia of *The Widdow Ranter*, 1690), is borne out by state documents.[17] The language quoted for the natives in the story is the Galibi spoken in Surinam and details of the country, though depending on conventional depictions of the golden age (as the heroic slave takes much from traditional tragic heroes), accords with the contemporary descriptions – from which of course Behn may have taken them.

The circumstantial evidence for Behn's having travelled to Surinam and been treated as a 'lady' there are considerable.[18] In which case, if she is to be identified with the Eaffry of Harbledon, her natural father is likely to have died and her mother remarried remarkably well, or Behn may have travelled to Surinam with more socially elevated ladies than herself, possibly in as lowly a capacity as a maid or companion. If the evidence of status is doubted, however, she may even have gone as an indentured servant like the Widdow Ranter. Possibly she went as a man's mistress and it was to hide this disgrace that the author of the 'Memoirs' insisted on Behn's being too young for sexual activity when she left Canterbury, though Eaffry Johnson would have been twenty-three. It is also possible that Behn was in the New World for a considerable time, not the few months indicated in *Oroonoko*. The dedication to *The Young King* (1683), which she says she began there, includes the curious claim that 'She fear'd the reproach of being an *American*, whose Country rarely produces Beauties of this kind: The Muses seldom inhabit there; or if they do, they visit and away . . .'.

One other possibility is that she was in Surinam in some official capacity and indeed that her royal service began earlier in Kent and on the Continent, even before the Restoration, given the links with the plotting Colepeper. The statement in the 'Memoirs' of 1696 that she gave an account of 'his affairs' in the colony to the King who was thus 'satisfy'd on her Abilities in the Management of Business' makes Surinam seem one in a series of royal assignments, the next of which was the espionage in Antwerp. Both her 'American' works, *Oroonoko* and *The Widdow Ranter*, suggest what other sources confirm: that few without official purpose or uncertain social status in England would have gone to the colonies at this time.

According to the 'Memoirs', after leaving Surinam, Behn married a London merchant. This might have been a mariner met in America since there was a Hamburg ship, the *King David*, seized in the West Indies in 1655 with a John Behn on board, the likeliest candidate for Mr Behn if Aphra is allowed a longer sojourn in the New World.[19] The same, or more probably another, Norwegian/Danish *King David*, built in Holland in 1655 and licensed to trade in July 1661, had a master called Oge Alberts on board – possibly the Albert associated with Behn's time in Holland.[20] This in turn raises the interesting possibility that the elderly and portly Van Bruin of the 'Memoirs', a naval man and merchant given to metaphors taken from the New World, might be Mr Behn; certainly Aphra expressed frequent horror at matrimony between an ageing man and a young woman and several of her works end in an agreed separation for such a couple. Unfortunately there appears to be a plurality of ships named *King David*, the one commanded by Oge Alberts being from

Trondheim, and in the 1660s sailing a northern trade route (yet another – or the same *King David*, now of London, was however, travelling from Virginia in 1666–7).[21] Although it is possible that two at least of these *King David*s are the same and that the apparent multiplication is due to a desire to hide an essentially Dutch ship from the English authorities, it remains as likely that Mr Behn was a minor or unsuccessful merchant in London as a West Indian mariner; in this case Aphra probably encountered him after the trip to Surinam.[22] Whatever his age and calling, he swiftly disappeared from Aphra Behn's life, for, in the accounts of her spying, there is mention of a, presumably, younger brother and an unreliable mother, but no husband.

More definite than the still shadowy visit to Surinam and the even dimmer marriage to Mr Behn is the espionage in Antwerp. According to a series of letters in the Public Record Office, printed in the State Papers Domestic 1665–6 to 1668–9, 'Mrs Aphora' was dispatched in August 1666 as a spy to Antwerp to persuade William Scot, code-named Celadon, to turn double agent and give information on both the Dutch, with whom England was intermittently at war, and on the English, who used the Low Countries as an Opposition Bench.[23] She seems to have been recommended by Thomas Killigrew, politician and theatrical manager, to the head of Charles' intelligence service, Lord Arlington, and given James Halsall, the King's Cupbearer, as her control. The use of the name 'Celadon' suggests that the amorous shepherd of Surinam was also Scot, son of a regicide and brother of a colonist, and that Behn was chosen for the assignment because of a previous intimacy.

It is difficult to gauge the political success of her mission in Antwerp. In her 'Pastoral to Mr. Stafford' she claimed that it was 'unusual' for her sex and age (a claim which, added to the remark in the 'Memoirs' that she left Canterbury when very young, suggests a birth date considerably later than the 1640 of Eaffry Johnson). It is unclear who outwitted whom, but clear that both Behn and Scot were financially outwitted by the English government which paid neither adequately, both learning the lesson that 'his Majestys friends' all learnt: of the 'slendernesse of theire rewards'. Scot was threatened with debtors' prison in Holland as Behn would be when she returned to London in May 1667; she had missed a December convoy because she lacked the fare. Interestingly, the romantic 'History' suggests that Albert, possibly a fictionalized Scot rather than the mariner of the *King David*, provided Behn with money where the PRO letters declare the reverse.

Though financially disastrous, the stay was not wasted. The 'Memoirs' states that Behn experienced and wrote 'Adventures' during the time abroad, thus developing the skills she would later employ so brilliantly. In addition Antwerp, on the edge of the Spanish Netherlands

and close to Holland, might well have been intellectually stimulating for a young author; the Duchess of Newcastle and Aphra Behn, who both published widely after a period in the Low Countries, may have benefited from the assumption of the famous Dutch scholar, Anna Maria Van Schurman in her 1641 *Dissertatio*, that women were capable of public roles.

Back in England Behn was dunned for the money borrowed to allow her return. Petitions followed the begging letters to Killigrew and Arlington from Antwerp (in which she described the pawning of her rings to pay Celadon) and testify to her 'more then two yeares suffering'.[24] She had set out with £50, losing £10 on the exchange, and now needed £150 to save herself from prison. By 1668 she was appealing to the King directly and through Killigrew:

> 'I have cryd my self dead & could find in my hart to break through all & get to the King & never rise, till he weare pleasd to pay this, but I am sick & weake & unfitt for that; or a Prison; . . . I will send my mother to the King with a Pitition for I see every body are words: & I will not perish in a Prison. . . . if I have not the money to night you must send me som thing to keepe me in Prison for I will not starve.'[25]

Possibly this final assertion suggests that she was ready to barter anything for life, including her body, and perhaps she became a kept woman or a prostitute. But there is little evidence for it beyond a satire written many years later by Wycherley, 'To Sappho', in which he conventionally associates the whore and female poet – but, if his poem is taken as factual, then Behn was not only a whore but a fecund mother as untouched by her childbearing as Moll Flanders.[26] She may during this time have gone on the stage, so gaining the knowledge of stagecraft that marks even her earliest plays, but her comments on acting and her separation of herself from the actress in her prologues and epilogues seem against this.

Most likely she gained some sort of literary employment. Her hand is a very clear and precise one, and she could well have been a scrivener, helping to draw up legal documents; later she was fascinated by legal phrases and she seems to have known how to petition. Possibly too she was a copyest or editor; if she compiled *The Covent Garden Drolery* as early as 1671, she may have been doing similar work anonymously during the late 1660s. Her several references to her Tory propaganda suggest another possible activity.

The 'Memoirs' declared euphemistically that, after Antwerp, 'The Rest of her Life was entirely dedicated to Pleasure and Poetry'. Certainly much of it was dedicated to the poetry of the theatre and from 1670 Behn's movements can be more clearly charted through publication and

performance. Her theatrical career began with *The Forc'd Marriage* performed in 1670 by the Duke's Company, one of the two dramatic troupes licensed by the King shortly after his Restoration (the other being under the control of Killigrew whom she may have thought it politic to avoid). During the minority of her son, the Company was headed by Lady Davenant, a circumstance which may have appealed to Behn though there is no record of any connection between the women. For the Duke's Company she wrote thirteen of the seventeen plays later printed with her name, as well as two attributed to her, a large number for any dramatist.[27] Certainly she was the most prolific *woman* playwright; although a few (Katherine Philips, Frances Boothby and possibly Elizabeth Polwhele) did write for the public theatre in the 1660s, they produced only one or two pieces each, and throughout most of the twenty years in which she was writing, Behn was the only female dramatist.

Behn's choice of company was a good one since the Duke's had the best comic actors and comedy was, after an initial and fashionable flirtation with tragicomedy, to become her 'sign'.[28] Her one tragedy, *Abdelazer* (1676) was a powerful and monothematic drama which included one of her most famous lyrics 'Love Armd'; perhaps she was not impressed with her own efforts in this genre, however, since in her later poem on Sir Francis Fane's tragedy she admits her own 'cold' and 'feeble' force. Her comedies answered the resources of the Company, relying on the conventions of two heroines and the duo of spirited lovers which Nell Gwyn and Charles Hart had made famous in the King's Company in the 1660s. Behn seems to have forged a particularly close link with the actress Elizabeth Barry who appeared in most of her plays over more than a decade. As Barry's inclinations and abilities developed, she moved from pert virgin to passionate whore, from Hellena in *The Rover* Part I (1677) to Lady Galliard in *The City-Heiress* (1682). No doubt Behn responded to her talents.

In *Evening Love* Dryden explained how a hardpressed dramatist had to plunder French plots. Most of Behn's plays were new figurations of earlier texts. Sometimes the connection was clear, sometimes there was an attempt to deny it, as in the less than candid postscript to *The Rover* where Behn makes light of her considerable indebtedness to her old associate Killigrew. As a woman, however, she had to suffer the accusation of deception as well as plagiarism. It was said that her plays had been written by a Gray's Inn lawyer, presumably her friend John Hoyle.[29] It was a common charge: Anne Killigrew entitled one of her poems, 'Upon the saying that my Verses were made by another'; Anne Bradstreet complained that if anything is done well 'They'l say its stolne, or else, it was by chance', while Mary Astell remarked, 'The world will

hardly allow a Woman to say anything well, unless as she borrows it from Men, or is assisted by them'.[30]

The theatre was never a secure living and Behn joined her fellow playwrights in commenting on the audience's instability. As Dryden's 'Merry, Dancing, Drinking, Laughing, Quaffing and unthinking Time' (*Secular Mask*, 1700) of the early Restoration gave way to the troubled period of the Popish Plot and Exclusion Crisis and as various real and anticipated wars with the French and Dutch pushed gentlemen into arms, the playwrights lamented the absence of gallants and the ladies who serviced them. In the prologue of *The Feign'd Curtizans* (1679) Behn complained that 'this cursed plotting age' had emptied the theatres.

She also joined in criticizing sections of the audience, especially the female. In *The Gentlewoman's Companion*, Hannah Woolley wrote of women who:

> have no sooner ting'd their Faces artificially, than some Attendant is dispatcht to know what Plays are to be acted that day; my Lady approveth of one which she is resolved to see, that she may be seen; being in the Pit or Box, she minds not how little she observeth in it, as how much to be observed at it.[31]

In Behn's *The City-Heiress* a female character describes her effect at the theatre: 'Happy's the Man that can approach nearest the Side-box where I sit at a Play, to look at me' (II, ii). With less lightness Behn criticized those who hypocritically attacked her plays for bawdiness, adding her protest to Wycherley's and Otway's; the censorious lady easily digested 'a much ranker Morsel in a little Ale-house towards Paddington', she accused in *The Luckey Chance*. Though feared, there is little evidence of concerted action by women in the theatre on moral grounds, but it appears true that various groups of men and women did band together to damn a particular play.[32]

In 1682 something worse than the occasional hypocritical and hostile response occurred: the two theatrical companies amalgamated and, consequently, fewer new pieces were required. For Behn another period of financial difficulty began, lasting the rest of her life. She did not stop writing plays – four were performed after this date including the popular early Commedia dell' Arte farce, *The Emperor of the Moon* – but she needed to augment her theatrical earnings. Her obvious resource was translation from French, which she clearly knew fluently, and in the 1680s she produced English versions of the popular scientific works of Fontenelle and the maxims of La Rochefoucauld. Beyond these she translated or paraphrased Latin poems such as Ovid's *'Oenone'* and Cowley's *Of Plants*. She also published a new poetic version of *Æsop's Fables* and a collection of her original verses as *Poems on Several Occasions*,

to which she affixed her impressive paraphrase from the French, *A Voyage to the Island of Love*. The apparent success of this last probably prompted a prose and poetry sequel, *Lycidus*, as well as *La Montre*, the tediousness of which eliminated her from the artistic contest in Matthew Prior's satirical 'Session of the Poets'.[33] If she is the A.B. of *The Covent Garden Drolery* this early anthologizing may have inspired a repetition during hard times, for in 1685 she published another collection as *Miscellany Poems*.

Although the 'Memoirs' suggests a fictional bent early in life, Behn turned seriously to publishing prose fiction only in the 1680s. By telling the tale of an amour between the Duke of Monmouth's supporter, Ford Lord Grey of Werke, and his sister-in-law, Lady Henrietta Berkeley, she contributed to the vogue imported from France, involving such writers as Madame de Lafayette and César Saint-Paul, of fictionalizing scandalous events.[34] Although *Love-Letters between a Nobleman and his Sister* is part of this vogue as well as of the flurry of erotic writings connected with the anti-Catholic propaganda of the Exclusion Crisis, the novel is more substantial than most of its peers and predecessors; as the political catastrophe of Monmouth's bid for the crown unfolded in life, the initial epistolary novella followed it in fiction, becoming a large-scale third-person narrative of personal and political corruption.[35] The second two books concentrated on the growing self-awareness of a manipulating heroine, a character further investigated in two of Behn's most famous short stories, *The Fair Jilt* and *The History of the Nun*. All study the power of language to create and deceive, and all develop the lesson learnt in her early letter of 1668, that 'every body are words'.

However much succeeding generations valued this prose fiction, in Behn's time it did not pay as well as third nights at the theatre, and there are many references to the debt of her last years.[36] In a letter probably of 1683 she wrote to Jacob Tonson, her publisher, that she had been 'without getting so long that I am just on the point of breaking, especially since a body has no credit at the Playhouse for money as we used to have'. By August 1685 she was desperately borrowing £6 from a Mr Zachary Bags, using Tonson as surety. She agreed to pay the money back by Michaelmas or give Mr Bags the right to recoup the debt from her earnings from her next play, *The Luckey Chance*, probably performed in the Spring of 1686.[37]

According to a lady's commendatory verse to Behn in *Lycidus*, her *Pindarick on the Coronation* deserved a house and garden, but there is no evidence of any recompense. So it becomes heroic that, shortly before her death, Behn appears to have refused a commission from the Whig politician and divine, Gilbert Burnet, to write verses on the usurping ruler William III, knowing that without such infidelity to her beloved

James her fate would be, in her own words, 'Indigence and Lost Repose'.[38]

The 'Lost Repose' may refer in part to the ill-health that combined with poverty to dog Behn's last years. If the reference in *Oroonoko* can be credited, she was never strong and towards the end of her life she suffered from some form of muscular disease (the satirist Robert Gould accused her of 'gout' and 'sciatica').[39] There are many allusions to pain, which the fall described in the poem to Creech cannot have helped. In a letter sent to Abigail Waller in 1687 to enclose an elegy on the poet Edmund Waller, she mentions a problem with her hand and states, 'I am very ill & have been dying this twelve month', while in the poem she presents herself to the dead Waller as one 'who by Toils of Sickness, am become / Almost as near as thou art to a Tomb'.[40] Yet she seems to have remained to the end 'untir'd by Age' as far as literary effort went, and the number of works published posthumously suggests an active professional life up to her death.

We warm'd it with a Glass – or so . . .' Letter to Mr. Creech'

Behn's poems and dedications reveal her as gregarious, amorous, generous and talkative, liking food, drink, music and conviviality, disliking a life that 'but dully lingers on' ('To Damon' in *Lycidus*). In the 'History' she is made to claim 'the advantage of a great deal of good Company', while an actor acquaintance later appreciated her as the first person to make milk punch.[41] Clearly she knew actresses, including Elizabeth Barry, who, in a 1677 performance of *The Constant Nymph*, played a pastoral hero in disguise as a shepherdess to woo an 'Astrea' notable for her dislike of marriage. Possibly a relationship between Behn and Barry is alluded to here or possibly such plays were stimuli to friendship. Behn must also have known other writing women, such as 'Ephelia', who claimed inspiration from Behn's poetry in her 'To Madam Bhen' in *Female Poems on Several Occasions* (1679).

Her main society, however, seems to have been the witty, literary, university-educated men of the law, who had often thrown off parliamentary or Puritan pasts in Restoration libertine living. Several appear in amorous postures in her poem 'Our Cabal', probably dating from the 1670s.

There is no conclusive evidence of familiarity with the great, though she aligns herself in fantasy with the Queens Catherine and Mary of Modena. There are hints at connections with the Earl of Rochester who joined with other courtly wits to form the sophisticated and often anarchic 'merry gang'. In her poem 'To Mrs. W' about the response to her

elegy on Rochester, Behn claimed that he had 'first rais'd' her fame, while in an offhand, unverified remark Defoe stated that she was Rochester's mistress; several of her poems appeared after his death as Rochester's, suggesting that she might have sent copies to him or written them in his company – or an unscrupulous publisher may have wished to extend the slim oeuvre of the famous dead Earl.[42] In her dedications she eulogized the royal whores; interestingly, in the light of her suggested Catholicism, she chose to dedicate *The Feign'd Curtizans* to the Protestant Nell Gwyn rather than the Catholic Louise de Keroualle to whom she probably referred in the anti-French prologue to *The Young King* (1683).

Behn seems to have had a vexed professional relationship with John Dryden who commissioned her Ovid translation for his 1680 volume of epistles and went out of his way to praise her ability, despite criticism from Matthew Prior.[43] He also wrote a prologue and epilogue for the posthumous performance of her *Widdow Ranter* – but presumably not at Behn's request. Her probable authorship of the anonymous 'Satyr on Doctor Dryden' seems at odds with these connections but it might agree with a letter to Tonson, dating from about 1683–4, which suggests that she publicly maligned Dryden 'in whose esteeme I wou'd chuse to be rather than any bodys in the world'. She justified her words by declaring they were understandable in the light of what 'was told me'.[44] As with the words, perhaps with this poem, she may later have wished it suppressed, since there is no record of its being published.

Her love life was much commented on, especially in satire. Possibly she was involved with Scot of the Antwerp episode and with Jeffrey Boys, both like Hoyle of Puritan stock. Boys, who came from Kent, refers in his diary to Behn and her plays of the early 1670s, while in 'Our Cabal' 'Mr. Je. B.' is revealed as the 'Author of my Sighs and Flame'.[45]

The codes of the time obscure the distinction between flirtation and love-making but there is considerable evidence for a serious liaison with John Hoyle, possibly the recipient of 'Love-Letters to a Gentleman'. In his 'Session of the Poets' (c. 1688) Prior makes Behn declare that 'She and Jack Hoyle taught the whole Age to love'. In a tantalisingly brief entry in Roger Morrice's 'Entring-Books' for 1687, Morrice states that it was 'publickly known' that Hoyle 'kept Mrs. Beane' ten or twelve years before; the acquaintance had, however, long since lapsed, so the writer supposed.

The occasion for the remarks in Morrice's books was the committal proceedings of Hoyle for buggery (which resulted in an *ignoramus* verdict); the boy involved, an apprentice to a cook or victualler, was thought to have carried messages between Hoyle and Behn during a 'difference'.[46] After her death, sufficient numbers of people believed

Hoyle to have been her lover that letters between them were either worth publishing from her 'Remaines' or worth inventing to titillate the public. Bulstrode Whitelock succinctly described Hoyle as 'an Atheist, a Sodomite professed, a corrupter of youth, & a Blasphemer of christ.' Charles Sackville, Earl of Dorset, was less succinct in his 'Faithful Catalogue of our Most Eminent Ninnies' where, after mentioning Hoyle's 'he-mistress', he joined the son's sexual proclivities to the father's political ones: both loved a 'Rump', physical or parliamentary:

> The learned advocate, that rugged stump
> Of old Nol's honor, always lov'd the Rump;
> And 'tis no miracle, since all the Hoyles
> Were giv'n, they say, to raise intestine broils.

In 'Our Cabal', written before the affair started, probably during the early 1670s, Behn described a promiscuous and bisexual man; in her 'Letter to Mr. Creech' from the 1680s she was content to call Hoyle 'a great admirer of Lucretius'.[47]

In this later period there seems to have been a new object of affection. Possibly in response to public fashion and to personal experience, her work becomes more erotic, as in the first heady part of *Love-Letters between a Nobleman and his Sister*, and the pindaric 'On Desire', where Behn describes herself with 'new-found pain' inappropriately yearning for the charming 'Lysander'. The name reappears for the person familiarly addressed in the dedication of the translation of La Rochefoucauld where it refers to a stern, censorious man; it comes again in 'To Lysander, who made some Verses on a Discourse of Loves Fire' and To Lysander, on some Verses he writ . . .', where there are hints that the man is married. Lycidas or Lysander or both may have been a 'disappointment' since the theme of male sexual inadequacy occurs more than once in Behn's work.

'You mount the unruly World with easie Force'
A Pindarick Poem on the Coronation

In this age of masks and rhetorical strategies, it is difficult to judge political opinion, but certainly Behn's political discourse is uncompromisingly hierarchical. Surprising to a reader aware of the later alliance of the egalitarian and the feminist, her devotion to aristocracy and absolute monarchy is more explicable in a seventeenth-century context and was shared by the only other prolific woman writer of the period, Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle.[48] Both Behn and the Duchess found a court or court ideology more enabling to themselves as exceptional

women than the masculine institutions of an emerging bourgeois democracy. For Behn, one of the staunchest apologists for the Stuart kings, there was the added advantage that the commercial theatre was dominated by the court, whatever the shifting components of the audience.[49] Indeed it sometimes seemed the court's extension: political relationships were acted out in tableaux in the boxes under the same illumination as the stage, while references were made onstage to events in the bedrooms of Whitehall. Between 1660 and 1676 playwrights almost invariably dedicated their works to men and women either at court or associated with it.

Behn held an ideal image of a socially and sexually free golden age before acculturation, when men and women went naked, without masks, clothes, or shame, needing no marriage, kingship or even religion, which she described in her poem, 'The Golden Age' as first setting 'the World at Odds'.[50] She also had a classical apprehension of steady deterioration in history. The world she inhabited was certainly not 'golden', though there was some glitter to the early courtly Restoration, a time when, according to the Whig Gilbert Burnet, 'a spirit of extravagant joy spread over the nation, that brought on with it the throwing off the very professions of virtue and piety: all ended in entertainments and drunkenness, which overrun the three kingdomes to such a degree, that it very much corrupted all their morals'.[51] Behn's affection for the early Restoration, a period of serious domestic discord, though less factionalized than the more sombre 1680s, lasted well beyond the nation's disillusionment with Charles II; many of the works that touch politics such as *The Rover* or *The Roundheads* were judiciously set during the Interregnum when royalism was a clearer matter.

As the invention of commerce traditionally marked the end of the golden age, so the growing influence of the city and newly labelled commercial Whigs marked the end of the modified restored golden age of the early Restoration. Throughout her life Behn railed against a mercantile ethos that reduced politics and sex to cash relations, making the crown an expensive ornament and the body a financial token.[52] In 'To Lysander on some verses he wrote' she associated commercial vocabulary with both trading men and duplicitous lovers. As prophetess of the Stuart dynasty in her public odes and Tory propagandist in the prologues and epilogues to her plays, she followed the Tory habit of equating Whigs with the regicide Puritans of the Interregnum, paralleling civil parliamentary upheavals of the 1680s with the Civil Wars of the 1640s.

In the world as she found rather than fantasized it, Behn placed her political faith in hierarchical, paternalistic and nurturing figures, emphasizing collectiveness over individualism, generosity over greed, and pleasure over self-interest. Sometimes she used images of feasts and

food to express her political vision. In the dedication of her *Miscellany* in 1685, she made the hierarchical hospitality of her dedicatee, Sir William Clifton, into a political force: he treated 'the under-world' about him, thus making people loyal and honest 'where else-where for want of such great Patrons and Presidents, Faction and Sedition have over-run those Villages where Ignorance abounded'. The feast against faction was central to one of her final plays, *The Widdow Ranter*, in which the wealthy widow brings people together to drink, eat and smoke, and ignore the absurd war in a colony lacking proper royal authority. At other times her images were altogether harsher. Where Dryden in *Annus Mirabilis* figured the ruler and his people as lovers, Behn in her *Pindarick* on James II's coronation saw subjects as an always restive, often unruly horse, useful only when tamed, bridled and led by a princely rider. In the baroque figuration of her magnifying coronation and funeral odes the kingly brothers, Charles and James, became the warrior saints, Christ and God the Father whom it would be blasphemy as well as treason to oppose.

With little overt religious piety, she was nonetheless interested in prodigies, prophecy and providence which, with other Tory writers of the time, she saw in the service of the Stuart kings. Her political belief in strong royal authority, combined with considerable scepticism about other authorities both political and domestic, has something in common with Hobbes and perhaps more with the early apologists of Stuart absolutism, such as the Earl of Strafford who urged people 'to put an absolute Trust in the King, without offering any Condition or Restraint at all upon his Will'.[53]

Despite her expressed Tory royalism, during her literary working life of two decades Behn was not oblivious to the changing spirit of the times. As the Popish Plot and Exclusion Crisis were succeeded by the Rye House Plot, the Meal Tub Plot and the Monmouth Rebellion, the fascinating, witty rather ridiculous figure of the rakish cavalier, such as Wilmore in *The Rover*, gave way in her writings to the more tragic or demoralized figures of the mistaken and duped idealist in a debased age. Bacon in *The Widdow Ranter*, Octavio in *Love-Letters*, Tarquin in *The Fair Jilt* and the black hero in *Oroonoko*, tragic men in tragi-comedies much like her adored James II, all failed to understand the shifting duplicitous nature of words in a mercantile age with which they were profoundly at odds.

With her commitment to aristocratic politics went a commitment to aristocratic culture. Behn admired classical writers much in vogue with courtiers, such as Lucretius whose materialist philosophy discovered through Creech's translation much influenced her sceptical thinking, as her own version of her commendatory poem testifies. In the Restoration,

Lucretius, Epicurus and Hobbes were frequently combined in a heady libertine concoction that outraged pious Christians and became the assumed philosophy of the rake. With its refusal of an afterlife and insistence on the material, it allowed an emphasis on the present, an investment in the physical and sensational, and a frank attitude towards sex, all of which Behn admired. The Earl of Rochester was the epitome of the Restoration form of cultural libertinism; in her elegy for him Behn ignored his supposed deathbed conversion so trumpeted by its facilitator, Gilbert Burnet, and remained true to his mythologized rakishness and to a death fantasized by Nathaniel Lee: 'If he were dying with his veins cut, he would call for wine, fiddles and whores, and laugh himself into another world'.[54]

'The Translatress in her own Person speaks.'
Note to Cowley's Of Trees.

'. . . after Monarchs, Poets claim a share
As the next worthy thy priz'd wreaths to wear.
Among that number, do not me disdain,
Me, the most humble of thy glorious Train.
Let me with *Sappho* and *Orinda* be
Oh ever sacred Nymph, adorn'd by thee;
And give my Verses Immortality.

Behn, the first professional woman writer to publish a large body of work in English, inserted these lines into her English version of the sixth book of Cowley's Latin poem *Of Plants* concerning the politics of the Civil War and its aftermath. Two points need noting. First, that she wished to place herself in a female tradition which most men, including Cowley in his commendatory poem to Katherine Philips (Orinda), expressly denied women.[55] Second that, despite her salacious reputation, her playful troping of 'Whore' and 'Poetesse' in the terms of Rochester, she had a high notion of art and of herself as artist and wished to follow Sappho, the classical poet who first yearned for immortality through verse and who gave her name to so many women poets including Behn. For a writer to share the status of monarchy, even in the traditional classical image, was praise indeed, given Behn's staunch support of the Stuart kings. It is then unsurprising that art and politics, loyalty and female artistry intertwined in her work in an evolving aesthetic.

The role of the woman artist was not an easy one to negotiate in the Restoration. After 1660 women were welcomed into the public theatre for the first time, and inevitably both professional actress and professional playwright were associated with the oldest profession. In 1633 the

Puritan William Prynne had called an actress on the court stage a 'notorious whore': seventy years later the Critic Chagrin in the *Comparison between the Two Stages* could exclaim, 'What a Pox have Women to do with the Muses? I grant you the Poets call the Nine Muses by the names of Women, but why so? not because the Sex has anything to do with Poetry, but because in that Sex they're much fitter for prostitutes'.[56] Male satirists such as Robert Gould described women writers who

> . . .when their verse did fail
> To get 'em Brandy, Bread and Chease and Ale,
> Their wants by Prostitution were supply'd
> Shew but a Tester, you might up and ride:
> For *punk* and *Poetess* agree so Pat,
> You cannot well be *This* and not be *That*.

The Earl of Rochester made his fictional authoress a 'tottering barke' in the literary tempests who firmly addresses herself

> Dear Artemiza, poetry's a snare:
> Bedlam has many Mansions: have a Care.
> Your Muse diverts you, makes the Reader sad;
> You Fancy you'r inspir'd, he thinkes. you mad. . .
> . . . Whore is scarce a more reproachful name,
> Then Poetesse.[57]

Utilizing the sexual identity provided by the culture, Aphra Behn employed the image of the mistress trying to seduce her audience as one of her instrumental self-presentations in prologues and epilogues.[58] In the prologue to *The Forc'd Marriage* and the epilogue to *Sir Patient Fancy*, for example, the female playwright joins other women in the audience in pleasuring the male with mental and physical joys.

The writer as whore was, however, only one of Behn's images: frequently it was associated with lines created for an actress whose sexualized body inevitably mediated between playwright and male audience or aligned itself with the prostituted bodies in the pit. In her prefaces to the printed versions of her plays, written to be read by a reader not appropriated by an actress, Behn occasionally took on other female roles like that of the pathetic victim, but largely avoided the role of flirt or whore, preferring, when emphasizing the paid nature of her work, to present herself as a competent and businesslike working woman rather than a mistress or prostitute. In contrast to the epilogue, she declared in the preface to *Sir Patient Fancy* that she was 'forced to write for Bread and not ashamed to owne it'. It was no reproach, for comic plays were never the 'grand affair of humane life', she wrote, and, unlike the classical dramatists such as Ben Jonson with whom she was often coupled because of her name, she did not think the theatre was intended to

improve an audience but simply to divert it with 'the Picture of ridiculous mankind'.[59] In the theatre a woman could equal a man since the playwright had no need of the learning that was 'men's great advantage over women' and no man of the time wrote at so 'formidable' a rate that a woman could not compete. Since her aim was to please, she sought to be in fashion; when the taste appeared to be for tragicomedy, she provided it – when for bawdry, she provided that too.

But towards the end of her life she gave signs that she was not content to write only 'for Bread': she was an artist with a claim to respect. In the statement appended to *The Luckey Chance* of 1687 she joined the only woman to publish extensively in English before her, Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle, in becoming mentally hermaphrodite, feminine in her commerce and in the prejudices felt against her, and masculine in her involvement in high culture and intellectual art, demanding status despite her sex:

> had the Plays I have writ come forth under any Mans Name, and never known to have been mine; I appeal to all unbyast judges of Sense, if they had not said that Person had made as many good Comedies, as any one Man that has writ in our Age; but a Devil on't the Woman damns the Poet.... All I ask, is the Priviledge for my Masculine Part the Poet in me ... to tread in those successful Paths my Predecessors have so long thriv'd in ... I am not content to write for a Third day only. I value Fame as much as if I had been born a *Hero*; and if you rob me of that, I can retire from the ungrateful World, and scorn its fickle Favours.

In this protest Behn clearly shared the desire of many of her fellow writers such as Dryden and Otway in this age of propaganda to claim high status for her art.[60] Beyond this general desire, however, gender fuelled the protest: she, a woman, wished to be in the elite of 'masculine' poets, including both men and women.[61]

. . .only a female pen to celebrate his fame' Oroonoko.

Aphra Behn made fewer overt feminist statements than many of her immediate successors such as Mary Astell and Lady Mary Chudleigh. Indeed she made fewer than some of the male authors of her sources and adaptations, such as Killigrew in his *Thomaso*, original of *The Rover*, or Southerne in his play *Oroonoko*, based on her short story, or even the author of *Romulus and Hersilia* with its presentation of female heroism, one possible source of the more compromised and absurd posture of the Widdow Ranter in Behn's play.[62] Nonetheless, she was constantly aware of women as a group, and her complex attitude emerges in her unusual use of female scene-setters in her drama and of the female gaze

in her fiction, a habit that Manley and Eliza Haywood would later adopt. Gender construction is explored, mocked and subverted rather than attacked in her many cross-dressers and her virgins playing at whores being virgins.

Behn was at her most conventional when she identified with women in both her plays and prose works. Frequently she made derogatory remarks in her short stories about the sex to which she claimed to belong – 'so contradictory are we to our selves'. Conversely she was at her most outspoken when seemingly addressing men in prefaces: in many of them she complained of women as an inhibiting and corrupting cultural force. Both habits subtly suggest that she understood the constructed identity of women (and men) and that she had a sense, shared with the female audience and readership, of men's cultural and political hegemony. Even when Behn showed manipulating women like Miranda and Sylvia in the prose works, she revealed their reliance on male supremacy; this supremacy allowed a few immoral women to use gullible men by cleverly employing the cultural codes of the victim or object.

The wicked female characters, great readers and actresses, were often closest to the female narrators, who as opportunistic story-tellers nonetheless watched with deep feeling the display of doomed male heroism – a heroism open only to those who could ignore their own constraining cultural creation. The less common manipulating man in her works knew his own social power and was far more dangerous: at the end of *Love-Letters between a Nobleman and his Sister*, the anti-heroine became an open predator on noblemen, booted by the authorities from her place of work; the anti-hero, 'Very well understood by all good men' was reinstated as a noble courtier.

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NOTES

1. A comparison can be made with Behn's contemporary and neighbour, the famous counterfeiter Mary Carleton. See *The Case of Madam Mary Carleton* (1663) and Francis Kirkman's *The Counterfeit Lady Unveiled* (1679).

2. Mostly she was referred to as 'Mrs Behn' or 'Mrs A. Behn' or, mainly in later life, 'Astrea', although in her first published work, *The Forc'd Marriage* (1671) she was simply 'A. Behn'. She was 'A.B.' in the early *The Covent Garden Drolery*, now ascribed to her, and in the late dedications to Parts II and III of *Love-Letters between a Nobleman and his Sister*. The name 'Ann' was used by Narcissus Luttrell

to ascribe *The Revenge* to her and it was used again on the dedication to *The Roundheads*, later to be inked out and corrected to 'A', and in MS La. III. 798, Edinburgh University, which records five poems as being 'out of Mrs Ann Behn's works'. The second edition of *Abdelazer* (1694) had 'Anne Behn' on the title page. Possibly we are dealing with two women, possibly the common name Ann was substituted for the less common Aphra, or possibly she was named 'Ann' and at different moments used both 'Aphra' and 'Astrea' as pseudonyms.

3. See Maureen Duffy, *The Passionate Shepherdess: Aphra Behn 1640–89* (London: Methuen, 1989), p. 28.

4. Apart from Duffy's, the fullest modern descriptions of Behn's life are George Woodcock's *The Incomparable Aphra* (London: Boardman, 1948); Angeline Goreau's *Reconstructing Aphra: A Social Biography of Aphra Behn* (New York: Dial, 1980); Sara Heller Mendelson's *The Mental World of Stuart Women* (Brighton: Harvester Press, 1987); and Mary Ann O'Donnell's 'Tory Wit and Unconventional Woman: Aphra Behn', *Women Writers of the Seventeenth Century* ed. Katharina M. Wilson and Frank J. Warnke (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1989).

5. For a description of Gildon as a playwright see Paula R. Backscheider's introduction to *The Plays of Charles Gildon* (New York: Garland, 1979). For the episode with Manley see Edmund Curll's 'To the Reader' in *Mrs. Manley's History of her Own Life and Times* (1725). My view of Gildon's authorship does not accord with that of Robert Adams Day in 'Aphra Behn's First Biography', *Studies in Bibliography*, 22 (1969), 227–240, which rejects Gildon as the author of the 'Memoir' and the 'History' and regards the former as the source of Gildon's 'Account' before *The Younger Brother*.

6. See W. J. Cameron, 'George Granville and the "Remaines" of Aphra Behn', *Notes & Queries*, N.S. VI, 1959, 88–92, and *New Light on Aphra Behn* (Auckland: University of Auckland Press, 1961), pp. 87–100.

7. *The Histories and Novels* of 1696 was entered in the Easter Term Catalogues, May 1696, and *The Younger Brother*, published in 1696 was entered in the Easter Term Catalogues, May 1697.

8. The work was dated 1698 but entered in the Michaelmas Term Catalogue for November 1697.

9. All quotations from Behn's poetry are from the present edition.

10. Sharon Valiant has argued for a close connection not only with the Howards but also with the Sidneys through an illegitimate daughter of the early seventeenth-century author, Lady Mary Wroth, born Mary Sidney. See her paper, 'Sidney's Sister, Pembroke's Mother ... and Aphra Behn's great-grandmother?' given at the ASECS Conference, New Orleans, March–April, 1989.

11. See for example the paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer (mocked by Thomas Brown, probable author of *The Late Converts Exposed* ... (1690) for its swerve into worldliness) and her evident admiration for the pagan Lucretius and the urbane and worldly La Rochefoucauld.

12. See 'Adversaria', British Library Harley MSS 7587–7605.

13. The case for Eaffry Johnson has been persuasively made by Duffy in *The Passionate Shepherdess*.

14. The manuscript collection including the 'Circuit of Apollo' on which the note occurs is in the Folger Library. Despite some irritation at the apparent mystification of Behn's background, there is evidence that Winchilsea admired some aspects of the earlier writer and was influenced by her.

15. See Jane Jones, 'New Light on the Background and Early Life of Aphra Behn', *Notes and Queries*, September 1990, pp. 280–93, and *The Passionate Shepherdess*. Kent was a region with only a minute Catholic population at this time; see *English Historical Documents* VIII (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1953), pp. 414–15.

16. *New Light on Aphra Behn*, p. 10.

17. Behn may of course have had a first-hand experience also of Virginia which was often a port of call for sugar-laden ships from Surinam. Or possibly she visited the colony later and heard of the events of the Bacon rebellion, since her depiction of them in *The Widdow Ranter* accords little with the accounts she could have read, though it may of course conform to the testimony of a person returning from the colony.

18. The association with Surinam is strengthened by the reminiscence of Southerne who claimed to know someone who heard Behn speak of Oroonoko's story as true and experienced. Throughout her life she seems to have known people connected with the West Indies such as Thomas Killigrew, later partly responsible for her spying mission and the provider of the source for *The Rover*, and the vegetarian ascetic and mystic Thomas Tryon, the association with whom seems otherwise difficult to explain. For the opposite view see Ernest Bernbaum, 'Mrs Behn's "Oroonoko"', *George Lyman Kittredge Papers* (Boston: Ginn, 1913), pp. 419–33. See also Harrison Gray Platt Jr., 'Astrea and Celadon: An Untouched portrait of Aphra Behn' *PMLA* 1934, 544–59.

19. See *CSP Col.*, August 14, 1655, entries 219, i–vi. I am grateful to Keith Davey for disentangling the various *King Davids* in these papers.

20. *CSP Dom.* 1661–2, p. 47 and 1665–6, p. 349. See also H. A Hargreaves, 'A Case for Mister Behn', *Notes and Queries*, June 1962, pp. 203–5; *New Light on Aphra Behn*, 292–3; and 'New Light on the Background and Early Life of Aphra Behn'.

21. *CSP Dom* pp. 253 and 276.

22. Maureen Duffy has found an Isaac Beane in the Port Books for 1663 (in which there is also a Wright, possibly the name of Behn's sister's husband). See paper given at Aphra Behn Conference, University of East Anglia, July 1991.

23. A transcription of these Antwerp letters, together with a very full account of the episode, appears in *New Light on Aphra Behn*.

24. New Light on Aphra Behn, p. 57.

25. Photograph of document reproduced in *The Works of Aphra Behn*, ed. Montague Summers (New York: Phaeton, 1969), I, facing p. xxvi. C.S.P. Dom. 1668–9.

26. 'To the Sappho of the Age. Suppos'd to Ly-In of a Love-Distemper, or a Play', *Miscellany Poems* (1704).

27. It is possible that her anonymity in the first two issues of *The Rover* was due to the failure of an earlier play. Her poem to her colleague Edward Howard on his failure with the production of *The Six Days Adventure* expresses something of the need she herself no doubt felt to go on writing in spite of hostile public reception.

28. Her *Amorous Prince* was mentioned by George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham in *The Rehearsal* which mocked the genre of tragicomedy in general. See the pamphlet to the reader in *The Dutch Lover* (1673).

29. See Alexander Radcliff, *The Ramble* (1692). Radcliff was also connected with Gray's Inn. For an account of plays and sources see Gerard Langbaine, *An Account of the English Dramatick Poets* (1691).

30. Anne Bradstreet, 'The Prologue', *The Tenth Muse* (1650), stanza 5; Mary Astell, *Reflections upon Marriage*, 3rd ed (1706).

31. *The Gentleman's Companion* (1675), p. 35.

32. See David Roberts, *The Ladies: Female Patronage of Restoration Drama 1660–1700* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989).

33. 'A Sessions of the Poets' (1688?), *The Literary Works of Matthew Prior* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971). In 'The Tryal of the Poets for the Bays', probably dating from the 1670s and attributed to Buckingham or Rochester, Behn was eliminated because of her age.

34. For an account of the trial of Lord Grey see *Cobbett's Complete Collection of State Trials* (1811), vol. ix.

35. An important epistolary predecessor was *Lettres Portuguaises* (1669). This was published in English as *Seven Portuguese Letters* in 1681. Roger L'Estrange also published *Five Love-Letters from a Nun to a Cavalier* in 1678. See Roger Thompson's *Unfit for the Modest Ears* (London: Macmillan, 1979) pp. 13–14 for a description of the disreputable publishing of the early 1680s.

36. For its reception see Charles C. Mish, 'English Short Fiction in the Seventeenth Century', *Studies in Short Fiction*, 6, 1969, 233–330 and the editions listed in *Aphra Behn: An Annotated Bibliography* ed. Mary Ann O'Donnell (New York: Garland, 1986).

37. 'Memorials of Literary Characters – No. XIV. Letters of Mrs Aphra Behn, the Poetess, to Tonson the Bookseller', *Gentleman's Magazine*, 5, May 1836, pp. 481–2.

38. If he did invite her to write Burnet must have been very much impressed by her poetic skills, since he did not approve of Behn personally. He described her as 'so abominably vile a woman'. See James Granger, *Letters between J.G., and many of the most eminent literary men of his time* ... ed. J. P. Malcolm (London, 1805).

39. *A Satyrical Epistle to the Female Author of a Poem call'd Silvia's Revenge* (1691), attributed to Robert Gould. Gould singled out Behn for especial abuse in another satire, *The Play-House. A Satire* (1689). He claimed that she had long been lamed 'with a sciatica' which distorted her limbs and shrunk her with pain, and he alliteratively summarized her ills as 'poverty, poetry, pox'.

40. The letter, now in the Pierpont Morgan Library, encloses the copy of the poem which is the only sure Behn holograph of a work; it is reproduced facing p. 288.

41. MS note to Langbaine in BL. See *The Passionate Shepherdess*, p. 241 and *Stuart Women*, p. 152.

42. *Review of the State of the English Nation*, III, 131, Nov. 2, 1706, reproduced in *Defoe's Review* ed. Arthur Wellesley Secord (New York: Columbia University Press, 1938–48). For a textual discussion of the Behn poems see the note to 'The Disappointment' no. 28.

43. 'A Satyr on the Modern Translators', *Poems on Affairs of State* (1697) which calls Behn 'blind translatress'.

44. This letter was sold at Sotheby's in 1930. O'Donnell has located a nineteenth-century copy in Yale; no copy is listed in Peter Beal's *Index to English Literary Manuscripts*.

45. G. J. Gray, 'The Diary of Jeffrey Boys of Gray's Inn, 1671', *Notes and Queries*, clix, 26, 27 Dec. 1930, 452–6.

46. Morrice, Entring Book, vol. II, p. 53. [Dr. Williams's Library, Morrice MSS. Q.] For Roger Morrice, d. 1702, ejected minister of Duffield, see A. G. Matthews: *Calamy Revised being a revision of Edmund Calamy's Account of the Ministers and others ejected and silenced, 1660–62* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1934) p. 355. The Entring Book is a journal of public affairs covering the years 1677–91.

47. Tom Brown's *Familiar Letters* (1718). Quoted from Bulstrode Whitelock's MS Commonplace Book by Montague Summers in *The Works of Aphra Behn*, vol I. p. xxxvi; *The Poems of Charles Sackville, Sixth Earl of Dorset* ed. Brice Harris (New York: Garland 1979).

48. The latter's devotion was no doubt in part explained by her achievement of an aristocratic marriage.

49. Despite much study the class and sex components of the Restoration audience remain unclear. See, for example, Harry William Pedicord, 'The Changing Audience' in *The London Theatre World* ed. Robert D. Hume (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1980). Emmett L. Avery, 'The Restoration Audience', *PQ*, 45, pp. 54–61; and Harold Love, 'The Myth of the Restoration Audience', *Komos*, 1, 2, 1967, pp. 49–56.

50. The golden age which is closest to her conception seems to be the one described in Torquato Tasso's *Aminta*, translated into English in 1628.

51. Gilbert Burnet, *History of His Own Time* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1823), p. 157. The Restoration was frequently depicted by male and female poets as a Golden Age. See for example, Dryden's *Annus Mirabilis*, John Evelyn's *A Panegyric to Charles the Second* (1661), and Rachel Jevon's *Exultationis Carmen* (1660).

52. Nonetheless, in *The Roundheads*, the anti-mercantile cavalier, admirable for sexual sincerity, reduces a politically powerful woman to a 'thing' to express the importance of true patriarchal and royalist authority.

53. See William Knowler, *The Earl of Strafford's Letters and Dispatches, with an Essay towards his Life by Sir George Radcliffe. . . .* (London: William Bowyer, 1739), I, 239.

54. *The Princess of Cleves* (1689).

55. Cowley called Philips unique in 'Upon Mrs. Philips her Poems' in G. E. B. Sainsbury, *Minor Poets of the Caroline Period* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1905).

56. *A Comparison Between the Two Stages* (1702; Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1942), p. 17.

57. 'The Female Laureate' *Poems* (1709), II, p. 16; 'A Letter from Artemiza in the Towne to Chloe in the Countrey', *The Poems of John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester*, ed. Keith Walker (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1984), p. 83.

58. For the self-presentation of women in this period see Dorothy Mermin, 'Women becoming poets: Katherine Philips, Aphra Behn, Anne Finch' *ELH*, 57, Summer, 1990, pp. 335–55; Cathy Gallagher, 'Who was that masked woman? The prostitute and the playwright in the comedies of Aphra Behn', *Women's Studies*, vol 15, 1–3, 1988; and Janet Todd, *Sign of Angellica: Women, Writing and Fiction, 1660–1800* (London: Virago, 1989).

59. 'An Epistle to the Reader', *The Dutch Lover* (1673).

60. See Michael McKeon, *Politics and Poetry in Restoration England: The Case of Dryden's 'Annus Mirabilis'* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1975).

61. The conception of the 'masculine part' owes something to the sense of gender fluidity in the early modern period when women were considered physically lesser than but not essentially different from men. See also the comments on female art in the many prefaces of Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle.

62. Behn wrote the prologue and epilogue for this play; they were printed in the 1683 edition.

TEXTUAL INTRODUCTION

THE TEXT

'Authority is a social nexus, not a personal possession.'[1] Is the text an authorial product or a social product? It could be said that the circumstances of literary production in earlier times were such that a work was necessarily a social product and that the advent of printing gave the author greater authority. If so, the Restoration would perhaps represent a halfway stage between a medieval manuscript culture and modern print culture. Translation, adaptation and plagiarism were vaguer concepts, and the writing of poetry, in particular, seems often to have been a social activity. Any attempt to annotate the verse of Behn and her contemporaries leads into an intricate web of literary and social relationships. The index alone of a work entitled, let us suppose, *Poems by Several Hands on Several Occasions*, would give a reader a tantalising glimpse of the sending and receiving of books, flowers, fruit, verses, of arrivals and departures, of births, marriages and deaths, comment and discussion of each other's writing and comment on the comments, 'music meetings' attended, emotional pains and pleasures – and there are never quite enough clues to the maze of relationships. The writers and those written about are often concealed behind initials or poetic nicknames, or simply referred to as 'A Lady'; but what is clear is that the writing of verse in Restoration London was rarely detached and private.

Another web of relationships is that of the text to other writing. *To Poet Bavius* is Behn's response to John Baber's *To the King upon the Queen's being Deliver'd of a Son*, in which he had been responding to Behn's *Congratulatory Poem to her Most Sacred Majesty*. Much of the meaning of such a text depends on a knowledge of other poems; modern notions of unity and integrity cannot apply to a work which exists both diachronically and synchronically, which is simultaneously a final layer and a mosaic. With *Of Plants*, written the following year, Behn is taking a text of Cowley's, a text which itself has numerous literary connections; she is then quite possibly sitting down with someone whose Latin is rather better than her own, perhaps looking at the Latin verse as her companion gives an oral translation, perhaps turning it orally into English verse, altering it as a result of discussion or accepting emendations.[2]

If a poem of Behn's is a social product, it is a product also of the publisher and all those involved in the printing. To realise just how much effect printers may have had on the reader's perception of her work, it is necessary only to compare the two versions of her poem on the death of Waller in this volume, the version as printed in *Poems to the Memory of . . . Waller* on pp. 289–90 and the version, sent to Waller's daughter-in law, which is the only undoubted holograph of Behn's literary works, reproduced facing p. 288. There is no way of knowing the precise relationship of these two versions to each other, and a postscript to the letter accompanying the handwritten one apologises for the writing, done 'with a lame hand scarce able to hold a pen'. However painful the act of writing, it was clearly also painstaking, still clear and elegant in spite of the disease affecting her hands, and if the punctuation and underlinings represent Behn's own intentions, the compositors' practice could obviously be very different.

If the concept of the poem as social product is pushed to its extreme, no editing is done at all; what is produced is a facsimile edition. Even obvious printers' errors would be part of the text as actually received. But why produce an edition of the *Works of Aphra Behn*, why make the author the unit on which the book is based unless it is believed that the body of work bears the imprint of a certain individuality? If however, this individuality is accepted, the question arises: how far is it possible to recover what the author intended, or even what she wrote, given the almost complete absence of autograph manuscripts and given the liberties normally taken by seventeenth-century printers? Furthermore, Behn moved with the times; many of her poems appear in at least two forms, and it is not a matter of the last version's being the definitive one, but of versions being created for different purposes and circumstances. Nor does she appear to be gradually working towards aesthetic perfection: for the editor to give the impression that Behn was improving and perfecting, and to create yet another version, supposedly as close as possible to Behn's 'intention', would be difficult to justify. Then there is the problem of cultural distance; one has only to look at successive editions of much-edited authors to see the extent to which editing is culturally determined. Behn did lay claim to the power and authority of the individual author, but necessarily to the power and authority of an author of her own time.

In this edition, emendations are introduced very rarely, usually not on stylistic grounds. A text may, however, be deficient in sense, grammar, metre or rhyme (all considered historically, as far as it is possible to do so), and deficiency in two or more of these can give reasonable grounds for considering the possibility of emendation. Where substantive emendations have been made, they have been noted in the endnotes.

The copy texts chosen for this edition are, whenever possible, the first which bear Behn's name or initials, or are from the first edition of a work when it appeared in a collection edited or probably edited by her. In each case, the first endnote states the date of the copy text and the issue where relevant. Any deviation from this general rule is also mentioned in the endnotes. Where the first publication of a poem was posthumous, this posthumous first edition is used.

Substantive variants are given from virtually all editions and from many issues published in Behn's lifetime, excluding those published in Dublin or Edinburgh and other editions over which she could have had no control. Variants are also given from posthumous publication of works first printed in her lifetime, where it seems possible that the publisher had access to manuscripts. In the case of broadside ballads, variants from some representative versions are given. Considering the nature of Restoration publishing, and the variation between copies of the same issue, no claim can be made for inclusiveness. Variants will be indicated as follows:

1.7 Cou'd e'er arive] 1671 Durst ere compare; 1707 With you compare

Two editions in the same year will be indicated as 1684a, 1684b

Issues will be indicated as 1684,[1] 1684,[2] 1684a,[1] etc.

Where they exist, variants will be listed immediately after the explanatory endnotes. In the case of 'To The Unknown Daphnis on his Excellent Translation of *Lucretius*', the differences between its first published form (as a commendatory poem prefacing Creech's *De Natura Rerum*) and the second (in her own *Poems upon Several Occasions* the following year, 1684) so clearly give a different philosophical and religious slant to the work that it was felt advisable to print variants next to the text, for greater ease of comparison.

Spelling and punctuation are usually retained, with obvious printers' errors silently emended. Variant punctuation is not given unless it alters the meaning, nor are fullstops reproduced at the end of titles when titles are mentioned in notes.

Italics and capitalisation have been retained in the text. The Restoration being the most flamboyant period for variations in typeface however, no attempt has been made to reproduce all such variety. No distinction will be made between sizes and spacing of capitals or between italic and roman capitals. Gothic script has been rendered through bold italic.

Protestant countries used the old style Julian calendar, with the year beginning on 25 March; Roman Catholic countries had been using the reformed Gregorian one from 1582. In England during the Restoration, the year was often shown in both old and new style, between which there was also a ten-day difference. The modern form is used in this edition for dates of performance and publication. Dates in quotations will be given in the form in which they originally occurred.

THE WORKS

Aphra Behn is a sort of ventriloquist, dissolving herself into the variety of genres, styles and modes of her age; it is consequently difficult to recover the essential Behn text. To some extent, this is true of any writer in any time, but it does seem particularly likely to happen with a seventeenth-century author and a woman: literary adaptability parallels necessary feminine social adaptability. Furthermore, Behn was a dramatist, and a dramatist fascinated by masques and masquerade: playwriting was a way of earning money, but also an opportunity to enter into identities and styles other than her own. In her poems she similarly enters into this variety. Her main mode is the courtly pastoral lyric in its baroque Restoration form, written by women such as Katherine Philips and men such as Sir Charles Sedley and John Sheffield, Earl of Mulgrave, who describes it in his *Essay on Poetry* (1682) as a song with 'expression easy, and the fancy high', formally perfect and informal in style. The danger of the form is insipidity and it was much parodied in plays like Etherege's *Man of Mode*: 'How charming Phyllis is! how fair! / Ah, that she were as willing . . .' (IV, ii). A good many of Behn's poems in this mode are rather tediously conventional, but others are distinguished by graceful turns of phrase or touches of irony and psychological acuteness. Frequently she catches the air of spontaneity of the best informal occasional verse, its blend of feeling and detachment. Some of Behn's verses seem to have been primarily for coterie circulation, such as 'Our Cabal'; some may have been part of literary games and competitions, such as 'The Disappointment' or 'Rebellions Antidote'; some may have been written to pay or create a literary debt like the poems to Thomas Creech and Edward Howard. Others were aimed at commercial publication, such as the paraphrases of Ovid, Aesop, Cowley and Tallemant.

Through the period of her literary life she was writing verses, though these were published in her own volumes primarily in the mid 1680s when she clearly needed money from projects outside the theatre. The most important collection of her poetry is the volume entitled *Poems*

upon Several Occasions: with a Voyage to the Island of Love (printed for R. and J. Tonson, 1684). The publication coincides with apparent royal victory in the Exclusion Crisis, and the golden age imagery in many of the poems links them with the general revival of Stuart celebratory iconography in the last years of the reign of Charles II. All the poems are either the work of Behn herself, or poems which she has translated. The volume is prefaced by nine poems in praise of Behn and her writing; seven are signed John Cooper, J. C., John Adams, T. C. (Thomas Creech), J. W., F. N. W. and Henry Watson. The two remaining poems are unsigned, but Jacob Tonson told his nephew that he had anonymously included in the volume a poem he had written himself, 'To the Lovely Witty Astraea, on her Excellent Poems'.[3] Duffy believes that the author of the other unsigned poem, 'Upon these and other Excellent Works of the Incomparable Astraea', was Dryden; certainly it includes a section on the translation of Ovid's 'Epistle of Oenone to Paris', which Behn had done for Dryden. A number of Behn's poems in this collection had already appeared, some were reprinted subsequently, but this volume represents the only known authority for twenty-three of her poems.

The shorter original poems of the collection are followed by a longer, narrative work in verse, translated from the French of the Abbé Paul Tallemant, probably the volume called *Le Voyage et la conqueste de l'isle d'amour* (Paris, 1675). This volume contains Tallemant's first 'Voyage' together with a second one which Behn was also to translate and publish as *Lycidus*, with a *Miscellany of New Poems* in 1688. For an editor, the two translations do not lend themselves to tidy classification: in French, both parts of the work consist predominantly of a prose narration, in which a lover (confusingly spelled 'Lycidas' in 1684 and 'Lycidus' in 1688) recounts his experiences of love in the familiar form of an allegory; at intervals, the writer interpolates a reflective or descriptive poem. Behn's 'translations' of the two parts are very different from each other, however. She clearly became enthusiastic as she worked at *A Voyage to the Island of Love* (*Isle* as printed at the beginning of the work); she turned the entire text into English verse, and at the same time into a longer and altogether more elaborate piece of writing than the French (see endnotes for some of her alterations and additions). In a letter to Tonson, she asks to be paid an extra five pounds: '. . . you cannot think what a pretty thing the Island will be, and what a deal of labour I shall have yet with it'.[4] The letter continues with an offer to translate the 'second voyage, which will compose a little book as big as a novel by itself'. Whatever the original intention, the *Voyage* seems to have been printed at the same time as the poems with which it was published, as the paper has the same watermark. When it finally appeared four years later, the

'second voyage', *Lycidus* differed markedly from Behn's earlier 'translation'. It is basically a prose work containing some poems, and it will therefore be included with Behn's other prose works.

Twelve years before the publication of *Poems on Several Occasions*, a volume had appeared which seems likely to have been compiled by Behn.[5] The *Covent Garden Drolery, or a Colection, of all the Choice Songs, Poems, Prologues, and Epilogues, (Sung and Spoken at Courts and Theaters) never in print before. Written by the refind'st witts of the Age* (printed for James Magnes, 1672) was first printed with 'Collected by R. B.' on the title page. A second issue followed shortly with 'R. B.' replaced by 'A. B.'. Though Behn has not signed her work in this collection, the change implies that she possessed some editorial control; therefore this edition takes the issue as copy text for the four original poems of hers which it includes. Drolleries were fashionable compilations in the later seventeenth century, containing verse which was predominately light-hearted and often of theatrical origin. There are frequent contemporary references to the *Covent Garden Drolery*, for example in Act II, scene 2, of Wycherley's *Country Wife* (1675), where Mrs Pinchwife asks for it, while the *Bristol Drollery* (1674), begins with a poem which could be taken to support the ascription of the *Covent Garden Drolery* to Behn: the poet says that if the '*Bristol* Muse' is not favourably received, the writer has advised her in confidence 'Humbly to cast her self on Madam *Behn*'. Behn's poems are positioned towards the end of *The Covent Garden Drolery*, but so are the contributions of such famous writers as Dryden, Wycherley, Rochester and Killigrew. Interestingly, the collection opens with three prologues and epilogues from performances of plays acted solely by women.

Behn's next collection to include the work of others as well as her own appeared in 1685, and was printed for J. Hindmarsh. The volume, *Miscellany, Being a collection of poems By several Hands*, also included *Reflections On Morality, or Seneca Unmasqued*, a translation of the *Reflections, ou Sentences et maximes morales* (The Hague, 1664) by François, Duc de la Rochefoucauld. There are two poems addressed to Behn: one, dated 'Jan, 9 1684', is unsigned but by a clergyman; the other, by Edward Howard, is a verse repayment for her praise of his notoriously unsuccessful play, *The New Utopia*. The poems include ten which are signed by Behn, and two more which have been identified as hers ('A Letter to Mr. Creech at Oxford, Written in the last great Frost', and 'Ovid to Julia. A Letter'). The volume also contains a large proportion of poems by other writers; among them is a preponderance of verse translated from or based on classical poets, especially love or pastoral poetry. Seven of the poems (one of them by Thomas Creech) are 'out of' Horace; other sources range from Catullus and Virgil to Sappho and Tibullus. A

dialogue between tutor and pupil, two poems in Latin, and poems by Henry Crisp, a fellow of King's College, Cambridge, contribute to an impression of the reading and writing of poetry as a cultured pastime. The collection also has a distinct tone of social elevation, with verses by and about such people as 'A Lady of Quality', the Earls of Dorset and Rochester, the Honourable Edward Howard, and the Honourable John Stafford. Though it is impossible to assess precise relationships, many of these people must have been in social contact with Behn. Her responsibility for the collection is clear: she signed the dedication to Sir William Clifton, and the book was advertised as hers in Edward Ravenscroft's *The London Cuckold* (1688).

The final collection made by Behn also includes writing both by herself and others. *Lycidus, or The Lover in Fashion ... Together with a Miscellany of New Poems By Several Hands* was printed for Joseph Knight and Francis Saunders in 1688. Like *Poems on Several Occasions, Miscellany* contains nine poems addressed to Behn by friends and admirers, some containing specific praise of her verse, others written for the giving or receiving of a gift, or to recognise Behn's value as a friend. The only signed poem in this group is by Daniel Kendrick. Of the nine poems signed by Behn in this collection, only one, a commendatory poem to Sir Francis Fane, had been printed previously; this volume is the sole authority for five of Behn's poems, and three were reprinted posthumously. It is striking that none of Behn's poems in the collection (with the exception of an unsigned song from *The Emperor of the Moon* which might be hers) is entirely light or impersonal; in particular, 'On Desire' and 'On the first discovery of falseness in Amintas' appear to draw from personal experience.

Poems by Behn also appeared during her lifetime in collections of verse for which others were responsible. The second edition of *A Collection of Poems written upon Several Occasions*, printed for Thomas Collins and John Ford in 1673, contains 'Amintas bid me to a Grove', a song from *The Dutch Lover* which appears in several variant versions. Three poems which Behn included in her own *Poems upon Several Occasions* in 1684 had already appeared in *Poems upon Several Occasions By the Right Honourable, the E. of R* --- [Earl of Rochester] (Antwerp, 1680), and as a result 'On a Juniper-Tree, cut down to make busks', 'On the Death of Mr. Grinhil, The Famous Painter' and 'The Disappointment' were all originally attributed to Rochester.[6] Three more of Behn's poems appeared without attribution in the second edition of *Female Poems On Several Occasions. Written by Ephelia*, printed for James Courtney, 1682, while *The Compleat Courtier: Or, Cupid's Academy. Containing an Exact and excellent Collection of all the newest and choicest Songs, Poems, Epigrams, Satyrs, Elegant Epistle, Ingenious Dialogues ...*, compiled by J. Shurley and

printed for W. T., 1683, gives anonymous versions of a song from *The City-Heiress* and 'Ah, what can mean that eager Joy', which predates an inclusion in *Poems upon Several Occasions*.

After her death, Behn's poems remained popular and continued to be included in collections. *The History of Adolphus, Prince of Russia; and the Princess of Happiness . . . With a Collection of Songs and Love-Verses. By several Hands . . .* (printed by R. T., 1691) includes two previously unpublished poems which are generally accepted as Behn's, *'Silvio, when will you be kind,'* and *'Morpheus, Morpheus,* God of Sleep', both of which are ascribed to her in the work, together with another eight songs or poems by Behn, two of them ascribed. Most of the poems in this collection, including one in praise of Behn, are by George Granville, to whom she had dedicated *The Lucky Mistake* shortly before her death in 1689; the two previously unpublished Behn poems may have derived from him.[7] Charles Gildon seems likely to have been the source of three more previously unpublished Behn poems which appeared in *Miscellany Poems upon Several Occasions* . . . (printed for Peter Buck, 1692) with a dedication by Gildon. In this volume Behn's poems accompany those of Buckingham, Cowley, Milton and Prior. In 1697 *Poems upon Affairs of State: From The Time of Oliver Cromwell, to the Abdication of K. James the Second* also suggests Behn's status by placing two of her poems among those of 'the greatest Wits of the Age'; in addition to the four just mentioned, there are poems by such writers as Dorset, Marvell, Dryden and Waller. A shorter version of 'Bajazet to Gloriana' had already appeared as 'Ovid to Julia. A Letter. By an Unknown Hand' in Behn's 1685 *Miscellany*[8] while 'On Desire', previously printed in *Lycidus*, is also reprinted here; in both cases there are substantive variants.

The Muses Mercury was a monthly miscellany issued in 1707 and 1708. It printed 'Poems, Prologues, Songs, Sonnets, Translations, and other Curious Pieces'. In the March 1707 issue appeared the following note:

> 'If it were proper to make publick what we have learnt of the Story of the Author of the following Verses, 'twou'd be an unquestionable Proof of their being *genuine*. For they are all writ with her own Hand in a Person's Book who was very much her Friend; and from thence are now transcrib'd for the *Mercury*. There are Fifteen or Sixteen Copies of Verses more, which will in due time be printed in this Collection.'

In the note preceding another poem, any suspicious reader is invited to inspect the manuscripts 'at the Booksellers who publishes this Paper'. Possibly the original owner of the 'Book' containing these alleged Behn manuscripts was John Hoyle. Contrary to the claim 'Never before Printed' on the title page of *The Muses Mercury*, all but two of the twelve poems by Behn had already appeared, but the nature of at least some of

the variants suggests that they may well be from a manuscript or some source other than the earlier printed one. In particular, the variant title of 'To my Lady Morland at Tunbridge' ('To Mrs. Harsenet . . .') suggests the possibility of a manuscript preceding the first 1684 publication: Harsnett had been Lady Morland's maiden name. *The Muses Mercury* did not appear again after January 1707/8, and no more than twelve of the promised 'Fifteen or Sixteen' poems by Behn had been printed. Narcissus Luttrell wrote the prices on his copies (now in the Clark Library): each cost sixpence, except for one fourpenny one.

Familiar Letters of Love, Gallantry, and Several Occasions, By the Wits of the last and present Age . . . together with Mr. T. Brown's Remains . . . was printed in 1718. It includes eight rather dubious letters, supposedly by Behn. The first of these is to 'Mrs. Price', and consists of a brief introductory paragraph, then a poem in praise of rural retirement, followed by 'P.S. A *Song*': three brief stanzas which appear to have no connection with what has gone before. There then follows another letter to Mrs Price, addressing her as 'Amillia', apparently acknowledging plagiarism. Four letters to 'Philander' reproaching him for his treatment of 'Silvia' are somewhat reminiscent of the style of those exchanged by the lovers with the same names in *Love-Letters Between a Nobleman And His Sister*. There then follows a satirical verse epistle to the Earl of Kildare, and finally a letter 'To Mr. *Hoyle*, occasion'd by the report of his too close Familiarity with young F----ws &c.' with 'P.S. *An Imperfect Enjoyment*'. This version of 'The Disappointment' is printed twenty-nine years after Behn's death, and, as there is no reason to suppose that it has any special authority, variants are not given. As the other poems are ascribed to Behn and do not appear elsewhere, they are included in the absence of conclusive evidence against her authorship.

The other poems of Behn that appeared under her name are commented on individually in endnotes, which also give the precise form of her signature. The speedy and elaborate reprinting of *A Pindarick on the Death of Charles II* and *A Pindarick Poem on the Happy Coronation* may suggest either popularity or propaganda; the appearance of the two 1688 public poems – *Congratulatory Poem on the Universal Hopes* and *On the Happy Birth* – in a combined format as *Two Congratulatory Poems* in the same year may also indicate demand but, more likely in the political circumstances, failure to sell the original individual copies.

As has been suggested above, 'translation' can be problematic in a number of ways to an editor of seventeenth-century poetry. Although the charge of plagiarism was opprobrious, suggesting a kind of failure or impotence of invention, it was nevertheless an age of plagiarism. When the source-material was in another language, there was an extra degree of ambivalence; a classical pedigree could elevate even the most commonplace of pastoral verses, while asserting the education of the writer/

translator. When the writer was female, however, such assertion became less appropriate; it was even proper for disclaimers to be issued by her or on her behalf, as was the case with Behn's 'Paraphrase on Oenone to Paris': Dryden writes in his preface to *Ovid's Epistles, Translated by several Hands*, that 'I was desir'd to say that the Authour who is of the Fair Sex, understood not Latine'. It is difficult to judge how far this was true. Abraham Cowley's *Of Plants*. Book VI. *Sylva* (is by far Behn's longest version of a Latin poem, and there is no known English version on which it appears to be based. It is, however, very possible that such a version existed, or that Behn availed herself of the oral help of a fluent Latin scholar, for Behn's English poem is certainly both a fluent and accurate rendering of the Latin original; very few of the departures from Cowley can be the result of carelessness or ignorance. That Behn did not feel that such writing as this rendering of Cowley was in any way a merely secondary activity is suggested by the fact that one such departure from her original is seven lines in which 'The Translatress in her own Person speaks' and claims a permanent place as a creative writer (II. 588–594) (see General Introduction). Behn certainly shows in many of her poems that she was fascinated by classical culture, and in 'To The Unknown Daphnis on his Excellent Translation of Lucretius' she specifically refers to her own lack of education, and the sadness of women's exclusion from the culture of Greece and Rome.

Contemporary writers appear to have paid a lot of attention to the art and practice of translation. In his preface to the 1680 collection of *Ovid's Epistles* in which Behn's poem 'Oenone to Paris' first appeared, Dryden divided translations into three classes: 'metaphrase' or word-by-word translation, 'paraphrase' or translation 'with latitude', and finally 'imitation', which 'assumes the liberty not only to vary from his words & sence; but to forsake them both as he sees occasion . . .'. In his volume he states that 'the Reader will here find most of the Translations, with some little Latitude or variation from the Authors sence', although he excludes Behn's poem as 'in Mr. Cowley's way of Imitation', despite the fact that it is labelled 'paraphrase'. However much Behn may have been dependent on others when basing her work on Latin or Greek literature, it is plain that she was an extremely competent reader of French, and that departure from an original was here a matter of choice. In works such as 'The Disappointment' and 'A Voyage to the Island of Love' where it is possible to set Behn's version against her original, the endnotes give some indication of where she has chosen to follow the original closely and where she has chosen to deviate or expand.

After three centuries of relative neglect, it is not surprising that our knowledge of Aphra Behn's oeuvre should be incomplete. It will probably always be so, however assiduously we work to assemble it;

attribution in the Restoration is notoriously problematic and, despite much scholarly attention, the canon of established writers such as Andrew Marvell and John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester, remains confused and troublesome. Behn was a considerable literary presence in many genres. In several she is well and publicly represented; in others however there is a paucity of ascribed material. Although she herself refers to having written Tory propagandist 'doggerell', for example, so far only one such poem has been found, 'Rebellions Antidote' (London, 1685), although it seems probable that many more remain to be discovered.

A poem which falls into a unique category is 'Satyr on Doctor Dryden', an attack on Dryden's conversion to Roman Catholicism which was first printed as Behn's by Summers. His text was taken from a manuscript once thought to be lost but in fact filed in the Westminster Diocesan Archives in which the attribution is to 'Mrs. Behn'. No seventeenth-century printed copy has been discovered, but the poem survives in several manuscript versions, which among them contain numerous variant readings. One is Bodleian MS Firth c. 16, a verse miscellany known as 'Astrea's Booke', written partly in a hand which may be Behn's own;[9] another is in BL Add. MS 38671, a volume of manuscripts composed in Trinity College, Dublin, probably between 1679 and 1688. Here again the attribution reads 'by Mrs. Bhen'.[10] Behn was not a poet to whom manuscripts were routinely attributed and too little is known of Behn's life to exclude a work on personal or political grounds; it has therefore been decided to include the work as a provisional addition to her canon. Similarly, the fragment entitled 'Doubt' ascribed to Behn in a verse miscellany housed in MS Dc.3.76 at Edinburgh University has been printed.

The following poems that have sometimes been attributed to Behn have been excluded from this edition since there is insufficient evidence of her authorship:[11] 'A Song' (*The Westminster Drollery*, 1671, Wing W 1457); *Parthenia's Complaint* (broadside 1678?, Wing P 580); *Floriana* (folio 1681, Wing^2 D 2505); *The Loves of Damon and Sappho* (broadside 1678?, Wing L 3275); *On the Martyrdom of King Charles the First* (broadside 1682, Wing^2 O 316); *Shaftsbury's Farewel* (broadside 1683, Wing S 2909); *Algernoon Sidneys Farewel* (broadside 1683, Wing A 923); *An Elegie on the Earl of Essex* (broadside 1683, Wing E 415); *Upon the Marriage of Prince George of Denmark* (folio 1683, Wing U 115); *The Duke of Monmouth's Kind Answer* (folio 1683, Wing D 2511); *To the Memory of the Illustrious Prince George Duke of Buckingham* (folio 1687, Wing T 1570); *Dialogue* (broadside 1688?, Wing^2 D 1288B); *The Vision* (broadside 1689, Wing V 657); *The Restor'd Maidenhead* (half-quarto 1691, Wing R 1177); *A New Song Sung in Abdelazer-* (broadside 1693?, Wing^2 B 1747); 'The Gods are not more blest than he,' (*Chorus Poetarum*, 1694, Wing B 5309); *The Town Rakes* (broadside 1696?,

Wing B 177OA); 'Sappho addrest to his Grace the Duke of Buckingham' (*The Dramatick Works of his Grace George Villiers, Late Duke of Buckingham*, 1715).

Two final works require mention. At the beginning of *Aesop's Fables with his Life in English, French and Latin* ... (1687), Francis Barlow states that Behn has 'been so obliging as to perform the English Poetry, which in short comprehends the Sense of the Fable and Moral', but does not mention her connection with the 'Life' of Aesop; in the absence of any stated connection, the biographical verses have been omitted. In 1755 *Poems by Eminent Ladies*, compiled by George Colman the Elder and Bonnell Thornton, printed twenty-one poems ascribed to Behn; of these, fourteen, including *Voyage to the Island of Love*, had been published earlier in *Poems on Several Occasions*, suggesting this volume as the source for Colman and Thornton. The other five poems are from *Lycidus, Together with a Miscellany Of New Poems By Several Hands* and again appear in the same order as in the original. In *Lycidus* two of the poems are signed by Behn but two, 'Songs' – 'As wretched, vain, and indiscreet' and 'In vain does *Hymen* with religious vows' – are anonymously printed, as is 'Cato's Answer to Labienus' which appeared with a notice about the male author's displeasure at an earlier emended publication; in *Poems on Affairs of State* (1703) this work was ascribed to William Ayloffe. These last three poems are not in the present edition.

NOTES

1. Jerome J. McGann, *A Critique of Modern Textual Criticism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), p. 48.

2. The common association of Behn with Ben Jonson seems to stem from a coincidence of names rather than overt poetic influence; beyond her famous contemporaries, Rochester, Dryden, Dorset and Otway, whose images and conventions she shares, the two most potent poetic presences are Cowley and Edmund Waller whose death she lamented. Like the courtly men of the Restoration, Behn also responded to folk songs – see her Jemmy poems – and to the humorous street ballads on which some of her political lampoons may be based.

3. Letter to Jacob Tonson junior, 22 April 1728; rpt. in *Jacob Tonson in Ten Letters by and about Him*. Ed. Sarah Lewis Clapp (University of Texas Press, 1948).

4. See 'Memorials of Literary Characters – No. XIV. Letters of Mrs. Aphra Behn, the Poetess, to Tonson the Bookseller.' *Gentleman's Magazine*, 5 (May 1836), 481–482.

5. See Thorn-Drury, G., ed. 'Introduction'. *Covent-Garden Drollery: A Miscellany of 1672*. (London: Dobell, 1928) v–xx.

6. See David M. Vieth, *Attributions in Restoration Poetry: A Study of Rochester's 'Poems' of 1680* (New Haven, 1963).

7. See Cameron, 'George Granville and the "Remaines" of Aphra Behn'.

8. For the discussion of this attribution see Brice Harrison, 'Aphra Behn's "Bajazet to Gloriana"' [Letter to the Editor], *Times Literary Supplement*, 9 February 1933, p. 92. O'Donnell notes (p. 321) that the attribution is also suggested in the *Roxburghe Ballads*, IV, 562, and V, 212.

9. See Mary Ann O'Donnell, 'A Verse Miscellany of Aphra Behn: Bodleian Library MS Firth c. 16,' *English Manuscript Studies* 2 (1989), 189–227. If the 'Astrea's Book' copy is in Behn's hand, the fact is hard to interpret. Some of the variant readings seem unlikely to be those of an author.

10. The spelling 'Bhen' is so common that it could be considered an acceptable variant rather than a mutation.

11. For discussion, see O'Donnell, pp. 288–324.

WORKS CITED BY SHORT TITLE

Beal *Index of English Literary Manuscripts*, vol. II, (1627–1700). Peter Beal. London: Mansell Publishing Limited, 1987.

Burnet *Bishop Burnet's History of His Own Time*, with notes by the Earls of Dartmouth and Hardwicke, Speaker Onslow, and Dean Swift. 6 vols. Oxford: at the University Press, 1833.

Canting *A New Dictionary of the Terms Ancient and Modern of the Canting Crew. In its several Tribes of Gypsies, Beggars, Thieves, Cheats.* By B. E. Gent. London: W. Hawes etc, 1699.

CGD *Covent Garden Drolery*. London, 1672

CSP Dom. *Calendars of State Papers, Domestic series*, reign of Charles II.

CSP Col. *Calendars of State Papers, Colonial series, America and the West Indies.*

DNB *Dictionary of National Biography.*

Duffy *The Passionate Shepherdess: Aphra Behn 1640–89*. Maureen Duffy. London: Methuen, 1989.

Evelyn *The Diary of John Evelyn*, 6 vols., ed. E.S. de Beer. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955.

Greer *The Uncollected Verse of Aphra Behn*, ed. Germaine Greer. Stump Cross Books, 1989.

Haley *The First Earl of Shaftesbury*. K. H. D. Haley. Oxford: Clarendon, 1968.

Langbaine *An Account of the English Dramatick Poets*. Gerard Langbaine. Oxford, 1691.

Luttrell *A Brief Relation of State Affairs from September 1678 to April 1714*. Narcissus Luttrell, 6 vols. Farnborough, Hants.: Gregg International Publishing, 1969.

LS *The London Stage 1660–1800* Part I, ed. William Van Lennep, Ben Ross Schneider. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1960–70.

Miscellany (1685) *Miscellany, Being A Collection of Poems By several Hands. Together with Reflections on Morality, or Seneca Unmasqued*. London, 1685.

MS *The Works of Aphra Behn*, ed. Montague Summers, 6 vols., 1915; reprint New York: Phaeton Press, 1967.

O'Donnell *Aphra Behn: An Annotated Bibliography of Primary and Secondary Sources*. Mary Ann O'Donnell. New York and London, 1986.

OED *Oxford English Dictionary.*

Pepys *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, 11 vols., ed. Robert Latham and William Matthews. London: Bell & Hyman, 1983.

POAS (1697) *Poems on Affairs of State from the Time of Oliver Cromwell to the Abdication of K. James the Second* . . . London, 1695.

POAS (1705) *A New Collection of Poems Relating to State Affairs* . . . London, 1705.

POAS *Poems on Affairs of State: Augustan Satirical Verse, 1660–1714*, 7 vols., ed. Lord George de Forest. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1975.

PSO *Poems upon Several Occasions: with a Voyage to the Island of Love.* London, 1684.

Rochester *The Poems of John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester*, ed. Keith Walker. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1984.

Vieth *Attributions in Restoration Poetry: A Study of Rochester's 'Poems' of 1680*, David M. Vieth, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963.

Quotations from the Bible are taken from a modern-spelling edition of the Authorized Version, 1611.

COPY TEXTS

BODLEIAN LIBRARY, OXFORD

THE Six days Adventure, OR THE NEW UTOPIA. London, printed for Tho. Dring (1671); T.C.I,80 (Trinity 1671)

COVENT GARDEN DROLERY, OR A COLECTION, Of all the Choice Songs, Poems, Prologues, and Epilogues, (Sung and spoken at Courts and Theaters).... London, printed for James Magnes (1672)

PROLOGUE to ROMULUS, EPILOGUE to the Same. London, printed by Nath. Thompson (1682)

AESOP'S FABLES WITH HIS LIFE IN ENGLISH, FRENCH, AND LATIN...Illustrated...By FRANCIS BARLOW. London, printed by H. Hills jun. for Francis Barlow (1687)

To...CHRISTOPHER DUKE OF ALBEMARLE, ON HIS VOYAGE TO HIS GOVERNMENT OF JAMAICA. London, printed for John Newton (1687)

A CONGRATULATORY POEM TO HER MOST Sacred Majesty, ON THE UNIVERSAL HOPES OF ALL LOYAL PERSONS FOR A PRINCE of WALES. London, printed for Will. Canning (1688); T.C. II,231 (Trinity 1688)

POEMS TO THE MEMORY OF WALLER Of that Incomparable POET Edmond Waller Esquire. By Several Hands. London, printed for Joseph Knight, and Francis Saunders (1688); T.C. II,217 (Hilary 1687/8)

A PINDARIC POEM TO THE REVEREND DOCTOR BURNET, ON THE Honour he did me of Enquiring after me and my MUSE. London, printed for R. Bentley (1689)

BRITISH LIBRARY, LONDON

T. LUCRETIUS CARUS. THE Epicurean Philosopher, His six Books De Natura Rerum Done into English VERSE, With NOTES. The Second Edition,... Oxford, Printed by L. Lichfield, Printer to the University for Anthony Stephens (1683)

THE SACRIFICE. A TRAGEDY. By the Honourable Sir FRANCIS FANE,...The Second Edition. London, printed by J.E. for John Weld (1687); T.C. II,168 (Easter 1686)

A MODERN ESSAY ON the Tenth Satyr OF JUVENAL. By HENRY HIGDEN, Esquire. London, Printed by T.M. (1687)

A CONGRATULATORY POEM TO THE King's Most Sacred Majesty On the Happy BIRTH of the PRINCE of WALES. London, printed for W. Canning (1688); T.C. II,231 (Trinity 1688 as *Two Congratulatory Poems*)

A Congratulatory POEM TO HER Sacred Majesty QUEEN MARY, UPON HER ARRIVAL in ENGLAND. London, printed by R.E. for R. Bentley and W. Canning (1689)

THE SECOND AND THIRD PARTS OF THE WORKS OF Mr. Abraham Cowley, The SECOND containing What was Written and Published by himself in his younger Years: Now reprinted together. The Sixth edition. The THIRD containing HIS SIX BOOKS OF PLANTS...Now made English by several Hands.... London, printed for Charles Harper (1689); T.C. II,279 (Trinity 1689)

THE HISTORY OF ADOLPHUS, Prince of RUSSIA...With a Collection of Songs and Love-Verses. By several HANDS. ... London, printed...by R.T. (1691)

Familiar Letters OF LOVE, GALLANTRY, And several OCCASIONS, By the WITS of the last and present Age... London, printed for Sam Briscoe, etc. (1718); T.C. II,392 (Hilary 1691/2)

'A Satyr on Doctor Dryden' Additional MS 38671

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

OVID'S EPISTLES, TRANSLATED BY SEVERAL HANDS. London, printed for Jacob Tonson (1680)

PROLOGUE By Mrs. Behn to her New PLAY, Called LIKE FATHER, LIKE SON, OR THE Mistaken Brothers... Epilogue.... London, printed for J.V. (1682)

POEMS UPON SEVERAL OCCASIONS: WITH A VOYAGE TO THE Island of Love. London, printed for R. Tonson and J. Tonson (1684); T.C. II,73 (Easter 1684)

PINDARICK ON THE DEATH Of Our Late SOVEREIGN: WITH AN ANCIENT PROPHECY ON HIS Present MAJESTY. London, printed by J. Playford, for Henry Playford (1685); T.C. II,126 (Easter 1685)

'Rebellions Antidote: OR A DIALOGUE Between COFFEE and TEA' London, printed by George Croom (1685)

VALENTINIAN: A TRAGEDY. As 'tis Alter'd by the late EARL of ROCHESTER... London, printed for Timothy Goodwin (1685); T.C. II,99 (Michaelmas 1684)

A POEM HUMBLY DEDICATED To...CATHERINE QUEEN DOWAGER. ON THE DEATH OF HER DEAR LORD and HUSBAND King CHARLES II. London, printed by J. Playford for Henry Playford (1685); T.C. II,126 (Easter 1685)

A PINDARICK POEM ON THE HAPPY CORONATION Of His most Sacred MAJESTY JAMES II. AND His Illustrious Consort QUEEN MARY. London, printed by J. Playford for Henry Playford (1685); T.C. II,126 (Easter 1685)

TO Poet BAVIUS; OCCASION'D BY HIS SATYR He Writ in his VERSES TO THE KING, UPON THE QUEENS being Deliver'd OF A SON. London, printed for the Author (1688)

LYCIDUS: OR THE Lover in Fashion. Being an Account from LYCIDUS to LYSANDER, Of his Voyage from the ISLAND of LOVE. From the French...Together with a MISCELLANY OF New Poems. By Several HANDS. London, printed for Joseph Knight and Francis Saunders (1688); T.C. II,217 (Hilary 1687/8)

MISCELLANY POEMS UPON Several Occasions... London, printed for Peter Buck (1692)

WILLIAM ANDREWS CLARK MEMORIAL LIBRARY, LOS ANGELES

MISCELLANY, Being A COLLECTION OF POEMS By several Hands. Together with REFLECTIONS ON MORALITY, OR SENECA UNMASQUED. London, printed for J. Hindmarsh (1685); T.C. II,127 (Easter 1685)

THE Muses Mercury: OR THE MONTHLY MISCELLANY. Consisting of Poems,

Prologues, Songs, Sonnets, Translations.... London, printed by J.H. for Andrew Bell (1707–1708)

UNIVERSITY MICROFILMS INTERNATIONAL

A POEM TO Sir Roger L'Estrange, ON HIS THIRD PART OF THE HISTORY of the TIMES; Relating to the DEATH OF Sir EDMUND BURY-GODFREY. London, printed for Randal Taylor (1688)

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'Doubt' MS miscellany, Dc.3.76

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