



KATHERINE PHILIPS  
(1631/2-1664): PRINTED  
LETTERS 1697-1729

PAULA LOSCOCCO

The Early Modern Englishwoman:  
A Facsimile Library of Essential Works

Series II

Printed Writings, 1641–1700: Part 3

Volume 3

Katherine Philips (1631/2–1664):  
Printed Letters 1697–1729

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Selected and Introduced by

Paula Loscocco

General Editors

Betty S. Travitsky and Anne Lake Prescott

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# PREFACE

## BY THE GENERAL EDITORS

Until very recently, scholars of the early modern period have assumed that there were no Judith Shakespeares in early modern England. Much of the energy of the current generation of scholars has been devoted to constructing a history of early modern England that takes into account what women actually wrote, what women actually read, and what women actually did. In so doing, contemporary scholars have revised the traditional representation of early modern women as constructed both in their own time and in ours. The study of early modern women has thus become one of the most important – indeed perhaps the most important – means for the rewriting of early modern history.

*The Early Modern Englishwoman: A Facsimile Library of Essential Works* is one of the developments of this energetic reappraisal of the period. As the names on our advisory board and our list of editors testify, it has been the beneficiary of scholarship in the field, and we hope it will also be an essential part of that scholarship's continuing momentum.

*The Early Modern Englishwoman* is designed to make available a comprehensive and focused collection of writings in English from 1500 to 1750, both by women and for and about them. The three series of *Printed Writings* (1500–1640, 1641–1700, and 1701–1750) provide a comprehensive if not entirely complete collection of the separately published writings by women. In reprinting these writings we intend to remedy one of the major obstacles to the advancement of feminist criticism of the early modern period, namely the limited availability of the very texts upon which the field is based. The volumes in the facsimile library reproduce carefully chosen copies of these texts, incorporating significant variants (usually in appendices). Each text is preceded by a short introduction providing an overview of the life and work of a writer along with a survey of important scholarship. These works, we strongly believe, deserve a large readership – of historians, literary critics, feminist critics, and non-specialist readers.

*The Early Modern Englishwoman* also includes separate facsimile series of *Essential Works for the Study of Early Modern Women* and of *Manuscript Writings*. These facsimile series are complemented by *The Early Modern Englishwoman 1500–1750: Contemporary Editions*. Also under our general editorship, this series includes both old-spelling and



modernized editions of works by and about women and gender in early modern England.

New York City  
2007

## INTRODUCTORY NOTE

Katherine Philips was a major seventeenth-century poet and playwright who had the mixed fortune of being enshrined in posthumous volumes that both celebrated and misrepresented her achievement. Fortunately, recent research has clarified our understanding of who Philips was and how she conducted her literary career. Specifically, we now appreciate the quality of her work in many genres; the place her poems on beloved or idealized women have in traditions of early women's writing; the moral rigour of her political vision in which 1650s republican rule is countered by royalist sympathy and 1660s royalist rule by republican principle; and her skill in circulating her work, developing an audience, and building a literary career in ways that anticipate John Dryden's Restoration re-invention of authorship.

Philips died just as she was entering professional maturity. Primarily a manuscript poet, Philips had established an extensive coterie of readers and writers among her Welsh and London contacts during the 1650s. She became widely known for her innovative use of Donnean poetics to express passionate female friendship, her occasional verses on private friends and public figures, and her moral and political acuity. Early printed recognition of her work includes a poem by Henry Vaughan in his 1651 *Olor Iscanus* ('To the most Excellently accomplish'd, Mrs. K. Philips') and a dedication to Philips by Sir John Davies of Kidwelly in his 1659 *Hymen's Praeludia* detailing her mastery of languages and romance.

The Restoration saw new developments in Philips's coterie work. She wrote panegyrics to noble and royal women, including Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia; the Queen Mother, Henrietta Maria; Queen Catherine of Braganza; Anne Hyde, Duchess of York; and Mary Stuart, Princess of Orange. She also translated two tragedies by the French neoclassical playwright Pierre Corneille – *Pompée* and *Horace* (completed through Act IV, scene vi, lines 1–2). Philips published in new ways during the early 1660s as well. She had scribal copies of her work presented to potential patrons, oversaw *Pompey's* stage-performance in Dublin in 1663, and monitored her play's subsequent printings (and presentations) in Dublin and London. Several of Philips's writings saw print during her lifetime, though she remained mainly a manuscript writer. Three short poems were printed in the 1650s (in William Cartwright's 1651 *Comedies* and Henry Lawes's 1655 *Second Book of Ayres*); more substantial work was printed in 1662–63 (including a broadside welcoming Queen Catherine, three verses in a miscellany *Poems, By Several Persons*, and the Dublin and London editions of *Pompey*). Contemporary

printed recognition included commendatory poems by Roger Boyle, Earl of Orrery, and Abraham Cowley in the 1663 *Poems* ('To Orinda' and 'On *Orinda's* Poems'); a prologue by Wentworth Dillon, Earl of Roscommon, and an epilogue by Sir Edward Dering in *Pompey*; and prefatory verses by 'H.A.' and Cowley in Philips's 1664 *Poems* ('To the Incomparable Mrs. *K.P.* Author of these Poems' and 'To the most excellently accomplish'd, Mrs. *K.P.* upon her Poems'). In her 8 April 1663 letter to her friend, Sir Charles Cotterell (Charles II's Master of Ceremonies), Philips mentions several manuscript tributes.

Unfortunately, early recognition of Philips's multi-faceted career did not last. Contested editions of her poems in 1664 and 1667 have complicated her poetic afterlife. Though Philips denounced the 1664 *Poems* as a piracy that misprinted her texts and disrupted her modes of transmission, she did not live long enough to respond to it on her own professional terms. The posthumous *Poems* of 1667 made a bad situation worse: it built upon the repudiated piracy and recast the enterprising, innovative, and independent writer as authorially timid, ideologically conservative, and regressively feminine. While the folio edition (and its reprints) did grant Philips a uniquely prominent place in (women's) literary history, it ensured that that place went not to the actual poet of Philips's lifetime but rather to the idealized writer of the posthumous volumes.

Modern editors have challenged the canonicity of the 1667 *Poems* by returning to the manuscript sources of her works, several of which have been recovered only recently. (See in particular Beal's 1993 index of manuscripts, Thomas's volume of Philips's poetry, and Hageman and Sununu's forthcoming Oxford edition.) As even these editors acknowledge, however, her printed work remains an important part of Philips studies, since it provided her with a national reputation as early as 1651, was a vital element in her Restoration career, and presented the only Philips known to most contemporary and all later readers through the early 1990s. If there are in fact two different Philipses, as Hageman asserts (1994) – the able, inventive and self-determining professional of her lifetime and the hyper-decorous poet of the 'celebrated' posthumous volumes – they therefore have equal and important claims to our attention.

## **Katherine Philips**

Most of what we know about Philips's life may be found in Philip Souers's biography, as emended and expanded by later scholars. Philips was probably born on 1 January 1631/32; she was baptized in London on 11 January. She came from a privileged background: her parents were James Fowler, a wealthy London cloth merchant, and Katherine Oxenbridge, a gentlewoman

related by birth and marriage to the prominent puritans and parliamentarians John Oxenbridge, Oliver St. John and (later) Philip Skippon. Philips attended a Mrs. Salmon's Presbyterian school for girls in Hackney, where she developed lifelong friendships with Mary Harvey (later Dering) and 'Rosania' or Mary Aubrey (later Montague); she was fluent in French, knew Italian and was well-read in English and European literature.

After Philips's father's and her first stepfather's deaths, her mother married Sir Richard Phillips of Picton Castle in Pembrokeshire, Wales. In 1648, the 16-year-old Katherine married her new stepfather's relation, James Philips, who Elizabeth Hageman in a forthcoming essay shows was 24, not 54, at the marriage. Their children included James's infant daughter by his first marriage, Frances (whose death Philips mourned in 1660), Hector (born and buried in 1655 in London) and Katharine (born in 1656 in Wales and surviving into old age). A member of the Welsh gentry and a colonel in the Army, James sat in the Nominated Parliament, on the High Court of Justice and on the Committee of the Army, serving as a Cromwellian MP and Commissioner for the Propagation of the Gospel in Wales throughout the 1650s. The couple lived in London during sessions of Parliament and at Cardigan Priory in Wales during recesses. Philips's friends in Wales included her intimate female friend, 'Lucasia' or Anne (Lewis) Owen (later Marcus, Lady Dungannon); Vaughan; John Jeffreys; Jeremy Taylor; and Alice (Egerton) Vaughan, Countess of Carberry (*Comus's* 'Lady'). Her London friends included Aubrey, Harvey, Dering, Lawes, Francis Finch and John Berkenhead. Like others at the time, the Philipses had complex ideological ties: James had royalist friends and radical enemies; Katherine's sympathy with her colleagues' political and religious conservatism contrasted with her upbringing and marriage (which were Presbyterian and parliamentary) and with her written work (which bespeaks a nuanced political vision).

The Restoration cost James his parliamentary seat, land and money; Katherine worked (vainly) on his behalf, travelling to Dublin and London on business and exchanging favours with royalists to recover losses. Philips's own status as a writer rose during this time, however, earning her the friendship of James Butler, Duke of Ormonde and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and his daughter, Lady Mary (Butler) Cavendish; Orrery and his sister, Mary (Boyle) Rich, Countess of Warwick; his sister-in-law, Elizabeth (Clifford) Boyle, Countess of Cork; and his nieces, Frances (Boyle) Dillon, Countess of Roscommon; Elizabeth (Boyle) Tufton, Countess of Thanet; and Anne (Boyle) Montagu, Countess of Sandwich; Lady Elizabeth Ker, daughter of the Earl of Ancram; Gilbert Sheldon, Archbishop of Canterbury; Dorothy (Osborne) Temple; Roscommon; Cowley; and Cotterell. She was in London preparing work for publication when she died of smallpox on 22 June 1664 at 32 years of age.

‘To the Memory of the most Ingenious and Vertuous Gentleman Mr WIL:CARTVVRIGHT, my much valued Friend’ from *COMEDIES TRAGI-COMEDIES, With other POEMS, BY Mr WILLIAM CARTWRIGHT*

Philips’s first printed poem, ‘To ... Wil:Cartwright’, was the lead poem among over 50 commendatory verses prefacing the playwright’s posthumously collected works. Cartwright’s was a watershed volume in post-war political poetics, claiming puritan and republican piety, morality, and civil principle for Anglican and royalist politics, and bringing both to bear on English literary tradition. In this context, the young Philips may have been for her fellows-at-(literary)-arms what Joan of Arc was for hers, a godly woman inspiring men to righteous action. The poem appears three times in this facsimile edition: in Cartwright’s *Comedies* (π7v), in Philips’s 1664 *Poems* (145–46) and in the 1667 *Poems* (71).

‘To ... Wil:Cartwright’ (by ‘K.P.’) appeared in Cartwright’s *Comedies Tragi-Comedies, With Other Poems*, printed in London for T.R. and Humphrey Moseley in 1651. Copies are held at 32 libraries in the UK, Ireland, USA, Canada, France, Australia and New Zealand. This Ashgate facsimile of Philips’s poem reprints the poem from the Folger Shakespeare Library copy of Cartwright’s *Comedies*.

‘To the much honoured Mr. HENRY LAWES, On his Excellent Compositions in Musick’, ‘Mutuall Affection betweene *Orinda* and *Lucatia*’ and ‘*The TABLE*’ from *THE SECOND BOOK OF AYRES*

‘To ... *Henry Lawes*’ and ‘Mutuall Affection’ were first printed in a collection of poems and songs deriving from Lawes’s cultural gatherings in Commonwealth London. Philips was widely admired for ‘Mutuall Affection’ and other poems on female friendship; Finch (‘Friendship’) and Taylor (‘The Measures and Offices of Friendship’) wrote essays to her on the subject. Post-war royalist writers promoted friendship as an alternative to both cavalier licentiousness and republican passion, but Philips’s interest was at once more intimate and more philosophical: her verses push the boundaries of feeling and language to explore homoerotics and homopoetics. The Lawes poems appear three times in this facsimile edition: in Lawes’s *Second Book* (b and 26, misnumbered as 46), Philips’s 1664 *Poems* (37–39 and 43–45) and the 1667 *Poems* (18–19 and 21–22).

‘To ... *Henry Lawes*’ (by ‘Katharine Philips’) and ‘Mutuall Affection’ (identified in the ‘*TABLE*’ as being by ‘Mrs. Catherine Philips’) appeared in Lawes’s *The Second Book of Ayres, and Dialogues*, printed in London by Thomas Harper for John Playford in 1655. Copies are held at eight libraries in the UK and USA. This Ashgate facsimile of Philips’s poems

from the *Second Book* reprints them from the Huntington Library copy of Lawes's *Second Book*.

*TO THE QUEENS MAJESTY ON HER Happy Arrival*

*To The Queens Majesty* celebrates the May 1662 arrival of Charles II's new consort, Catherine of Braganza. The poem is one of several Restoration poems on royal women in which Philips redefines romance notions of female heroism: 'On the Death of the Queen of Bohemia' (see below) offers a double-gendered heroic, for example, while 'To the Duchess of York' (also below) and *To The Queens Majesty* use Petrarchan poetics to establish a homosocial bond between female poet and patron. The poet-patron bond governed Philips's dissemination of these panegyrics. Her efforts to control publication – evident in her 15 April 1663 letter to Cotterell on how her 'Copy of Verses to the Queen' were 'false printed' (1705 *Letters* 127) and in her recruiting him to disseminate other poems at court – reflect her determination that only authorised copies circulate and that presentation copies supersede broad circulation. *To The Queens Majesty* appears three times in this facsimile edition: as a broadside, in Philips's 1664 *Poems* (10–13) and in the 1667 *Poems* (5–7).

*To The Queens Majesty* was printed anonymously in London for Henry Herringman in 1662; it was identified as Philips's by Hageman in 1995. This Ashgate facsimile reprints the Harvard University copy of Philips's broadside, which is the sole known North American copy. The other known copy is held at Worcester College Library, Oxford University.

'Ode. On Retirement', 'To the Right Honourable, the Lady Mary Butler, at Her Marriage to the Lord Cavendish', 'The Irish Greyhound', commendatory verses and 'The Table' from *POEMS, BY Several Persons*

'On Retirement', 'To ... Mary Butler', 'The Irish Greyhound' and other relevant texts from *Poems, By Several Persons* were first printed in a 1663 miscellany probably compiled by Cowley. Philips visited the poet in his Chertsey retreat and in his honour wrote two poems, 'Upon Mr. Abraham Cowley's Retirement' and 'Upon the Graving of her Name upon a Tree in Barn-Elms Walk'. The 1663 miscellany included Cowley's own ode to Philips, 'On *Orinda's* Poems' (reprinted in the 1664 and 1667 *Poems*) as well as Orrery's companion tribute, 'To *Orinda*' (reprinted in the 1667 *Poems*). A fellow dramatist seeking royal patronage, Orrery supported Philips in her work on *Pompey* and oversaw her play's Dublin staging. In her 15 May 1663 letter to Cotterell, Philips refers to 'a Miscellaneous Collection of Poems' among which 'the Printer has thought fit, tho' without my Consent or Privity, to publish two or three Poems of mine' (1705

*Letters* 146). The poems appear several times in this edition: ‘*On Retirement*’ appears in the 1663 *Poems* (45–48), in Philips’s 1664 *Poems* (237–42) and in the 1667 *Poems* (122–24); ‘*To ... Mary Butler*’ appears in the 1663 *Poems* (51–52) only; ‘*The Irish Greyhound*’ appears in the 1663 *Poems* (54) and Philips’s 1667 *Poems* (125).

‘*On Retirement*’, ‘*To ... Mary Butler*’ and ‘*The Irish Greyhound*’ (identified in the ‘Table’ as being ‘By a Lady’) appeared in *Poems, By Several Persons*, printed in Dublin by John Crooke for Samuel Dancer in 1663. This Ashgate facsimile of these texts reprints the Folger Shakespeare Library copy of the 1663 *Poems*, which is believed to be unique.

### *POMPEY. A Tragoedy*

The first drama by a woman on the British stage, *Pompey* was first performed at John Ogilby’s new Smock Alley Theatre in Dublin in February 1663, appeared in presentation copies and printed editions in Dublin and London, and set Philips firmly on the path to court patronage and national reputation. Corneille’s *Pompée* is a meditation on the value of stoic self-control amid competing political and social loyalties; Philips’s translation pushes the original to republican (see Shifflett) and proto-feminist relevance in Restoration England. In her letters to Cotterell from 20 August 1662 to 24 December 1663, Philips discusses the evolution of *Pompey* during her stay in Ireland, where she was visiting ‘Lucasia’ and attending to her husband James’s affairs: she notes Orrery’s support, the completion of a draft by October 1662, the circulation of manuscript copies (including one presented to the Duchess of York), a rival translation by prominent court ‘Wits’, Jeffreys’s settings for her original entr’acte songs, and Cotterell’s presentation of a print copy to Charles II (1705 *Letters* 63–209). (For manuscript versions of Philips’s translation, see Beal [1993 *Index*], Hageman and Sununu [1993] and Greer and Little [1993].) This volume reproduces the Dublin *Pompey* and the play in Philips’s 1667 *Poems* (second pagination 1–65), but not the 1663 London reprint.

*Pompey* was first printed in Dublin by John Crooke for Samuel Dancer in 1663. The play was anonymous, perhaps to allow for personally inscribed presentation copies, but known to have been by Philips. Philips’s dedicatory poem, ‘*To the Right Honourable the Countess of Cork*’, appears in the 1667 *Poems* (Fff–Fffv). Copies are held at five libraries in the UK and USA. This Ashgate facsimile reprints the Folger Shakespeare Library copy of *Pompey*.

*POEMS. By the Incomparable, Mrs. K.P.*

On 25 November 1663, Richard Marriott entered *Poems* into the Register of the Worshipful Company of Stationers; on 14 January 1663/64, *The Newes* advertised the collection of 74 verses; on 18 January, probably at the request of Cotterell and Jeffreys, Marriott placed an apologetic note in *The Intelligencer* and withdrew the volume from sale. In Wales, Philips angrily denounced the printing in a 22 January letter to Lady Temple (Souers 220–23, Thomas II.137–42); on 29 January, she decried it in private and public letters to Cotterell (1705 *Letters* 219–37).

Philips's earlier record in manuscript and print publication makes it hard to evaluate the controversial 1664 *Poems*, which Philips repudiated for having disrupted her texts and lines of transmission, but which became the basis for the canonical *Poems* of 1667. Had Philips wanted to publish her poems individually (in manuscript or print), as she had done to date? Had she compiled a volume like the 1664 *Poems* for private presentation and/or wider publication (in manuscript or print), only to have it stolen? Had she compiled an altogether different volume, only to have it pre-empted by one not of her own making? We cannot know the answers, but the questions explain Philips's prominence in critical debates about coterie practice, print publication, patronage, literary professionalism, and the role of gender in Restoration culture.

*POEMS. By the Incomparable, Mrs. K.P.* was printed in London by John Grismond for Richard Marriott in 1664. Copies are held at 16 libraries in the UK, USA and New Zealand. This Ashgate facsimile reprints the Huntington Library copy of the 1664 *Poems*.

*POEMS By the most deservedly Admired Mrs. KATHERINE PHILIPS The matchless ORINDA. To which is added MONSIEUR CORNEILLE'S POMPEY & HORACE, TRAGEDIES. With several other Translations out of FRENCH*

The first volume of posthumously collected and printed works by an English woman writer, the 1667 *Poems* was a major event in women's literary history (Beal 1998). The elaborate folio expanded upon the 1664 *Poems* to include versions of most but not all of Philips's poems, translations, and dramatic writings, including the unfinished *Horace*; its editor, long assumed to be Cotterell, is unknown (Thomas II). Preceding Philips's works are an engraving by William Faithorne, an anonymous 'Preface' that features the poet's 29 January 1664 letter to Cotterell disowning the pirated *Poems*, and seven commendatory verses by contemporary admirers: 'The Earl of Orrery to Mrs. Philips', 'The Earl of Roscommon to Orinda: an imitation of Horace', 'Upon Mrs. K. Philips her Poems' by Cowley, 'To



the Excellent *Orinda*' by Philo-Philippa, 'To the Memory of the Excellent *Orinda*' by James Tyrrell, 'To the memory of the incomparable *Orinda*. A Pindarick Ode' by Thomas Flatman, and 'On the Death of M<sup>rs</sup> *Katherine Philips*' by Cowley. Other printed tributes include Sir William Temple's unsigned 1664 folio *Upon the Death of Mrs. Catherine Philips* and John Crouch's *An Elegie, Upon the Death of the most Incomparable, Mrs. Katharine Philips* (Greer and Little 205–9), plus Vaughan's 'To the Editor of the matchless *Orinda*' from his 1678 *Thalia Rediviva* (22–23). Reprints appeared in 1669 and 1678 (with John Denham's loosely translated ending to *Horace*) and in 1710 (with Charles Cotton's closely translated ending).

If the 1667 folio was a major event in women's literary history, however, it is a major problem in Philips scholarship, given its success in obscuring her lifetime achievement of major works published through coterie transmission, stagings, presentation copies and print. The posthumous *Poems* builds on an unauthorized edition whose texts and mode of publication Philips publicly and privately disavowed; its preface turns her highly conventional apologetic response to the 1664 piracy into a portrait of the artist as a hyper-feminized young woman; and its hagiographical tributes portray her as royalist patriarchy's favourite daughter. This was the Philips who became canonical through the 1667 *Poems* and its reprints, albeit to decidedly mixed reviews: the darling of eighteenth-century compilers of 'eminent lady' writers, she has been nearly anathema to modern scholars, including scholars of early modern women. Now that we have Thomas's and Greer and Little's editions of her writings (1990–93) and Hageman and Sununu's work on manuscript and print transmission of her texts, and will soon have their forthcoming edition of her collected works, we can better appreciate Philips's skill in using various technologies of publication to develop audiences for her many, varied and often brilliant writings.

For an alternative posthumous compilation, see the 'Rosania MS', a 400-page presentation copy of her works assembled by William Temple and dedicated to Aubrey; its ordering and versions of texts vary both from other major manuscript sources and from the 1664 and 1667 *Poems* (Hageman and Sununu 1995, Beal 1998). Other major surviving manuscript collections include a 1650s autograph collection ('Tutin MS'), an early 1650s miscellany ('Cardiff MS'), a pre-1663 collection in Dering's hand ('Dering MS') and another pre-1663 miscellany ('Clarke MS'). See Beal, Brashear, Greer and Little, Hageman and Sununu, Limbert, Mambretti, Moody and Thomas.

*Poems* was printed in London by John Macock for Henry Herringman in 1667. (Marriott had resigned all rights to Philips's poems to Henry Herringman on 21 January 1666/67.) Copies are held at 29 libraries in the UK, Ireland, USA, Canada, and Australia. Previous reprints of this landmark

volume suffer from omissions: George Saintsbury omits the frontispiece and plays (but includes their songs); Travis DuPriest omits the frontispiece and plays. This Ashgate facsimile reprints the entire Huntington Library copy of the 1667 *Poems*.

‘LETTERS By the late Celebrated Mrs. *Katherine Phillips*. The Fam’d *ORINDA*, TO THE Honourable *BERENICE*’ from *Familiar Letters*

The generation after Philips remembered her less as a poet, dramatist and saint and more as a model of epistolary elegance whose presence added lustre to the fashionable *Familiar Letters* of the late Lord Rochester and his literary peers. Philips’s reputation derived partly from the courteous nature of her correspondence and partly from her printed letters’ conformity to eighteenth-century standards of periodic excellence (Hageman 1994). The ‘Berenice’ addressed in Philips’s first four printed letters is almost certainly Lady Ker.

Philips’s ‘Letters’ (134–51, misnumbered as ‘138–155’) appeared in Volume I of *Familiar Letters: Written by the Right Honourable John late Earl of Rochester, And several other Persons of Honour and Quality*, printed in London by W. Onley for Samuel Briscoe in 1697. Copies are held at 18 libraries in the UK, USA and New Zealand. This Ashgate facsimile of Philips’s four letters reprints the Folger Shakespeare Library copy of *Familiar Letters*.

#### *LETTERS FROM ORINDA TO POLIARCHUS*

Philips’s stature as a letter-writer derives principally from the letters she wrote to Cotterell from Ireland, Wales and finally London in 1661–1664, in which she spins the triple tale of Cotterell’s (failed) courtship of ‘Lucasia’, her own developing work on *Pompey* and the 1664 piracy. As Hageman notes (1994), these letters are as much texts to be studied in their own right as they are revealing commentary on the writer’s work-in-progress. The only letter printed during the Restoration was Philips’s 29 January 1664 denunciation of the piracy, which appeared in the preface of the 1667 *Poems*. A total of 48 letters, including the 1667 protest, was collected and published in 1705 as *Letters from Orinda to Poliarchus*; a final letter (‘Letter XIX’) was added to the volume in its second edition of 1729. No letters from Cotterell to Philips have been found. Thomas’s comparison of the 1667 and 1705 versions of the 29 January 1664 letter reveals minor but pervasive modifications likely designed to bring Philips’s prose in line with contemporary epistolary standards (II.147–52). Similar conclusions can be drawn from the single letter to Cotterell added to the 1729 *Letters*, for which an autograph copy exists. Two other autograph letters exist:

Philips's 1664 letter to Dorothy Temple (Souers 220–23, Thomas II.137–42) and a Restoration letter to Dering (Beal 1993 'Orinda').

*Letters from Orinda to Poliarchus* was printed in London by W. B. for Bernard Lintott in 1705. Copies are held at 21 libraries in the UK, USA, Ireland and Australia. This Ashgate facsimile reprints the Folger Shakespeare Library copy of the 1705 *Letters*.

'Letter XIX' from *LETTERS FROM ORINDA TO POLIARCHUS. The Second Edition, With ADDITIONS*

The single addition to the first edition is 'Letter XIX' (78–86), which derives from Philips's sole known autograph letter to Cotterell.

'Letter XIX' first appeared in *Letters from Orinda to Poliarchus. The Second Edition, With Additions*, printed in London for Bernard Lintott in 1729. Copies are held at six libraries in the USA, UK and New Zealand. This Ashgate facsimile of 'Letter XIX' reprints the Harvard University copy of Philips's 1729 *Letters*.

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# LETTERS

By the late Celebrated

*M<sup>rs</sup> Katherine Phillips.*

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The Fam'd *ORINDA*,

T O T H E

Honourable *BERENICE.*

**Y**OUR Ladiship's last Favour from  
 Coll. P——'s was truly obliging,  
 and carried so much of the same great  
 Soul of yours, which loves to diffuse it  
 self in Expressions of Friendship to me,  
 that it merits a great deal more Acknow-  
 ledgment than I am able to pay at my best  
 Condition, and am less now when my  
 Head akes, and will give me no leave to  
 enlarge,

*Letters by Mrs K. Phillips.* 139

enlarge, though I have so much Subject and Reason; but really if my Heart ak'd too, I could be sensible of a very great Kindness and Condescention in thinking me worthy of your Concern, though I visibly perceive most of my Letters have lost their way to your Ladiship. I beseech you be pleased first to believe I have written every Post; but, secondly, since I came, and then to enquire for them, that they may be commended into your hands, where alone they can hope for a favourable residence; I am very much a Sharer by Sympathy, in your Ladiship's satisfaction in the Converse you had in the Country, and find that to that ingenious Company Fortune hath been just, there being no Person fitter to receive all the Admiration of Persons best capable to pay them, than the great *Berenice*: I hope your Ladiship will speak me a real Servant of *Dr. Wilkins*; and all that Converse with you, have enrich'd all this Summer with yours. I humbly thank your Ladiship for your Promise of *Mr. Boyle's Book*, which indeed merits a publick, not View only, but Universal Applause, if my Vote be considerable in things so much above me. If it be possible, oblige me with the sight  
of

of one of them, which (if your Ladieship command it) shall be very faithfully return'd you. And now (Madam) why was that a cruel Question, When will you come to *Wales*? 'Tis cruel to me, I confess, that it is yet in question, but I humbly beg your Ladieship to unriddle that part of your Letter, for I cannot understand why you, Madam, who have no Persons alive to whom your Birth hath submitted you, and have already by your Life secur'd to your self the best Opinion the World can give you, should create an Awe upon your own Actions, from imaginary Inconveniencies: Happiness, I confess, is twofac'd, and one is Opinion; but that Opinion is certainly *our own*; for it were equally ridiculous and impossible to shape our *Actions* by others *Opinions*. I have had so much (and some sad) reason to discuss this Principle, that I can speak with some confidence, That *none will ever be happy, who make their Happiness to consist in, or be govern'd by the Votes of other Persons*. I deny not but the Approbation of Wise and Good Persons is a very necessary Satisfaction; but to forbear innocent Contentments, only because it's possible some Fancies may be

so

*Letters by Mrs. K. Phillips.* 141

so capricious as to dispute, whether I should have taken them, is, in my Belief, neither better nor worse than to fast always, because there are some so superstitious in the World, that will abstain from Meat, upon some Score or other, upon every day in the Year, that is, some upon some days, and others upon others, and some upon all. You know, Madam, there is nothing so various as *Vulgar Opinion*; nothing so untrue to it self, who shall then please since none can fix it, 'tis a Heresie (this of submitting to every blast of popular extravagancy) which I have combated in Persons very dear to me; *Dear Madam*, let them not have your Authority for a relapse, when I had almost committed them; but consider it without a byass, and give Sentence as you see cause; and in that interim put me not off (*Dear Madam*) with those Chymera's, but tell me plainly what inconvenience is it to come? If it be one in earnest, I will submit, but otherwise I am so much my own Friend, and my Friend's Friend, as not to be satisfied with your Ladiship's taking measure of your Actions by others Opinion, when I know too that the severest could find nothing in this Journey that they

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142 *Letters by Mrs. K. Phillips.*

could condemn, but your excess of Charity to me, and that Censure you have already supported with Patience, and (notwithstanding my own conscioufness of no ways deserving your sufferance upon that score) I cannot beg you to recover the Reputation of your Judgment in that particular, since it must be my Ruine. I should now say very much for your most obliging Commands to me, to write, and should beg frequent Letters from your Ladiship with all possible importunity, and should by command from my *Lucaſia* excuse her last Rudeness (as she calls it) in giving you account of her Honour for you under her own Hand, but I must beg your pardon now, and out-believing all, I can say upon every one of these accounts, for really, *Madam*, you cannot tell how to imagine any Person more to any one, than I am,

*Madam,*

June the 25th,  
Priory of Car-  
digan.

*Your Ladiship's  
most faithful Servant,  
and passionate Friend,*

**Orinda.**

*Lucaſia*

*Letters by Mrs. K. Phillips.* 143

*Lucasta* is most faithfully your Servant,  
I am very glad of Mr. *Cowley's* success,  
and will concern my self so much as to  
thank your Ladiship for your endeavour  
in it.

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To

To the Honourable

*B E R E N I C E.*

Dear M A D A M,

I Have been so long silent, that I profess I am now ashamed almost to beg your Pardon, and were not confidence in your Ladieship's Goodness a greater respect than the best Address in the World, I should scarce believe my self capable of remission, but when your Ladieship shall know more fully then Papers can express, how much and how many ways I have suffered, you will rather wonder that I write at all, then that I have not written in a Week, when you shall hear that my Dear *Lucasia* by a strange unfortunate Sickness of her Mother's hath been kept from me, for three Weeks longer than I expected, and is not yet come: I have had some difficulty to live, and truly, *Madam*, so I have, and more difficulty to  
be

*Letters by Mrs. K. Phillips.* 145

be silent to you, but that in earnest my disorder was too great to write: *Dear Madam*, pardon and pity me, and to express that you do both be pleased to hasten hither, where I shall pour all my Trouble into your Bosom, and receive thence all that Consolation which I never in my Life more needed than I now do. You see, *Madam*, my Presumption, or rather Distraction to leap from Confessions into Petitions, and those for advantages so much above my merit; but what is that that the dear Great *Berenice* can deny her faithful *Orinda*? And what is it that *Orinda* would not do or suffer to obtain that sweet and desired Converse, she now begs of you, I am confident my *Lucasia* will suddenly be here to thank you for your Charity, which you will by coming express to me, and the Obligation you will put upon her by it, both which shall be equally and constantly acknowledged (if you will please to hasten it) by

*Your faithfully  
affectionate Friend,  
and humble Servant,  
ORINDA.*

Nov. 2,  
1658.



To the Honourable

*B E R E N I C E.*

**I** Must confess my self extremely troubled, to miss a Letter from your Ladiship in a whole Fortnight, but I must beg you to beleive your silence did not occasion mine; for my Ambition to converse with you, and advantage in being allow'd it, is too great for me to decline any opportunity which I can improve to obtain so much happiness; But really the box of Gloves and Ribbons miss'd a conveniency of going, and a Letter that attended them partak'd in the same misfortune; by this time and some days before it I hope they have reach'd you, for they were sent away above a week ago, and if so, all that I can tell you of my Desires to see your Ladiship will be repetition, for I had with as much earnest-