

THE CAMBRIDGE EDITION
OF THE WORKS OF
ANNE FINCH
Countess of Winchilsea

Early Manuscript Books

Volume 1



Edited by Jennifer Keith
with Claudia Thomas Kairoff

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Jennifer Keith, General Editor

Volume 1
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Volume 2
Later Collections, Print and Manuscript



Miniature portrait (c. 1685) of Anne Finch by Peter Cross
(c. 1645–1724). ©National Portrait Gallery, London

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VOLUME 1
EARLY MANUSCRIPT BOOKS

Jennifer Keith, Text and Commentary
Claudia Thomas Kairoff, Commentary

Jean I. Marsden, Associate Editor
Commentary on the Plays

with the assistance of Rachel Bowman



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ILLUSTRATIONS

FRONTISPIECE Miniature portrait (*c.* 1685) of Anne Finch by Peter Cross (*c.* 1645–1724). ©National Portrait Gallery, London

- 1 Diagram showing the overlap of major authorized collections [*page* [cxvii](#)]
- 2 Title page of “Poems On Several Subjects Written By Ardelia” (Finch-Hatton MS 283). By kind permission of the Northamptonshire Record Office [[clxv](#)]
- 3 From “Poems On Several Subjects Written By Ardelia” (Finch-Hatton MS 283), page 36, showing a fair copy in an unidentified hand of “A Letter to Dafnis” (spelled “Daphnis” in Finch-Hatton MS 283) and a portion of canceled lines in “A Letter to Mr Finch from Tunbridge Wells.” By kind permission of the Northamptonshire Record Office [[2](#)]
- 4 Title page of “Miscellany Poems With Two Plays By Ardelia” (Folger MS N.b.3). By permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library [[20](#)]
- 5 From “Miscellany Poems With Two Plays By Ardelia” (Folger MS N.b.3), page 239, showing Finch’s corrections to Heneage’s transcription of “All Is Vanity.” By permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library [[332](#)]

PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This edition began without my intending it. In 2003 I enquired about the status of Carol Barash's edition of Finch's poetry because I wished to have the benefits of her edition for a book I was planning to write about Finch's work. Barash indicated that she was no longer working on the edition and generously lent me a box of materials that she had been researching for the Finch edition (materials that I can, at long last, return to her). After studying the treasure chest, I decided to edit a one-volume scholarly edition of Finch's poems. In 2008, Linda Bree of Cambridge University Press and I commenced our discussion of the edition and in time extended its scope to include Finch's plays and fuller commentary. The one-volume edition became two.

In the first six years of my work on the edition, from 2004 to the summer of 2010, I had completed a large portion of the archival research to establish the texts for the edition; developed transcription standards for manuscript and print materials used, and emendation protocols for final texts constructed for the edition; proposed, tested, and revised editorial principles and methods for constructing and presenting the texts; determined the copy-texts; constructed the arrangement in which to present Finch's works; and designed the parameters of the commentary and systematized its features and range of contexts.

In 2009, I asked Claudia Thomas Kairoff to join the edition as co-editor, to work especially on the commentary, and in the summer of 2010 she began. Although I have had chief editorial responsibility for establishing the texts and textual notes, Claudia has also participated in the proofreading of transcriptions, collations, and analysis of the transmission of the texts. While I developed the initial parameters of, and standardized the contexts for, commentary on the poems, Claudia composed the first draft of each poem's commentary, bravely facing

the white page, after which she and I continued to revise the commentaries at different stages of the edition. She also wrote the initial drafts of most sections of our general introductions and the section “Revisions and Rediscoveries in the Twentieth and Twenty-first Centuries,” which appears in the longer essay by Rachel Bowman, “A Reception and Transmission History of Finch’s Work: Illustrative Cases from the Eighteenth, Nineteenth, and Early Twentieth Centuries,” in Volume 2 of this edition. Claudia took on entire responsibility for identifying the complex biographical information. I am grateful to Claudia for bringing not only her expertise in eighteenth-century poetry but also her unshakable equanimity to a project that seemed to grow larger and more complicated every day. In working together, we regularly revisited and revised policies and procedures for the edition as a whole. Her work on the commentaries has been invaluable: the breadth and depth of her research will provide a far richer context than ever before available for understanding Finch’s poetry.

Because of Jean I. Marsden’s expertise in drama, Claudia and I asked her to join the edition as associate editor to compose the commentary on Finch’s two plays, which appear in Volume 1 of this edition. Jean also composed the section on the plays in the “General Introduction” to Volume 1. I deeply appreciate her willingness to work on the commentary when she was busy with many other scholarly obligations. Her commentary on Finch’s plays will prove indispensable to future research on them.

Beginning in 2010, Rachel Bowman worked with me as a research assistant to refine the design of the edition, organize the workflow of documents, advise on a number of decisions large and small, research materials for the edition, proofread, and collate. Her ability to consider the relation of minute particulars to the meaning of the edition as a whole was invaluable.

In 2013, Molly Hand began contributing to this project. She has been the researcher’s researcher and editor’s editor: her scholarship, judgment, and editorial acumen have been essential to bringing this work to its finished form.

Editors of scholarly editions know well the series of complex decisions and interdisciplinary expertise that this work demands.

Many superb scholars generously gave time to this edition when they were busy with their own work. My words cannot express the deep gratitude I feel for their willingness to share their knowledge and sacrifice their time.

R. Carter Hailey brought his deep expertise in bibliography to the collation of multiple issues of Finch's one authorized print volume. I thank him for his collations of multiple copies of the print volume and for the analysis of variants he provides in his essay included in Volume 2 of this edition (see Hailey's "Textual Variation in Finch's Authorized Print Volume").

A. E. B. Coldiron came to my rescue without fail, righting the ship of this edition when it entered seas unknown. I am grateful to her for sharing her vast knowledge of textual theory and the history and theory of early modern translation. Most importantly, she helped me find solutions to the many problems that arose when the material conditions of Finch's oeuvre would not submit to traditional editorial theories and practices.

James Woolley always replied, with kindness and what seemed an unlimited knowledge of editorial theory and textual complexity, to the excessive number of questions I posed to him. I am grateful to him for detailed conversations about policies, presentation, and editorial judgment.

Stephen Karian generously advised me on the presentation and organization of materials and repeatedly referred me to crucial resources. I thank him for his outstanding guidance.

Ian Gadd helped repeatedly with my questions concerning the print contexts of Finch's work. I thank him for his generosity.

Years of archival research for this edition taught me how indebted I am to the knowledge and selflessness of archivists, manuscript and book curators, catalogers, digitization specialists, and so many others who enabled me to find what I was seeking and more. I wish to thank the staff of the following libraries and repositories for their generous help: the Beinecke Library of Yale University, The Bodleian, the British Library, the Brotherton Library at the University of Leeds, Bryn Mawr Special Collections, the Cambridge University Library, Dundee University Archives, the Hampshire Record Office, the

Harrowby Manuscript Trust at Sandon Hall, the Hertfordshire Record Office, the Houghton Library of Harvard University, the Huntington Library, the Kent History and Library Centre, the Lewis Walpole Library of Yale University, the Library of Congress, the Longleat Library and Archives, the Morgan Library, the New York Public Library, the Newberry Library, the Northamptonshire Record Office, the University of Chicago Library, the University of Nottingham Library, the Wellesley College Library Special Collections, and the William Andrews Clark Memorial Library. Special thanks are due to Juliette Baxter of the Northamptonshire Record Office who helped with my questions over the years concerning Finch's Northamptonshire Manuscript. I am grateful to Ruth R. Rogers and Mariana Oller of the Wellesley College Library Special Collections: they spent many hours sharing their expertise with me during the years I worked on Finch's Wellesley Manuscript. I am grateful to Martin Holmes of the Bodleian Library for his help with researching reprintings of Finch's songs.

Members of the Wye Historical Society, particularly Averil Clayton, Maureen de Saxe, and the late J. Donald Sykes, kindly provided information about Finch's contexts in Kent.

I wish to thank my colleagues in the English Department at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro for their intellectual support and friendship: Denise Baker, Michelle Dowd, Jennifer Feather, Mary Ellis Gibson (now at the University of Glasgow), Christopher Hodgkins, Amy Vines, and Anne Wallace. Denise Baker gave much of her time to the intellectual and practical support of this edition. I am grateful to William Finley and Paul Hessling of the University Libraries of the University of North Carolina at Greensboro. Barbara Hemphill, Charna Howson (now at Appalachian State University), Terri Shelton, and William Walters supported this project at a pivotal moment in its development.

Funding from the following institutions was crucial to the completion of this project: the Women's Caucus Fellowship for Editing and Translation from the American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies, the Richard H. Popkin Travel Award from the American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies, the Linda Arnold Carlisle

Research Excellence Award for Women's and Gender Studies at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro. Had it not been for the support of the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH), this edition would have required twenty-two years instead of thirteen. I wish to express my deep appreciation for a long-term fellowship awarded by the NEH when this work was designed as a shorter one-volume edition. This edition has been made possible in part by that fellowship and by a major grant from the NEH: a three-year Scholarly Editions and Translations Award. I am grateful for the NEH's support of this work. Any views, findings, conclusions, or recommendations expressed in this edition do not necessarily represent those of the NEH.

Cost-sharing and other support from the University of North Carolina at Greensboro was crucial to providing time for work on the edition. I also wish to thank the university for a one-semester research leave and funding (including the Kohler International Travel Fund) to defray the expenses of travel to archives in the United Kingdom.

For their vital encouragement, I wish to thank Michael Ananian, Judith Boyd, and Laura Keith.

I dedicate these volumes to Michael Ananian: I could not have done this without him.

Jennifer Keith

After many conversations with Jennifer Keith over the years about her projected edition of Finch's works, I was delighted when she invited me to join her for the final stages of its preparation. Jennifer once remarked that I would eventually feel as if I knew Anne and Heneage Finch. I can now affirm that drafting the explanatory notes and general introductions to these volumes, assisting with textual issues, and poring over manuscripts have indeed made me feel personally acquainted with the Finches. I thank Jennifer for this opportunity, and especially for her dedication, expertise, and leadership throughout this project. I join with Jennifer in thanking the institutions and scholars acknowledged above, in particular A. E. B. Coldiron, Ian Gadd, and R. Carter Hailey.

My debts to Wake Forest University (WFU) colleagues and departments begin at the top, with President Nathan O. Hatch, who never fails, when our paths cross, to inquire after this project. WFU provided me with leave for the spring and fall of 2011, permitting me to immerse myself in Finch's works. The William C. Archie Fund for Faculty Excellence and the Research and Publication Fund have made possible my travel to collections and purchase of various permissions, digital images, and services. The former Dean of the College Jacqueline Fetrow and her Office, especially Associate Dean Rebecca Thomas, have been unfailingly supportive. Mary Foskett of the WFU Humanities Center has been gracious in her encouragement. Former Associate Provost for Research Mark Welker, and Stephen L. Williams, Assistant Director of the Office of Research and Sponsored Programs, provided help with cost-sharing and administration of funds received from the NEH Scholarly Editions and Translations Grant. Scott Klein, Chair of the English Department, has been especially responsive with encouragement and support, as have Connie Green and Peggy Barrett, Administrative Coordinators of the WFU English Department. Not the least of their favors was to provide me with excellent graduate-student assistants, named below. My departmental and campus colleagues, including Wanda Balzano, Anne Boyle, Mary DeShazer, Dean Franco, Jefferson Holdridge, David Lubin, Gillian Overing, Olga Valbuena, Byron Wells, and many more, have been gratifyingly helpful and curious. Jessica Richard, my yoke-mate in eighteenth-century literature studies, even took time from directing our College program in London to complete some research for us at the British Library. I am grateful to Dean Lynn Sutton and the staff of the Z. Smith Reynolds Library at Wake Forest, especially Ellen Daugman and Travis Manning.

Finally, I wish to thank my siblings, Elizabeth and David J. Butler, and Robyn and John J. Thomas III, for supporting me with good humor and hospitality. Above all, I thank my spouse, Peter Kairoff, for unflagging support throughout the years I have worked on *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Anne Finch*; I dedicate this edition to him.

Claudia Thomas Kairoff

Together we wish to thank the following persons and institutions who have supported this edition. Our thanks to all members of the editorial and production teams at Cambridge University Press who worked on these volumes. We are grateful for the editorial direction of this project there, and wish especially to thank Linda Bree for her guidance of this edition and Anna Bond for her help with the final stages of preparing the manuscript for production. We thank Victoria Parrin, Senior Content Manager, for her careful attention to the demanding details of this edition. Leigh Mueller, the copy-editor of this edition, brought her outstanding expertise and intelligence, as well as stamina and patience, to her work on these volumes. We wish to express here our appreciation for her superb dedication to the edition. We are indebted to Bethany Thomas, whose generous actions ensured the well-being of this edition. The anonymous reader of the completed volumes of this edition deserves special thanks for sharing a deep knowledge of textual editing and manuscript and print history to make this edition better.

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critical studies of Finch's work by Barbara McGovern and Charles H. Hinnant have been indispensable to us.

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The Folger Shakespeare Library and its staff merit our special thanks: the ever-helpful and knowledgeable staff, even more than the renowned collection including the largest Finch manuscript, played a central role in our preparation of Volume 1 of this edition. We are especially grateful to the following experts at the Folger Shakespeare Library who tirelessly advised on matters pertaining to this edition: J. Franklin Mowery, Heather Wolfe, and Georgianna Ziegler. Michael Poston's development of the Dromio collation software was indispensable to the efficiency and accuracy of our analysis of textual variants. Special thanks are due to Carol Brobeck for her support of this edition. We are grateful to Elizabeth Walsh, the Head of Reader Services, and the reading room staff: LuEllen DeHaven, Alan Katz, Rosalind Larry, and Camille Seerattan.

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Jennifer Keith and Claudia Thomas Kairoff

CHRONOLOGY

This chronology, although not comprehensive, includes events significant to Anne Finch's biography, selected contexts in which she wrote, the people and places featured in her work, and the first printing of individual works during her lifetime, with the exception of those first printed in the authorized volume *Miscellany Poems, on Several Occasions* (1713). For clarity, Anne Finch, *née* Kingsmill, is identified as AF throughout. Heneage Finch is identified as HF.

1654

February 21: Sir William Kingsmill (1613–61) marries Anne Haslewood (d. 1664; daughter of Sir Anthony and Elizabeth Haslewood of Maidwell, Northamptonshire); they will be the parents of Anne Kingsmill (later Anne Finch and Countess of Winchilsea).

c. 1655

AF's older brother, William Kingsmill, is born.

1657

January 3: Heneage Finch (HF), the second son of Heneage Finch, third Earl of Winchilsea (1627/28–89), and Lady Mary Seymour (d. 1672), is born.
June: AF's older sister, Bridget Kingsmill, is born.

1661

April: AF is born at Sydmonton, Hampshire, third child of Sir William Kingsmill and Anne Haslewood.
September 3: AF's father, Sir William Kingsmill, is buried.

1662

October: AF's mother marries Sir Thomas Ogle shortly after the marriage license is issued by Canterbury's Faculty Office on October 7.

1663

AF's half-sister Dorothy Ogle, daughter of her mother and Sir Thomas Ogle, is born.

1664

c. September: AF's mother, Anne Ogle, dies, and her brother William Haslewood (at age twenty-one) becomes the guardian of his nieces and nephew, AF, Bridget, and William. AF's brother William resides with William Haslewood at Maidwell; AF and Bridget go to live for seven years with their paternal grandmother, Bridget, Lady Kingsmill, at 55 Charing Cross, London.

1664–1665

A suit on behalf of William Kingsmill, AF's brother, against his stepfather, Thomas Ogle, is argued before the Chancery ten times.

1666

Elizabeth Wyndham marries HF's brother, William Finch, Viscount Maidstone (1652–72), eldest son of Heneage Finch, third Earl of Winchilsea. (Their son Charles, HF's nephew, will become Earl of Winchilsea in 1689 and will invite AF and HF to reside on his estate in Kent.)

1667

January 21: A posthumous, authorized volume of Katherine Philips's poems is entered in the Stationers' Register.

1668

April 13: John Dryden, AF's kinsman through her first cousin Anne Kingsmill's marriage to Dryden's

brother-in-law Sir Robert Howard, is appointed Poet Laureate, a position he maintains until 1689.

1670

August 18: John Dryden is made Historiographer Royal.

1670–1671

AF's grandmother Lady Kingsmill files suit on behalf of her grandchildren (William, Bridget, and AF) for control of their financial resources. The Court of Chancery splits control between Lady Kingsmill, with whom Bridget and AF reside, and Sir William Haslewood, with whom William resides.

1671

AF's stepfather, Sir Thomas Ogle, dies. His daughter Dorothy, AF's half-sister, becomes a ward of Sir Richard Campion.

1672

May 28: HF's brother William Finch, Viscount Maidstone (b. 1652), is killed at the Battle of Sole Bay.

August: AF's grandmother Lady Kingsmill dies. (AF and Bridget Kingsmill are with their uncle Sir William Haslewood at Maidwell before the death and continue living with him afterward.)

September 26: Charles Finch, son of William Finch, Viscount Maidstone, who died months earlier, and Elizabeth Wyndham, Lady Maidstone, is born. (Charles Finch will become the fourth Earl of Winchilsea.)

1673

Thomas Thynne (bap. 1640, d. 1714), first Viscount Weymouth, marries HF's sister, Lady Frances Finch (bap. 1650, d. 1712), in or before

early 1673, after serving as Groom of the Bedchamber to James, Duke of York.

September 30: Mary Beatrice d'Este of Modena is married in France by proxy to James, Duke of York. She arrives in England on November 21.

October 31: Frances Thynne, HF's niece, is born to Thomas, first Viscount Weymouth, and Frances Thynne.

1675

February 8: Henry Thynne, HF's nephew, is born to Thomas, first Viscount Weymouth, and Frances.

1679–1681

The Exclusion Crisis.

1680

William Kingsmill, AF's brother, is knighted.

1682

Thomas Thynne, first Viscount Weymouth, succeeds his cousin as owner of Longleat. (The Thynnes showed great kindness to the Finches following the Revolution of 1688; they, their children, and their grandchildren feature in many of AF's poems.)

1682–1684

AF moves to St. James's Palace in the spring of 1682 and serves as a Maid of Honour to Mary Beatrice, wife of James, Duke of York.

1683

HF is appointed Groom of the Bedchamber to James, Duke of York. At court HF would have met Thomas Tufton, sixth Earl of Thanet (1644–1729), who served as Groom of the Bedchamber from 1675 to 1684, if he had not met him before. HF probably also met AF at this time.

Sarah Churchill, wife of John Churchill, is appointed Lady of the Bedchamber to Princess Anne, which is

probably when AF and HF became acquainted with her and her husband.

Anne Killigrew is serving as a Maid of Honour to Mary Beatrice, which is probably when AF made her acquaintance.

John Graham of Claverhouse, first Viscount of Dundee, spends two months in spring 1683 with royal circles in London, Newmarket, and Windsor, where AF most probably makes his acquaintance.

June 1: Rye House Plot to assassinate Charles II is revealed and investigated.

July 28: Anne, daughter of James, Duke of York, and his first wife Anne Hyde, marries Prince George of Denmark.

November 3: Sir William Kingsmill, AF's brother, kills his uncle and guardian, Sir William Haslewood, in a duel.

1684

May 15: AF marries HF in the Chapel Royal of St. James's Palace. She resigns her position as Maid of Honour, and the Finches now live in Westminster Palace, although HF remains a member of court.

August: Catherine Tufton, *née* Cavendish (1665–1712), marries Thomas Tufton, sixth Earl of Thanet. (She and her husband will shelter AF and HF after the Revolution of 1688 and remain good friends; Catherine and her daughters will feature in AF's poems.)

1685

February 6: Charles II dies, and James, Duke of York, ascends the throne.

April 23: James, Duke of York, is crowned King James II, and Mary Beatrice is crowned Queen.

May 2: The King issues an order for HF to be sworn in as Groom of the Bedchamber; he will serve there with David Lloyd and Richard Bagot.

June: Anne Killigrew dies.

June–July: The Monmouth Rebellion.

August: Christopher Hatton, Viscount Hatton (bap. 1632, d. 1706), marries his third wife, Elizabeth (d. 1733), AF's cousin and the daughter of Sir William Haslewood. (The Hattons and their family remain good friends and feature in AF's poems.)

AF's nephew William Kingsmill (d. 1766) is born to AF's brother Sir William and his wife Frances Calwell.

1686

The posthumous collection *Poems by Mrs. Anne Killigrew* is printed.

December: "A Song" ("Whilst Thirsis") (without attribution) printed in *The Theater of Music: or, a Choice Collection of the Newest and Best Songs Sung at the Court, and Public Theaters* (the name "Strephon," not "Thirsis," appears in this printing).

1687

February 12: James II issues a declaration of indulgence for Scotland.

March 29: AF's half-sister Dorothy Ogle joins the court as a Maid of Honour to Princess Anne by this date.

April 4: James II issues a declaration of indulgence for England and Wales, suspending the Test Act.

1688

June 10: James Francis Edward, son of James II and Mary Beatrice, is born.

November 5: William of Orange arrives on the southwest coast of England. Princess Anne flees to join William's forces, accompanied only by her chief confidante, Sarah Churchill, leaving her Maids of Honour, including Dorothy Ogle, behind.

November 24: General John Churchill, James II's long-time, closest household member and trusted army officer, deserts to William of Orange, for which he will be rewarded with the Earldom of Marlborough.

- December 11: Queen Mary Beatrice leaves England and travels to France with her infant son James.
- December 12: James II is captured, detained by HF's father, Lord Winchilsea, and returned to London in custody.
- December 18: James II leaves London again.
- December 19: Princess Anne and her husband arrive back in London by this date.
- December 23: James II departs England for France.
- December 25: James II arrives on French soil.
- After James II's departure for France, AF and HF reside at Kirby Hall, Northamptonshire, as guests of Christopher, Viscount Hatton, and his wife, Elizabeth Haslewood.

1689

- March 9: William orders the appointment of Thomas Shadwell to replace John Dryden as Poet Laureate, which becomes effective on August 29.
- April 11: William and Mary, eldest daughter of James II, are crowned King William III and Queen Mary II in Westminster Abbey.
- July 27: John Graham of Claverhouse, Viscount Dundee, is killed fighting King William's troops at Killiecrankie, Scotland.
- August 9: HF's father dies; his sixteen-year-old nephew Charles Finch becomes the fourth Earl of Winchilsea.
- AF and HF move to Kent, where they will live most of the time for over a decade as guests of Charles Finch at Eastwell Park, the Winchilsea family seat.

1690

- April 29: HF is arrested for suspected treason while trying to leave for France but released on his own recognizance.
- AF resides for at least part of the year at Godmersham in Kent (about a mile from Eastwell) while HF is detained in London, preparing his defense.

June 2: HF appears before the Court of King's Bench, but the case is carried over until the following term.

July 1: William III defeats James II at the Battle of the Boyne in Ireland; James II flees to France.

July 9: HF's case is heard before the King's Bench, but it is again carried over.

August 13: The Honorable Frances Thynne, HF's niece, marries Sir Robert Worsley (1660–1747), fourth Baronet of Appuldurcombe, in the Isle of Wight. (As Lady Worsley, she and her daughters will feature in AF's poems.)

November 28: HF is released from custody owing to insufficient evidence.

1690 is probably the earliest year that the Finches begin compiling the octavo manuscript volume, "Poems on Several Subjects Written by Ardelia."

1691

"A Song" ("Tis strange, this heart") (without attribution) printed in *Vinculum Societatis, or the Tie of Good Company*.

1692

April 24: Lady Catharine Tufton (d. 1734), eldest daughter of Thomas Tufton, sixth Earl of Thanet, and Catherine Cavendish, Lady Thanet, is born. (She will be featured in future poems by AF.)

September: Charles Finch, the fourth Earl of Winchilsea, marries Sarah Nourse of Woodlands, Wiltshire.

Dorothy Ogle dies at twenty-nine years of age and unmarried at Maidwell in Northamptonshire (her will is dated August 8, 1692; probated 1692).

1693

August 19: Lady Anne Tufton (d. 1757), daughter of Thomas Tufton, sixth Earl of Thanet, and Catherine Cavendish, Lady Thanet, is born. (She will be featured in future poems by AF.)

September 26: Charles Finch, fourth Earl of Winchilsea, turns twenty-one and gains control of his estate, Eastwell Park, Kent, from his guardian, Daniel Finch, the second Earl of Nottingham.

October: "A Song" ("Love, thou art best"), "By a Lady of Quality," printed in *The Gentleman's Journal* 2 and, in November, in Thomas Wright's *The Female Virtuoso's. A Comedy* (without attribution).

1694

March 6: AF's great-niece Frances Worsley (d. 1743), daughter of Sir Robert and Frances Worsley, is born. (As Lady Carteret after her marriage in 1710, she will figure in future poems by AF.)

July 27: The Bank of England is incorporated by an act of Parliament to raise funds to support the War of the Grand Alliance against France.

December 28: Mary II dies of smallpox.

1695

September 12: Grace Strode (c. 1676–1725), daughter of Sir George Strode and Grace Fitzjames, marries Henry Thynne. (As the Honorable Mrs. Thynne, she will be featured in future poems by AF.)

1696

"On Easter Day," "A Preparation to Prayer," "Gold Is Try'd in the Fire," "On Affliction," "Psalm the 137th: Paraphras'd," and "The Second Chapter of the Wisdom of Solomon" ("By an unknown Hand") printed in *Miscellanea Sacra* (re-issued in 1698).

1697

September: The Treaty of Ryswick ends the Nine Years' War.

November 27: Sir William Twysden, third Baronet of Roydon Hall, Kent (b. 1635), and relative of HF, dies.

December 14: Charles XII (1682–1718) crowned King of Sweden after the death of his father, Charles XI, on

April 5; he will lead a series of military campaigns that make Sweden the leading power in northern Europe until his death in Norway. British Jacobites hope he will assist in restoring the Stuarts.

1698

November 26: Sir William Kingsmill, AF's brother, dies.

1700

July 30: Princess Anne's only surviving son, Prince William, Duke of Gloucester, dies at age eleven.

1700–1704

AF and HF live at Wye College, formerly a college for priests, located 2 miles from the Winchilsea estate Eastwell Park and part of the estate's endowment lands.

1701

"The Spleen," "A Pastoral . . . on Our Saviour's Birth-Day," "An Epistle from Alexander," and "To Death" (all without attribution) printed in Gildon's *New Miscellany of Original Poems*.

"The Spleen" ("By a Lady") printed in *A Collection of Poems: viz. The Temple of Death*.

Act of Settlement establishes Hanoverian succession, excluding Catholics from the throne.

September 7: Britain allies with the Dutch Republic and Emperor Leopold against France and Spain, initiating the War of the Spanish Succession.

September 11: British newspapers announce the death of James II on September 5 at Saint-Germain-en-Laye in Paris, and Louis XIV's recognition of James's son as heir to the English throne.

"On the Death of King James" ("By a Lady") also as "An Elegy on the Death of K. James" ("By a Lady") printed as undated pamphlets.

1701–1702

Compilation of the folio manuscript volume
“Miscellany Poems with Two Plays by Ardelia”
(now housed at the Folger Shakespeare Library) is
probably completed by this time.

1702

March 8: William III dies; Princess Anne ascends the
throne.

August 29: Queen Anne appoints Charles Finch as
Envoy Extraordinary to Hanover to impart infor-
mation about her accession.

HF’s former colleagues at James II’s court, Richard
Bagot and David Lloyd, are appointed Grooms of
the Bedchamber to James III in exile.

1702–1713

The War of the Spanish Succession commences in
1702 with the initial continental campaign of
General John Churchill, Earl of Marlborough;
Britain will continue fighting for eleven years.

1703

“A Sigh” (“By a Lady”) printed in *Poems on Several
Occasions: Together with Some Odes*.

April 13: Charles Finch arrives in England from
Hanover.

November 24 – December 2: The Great Storm.

1704

“A Song” (“Strephon, whose Person”), without
attribution, printed in *A Collection of Songs for One
Two and Three Voices. . . . Compos’d by Mr. John
Eccles, Master of Her Majesty’s Musick*.

August 13: Battle of Blenheim occurs, in which Prince
Eugene of Savoy (1663–1736) works closely with
John Churchill, the Duke of Marlborough; it is
considered the turning-point of the War of the
Spanish Succession.

1706

"The Tunbridge Prodigy" ("Protect our State, and let our Marlbro' Thrive") (without attribution) printed on a single sheet.

1707

January 16: Scottish Parliament approves the Act of Union with England.

March 6: English Parliament ratifies the Act of Union with Scotland, establishing Great Britain.

1708

The Finches return to live in London.

December 20: Henry Thynne dies, and his widow, Grace Thynne (*née* Strode), moves with her daughters to the Strode family home at Leweston, where AF occasionally visits.

1709

May 2: "A Pastoral Dialogue between Two Shepheardesses," "Adam Pos'd," and "Alcidor" (attributed to "the Author of the Poem on the Spleen") printed in Tonson's *Poetical Miscellanies: The Sixth Part*. The last four lines of "A Pastoral Dialogue between Two Shepheardesses" printed 3 May in the *Tatler*, no. 10.

May–June: A version of "Life's Progresse," titled "The Progress of Life" and described as by a "Lady [who] once belong'd to the Court," printed in Delarivier Manley's *The New Atalantis*.

May–June: A version of "The Hymne" from "Reflections . . . upon the Late Hurrycane" (described as by the same "Lady" who wrote "The Progress of Life") printed in Manley's *The New Atalantis*.

1710

April 5: The Statute of Anne, the first British Copyright Law, receives the royal assent and takes effect on April 10.

October 17: Frances Worsley, AF's great-niece, marries John, Lord Carteret (1690–1763).

c. 1710

AF and HF rent or lease a home on Cleveland Row in London. They will live most of the time at this address for the rest of AF's life.

1711

May: Robert Harley is named Lord Treasurer and granted the title Earl of Oxford.

July: Matthew Prior leaves for Paris to begin negotiating the eventual Treaty of Utrecht.

September 10: The South Sea Company chartered.

Late December: Queen Anne dismisses John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough, ending his generalship and the Marlboroughs' influence on national policy.

1712

August 4: Charles Finch dies; HF succeeds to his title and becomes fifth Earl of Winchilsea, making AF Countess of Winchilsea. HF is denied his seat in the House of Lords for refusing to take the oath of allegiance to Queen Anne.

1712–1720

HF is engaged in litigation about inherited debts regarding his estate after succeeding to the earldom of Winchilsea, including two Chancery trials and a suit by his niece and her husband contesting the Winchilsea estate.

1713

April 11: The British Treaty of Utrecht is signed, ending British participation in the War of the Spanish Succession.

June 18: AF's *Miscellany Poems, on Several Occasions* is entered into the Stationers' Register.

August–October: Tories win parliamentary elections, confirming the popularity of their peace

negotiations, but their internal power struggle destabilizes their coalition.

December: Queen Anne is seriously ill.

1714

AF's *Miscellany Poems, on Several Occasions* is reissued as *Poems on Several Occasions* with a title page dated 1714.

January: "To Mr. Jervais" ("By the Right Honourable the Countess of W——") printed in Richard Steele's *Poetical Miscellanies, Consisting of Original Poems and Translations*.

July 27: Queen Anne dismisses Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford, from his post as Lord Treasurer, effectively ending Tory ascendancy.

August 1: Queen Anne dies, and George I ascends the throne.

1715

AF's friend Nicholas Rowe is named Poet Laureate.

June 9: Matthew Prior and Robert Harley are arrested; Prior is confined for over a year.

July: Viscount Bolingbroke, who fled to France under suspicion of corresponding with James III, becomes James's Secretary of State.

July 5: The Honorable Frances Thynne, HF's grand-niece, marries Algernon Seymour, Earl of Hertford (1684–1750), and becomes Lady Hertford.

September 6: John Erskine, twenty-second or sixth Earl of Mar and Jacobite Duke of Mar (bap. 1675, d. 1732), raises James III's standard in Scotland, initiating the Jacobite rebellion.

Late October: The Jacobite rebellion begins to unravel.

1716

Early February: The Jacobite rising fails.

1717

January 29: Count Carl Gyllenborg, Swedish envoy in London, arrested after discovery of correspondence between Swedish diplomats and Jacobites implicating Charles XII in a plot to seat James III on the British throne.

June: "To Mr. Pope" ("The Muse, of ev'ry heav'nly gift allow'd"), "By the Right Honourable Anne Countess of Winchelsea"; printed in *The Works of Mr. Alexander Pope*.

July: A version of "To Mr Pope in Answer to a Copy of Verses" ("By a Lady of Quality"), as well as the following attributed either to "the Honourable Mrs. Finch" or to "the Right Honourable the Lady Winchelsea" – "An Invocation to the Southern Winds," "An Epistle to . . . Mrs. Thynne, Persuading Her to Have a Statue Made," "Upon a Double Stock-July-Flower," "The Toad Undrest," "The Mastif and Curs," "A Fable" ("A Man whose house"), and "The Fall of Cæsar" – printed in *Poems on Several Occasions* (often referred to as "Pope's Own Miscellany").

1718

April 26: Mary Beatrice dies.

December 27: The British declare war on Spain.

Laurence Eusden is named Poet Laureate.

1719

January: Reverend Hilkiah Bedford (1663–1724), Bishop of the Nonjuring Church of England, becomes Chaplain to HF.

June 10: Jacobite uprising is defeated at Glen Shiel.

October: "A Ballad to Mrs Catherine Fleming at the Lord Digby's" ("To Cole's-hill seat") (no direct attribution to AF although "Lady W—" is listed as a contributor to the collection) printed in *Miscellanea Aurea: or the Golden Medley*. (The date on the title page is 1720, but the London *Daily Post* [Friday, October 23, 1719; no. 18] advertises that the volume "This day is published.")

Compilation of the final manuscript book (the folio volume now at Wellesley College) probably begins this year or shortly afterwards.

1720

January–August: Height of South Sea Bubble, which collapsed in August.

“A Song on the South Sea” (without attribution) printed with a musical setting as *The Stock-Jobbing Ladies* (single sheet, undated).

August 5: AF dies at her home in Cleveland Row, London, and is buried on August 9 at Eastwell Park, Kent.

1726

September 30: HF dies; he is buried at Eastwell.

ABBREVIATIONS

- 1713 Finch, Anne. *Miscellany Poems, on Several Occasions. Written by a Lady*. London: Printed for John Barber on Lambeth-Hill and Sold by John Morphew, near Stationers-Hall, 1713. (See Foxon, pp. 274–75. As used in the “Explanatory and Textual Notes,” 1713 refers to Finch’s authorized edition [comprising all issues as numbered in the *ESTC*: T94539, T135708, T94540, N34986, N64993, and N20807], whereas *H*, identified in the “List of Source Copies,” refers to the specific copy used for collations in Volume 1 and for the copy-text in Volume 2 of this edition. 1713 is described in detail in the “Account of the Texts” in Volume 2.)
- AF Anne Finch
- Barlow 1666 Barlow, Francis. *Æsop’s Fables with His Life: In English, French and Latin. Newly Translated. Illustrated with One Hundred and Twelve Sculptures. To This Edition Are Likewise Added, Thirty One New Figures Representing His Life*. London, 1666.
- Barlow 1687 Barlow, Francis. *Æsop’s Fables with His Life: In English, French and Latin. Newly Translated. Illustrated with One Hundred and Twelve Sculptures. To This Edition Are Likewise Added, Thirty One New Figures Representing His Life*. London, 1687.
- BCP *The Book of Common Prayer: The Texts of 1549, 1559, and 1662*. Edited by Brian Cummings. Oxford University Press, 2011.

List of Abbreviations

- Birch's *General Dictionary* Bayle, Pierre. *A General Dictionary, Historical and Critical: In Which a New and Accurate Translation of That of the Celebrated Mr. Bayle . . . Is Included*. Revised by John Peter Bernard, Thomas Birch, John Lockman, *et al.* Vol. 10. London, 1741.
- Burke's *Peerage* Burke's *Peerage* 2000–2014. www.burkespeerage.com.
- Cameron Cameron, William James. "Anne Countess of Winchilsea: A Guide for the Future Biographer." 2 vols. Doctoral thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand, 1951.
- Campbell (1841) Campbell, Thomas. *Specimens of the British Poets; with Biographical and Critical Notices, and an Essay on English Poetry*. New edn. London, 1841.
- Colman and Thornton (1755) Colman, George, the Elder, and Bonnell Thornton. *Poems by Eminent Ladies. Particularly, Mrs. Barber, Mrs. Behn, Miss Carter, Lady Chudleigh, Mrs. Cockburn, Mrs. Grierson, Mrs. Jones, Mrs. Killigrew, Mrs. Leapor, Mrs. Madan, Mrs. Masters, Lady M. W. Montague, Mrs. Monk, Dutchess [sic] of Newcastle, Mrs. K. Philips, Mrs. Pilkington, Mrs. Rowe, Lady Winchelsea*. Vol. 2. London, 1755.
- D'Alessandro D'Alessandro, Jean M. Ellis, ed. *The Wellesley Manuscript Poems of Anne, Countess of Winchilsea*. By Anne Finch. Florence: privately printed, 1988.
- Dowden Dowden, Edward M. "A Noble Authoress." In *Essays Modern and Elizabethan*, 234–49. London: J. M. Dent, 1910.
- Dyce (1825) Dyce, Alexander. *Specimens of British Poetesses; Selected and Chronologically Arranged*. London, 1825.
- ECCO *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. Thomson Gale, online subscription database.
- EEBO *Early English Books Online*. Chadwyck-Healey, online subscription database.

ESTC	<i>English Short Title Catalogue.</i>
Foxon	Foxon, David F. <i>English Verse, 1701–1750: A Catalogue of Separately Printed Poems with Notes on Contemporary Collected Editions</i> . 2 vols. London: Cambridge University Press, 1975.
Hampsten	Hampsten, Elizabeth. “Poems by Ann Finch.” <i>Women’s Studies: An Interdisciplinary Journal</i> 7, nos. 1–2 (1980): 5–19.
HF	Heneage Finch
Hinnant	Hinnant, Charles H. <i>The Poetry of Anne Finch</i> . Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1994.
Hughes	Hughes, Helen Sard. “Lady Winchilsea and Her Friends.” <i>The London Mercury</i> 19, no. 114 (April 1929): 624–35.
Hunt (1847)	Hunt, Leigh. “Specimens of British Poetesses.” In <i>Men, Women, and Books: A Selection of Sketches, Essays, and Critical Memoirs, from His Uncollected Prose Writings</i> , 2: 110–59. London, 1847.
KJV	<i>The Holy Bible Quatercentenary Edition: An Exact Reprint . . . of the King James Version . . . Published in the Year 1611</i> . Oxford University Press, 2011.
La Fontaine 1668	La Fontaine, Jean de. <i>Fables choisies, mises en vers par M. de la Fontaine</i> . Paris, 1668.
La Fontaine Part 1	La Fontaine, Jean de. <i>Fables choisies, mises en vers par Mr de la Fontaine</i> . Vol. 1. Paris, 1678.
La Fontaine Part 2	La Fontaine, Jean de. <i>Fables choisies, mises en vers par Mr de la Fontaine</i> . Vol. 2. Paris, 1678.
La Fontaine Part 3	La Fontaine, Jean de. <i>Fables choisies, mises en vers par Mr de la Fontaine</i> . Part 3. Paris, 1678.
La Fontaine Part 4	La Fontaine, Jean de. <i>Fables choisies, mises en vers par Mr de la Fontaine</i> . Part 4. Paris, 1679.
La Fontaine Part 5	La Fontaine, Jean de. <i>Fables choisies, mises en vers par Mr de la Fontaine</i> . [Part 5.] Paris, 1694.

List of Abbreviations

- L'Estrange 1692 L'Estrange, Sir Roger. *Fables of Æsop and Other Eminent Mythologists with Morals and Reflexions*. London, 1692.
- L'Estrange 1699 L'Estrange, Sir Roger. *Fables of Æsop and Other Eminent Mythologists with Morals and Reflexions*. London, 1699.
- McGovern McGovern, Barbara. *Anne Finch and Her Poetry: A Critical Biography*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1992.
- McGovern and Hinnant McGovern, Barbara and Charles H. Hinnant, eds. *The Anne Finch Wellesley Manuscript Poems*. By Anne Finch. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1998.
- Moody's Website* "Anne Kingsmill Finch, Countess of Winchilsea (1661–1720)." *Ellen Moody's Website: Austen, and Women Writers, Renaissance to 19th Century*. By Ellen Moody with Jim Moody. Last updated April 3, 2006. www.JimandEllen.org/finch/AnneFinchShow.html.
- ODNB *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford University Press, 2004–2014. www.oxforddnb.com.
- OED *The Oxford English Dictionary*. Oxford University Press, 2014. www.oed.com.
- Ogilby *Æsopics* 1668 Ogilby, John. *Æsopic's, or, A Second Collection of Fables, Paraphras'd in Verse*. London, 1668.
- Ogilby *Æsopicks* 1675 Ogilby, John. *Æsopicks: or, A Second Collection of Fables, Paraphras'd in Verse*. London, 1675.
- Ogilby *Fables* 1668 Ogilby, John. *The Fables of Æsop Paraphras'd in Verse*. London, 1668.
- Ogilby *Fables* 1675 Ogilby, John. *The Fables of Æsop. In Two Volumes. Paraphras'd in Verse*. London, 1675.
- Palgrave (1897) Palgrave, Francis Turner. *Landscape in Poetry from Homer to Tennyson with Many Illustrative Examples*. London, 1897.

- Reynolds Reynolds, Myra, ed. *The Poems of Anne Countess of Winchelsea*. By Anne Finch. University of Chicago Press, 1903.
- Ritson and Stothard (1794) Ritson, Joseph and Thomas Stothard. *The English Anthology*. Vol. 2. London, 1794.
- Rowton (1848) Rowton, Frederic. *The Female Poets of Great Britain, Chronologically Arranged: With Copious Selections and Critical Remarks*. London, 1848.
- Thompson Thompson, Denys, ed. *Selected Poems*. By Anne Finch. Manchester: Carcanet Press, 1987.
- Tilley Tilley, Morris Palmer. *A Dictionary of the Proverbs in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries: A Collection of the Proverbs Found in English Literature and the Dictionaries of the Period*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1950.
- Ward (1880) Ward, Thomas Humphrey, ed. *Addison to Blake*. Vol. 3 of *The English Poets: Selections with Critical Introductions by Various Writers and a General Introduction by Matthew Arnold*. London, 1880.

NOTE

Introductions and notes use the Modern Style of January 1 for the beginning of the year. The Julian calendar (Old Style) was used in Great Britain until September 1752, but the Gregorian calendar (New Style) was already in use on the continent; thus, the Julian calendar is used in this edition except where noted for particular events that occurred on the Continent.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Anne Finch, Countess of Winchilsea (1661–1720), is a writer of the Revolution of 1688. As a critic rather than a champion of the Revolution, she articulates a world of Stuart values that were part of her culture's ethos before the watershed of this "first modern revolution."¹ She brings these values into her post-Revolutionary contexts to examine what has been lost and what remains. Her work cannot be understood outside of this event, especially as she repeatedly translates what she understood as a cataclysm into other experiences. It would be incorrect to view Finch's work as concerned only with affairs of state and in particular a Jacobite purpose, but it would also be incorrect to ignore the many and often indirect ways that her allegiance to the exiled Stuarts manifests itself, evoking what today would be described as a Jacobite sensibility.² Finch practiced a cultural Jacobitism in works that furthered the values she associated with the Stuarts, many of these values not explicitly concerned with affairs of state. Her religious poetry often connects affairs of state with the suffering soul, and her lyrics often include critiques of state politics. Finch explored the individual's spiritual condition as inextricable from

¹ For this phrase, see Steve Pincus, *1688: The First Modern Revolution* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009).

² The present editors refer to both Finches as Jacobites, although Heneage's eventual arrest and trial for attempting to join James II in exile necessarily curtailed their further activity on the exiled king's behalf. The Finches nevertheless maintained what Toni Bowers and others describe as a "Jacobite sensibility," characteristic of "the many English men and women who compromised with the new government but who nevertheless continued to feel sympathy and connection with the dethroned king, to regret late seventeenth-century political developments, or to consider their participation in the new regime provisional" (Toni Bowers, "Jacobite Difference and the Poetry of Jane Barker," *English Literary History* 64, no. 4 [1997]: 857–58). The Finches represent one end of the spectrum of this sensibility, as Heneage's compliance was forced by circumstances.

social and political phenomena. Her interest in affairs of state frequently informed her exposure of patriarchy's constraints on women and men. As David Fairer has argued, Finch, like Sir Thomas Wyatt, lived in an especially dangerous time that made her "sensitive to ideas of alteration and deception," moving her to find indirect ways to state her political views.³ Finch established her literary authority from the position of an elite woman once at the center of the court (Maid of Honour to Mary Beatrice, wife of the future James II) but then for many years an internal exile dependent on material support from family and friends. That drastic change informs her critiques of both national and gender relations where public and private concerns are intertwined. As Maid of Honour, she began her adult life among an international group of multilingual women writers and artists. With the abdication of James II and the Revolution of 1688, Finch and her husband, a courtier and one of James's trusted attendants, were exiled from power, her husband even arrested for suspected treason. Such extremes in political, social, and financial circumstances emerge in Finch's poetry, sometimes explicitly, sometimes implicitly, in oblique articulations of political isolation, personal loss, loyalty, and love.

Finch is also a devotional poet whose convictions permeate many of her works that are not overtly religious. She is a critic of patriarchy, a playwright, a satirist, and an innovator of poetic kinds and modes (such as the lyric, fable, and epistle) along with the themes and value systems that accompany them. She is a translator of works by writers such as Petrarch, Tasso, Montaigne, du Bussy, La Fontaine, Bussy-Rabutin, Racine, and Deshoulières. Finch is a writer of occasions: although sometimes her works can be read without reference to the occasions, large or small, that shape them, much is lost without considering these contexts.

Finch's work often rouses moral discernment, but it rarely moralizes. Insights that today we would call "psychological" occur throughout her exploration of relationships, whether in friendship, love, or affairs of state. These insights often enlist compassion and wry humor

³ Fairer, *English Poetry of the Eighteenth Century 1700–1789* (London: Longman, 2003), pp. 131–32.

in poems to friends where language shifts between conversation and lapidary statement. Models of friendship and conversation inform her representations of intimate understanding in spite of the limits of words, as in "Freindship between Ephelia and Ardelia." Finch repeatedly explores the powers and limits of language: "all great passions, are above discourse," she writes in "The Losse" (line 6); writing to her husband, she argues that "thoughts of a poetick mind, / Will never be, to syllables confin'd" ("A Letter to Flavio," lines 25–26). She explores the imagination in relation to "spleen" (what today we consider psychological illness), articulates relations between consciousness and nature, and analyzes how gender may inflect all of these. She reshapes a mainly male-authored tradition to express alternative values, including her deep love for her husband, Heneage, who encouraged her to write and transcribed most of her work. Confronting her era's condemnation of women writers, her work expressly acknowledges the role of gender in the fashioning of her poetic identity.

On the evidence of the archives that have survived we have determined that Finch wrote 232 poems, 2 plays, and a prose preface to her work.⁴ Her writings engage with predecessors and contemporaries such as Tasso, Spenser, Shakespeare, Beaumont and Fletcher, Donne, Lanyer, Milton, Philips, Cowley, Marvell, Roscommon, Otway, Rochester, Dryden, Behn, Deshoulières, La Fontaine, L'Estrange, Wycherley, Elizabeth Rowe, Nicholas Rowe, Prior, Swift, Pope, and Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, to mention only some of the best-known writers who were part of her intertextual and sometimes contemporary circles. Later she would be esteemed by successors such as William Wordsworth. Her achievements include a vast tonal range, evident in the

⁴ This number of poems includes: 2 poems excised from the early octavo manuscript (although it is possible that these duplicate poems under different titles in other collections authorized by Finch), distinct versions of poems included separately in our edition, and Finch's "Prologue [to *Aristomenes*]" and "Epilogue [to *Aristomenes*]." The number does not include songs within her plays or passages from poems within her prose work "The Preface."

following examples. On the news of the death of King James II, Finch magisterially reproaches the nation:

Weep then ye Realms who once his Sway confesst
Well had he been of your Belief possest
Amongst Your Kings that have laid down
(As all must do) at Death's cold feet the Crown
Him had you sure Enroll'd and Justly with the Best
(*"Upon the Death of King James the Second,"* lines 102–6)

She bitterly counters the delusions of "honorable" war:

Trayl all your Pikes dispirit every Drum
March in a slow Procession from afar
Ye silent ye dejected men of War
Be still the Hautbois and the Flute be dumb
Display no more in vain the lofty Banner
For see where on the Beir before ye lyes
The pale the fall'n th'untimely Sacrafice
To your mistaken Shrine to your false Idol Honour.
(*"All Is Vanity,"* lines 117–24)

She ruefully defines the constraints of marriage:

Mariage does but slightly tye Men
Whilst close Pris'ners we remain
They the larger Slaves of Hymen
Still are begging Love again
At the full length of all their chain
(*"The Unequal Fetters,"* lines 16–20)

And she fiercely claims a woman's artistic power:

You, when your body, life shall leave
Must drop entire, into the grave;
Unheeded, unregarded lye,
And all of you together dye;
Must hide that fleeting charm, that face in dust,
Or to some painted cloath, the slighted Immage trust.

Whilst my fam'd works, shall throo' all times surprise, }
My polish'd thoughts, my bright Ideas rise, }
And to new men be known, still talking to their Eyes. }
("Melinda on an Insipped Beauty")

Many qualities of voice in Finch's work impress with their subtlety: her recurring sense of humor is often gentle, but at times biting. Humor and wistfulness combine in this invocation of conventions that overpower us in spite of their predictability:

Vain love, why doest thou boast of wings,
That cannot help thee to retire,
When such quick flames, suspicion brings,
As does the heart about thee, fire.
("Jealousie a Song," lines 1–4)

Such accomplishments warrant what can be provided only by a scholarly edition, including the establishment of her texts based on the evaluation of several possible copy-texts, a textual apparatus that records variants among relevant source copies, contextual information about the production and dissemination of her work, and explanatory notes that shed light on the events, people, and places that abide in her work. This is the first scholarly edition to establish texts of all extant works by Finch in the more than 300 years since she authorized the sole collection of her work for print in 1713. Based on our analysis of all known relevant manuscripts and representative print copies of Finch's work, the edition presents poems and letters never printed previously as well as texts from manuscript sources that include variants never before printed. In providing records of the variants from all copies Finch is known to have supervised, as well as other copies of historical interest, this edition offers for the first time a comprehensive record of Finch's revisions of her work along with the variations that circulated in manuscript and print during her lifetime. *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Anne Finch* argues that the collections, circumstances, occasions, and dissemination of her work are vital to understanding her achievements, and thus these elements inform the content and organization of this edition. To consider both authorial

intention and the social nature of Finch's work requires access to the choice and arrangement of the works in collections supervised by Anne and Heneage Finch. The manuscript volumes in which they collected her work invite us to understand them as manuscript books holding a published status in part because of the formal dress of these texts.⁵ Our edition maintains the arrangement of works that Finch supervised in the folio manuscript book now housed at the Folger Shakespeare Library, her largest collection of her work, and provides the tables of contents for earlier and later collections the Finches supervised. Following the arrangements determined by Finch and her husband, readers can experience the texture of their organization, which includes clusters of similar poetic kinds, themes, and moods as well as points of contrast among them. In this edition, readers finally have the materials to analyze the patterns and narratives that emerge from the arrangement of the poems and to understand Finch's use of manuscript and print. Our edition thus also contributes to ongoing studies in the uses of manuscript and print publication during an era that saw a pivotal shift from the scribal medium as a major instrument of ideological discussion to that medium's increasing replacement by print culture.⁶

This edition arranges Finch's oeuvre by the chronological order of authorized collections, rather than by the chronological order of

⁵ Margaret Ezell has prompted reassessment of manuscript circulation as a form of publication, arguing that we have misread literary history by ignoring the communal nature of manuscript culture, and by failing to acknowledge women's religious writing (see Margaret J. M. Ezell, *The Patriarch's Wife: Literary Evidence and the History of the Family* [Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1987], especially ch. 3, "Women Writers: Patterns of Manuscript Circulation and Publication," pp. 62–100). See also Harold Love, *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), p. 42. For religious writing as a cause of women writers' "invisibility," see Ezell, *The Patriarch's Wife*, p. 84. In *A Literary History of Women's Writing in Britain, 1660–1789* (Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 119–21, Susan Staves argues that, while less appealing to modern critics, "virtuous" writers such as Finch and Mary Astell advanced women's position more than their apparently libertine contemporaries, Behn and Manley.

⁶ On the shift from using the scribal medium as "a central vehicle for ideological debate within the governing class" to that medium's increasing replacement by print culture, see Love, *Scribal Publication*, p. 297.

individual works. Insufficient evidence survives for determining the composition dates of many works: a number of them can only be dated using their first printing date as the *terminus ad quem*. On the whole, then, an attempt to order the works chronologically would devolve into speculation. In the explanatory notes we date the composition of individual works as precisely as possible. We reproduce the arrangement of poems in the last manuscript book (housed at Wellesley), although its arrangement appears more haphazard, as discussed in the “General Introduction” to Volume 2.

Given the absence of a prior scholarly edition, our “General Introduction” is organized as follows to address the contexts and choices most relevant to understanding this presentation of Finch’s oeuvre. We begin with a summary of what has been available in previous editions of her work and how they differ from this edition. This is followed by an explanation of the major choices in arrangement and copy-texts made for this edition and how the works are divided between our edition’s two volumes. These decisions arise from our analysis of Finch’s work as a writer using both manuscript and print as well as from our analysis of the production of her work with her husband Heneage. Following this brief rationale of major choices in the design of the edition, which are explained in greater depth in the “Textual Introduction,” we provide an overview of Finch’s biography to 1704, corresponding to the years in which the works presented here in Volume 1 were produced. The biographical information in Volume 2 likewise corresponds to the years of the collections included in that volume. The “General Introduction” to Volume 1 concludes with a section that surveys briefly the poetic contexts informing the poems found in both volumes of this edition, and a final section analyzes Finch’s contributions to drama.

PREVIOUS EDITIONS AND SELECTIONS

Parts of Finch’s oeuvre have been available to modern readers in various kinds of editions. Her work is represented in many anthologies, including well-known teaching anthologies such as those published by Broadview, Longman, and Norton, and others that focus on

various topics, including landscapes, mental illness, devotional poetry, and women's writings.⁷ Although more than a century old, Myra Reynolds's *The Poems of Anne Countess of Winchilsea* (University of Chicago Press, 1903) was, prior to this edition, the largest collection in print of Finch's poems and her two plays, but it omits many other poems, including those of the important Wellesley Manuscript. Reynolds's edition also omits the textual apparatus needed to evaluate the texts presented for each work. When faced with both manuscript and print sources of a work, Reynolds chose the print source, and because her edition lacks a textual apparatus, it necessarily effaces Finch's different uses of manuscript and print. Several subsequent collections of Finch's work were based wholly or primarily on Reynolds's pioneering edition, but these collections included fewer selections (see, for example, editions by John Middleton Murry [1928], Katharine M. Rogers [1979], and Denys Thompson [1987]).⁸ None of these editions established a critical text with

⁷ In addition to Finch's work that appears in well-known teaching anthologies (such as James Noggle and Lawrence Lipking, eds., *The Restoration and the Eighteenth Century*, vol. 1, 9th edn. of *The Norton Anthology of English Literature*, ed. Stephen Greenblatt [New York: Norton, 2012]; Stuart Sherman, ed., *The Longman Anthology of British Literature*, vol. 1C, fourth edition [New York: Pearson Longman, 2010]; Robert Demaria, Jr., ed., *British Literature 1640–1789: An Anthology*, 3rd edn. [Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2008]; and David Fairer and Christine Gerrard, eds., *Eighteenth-Century Poetry: An Annotated Anthology*, 2nd edn. [Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2004]), her work is included in, for example, Charles Peake, ed., *Poetry of the Landscape and the Night: The Two Eighteenth-Century Traditions* (1967; rpt. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1970); Mark S. Bauer, ed., *A Mind Apart: Poems of Melancholy, Madness, and Addiction* (Oxford University Press, 2009); Robert Atwan and Laurance Wieder, eds., *Chapters into Verse: A Selection of Poetry in English Inspired by the Bible* (Oxford University Press, 2009); and numerous anthologies of women's writing, including Roger Lonsdale, ed., *Eighteenth-Century Women Poets: An Oxford Anthology* (Oxford University Press, 1989), Mary K. DeShazer, ed., *The Longman Anthology of Women's Literature* (New York: Longman, 2000), and Paula R. Backscheider and Catherine E. Ingrassia, eds., *British Women Poets of the Long Eighteenth Century: An Anthology* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009).

⁸ *Poems by Anne, Countess of Winchilsea, 1661–1720*, ed. John Middleton Murry (London: J. Cape, 1928); *Selected Poems of Anne Finch, Countess of Winchilsea*, ed. Katharine M. Rogers (New York: Ungar, 1979); and *Anne Finch, Countess of Winchilsea, Selected Poems*, ed. Denys Thompson (Manchester: Carcanet Press, 1987).

apparatus. In 1998, the University of Georgia Press printed Barbara McGovern and Charles H. Hinnant's edition of poems from the Wellesley Manuscript, which greatly enlarged readers' knowledge of Finch's oeuvre.⁹ Parts of Finch's work are also available by subscription in digital resources such as *EEBO* and *ECCO*, but these resources are, by design, facsimiles rather than scholarly editions. Several open-access websites include noncritical texts of selected works by Finch. *Moody's Website* includes a vast amount of information about Finch's writing and life. Much of her research has enriched ours, but we have frequently drawn different conclusions from hers about Finch's works, including their dates of composition and contexts. Our transcriptions of Finch's poems also differ from several by Moody. As a supplement to our print edition, the *Anne Finch Digital Archive*, an open-access site that includes an annually updated bibliography of research on Anne Finch and her work, features detailed information about selected poems by Finch, allowing readers to study high-resolution images of several print and manuscript source copies of her work, see iconographical contexts, and hear readings of the poems.¹⁰ This digital archive will provide ongoing updates in Finch scholarship and archival discoveries so that *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Anne Finch* remains current and enriched by the future work of scholars.

Reynolds's edition and, more recently, McGovern and Hinnant's edition of the Wellesley poems have been fundamental to the study of

⁹ Before McGovern and Hinnant's edition of the Wellesley Manuscript appeared, Jean M. Ellis D'Alessandro's edition was privately published: *The Wellesley Manuscript Poems of Anne, Countess of Winchelsea* (Florence, December, 1988). D'Alessandro's edition is superseded by the greater accuracy of McGovern and Hinnant's text and quality of their explanatory notes.

¹⁰ For example, as with every featured poem on the digital site, Finch's work "A Song" ("Tis strange, this heart") includes the following: an edited text of the poem informed by the analysis of all relevant source copies; commentary with embedded links to illustrations (e.g., an emblem from George Wither's 1635 *A Collection of Emblemes, Ancient and Moderne*); a record of variants in relevant sources; and a link to images of source copies. Each source copy is displayed with a transcription in the same window for the reader's convenience. The reader can also hear the poem read aloud in an embedded audio file.

Finch.¹¹ Reynolds's lengthy introduction to her volume provided the most comprehensive analysis and contextualization of Finch's work up to that point in history, and her account is still valuable more than 100 years after its first printing. Reynolds, however, was not the first champion of Finch. Rachel Bowman's essay "A Reception and Transmission History of Finch's Work: Illustrative Cases from the Eighteenth, Nineteenth, and Early Twentieth Centuries," included in Volume 2 of this edition, presents and analyzes examples of Finch's continuing presence in print from her death until the early twentieth century. Bowman's essay identifies readers especially drawn to Finch's work, including Elizabeth Tollet, John Duncombe, William Wordsworth, Leigh Hunt, Jane Williams, Matthew Arnold, Edmund Gosse, and Virginia Woolf. As Finch's reception, especially in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, was predicated on knowledge of approximately one-third of her oeuvre, we have chosen to place the reception history at the end of our edition so that, as much as is possible, readers of this edition may encounter Finch's achievements on their own terms rather than have their experience of Finch's work colored by the textual limitations and inevitable biases of earlier readers.

Although Finch's readers, early and late, have lacked a complete scholarly edition, published research on Finch's work has steadily increased in the last decades. In the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, her work has received international attention, especially from readers in Australia, Canada, the United Kingdom, and the United States.¹² Alexander Lindsay's analysis and account of Finch's

¹¹ D. G. Neill (1924–2012) completed a doctoral thesis in 1954 for New College, Oxford, entitled "Studies for an Edition of the Poems of Anne, Countess of Winchilsea, Consisting of a Bibliography of Her Poems and a Study of All Available Manuscripts," but filed his work with a prohibition, still in effect, barring anyone from reading it.

¹² William James Cameron's doctoral thesis, "Anne Countess of Winchilsea: A Guide for the Future Biographer," 2 vols., written at Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand (1951), advanced Reynolds's work and was referred to by McGovern. Until McGovern's biography and McGovern and Hinnant's Wellesley edition, Cameron's was the most important work on establishing the details of Finch's life and oeuvre, even though his extensive research depended on (necessarily) limited resources, such as microfilm records.

manuscripts have been crucial to enriching the textual history of her work.¹³ In the last decade of the twentieth century, McGovern's impressive critical biography of Finch provided an extensively researched account of the writer's life and works. Charles H. Hinnant's monograph *The Poetry of Anne Finch* analyzed Finch's revision of poetic forms and tropes.¹⁴ Numerous essays on Finch's poetry have been published, as have several on her plays. Many books have focused one or more chapters on her work, with readers bringing a range of theoretical and historical lenses to her poems, plays, and "The Preface."¹⁵

SOME CONDITIONS OF PRODUCTION

Readers will find details about policies for constructing, presenting, and annotating the texts in the "Textual Introduction." Here, we provide a brief account of particular circumstances in the production of Finch's work that are fundamental to the choices and organization of this scholarly edition. As with all written works, Finch's arise from the conjunction of authorial design and social and political contexts and pressures. She is mindful of the disdain directed at many women

¹³ Lindsay, "Anne Finch, Countess of Winchelsea, 1661–1720," in *Index of English Literary Manuscripts*, vol. 3, 1700–1800 (London: Mansell, 1997), part 4, pp. 535–70.

¹⁴ Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1994.

¹⁵ For example, Carol Barash's *English Women's Poetry, 1649–1714: Politics, Community, and Linguistic Authority* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996) examines the political contexts of Finch's poems in relation to the work of other Tory women poets, and Backscheider's *Eighteenth-Century Women Poets and Their Poetry: Inventing Agency, Inventing Genre* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005) shows Finch's complex adaptation of poetic forms to develop artistic agency. Among other significant studies of Finch's writings, see ch. 9 of Germaine Greer, *Slip–Shod Sibyls: Recognition, Rejection and the Woman Poet* (London: Viking, 1995); chs. 1 and 2 of Deborah Kennedy, *Poetic Sisters: Early Eighteenth-Century Women Poets* (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 2013); Gillian Wright, "The Birds and the Poet: Fable, Self-Representation and the Early Editing of Anne Finch's Poetry," *Review of English Studies* n.s., 64, no. 264 (2013): 246–66; and Wright's chapter, "The Anxieties of Agency: Compilation, Publicity, and Judgment in Anne Finch's Poetry," in *Producing Women's Poetry, 1600–1730: Text and Paratext, Manuscript and Print* (Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 146–91. The *Anne Finch Digital Archive* includes an annually updated bibliography of secondary materials about Finch and her work.

writers, and her strained political situation makes her especially circumspect about her public “appearances.” Finch’s works reflect not only the potential for self-censorship but also alterations (accidental or deliberate) by those who transcribed her work. Although Finch’s compositions show the pressures of a society critical of women writers, they also convey the qualities of dialogue and community in various forms of contact with her readers. For Finch, the ties between writer and reader were often truly collaborative: work circulating among a coterie of writers–readers in manuscript lent itself to discussion and revision in ways that print culture could not accommodate. That a number of her poems are songs, meant to be set to music, deepens their collaborative nature.

One of the most interesting circumstances of the production of her work lies in her handwriting itself: it is somewhat difficult, though not impossible, to read, with letters at times awkwardly formed.¹⁶ Perhaps because of the character of her hand, almost all extant manuscripts of her work were transcribed by persons other than Finch: the manuscripts with the closest proximity to her are almost always at one remove or more from her hand. Of special importance in this context of manuscript culture is Finch’s relationship with her husband, Heneage, whom she called “Daphnis” or “Flavio” in her verse (see his portrait, reproduced in color in the *Anne Finch Digital Archive*, the counterpart of the miniature portrait by Peter Cross reproduced on the cover of this edition and as frontispiece to Volume 1). Heneage served as her primary amanuensis, producing fair copies of her work. He worked on all four major collections of her work in manuscript and print before and after her death: the earliest surviving octavo manuscript book, now housed at the Northamptonshire Record Office; the second manuscript, the folio now housed at the Folger Shakespeare Library; the third collection, the only volume of her selected works she authorized for print (1713); and a final manuscript book, which may

¹⁶ Examples include Finch’s corrections in the Folger Manuscript, her transcription of “On a Short Vissit,” and letters. Although some have proposed that Finch transcribed the first half of the Northamptonshire Manuscript, the present editors think it improbable though not impossible; the unknown hand bears some resemblance to that of Charles Finch, Heneage’s nephew and professed admirer of Finch’s poetry.

have been compiled as early as 1719 or shortly thereafter, now housed at the Wellesley College Special Collections. The first two manuscript books form the basis of Volume 1 of this edition; the print volume and final manuscript book form the basis of Volume 2.

Readers may rightly wonder why Heneage assumed the role of amanuensis in an era in which few husbands took on such labor for their wives. Heneage may have offered his hand to provide fair copies to be read by members of her coterie simply because it was more legible than his wife's. The nature of his interest may never be known from this distance, but in addition to the value he placed on her work for its delight and instruction, to use Horace's categories, he may have valued it also for other reasons. Finch's expression and dissemination of the values she and Heneage shared from their days at the Stuart court may have moved him to participate as her scribe when he was effectively cut off from participating politically or supporting his King in exile. Had James II retained his crown, Heneage Finch most probably would have continued to serve the court and would never have had the days and years available to transcribe his wife's work.

How much of Heneage's transcription of Finch's work was motivated by his desire to shape or even censor it cannot be answered fully from the evidence that survives. Also unknown is the extent to which his role as amanuensis and in turn editor was wholly welcomed by Finch, given the era's norms for gender decorum, particularly in marriage. Because of his role in the transmission of Finch's work, the closer we try to approach a traditional notion of the authorized text the more that text becomes a social one, informed by her relationship with Heneage. But evidence in certain poems such as "A Letter to Flavio" where Finch states her willingness to receive her husband's criticism, and in others such as "To Daphnis, Who Going Abroad" where Finch responds to her husband's petition that she write in his absence, suggests that Heneage encouraged her writing, as did his nephew Charles, whom Finch thanked for his support in "The Preface" to her folio manuscript book, and who urged her to print her poems in a volume.¹⁷

¹⁷ In a letter to Heneage referring to Gildon's *A New Miscellany of Original Poems, on Several Occasions* (London, 1701), in which poems by both Finch and her nephew

Further evidence of Heneage's interest in Finch's writing lies in his attention to the finished product, witnessed in his revisions. On observing his exacting transcriptions of hundreds of pages of her compositions, with alterations not only of words but changes in capitalization, it is difficult not to conclude that he was dedicated to her work. Relatively minor differences in wording between poems in the earliest surviving manuscript book and the second surviving manuscript book suggest that Heneage may have revised Finch's work as he transcribed it. These revisions typically constitute the occasional substitution of one word for another, not the alteration of an entire line or extended passage, and may have arisen in several ways. As with all scribes, Heneage may have succumbed to the error of substituting a similar word in his transcription for another in the exemplar. Alternatively, he may have faithfully followed another copy authorized by Finch or accepted oral instructions from her. Lastly, he may have deliberately altered, with the aim of improving (in various senses of that word) her work. The editors' analysis of cancelations and revisions in the Folger Manuscript book transcribed by Heneage show that Finch retained her authorial prerogative to alter his transcriptions. The scale of these alterations cannot be known since the obliterating marks cannot be assigned definitively to Anne or to Heneage, and neither recorded her or his role in cutting certain pages from the book. Multiple copies of the one print volume authorized by Finch show Heneage's painstaking scribal corrections to the printed pages, replacing a letter or word, and even after Finch's death

appeared, Charles Finch deplores the poor quality of "the paper and print" of Gildon's volume but hopes it will "induce her to publish her own works by the Miscellany in a Volume, where they may appear as they ought to do." Charles's letter is dated "July the" with no day or year. *A New Miscellany of Original Poems* does not appear in *A Transcript of the Registers of the Worshipful Company of Stationers, from 1640–1708 A. D.* (3 vols. [1913–14; rpt. New York: P. Smith, 1950]). Charles refers to Nicholas Rowe, whose poems are also in the collection, and suggests that Rowe was involved not only in contributing to the volume but in some of its oversight. Charles hopes that "Mr Row" "would make reparation for" the collection's shortcomings (letter from Charles Finch to Heneage Finch, dated July [no year], Kent History and Library Centre, MS EK/U449/L3).

in 1720, he recorded a list of errata in his diary to preserve an accurate account of the text.¹⁸

THE EARLY MANUSCRIPTS: CONTENTS AND
ARRANGEMENT

The earliest extant manuscript volume of Finch's work, the octavo manuscript now at the Northamptonshire Record Office, was probably transcribed no earlier than 1690.¹⁹ The book's lavish contemporary binding suggests that the work within it was highly esteemed. Its title page announces simply "Poems On Several Subjects Written By Ardelia." Beneath the title appears a delicate drawing of a cherub's head, a conventional textual ornament but suggestive of the poet's or muse's face shaded by wings. The title page, table of contents, and the neatness of the hand, especially in the first part of the book, suggest the volume's simultaneously public and intimate qualities, as it was probably intended for close friends and family members. Cancellations in the table of contents show that certain poems have been doomed to obscurity and several pages cut from the manuscript. An unidentified hand transcribed the first part of the manuscript, and Heneage transcribed the rest. A number of pages at the end of the volume remain blank, suggesting that the book was abandoned as the site for recording fair copies of her poems. Heneage took up the book again, however, to transcribe Finch's ode "Reflections . . . upon the Late Hurrycane" (completed in 1704), probably because he wished to

¹⁸ Finch-Hatton MS 282 (Northamptonshire Record Office).

¹⁹ In all, the octavo manuscript appears to have contained fifty-seven poems: of these, two were cut out and two nearly obliterated. Up to page 87, the poems are transcribed in an unidentified hand that Cameron claimed is Finch's (Cameron, p. 75), although we consider this improbable after our comparisons with examples of script known to be hers. Heneage took over as scribe, beginning in the middle of page 87. Although blank pages remained, no more poems were transcribed again until the later addition of the ode on the hurricane, in Heneage's hand. Reynolds dated the transcription of all but this last poem in the Northamptonshire Manuscript to 1689 (Reynolds, p. lxxxiv), and Cameron (p. 75) and McGovern (pp. 68–69) have dated the transcription to 1690–91, except for "Reflections . . . upon the Late Hurrycane"; after studying the evidence available (discussed in the "Account of the Texts" in this volume), however, we conservatively date the volume's main phase of transcription as no earlier than 1690 and no later than 1696.

have a lasting record of the poem in a bound volume and the second bound volume had already been completed by this date.

Nearly all of the poems retained in this earliest surviving manuscript book – referred to here as the Northamptonshire Manuscript – of Finch’s work were transcribed by Heneage into the second manuscript volume, most probably no earlier than 1701 or 1702.²⁰ This second, much larger manuscript, is an imposing morocco-bound folio with delicate gilt tooling. The second manuscript’s straightforward title – “Miscellany Poems With Two Plays By Ardelia” – has no charming illustration to accompany it, but the title page includes an epigraph from Spenser’s *Shepherd’s Calendar*.

I never list presume to Parnass hill,
But piping low, in shade of lowly grove,
I play to please my self, albeit ill.

The introductory elements of this folio volume, referred to here as the Folger Manuscript, are different from those of the earlier Northamptonshire octavo: whereas the earlier manuscript appears to be presented to a more intimate circle of readers, the second manuscript appears to address a wider audience. Announcing its value with its folio size and deluxe binding (although not as rare as that of the

²⁰ Previous accounts of Finch’s folio have posited transcription from the mid-1690s, but the editors’ examination of the volume, now housed at the Folger Shakespeare Library in Washington, D.C., suggests that it was transcribed as a single project very early in the eighteenth century. The editors wish to thank Heather Wolfe, Curator of Manuscripts, and Franklin Mowery, Rare Bindings Specialist at the Folger Shakespeare Library in Washington, D.C., for their analysis of the transcription and binding of the folio manuscript. The commendatory poem by Finch’s Kent neighbor Mrs. Randolph, who married in 1700, helps date the folio more accurately, since the folio was apparently transcribed continuously and therefore could not have commenced before that date. Cameron dated the transcription of the folio from 1694 (p. 77) until shortly after the death of James II in 1701; McGovern agrees that the folio was transcribed beginning in 1694 or 1695 (p. 70). Moody believes transcription took place beginning in c. 1704–1705 and continued through 1709–1710, as the Finches considered the possibility of a printed volume (*Moody’s Website*, “*I On Myself Can Live*,” Chapter 5, “Moving About”). The present editors are more in agreement with Reynolds, who proposed a date “early in the eighteenth century,” possibly 1702, owing to the inclusion of “Upon the Death of King James the Second” but absence of “Reflections . . . upon the Late Hurricane” (p. lxxv).

earlier manuscript), the Folger Manuscript identifies the wider range of its contents ("Miscellany Poems with Two Plays").²¹ Although this second manuscript book does not include a table of contents, it includes two introductory layers not present in the earlier manuscript: two commendatory poems and Finch's "The Preface." In the mostly prose "Preface" she claims her authorship with calculated self-exposure and demonstrations of her literary authority that confirm her knowledge of the poetic tradition and its rules.

The titles of both manuscript books feature Finch's pen name "Ardelia," which is also used in several poems, but cancelations indicate that "Areta" was the pen name used initially in both manuscript books. "Areta" (Virtue) suggests Finch's moral aims for her writing as recorded in the aftermath of the Revolution of 1688.²² We have no evidence to determine whether she used "Areta" as a pen name before the Revolution, but using it afterward could express her convictions as a Stuart loyalist as well as her intent to write for moral purposes (a point of self-protection for any woman writer in Finch's era). In the Northamptonshire Manuscript "Poems on Several Subjects," the name "Areta" was consistently used and then replaced (in all poems but one, "Areta to Melancholy"); at some point Heneage returned to this earlier manuscript altering "Areta" to "Ardelia." Significantly, although early pages of the Folger Manuscript "Miscellany Poems with Two Plays" show "Areta" canceled and replaced by "Ardelia," beginning on page 22 of the manuscript, with the poem "Freindship between Ephelia and Ardelia," "Ardelia" appears as the original name transcribed. (On the title page of the Folger Manuscript, however, the name "Ardelia" appears without "Areta" having been first written.) Whether the replacement name of "Ardelia" was chosen by Finch,

²¹ The folio exemplified a form of publication often chosen by gentlemen and ladies, as Margaret Ezell has shown, to circumscribe their audiences. See Ezell, *The Patriarch's Wife*, pp. 65, 100.

²² In *The Ladies Dictionary* ("N. H." is listed as one author and Dunton as another author; printed by John Dunton, 1694, p. 2), "Areta" is defined as "Virtue." Barash argues that Finch called herself "Areta," suggesting a female version of Ares, Roman god of war; Arethusa, a nymph in the train of the chaste Diana . . . as well as the Greek word for virtue. Ardelia, in contrast, is the female form of 'ardelio,' Latin for a meddler or busybody" (Barash, *English Women's Poetry*, p. 284).

Heneage, or both of them cannot be determined, but “Ardelia” recalls significantly the addressee in Katherine Philips’s poem “A Retir’d Friendship. To Ardelia” (dated August 23, 1651).²³ The name had appeared in a number of seventeenth-century contexts that Finch may have known, but most would not have appeared relevant for her purposes.²⁴ Philips’s poem develops the theme of friendship set in a sheltering bower where there’s “no quarrelling for Crowns, / Nor fear of changes in our fate.”²⁵ In this dangerous time – this “scorching Age” – writes Philips, “Whoever would not seek a shade[?].”²⁶ Finch’s change to the name of “Ardelia” suggests other qualities she wished to emphasize. That Finch continued to use this pen name in her compositions suggests her devotion to a community defined by friendship, writing, and loyalty to James II and Mary Beatrice, a loyalty she maintained for the rest of her writing life.

The Folger Manuscript includes most of the earlier pieces in the Northamptonshire Manuscript with relatively minor changes made to

²³ Patrick Thomas notes that “Orinda’s sympathies at this time were neutral, if not actively royalist” (*The Collected Works of Katherine Philips*, vol. 1, *The Poems*, ed. Patrick Thomas [Stump Cross Books, 1990], p. 339).

²⁴ “Ardelia” is “a Miracle of Beauty and Falshood” in “The Nun: or, The Perjur’d Beauty,” Aphra Behn’s story about a woman who occasions her own death and those of three lovers (*The Works of Aphra Behn*, 7 vols., ed. Janet Todd [Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1992–96], vol. 3, p. 296). In Behn’s *The Forc’d Marriage* (1671), an “Ardelia, kind and fair” appears in passing in a list of Alcander’s previous lovers (*Works*, vol. 5; Act 4, scene 1, line 58). Another sinful Ardelia figured in the Earl of Rochester’s adaptation of John Fletcher’s *Valentinian* as among the “Lewd Women belonging to the Court” (*Valentinian, a Tragedy As ’Tis Alter’d by the Earl of Rochester* [1685], *Dramatis Personae*). Ardelia had been described as a courtier and “panderess” among the characters of Fletcher’s tragedy, first printed in 1647. Ardelia also appears as Nahum Tate’s “The Vow-Breaker” (*Poems by N. Tate* [1677]). Among the few virtuous precedents, Ardelia in James Shirley’s *The Dukes Mistris* (1638) resists the advances of a philandering duke and is ultimately rewarded with marriage to her beloved Bentivolio. Close to Finch’s career in time and a possible inspiration is the Ardelia who serves as the confidante of Urania, Princess of Naples, in George Powell’s *Alphonso, King of Naples: A Tragedy* (1691), although the resemblance between the relationship of Finch to her beloved Mary Beatrice, often called Urania by Finch and others, breaks down when the fictional Princess commits suicide thinking her beloved Cesario has been murdered by her father.

²⁵ “A Retir’d Friendship. To Ardelia” in *The Collected Works of Katherine Philips*, vol. 1, lines 5–6.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, lines 29–30.

the texts. The greatest differences between these manuscript books arise from how the Folger Manuscript reorders the works collected in the Northamptonshire volume and substantially adds to them. The Folger Manuscript includes nearly every kind and mode in Finch's oeuvre: song, elegy, heroic epistle, ode (both Horatian and Pindaric), fable, and translation ranging from fairly close renditions to free imitations. It is the only collection she oversaw (among those that survive) that includes both of her plays, *The Triumphs of Love and Innocence* and *Aristomenes*; significantly, these are bound midway in the folio, that is, at the book's center. The newly added compositions include poems possibly composed while Finch was at court as well as recent work such as the poem contemporaries considered her masterpiece, "The Spleen."²⁷ The folio concludes with Finch's elegy on the death of James II. It is possible that James's death may have influenced her decision to gather this much larger collection of her works in a manuscript book for controlled circulation. The Folger Manuscript perhaps marked the end of a significant era for the couple, particularly through plays and certain poems confirming their suffering and continued loyalty to James II and Mary Beatrice.

BIOGRAPHICAL CONTEXTS

The present editors have greatly benefited from Barbara McGovern's well-researched *Anne Finch and Her Poetry: A Critical Biography*, as well as McGovern's biography of Finch in the *ODNB*.²⁸ What

²⁷ Finch included herself among the sufferers from this well-known but mysterious syndrome whose effects resembled depression. Although modern scholarship has proposed a link between spleen and the chronic melancholy claimed by Jacobites, Finch's contemporaries described her as suffering periodic episodes of spleen throughout her mature life: her illness was not a political affectation.

²⁸ Barbara McGovern, *Anne Finch and Her Poetry: A Critical Biography* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1992), cited hereafter as "McGovern." Unless otherwise noted, the facts of Finch's life are drawn from McGovern's account throughout this introduction. The editors are indebted to McGovern's groundbreaking work: many editors of scholarly editions began their projects without the assistance of a modern, standard biography; for example, John Butt and his fellow editors researched the Twickenham edition of Pope long before Maynard Mack completed his study of the poet's life (Maynard Mack, *Alexander Pope: A Life* [New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1985]).

follows is not an attempt to replace McGovern's more comprehensive account, but to outline the circumstances of Finch's life especially relevant to understanding her work represented in this edition. Although such information should not restrict the meaning of her work to biographical contexts, a knowledge of the people and places Finch knew illuminates her writings. While generally following McGovern, the discussion here and in the explanatory notes adds or corrects information as needed following our supplementary research.

Early Years

Finch was born Anne Kingsmill in April 1661 into the English landed gentry; her parents' families were distinguished for established local influence and Royalist connections.²⁹ Her mother, Anne Haslewood, was the daughter of Sir Anthony Haslewood and Elizabeth Wilmer of Maidwell, Northamptonshire. Sir Anthony had declared for King Charles I at Oxford and twice compounded for his estates before the Restoration. Finch's father, Sir William Kingsmill (1613–61), descended from a Hampshire family whose principal manor, Sydmonton, he inherited upon coming of age in 1634.³⁰ The Kingsmills derived their name from King John's grant to them of the King's Mill at Basingstoke in the thirteenth century, and succeeding centuries had produced a prior and a professor as well as clergymen, sheriffs, and judges bearing the Kingsmill name. By Finch's father's time, the family had endured the Interregnum as quietly as possible after generations of service to the Crown.

²⁹ There is limited evidence to determine how Finch spelled her first name, but of her few letters that are known, they suggest a preference for "An" in the cases that her signature included more than her initials "AF" or "AW." Some of Finch's spelling is phonetic, which may explain why she spelled her name thus. As did her contemporaries, she often abbreviated words and names, and so it is also possible that "An" served as an abbreviation of the full spelling.

³⁰ Finch's father also wrote poetry: see John Eames, "Sir William Kingsmill (1613–1661) and His Poetry," *English Studies* 67, no. 2 (1986): 126–56. See also Gillian Wright's discussion of features common to his poetry and Finch's (*Producing Women's Poetry*, pp. 149–51).

After their marriage in 1654, Anne and Sir William had three children: William (c. 1655–98), Bridget (1657–1720), and Anne (1661–1720). Sir William's death shortly after Anne's birth left her mother to manage his estates, including his will's provisions for the education and maintenance of his children (both female and male). A year later, her mother married Sir Thomas Ogle of Suffolk; their union produced Dorothy (1663–92) before Anne Ogle's death in 1664. Her will entrusted Sir Thomas with her fortune and with raising their children, but the young widower opted to leave his children with guardians while he pursued a military career, leading to a prolonged legal battle in the Court of Chancery for access to funds for their maintenance.³¹ When the first case was decided in the children's favor in November 1664, William was apparently left with his uncle Sir William Haslewood while Bridget and Anne were entrusted to their strong-willed grandmother, Lady Bridget Kingsmill, who resided at least part of the time in her house at Charing Cross in London.³² Lady Kingsmill sued in early 1671 for control of her grandchildren's estates, as a result of which she was granted an allowance from Bridget's and Anne's trusts to support and educate them; Sir William was granted a similar allowance from his nephew's trust to raise young William Kingsmill. In 1672, after Lady Kingsmill's death, the children were reunited at their uncle's home, where Bridget and Anne continued a more extensive education than was typical for many genteel young women. Judging from her works, Finch was instructed in the Bible and in French, as well as English literature and history. She read classical history, mythology, and classical and Italian and Spanish literature in translation. It is unclear at what point Finch may have learned Italian and the extent to which she knew it.³³

³¹ McGovern, p. 11.

³² Ronald H. Fritze describes Lady Kingsmill as "formidable," especially in regard to the degree to which she monitored the financial affairs of her son and protected the interests of her grandchildren ("The Kingsmill Family," *ODNB*).

³³ If she did not first study it at court, she learned enough Italian to translate some pieces from Tasso's *Aminta*, although for other pieces in the *Aminta* she used a French translation. When she translated a sonnet from Petrarch, she used a French translation.

The Kingsmill's long record of royal service must have facilitated her appointment in 1682 as Maid of Honour to Mary Beatrice, Duchess of York, who had recently returned to the Palace of St. James after being exiled in Scotland with her husband during the Exclusion Crisis. Although the source of Finch's recommendation is now lost, she is listed among Mary's attendants in 1683 and probably was appointed shortly after the Duke's and Duchess's return to England on May 27, 1682. Finch later described herself coming "eager from the rural seat . . . / Of long traced Ancestors of worthy name / To seek the Court" ("On the Death of the Queen," lines 42–44 [1718]), suggesting both her personal eagerness and the role of sponsorship her kin must have played to secure her the post. Since elite families often sought the position for their marriageable daughters, Finch's relatives must have thought the prospect of a distinguished marriage for the young woman, whose £1,500 dowry (plus interest accrued since her father's death) was substantial but inadequate to attract the most ambitious suitors, would be increased by her residence at court.

Court Years and Marriage

If Finch's youth inculcated devotion to the Crown and appreciation of extended family, her residence at St. James's confirmed both. James Stuart notably supported his brother Charles II in an era when royal siblings might have become rivals. As Duke of York, James emulated Charles's encouragement of the arts, especially theatre and poetry. The Poet Laureate, John Dryden, frequently sought James's patronage, while the "Court wits" flaunted their propensities for witty verse and licentious habits. While the duchess's Maids of Honour included Catherine Sedley, James's mistress (at her husband's insistence), Mary Beatrice herself encouraged piety and more edifying verse. As Carol Barash, building on earlier studies of Mary Beatrice's court, has summarized, Finch joined a retinue in which "the Maids of Honour performed in court masques; they read, sang, and painted. . . . they were schooled both in French and Italian translations of classical texts and in the heroic tradition of Tasso and Ariosto, and they were urged

to make their own English translations of these works.”³⁴ Finch’s comments in “The Preface” and the title of her poem “The Grove Written When I Was a Maid of Honour” indicate that she was writing poetry while at court. In a poem in the Wellesley Manuscript she describes herself composing poetry as soon as she learned to write: having “been the muses drudge / As long as I cou’d write or judge” (“To . . . the Lord Viscount Hatton by Way of Excuse,” lines 27–28). Some of her poems – like those of her fellow Maid of Honour, Anne Killigrew (1660–85)³⁵ – are chaste versions of the pastorals and song lyrics fashionable among writers like the recently deceased Earl of Rochester John Wilmot, Sir Charles Sedley, Sir George Etherege, and William Wycherley. Mary Beatrice and her husband shared Charles II’s passion for drama, and Finch would have seen many plays performed either at court or in the theatre. Her work reflects that experience by including many songs suitable for plays as well as an epilogue, a prologue, and several dramatic scenes, in addition to two complete plays. Finch also translated passages from Tasso’s *Aminta*, a pastoral drama written in 1573 for the court of Mary Beatrice’s ancestor, Duke Alfonso II of Ferrara, thus complimenting her own royal mistress.

While Finch’s entrée at Court established her connections to the Duke and Duchess of York, the wits, and Maids of Honour, her chief introduction was to her future husband. Heneage Finch (1657–1726) was the eldest surviving son of Sir Heneage Finch, third Earl of Winchilsea (1627/28–89), a formidable courtier and diplomat who served as ambassador to Turkey from October 1660 to March 1669.³⁶

³⁴ Barash, *English Women’s Poetry*, p. 262.

³⁵ Margaret J. M. Ezell acknowledges a critical debate over Killigrew’s service in this role but follows David Hopkins, who found Killigrew listed in 1683 among Mary Beatrice’s Maids of Honour. See Ezell, ed., “My Rare Wit Killing Sin”: *Poems of a Restoration Courtier*, by Anne Killigrew, *The Other Voice in Early Modern Europe: The Toronto Series 27* (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2013), p. 2 n. 3, citing David Hopkins, “Killigrew, Anne (1660–1685),” *ODNB*.

³⁶ Earlier scholars numbered Heneage’s father as the second Earl of Winchilsea. More recently, the fact that his grandmother, Lady Elizabeth Heneage Finch, was granted the title Countess of Winchilsea in 1628 has justified identifying her son as the second earl and Heneage’s father as the third. Following the *ODNB*, the editors number Finch’s husband Heneage as the fifth Earl of Winchilsea (readers will find in

His eldest son and heir to the Earldom, William, Viscount Maidstone, had died in 1672 fighting aboard the *Royal Charles* during the naval battle of Sole Bay. Maidstone left a widow and two young children, one of whom, Charles, would inherit the family's title and estate in Kent on the death of the third Earl of Winchilsea. The earl's second son Heneage was trained to be a courtier and soldier. A captain of the Coldstream Guards, he was appointed a Groom of the Bedchamber to James in 1683 after serving in various military and political posts in Kent. He also appears to have been a member of the Earl of Roscommon's "academy," concerned with the study and improvement of the English language.³⁷ Heneage was awarded an honorary degree of Doctor of Civil Laws by Oxford when he visited with James and Mary in May 1683 and seemed destined for a brilliant career. Although his family was more distinguished than his future bride's, his and Anne's positions were analogous: both were at Court to further futures that would depend on their loyalty, intelligence, and skills rather than title or fortune. Perhaps aware of that congruity, Heneage lost no time courting Anne although she claims in "A Letter to Dafnis" that he had to overcome her reluctance. Their marriage license is dated May 14, 1684, and their wedding took place the next day.³⁸ Some indication of the couple's independent decision to wed, despite their slender resources, may be gleaned from a letter from James, Duke of York, to Heneage's father, dated August 25, 1684: "I hope you will be so good a father to [Heneage], as to do something now, for him, or his wife, who is a very good, and discreet yonge woman, and dos deserve your kindness."³⁹ After the union took place, Anne Finch resigned from her post as Maid of Honour, but the couple remained at Court, residing in Westminster Palace after Heneage took part in

other sources that Finch's husband is sometimes numbered as the fourth and sometimes as the fifth Earl of Winchilsea).

³⁷ See Carl Niemeyer, "The Earl of Roscommon's Academy," *Modern Language Notes* 49, no. 7 (1934): 432–37.

³⁸ McGovern, p. 29.

³⁹ Letter from James, Duke of York, to Heneage Finch, third Earl of Winchilsea, dated from Windsor, August 25, 1684 (British Library, Add. MSS 78907 W, fol. 139r).

the coronation of James II in April 1685 as one of the Queen's canopy-bearers, at Mary Beatrice's request.⁴⁰

While dwelling at court, Finch continued writing, her verse suggesting happiness in the early marriage: one poem, dated April 20, 1685, assures Heneage that he is the "much lov'd husband, of a happy wife" ("A Letter to Dafnis," line 2). In 1686, her earliest known print publication appeared: "A Song" ("Whilst Thirsis") (with "Strephon" instead of "Thirsis" in the 1686 printing) was set by Alexander Damascene in *The Theater of Music: or, A Choice Collection of the Newest and Best Songs Sung at the Court, and Public Theaters*. Although Finch had resigned from serving as Maid of Honour, Heneage continued in his service to James and was appointed Groom of the Bedchamber to the new King. He served as Member of Parliament for the Cinque Port of Hythe and was promoted in 1687 to Lieutenant-Colonel. While Heneage's career flourished, however, James II's efforts to extend toleration to Catholics and to reinstate Catholics in leadership positions met with increasing criticism throughout the kingdom. As his initiatives attracted resistance, the Finches resolved to support their King. Finch's first play, *The Triumphs of Love and Innocence*, a tragicomedy apparently written shortly after the Revolution, may be read as reflecting this time when it still seemed possible that James was the victim of misunderstood principles and invidious counselors. Unfortunately for his supporters, James was deserted by many aristocrats and gentry, as well as most Members of Parliament and army officers, including his confidant the Earl of Marlborough, after Mary Beatrice delivered a Catholic son and heir in the summer of 1688. William of Orange landed in England in November 1688 at the invitation of Parliament, after which James felt he had no option but to flee, having first sent his wife and infant son to France to be received as the guests of Louis XIV.

Friends and Relations

Finch's courtship and marriage created a new web of kinship ties and associations reflected in her verse. Most important, of course, was Heneage's immediate family. His father resided at the family's seat at

⁴⁰ McGovern, p. 30.

Eastwell with his fourth wife, Elizabeth Ayres, several children, his two grandchildren, and his late son the Viscount Maidstone's widow, Elizabeth Wyndham, whom the third Earl had accused of tricking his son William into marriage.⁴¹ Her son Charles (1672–1712), Heneage's nephew, would nevertheless inherit the family's title, and Finch wrote an ode congratulating Lady Maidstone on her son's accomplishments and prospects. Her daughter Marianne or Mariamne (1670–1718) married Col. Philip Herbert, descended from the Earls of Pembroke; their daughter Elizabeth would marry a Herbert relation, also occasioning Finch's compliment in verse. Heneage's brothers included two born during their father's service as ambassador to Turkey (1660–69): Leopold (1662–1702), named for British ally and Holy Roman Emperor Leopold I, and Leslie (born between 1666 and 1669), named for the emperor's Scottish-born Turkish ambassador Walter, Count Leslie.⁴² Leopold, despite the hard drinking that probably contributed to his early death, was appointed Warden of All Soul's College, Oxford, by royal mandate in 1687, his reward for leading a troop of volunteers during the Monmouth Rebellion.⁴³ In addition to these colorful siblings, Heneage's sister Frances had married Thomas Thynne, Viscount Weymouth, and resided at his magnificent estate, Longleat, in Wiltshire; the Thynnes' children and their families would prove enduring subjects of Finch's verse.

Friends made during Finch's court years and afterward in Kent remained close throughout her life, appearing in and inspiring her occasional verse. For example, Finch met Heneage's fellow Gentleman of the Bedchamber to the Duke of York, Thomas Tufton, sixth Earl of Thanet, who married Catherine Cavendish in

⁴¹ See, for example, *The Diary of Thomas Isham of Lamport (1658–81), Kept by Him in Latin from 1671–1673 at His Father's Command*, trans. Norman Marlow and ed. Sir Gyles Isham (Farnborough, UK: Gregg International, 1971), "Appendix A: Lord Maidstone's Marriage" (p. 311), for information regarding Lord Winchilsea's unhappiness with his son's marriage.

⁴² For Leslie, see David Worthington, "Leslie, Walter," *ODNB*.

⁴³ G. V. Bennett, "Against the Tide: Oxford under William III," in *The Eighteenth Century*, ed. L. S. Sutherland and L. G. Mitchell, vol. 5 of *The History of the University of Oxford*, ed. T. H. Aston (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), p. 43.

1684.⁴⁴ The couple lived near the Finches at Thanet House in Westminster and later sheltered the Finches after the Revolution (McGovern, pp. 109–110); inspired by her friendship with the family, Finch wrote numerous poems for them and their children. Other Kent associates included Lady Joanna Thornhill, widow of a Royalist and Woman of the Bedchamber (eventually Chief Dresser) to Charles II's Queen, Catherine of Braganza, whom she served from 1666 to 1692. Her step-granddaughter, Mary Thornhill, a younger contemporary of Finch's, was appointed Maid of Honour to Queen Catherine in 1684.⁴⁵ Although she does not mention them in her verse, it was probably through these Thornhills that Finch met the subjects of a poem: Lady Joanna Thornhill's step-grandson, Richard Thornhill, his bride Frances Coell, and Thornhill's friends William Shippen and Nicholas Rowe. Finch writes familiarly of the four and of Thornhill's estate, Olantigh, near the Finch estate in Kent, in "A Poem. Occasion'd by the Sight of . . . Horace."

In addition to Heneage's Kent relations and neighbors, Finch remained close to her late parents' relatives, especially in her lifelong friendship with her cousin Elizabeth Haslewood, daughter of her late guardian and uncle, Sir William Haslewood. Elizabeth Haslewood became the third wife of Christopher, Viscount Hatton, in 1683. The Hattons, like the Thanets, hosted the Finches at their Northamptonshire estate in the aftermath of the Revolution. During the Finches' stay, Viscount Hatton was warned about nearby troops supporting William of Orange by his son-in-law, Daniel Finch, second Earl of Nottingham, husband of Hatton's daughter by his first wife.⁴⁶ At that time, an indication of the third Earl of Winchilsea's importance to James II as "a safe pair of hands"⁴⁷ was a rumor, mentioned in a letter from Anne Finch, Countess of Nottingham (Hatton's daughter), that "It has been much talked of,

⁴⁴ Catherine Cavendish was the step-granddaughter of Margaret, Duchess of Newcastle, who died in 1673 when Catherine was eight.

⁴⁵ Christopher Paul Burnham, *Lady Joanna Thornhill: Her Life and Times and Her School* (Wye Historical Society, 2008), p. 88.

⁴⁶ McGovern, pp. 55–56.

⁴⁷ Sonia P. Anderson, "Finch, Heneage, third earl of Winchilsea," *ODNB*.

and I think not without a cause, of the Queen [*sic*] Dowagers going to Eastwell, my Lord Winchelsea; but she has now put it of for some time.”⁴⁸

After the Revolution

The Revolution found the Finches in Northamptonshire at the Hattons' estate, Kirby Hall, where they may have fled to escape possible violence. They were also guests of the Tuftons at Hothfield, their estate in Kent.⁴⁹ In the spring of 1689, they arrived at Eastwell, the Finch family's seat, probably because of Heneage's father's declining health. When the third Earl died in August, sixteen-year-old Charles Finch became the fourth Earl of Winchelsea. At his invitation, the Finches had a stable home at Eastwell for most of the following two decades, interrupted by visits to relatives or occasional residence at other family properties, such as the former priory of Wye College. The months immediately following the Revolution, however, were harrowing for the Finches. Their prospects had been completely overturned, and they were left in the equivalent of internal exile after James's flight. Matters worsened for them when Heneage was arrested at Hythe in April 1690 while attempting to leave for France. For the rest of the year he was detained in London preparing his defense on a charge of suspected treason, before his case was dismissed for lack of evidence in late November.⁵⁰ The strain of those months shows in Finch's composition of the tragedy *Aristomenes*, whose hero escapes from an impregnable dungeon but loses the son he cherishes more than his life. According to the preface she composed for the Folger Manuscript, Finch wrote this play and

⁴⁸ Letter of December 11, 1688, from Anne Finch, Countess of Nottingham, to Viscount Hatton, in *Correspondence of the Family of Hatton*, 2 vols., ed. Edward Maunde Thompson (1878; rpt. New York: Johnson Reprint Society, 1965).

⁴⁹ McGovern, p. 110.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 58–60. Paul Monod explains the circumstances of Heneage's "confinement" to England after his release: although there is no record of any penalties assigned Heneage after the dismissal of his case, he was effectively barred from foreign travel, as he would never have been issued an official pass for overseas travel after his suspected attempt to join James in France in 1690 (e-mail message to the editors, December 2, 2013).

Triumphs while living at another Finch property, Godmersham, an isolated estate where she may have gone for relief from the rather crowded quarters at Eastwell.

Heneage's return from London late in 1690 reunited the couple at Eastwell. Heneage managed the Northamptonshire estate of Malshanger Farm for Finch's cousin Sir William Kingsmill, young heir of her late guardian.⁵¹ Absorbing himself in Kentish antiquarian lore, Heneage became involved in local archaeology, collecting ancient medals and joining the Society of Antiquaries. He corresponded with the scholar Dr. William Stukeley and such fellow antiquarians as his brother-in-law Lord Weymouth and great-nephew-in-law Lord Hertford about their shared interests.⁵²

Finch's two decades in Kent deepened friendships with members of her own and Heneage's families, witnessed by the many poems addressed to them. Soon after the Revolution, she wrote moving poems to her young half-sister, Dorothy Ogle, recently appointed Maid of Honour to Princess Anne (see "To My Sister Ogle" and "Some Reflections in a Dialogue"). These works suggest not only Dorothy's dearness to her despite their childhood separation, but also Dorothy's mature response to their calamity. A letter from Sarah Churchill, Princess Anne's confidante, suggests that Dorothy retired from the court in good standing around 1691, as Lady Churchill describes her role in securing for Ogle the parting sum of £1,000 and includes a note from the Princess regarding the transaction.⁵³ Dorothy died in 1692, but Finch's cousin Elizabeth

⁵¹ McGovern, p. 187.

⁵² See *ibid.* (p. 73), and also *The House of Commons 1660–1690*, ed. Basil D. Henning (London: Secker and Warburg, 1983), vol. 2, p. 324, on Heneage's antiquarian pursuits. Stuart Piggott's *William Stukeley: An Eighteenth-Century Antiquary* (rev. edn., New York: Thames and Hudson, 1985) describes the activities of one of Heneage's chief colleagues, a pioneering archaeologist who studied Avebury and Stonehenge; William Stukeley, *Stukeley's "Stonehenge": An Unpublished Manuscript, 1721–1724*, ed. Aubrey Burl and Neil Mortimer (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2005), for example, mentions Heneage's participation in Stukeley's research on the ancient monument (see pp. 45, 50, 67, 94).

⁵³ Letter c. 1691 from Lady Sarah Churchill to unnamed correspondent describing Dorothy Ogle as "a maid of honour a very worthy but unhappy woman who had no prospect of marrying having been long at court and not handsome and the money the

Haslewood Hatton, her husband, and their children remained close friends, as did the Tuftons, and especially the Thynnes, through whom Finch almost certainly met Elizabeth Singer, later Rowe (1674–1737). The Singer family resided at Eggford Farm, Frome, from 1692, where they became friendly with the Thynne family at Longleat; Henry Thynne (1675–1708) tutored Elizabeth Singer in languages.⁵⁴ Because of these connections, Singer and Finch probably knew each other before 1704, when Singer asked Grace Thynne to thank Finch for permitting her to have what was probably a copy of “Reflections . . . upon the Late Hurrycane.”⁵⁵ In addition to the Thynnes and the nearby Thornhills at Olantigh, another cluster of Kentish associates formed around Sir William Twysden, whose estate was likewise not far from Wye College. Twysden, whose death Finch mourned as the loss of a pro-Stuart patriarch, was the grandfather-in-law of Catherine Wythens Twysden, whose mother, Lady Wythens, Finch had praised as “Alinda” in “The Circuit of Appollo.”⁵⁶

Another Cataclysm

Early in the eighteenth century, a severe storm devastated parts of England. London and the southern counties were especially hard hit by the unprecedented hurricane of November 1703. As with the plague and fire of 1665–66, many survivors believed divine providence had sent the storm as punishment for the nation’s sins. But which or whose sins? As with the seventeenth-century catastrophes, answers differed according to religious and political perspectives. Finch assumed the storm punished the country for its failure to support a Stuart restoration. William III’s death in 1702 had been followed by Anne’s coronation, with no consideration of her half-brother James Francis Edward’s claim as James II’s male heir. England’s ongoing

Princesse mentions [in preceding letter, c. 1691] was a thousand pound I had begged for her Just to give her bread when she retired” (British Library, Add. MSS 61414, fols. 116r–118v).

⁵⁴ Jonathan Pritchard, “Rowe, Elizabeth,” *ODNB*. ⁵⁵ McGovern, pp. 118–19.

⁵⁶ Sir John Ramskill Twisden, *The Family of Twysden and Twisden: Their History and Archives*. Completed by Charles H. Dudley Ward (London: John Murray, 1939), p. 296.

faithlessness had been scourged with a mighty storm that upset its natural order, just as its natural political order had been overturned in 1688. Now that aberration was confirmed by the recent succession. Finch composed the passionate ode "Reflections . . . upon the Late Hurrycane" and concluding hymn acknowledging the divine source of the storm. Having completed transcription of the Folger Manuscript, Heneage drafted the poem in the Northamptonshire volume.

Finch emerged from her years in Kent an established poet whose work circulated in manuscript and, increasingly, in print. Early printed works include "A Song" ("Tis strange, this heart") and "A Song" ("Love, thou art best") (printed in 1691 and 1693, respectively). The latter proved to be among Finch's most popular works. It was featured in *The Female Virtuoso's*, a comedy by Thomas Wright performed in 1693 and dedicated to the young Charles Finch, fourth Earl of Winchilsea; it was also printed again in *Comes Amoris: or The Companion of Love. Being a Choice Collection of the Newest Songs* in 1694, in a setting by Henry Purcell that was reprinted several times. Six of Finch's poems were printed in Nahum Tate's *Miscellanea Sacra, or, Poems on Divine and Moral Subjects* in 1696 (reprinted in 1698) and four more, including "The Spleen," in Charles Gildon's *A New Miscellany of Original Poems, on Several Occasions* in 1701. As the eighteenth century began, Finch's elegy "Upon the Death of King James the Second" was printed anonymously: although a courageous gesture of loyalty if she authorized its printing, no evidence survives indicating whether this was her choice. The "General Introduction" to Volume 2 resumes an account of her life and career as they correspond to the collections presented there.

POETIC CONTEXTS

Finch wrote in the most prominent poetic kinds and forms of her era. Like other writers of the time, she experimented with formal hybrids and complicated the associations of certain themes with particular kinds and forms. As in the work of her contemporaries, the domains of religion, affairs of state, love, and friendship are often inseparable in her work.

Devotional Poetry

Many modern readers may find the devotional writings of Finch and her contemporaries less appealing than those not so overtly devotional, but such writings constitute a significant part of her oeuvre and affirm the devotional and religious elements in nearly all of her work.⁵⁷ As in the work of her contemporaries, spiritual, political, and personal matters are frequently intertwined in Finch's work; indeed, in a cultural context deeply informed by religious habits of thought, a separation of religious and political convictions was difficult, if not impossible.⁵⁸ As did many of her contemporaries, Finch used private devotional exercises in her practice of Anglicanism, such as paraphrases, prayers, and songs, to express her philosophical and political convictions.⁵⁹

Composing biblical paraphrases was among women poets' favorite exercises throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and Psalms were perhaps their most frequent choice.⁶⁰ Like her contemporaries, Finch would also have known Psalms and certain biblical passages in *The Book of Common Prayer*, Anglicans' chief devotional guide. Many of Finch's predecessors and contemporaries (women and men) composed Psalm paraphrases, which could be intended as superior replacements for the well-worn versions of Thomas Sternhold and John Hopkins (1600) or as personal devotional exercises.⁶¹ Certain

⁵⁷ Among recent scholars of early modern devotional writing, Margaret J. M. Ezell has reminded us of the popularity of religious topics for both sexes in the seventeenth century: see *Social Authorship and the Advent of Print* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999) and *The Patriarch's Wife*.

⁵⁸ See Deborah K. Shuger, *Habits of Thought in the English Renaissance: Religion, Politics, and the Dominant Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990).

⁵⁹ Such a combination of themes can be seen in Finch's predecessors: Lyn Bennett has studied the politically charged rhetoric of Lady Mary Sidney's paraphrases of the Psalms, which the countess intended to advance both Protestant and familial causes. Although not printed (until 1823), Sidney's Psalms were widely circulated and admired throughout the century, influencing both literary style and biblical interpretation (*Women Writing of Divinest Things: Rhetoric and the Poetry of Pembroke, Wroth and Lanyer* [Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 2004]).

⁶⁰ Backscheider, *Eighteenth-Century Women Poets*, p. 126.

⁶¹ See Hannibal Hamlin, *Psalm Culture and Early Modern English Literature* (Cambridge University Press, 2004).

Psalms were more popular than others; for example, Psalm 137, a song of exile, appealed to writers on both sides of the Reformation and Civil War as circumstances shifted.⁶² Finch's "Psalm the 137th: Paraphras'd," as well as "The 10th: Part of the 119th: Psalm Paraphrased" and "The 146th. Psalm Paraphras'd," all resonate with political overtones. They record her struggle to accept the overthrow of her and Heneage's prospects and reflect her belief that their suffering is emblematic of the reversal of divinely ordained order.

The Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Song of Solomon were deemed the most poetic books of the Hebrew Bible.⁶³ The particularly Protestant nature of poets' pleas to God for help in overcoming their sinful states, thought impossible to achieve through mere human actions, is seen in Finch's "A Act of Contrition," "At First Waking," and "A Prayer for Salvation," which all effect this belief.⁶⁴ Finch's intimate familiarity with both the Hebrew Bible and New Testament and her frequent allusions to passages found in both affirm her reliance on typology as the key to revelation.⁶⁵ We also see the influence of sacred emblem books, those "curious amalgams of picture, motto, and poem,"⁶⁶ believed conducive to meditation on the symbolic character of natural and scriptural images.⁶⁷ In poems like "The Decision of Fortune," Finch seems well aware both of the emblem tradition and of her readers' familiarity with certain images.

Finch's sympathy with Nonjurors, especially after her husband refused to take the oath of allegiance to the Queen following his inheritance of the earldom in 1712, changed her religious practice in that Nonjurors omitted prayers for the ruling family from their

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 219.

⁶³ See Barbara Kiefer Lewalski, *Protestant Poetics and the Seventeenth-Century Religious Lyric* (Princeton University Press, 1979), p. 32.

⁶⁴ See *ibid.*, pp. 15–18.

⁶⁵ We use the term "Hebrew Bible" although Finch, of course, would have used the term "Old Testament." See Lewalski on the Protestant emphasis on typology, the belief that persons and events in the Hebrew Bible can be paired with their counterparts in the New Testament to reveal spiritual truth (*ibid.*, p. 123).

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 179. ⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 187.

services. In all other ways, Finch's religious beliefs remained orthodox for a devout Anglican of her period.⁶⁸ Her private devotional verse participates in a general trend described by Michael Schoenfeldt in "The Poetry of Supplication": "Over the course of the seventeenth century . . . one can trace a shift in the concept of subjectivity, from one that is responsive and vulnerable to social forces to one that is in retreat from and opposed to them."⁶⁹ Schoenfeldt detects a trajectory, at the end of which "Prayer became a largely private action" for poets such as Donne, Herbert, Vaughan, Herrick, and Traherne.⁷⁰ Writing at the end of the century and after its final political upheaval, Finch too turned to private devotional verse.⁷¹ While Herrick and Vaughan wrote in the context of the mid-century sectarian triumph, Finch, writing at a time when her fellow high Anglicans believed their church endangered by William's and Anne's efforts to institute policies tolerant of Dissenters, adopted a similar perspective, as in "On Easter Day" and "A Supplication." Like Herrick's and Vaughan's,

⁶⁸ Various books and articles have examined the Nonjurors' theological and political positions. In *Visible and Apostolic: The Constitution of the Church in High Church Anglican and Non-Juror Thought* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1993), Robert D. Cornwall reviews contemporary doctrinal controversies, concluding that "High Churchmen and Non-Jurors stood in the midst of these competing theologies and politics as the guardians of orthodoxy" (p. 20). Brent S. Sirota describes the Nonjurors' position as a critique not only of the Revolution settlement but also of religious modernity and the early Enlightenment; see "The Occasional Conformity Controversy, Moderation, and the Anglican Critique of Modernity, 1700–1714," *The Historical Journal* 57, no. 1 (March 2014): 81–105.

⁶⁹ Schoenfeldt, "The Poetry of Supplication: Toward a Cultural Poetics of the Religious Lyric," in *New Perspectives on the Seventeenth-Century English Religious Lyric*, ed. John R. Roberts (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1994), pp. 75–104, 104.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 102.

⁷¹ Claude J. Summers has observed a similar trend in the poetry of Herrick and Vaughan: "In reaction to the religiopolitical upheavals of their day, Herrick and Vaughan attempted both to mourn the desecration of the Church and to infuse the spirit and distinctive practices of Anglicanism into their poetry. They coped with their sense of alienation and persecution by cultivating patience and faith, passive resistance and active anticipation. They adopted a hermeneutics of suffering and an eschatological perspective that assured them of recompense for their tribulations in the better world to come" (Summers, "Herrick, Vaughan, and the Poetry of Anglican Survivalism," in *New Perspectives on the Seventeenth-Century English Religious Lyric*, ed. Roberts, pp. 46–74, 74).

Finch's religious verse is permeated with references to the Book of Revelation, with its promise of eventual succor for the suffering faithful. Although private in nature, these poems were probably shared with pious friends, particularly the members of the Longleat circle, including Viscount Weymouth, his close friend the Nonjuring Bishop Ken, his daughter Lady Hertford, and their mutual friend the Nonconformist Elizabeth Rowe. As Kate Narveson has written of Anglicans during the earlier Stuart period, "the cultivation of an informed faith through devotional exercises . . . was at the heart of religious practice among believers actively committed to the established church."⁷² Such exercises "indicate how central to a devotional life was the act of shaping one's devotion into forms that could move, instruct, and delight one's companions."⁷³ Certain of Finch's poems, such as "Some Reflections in a Dialogue," "Reflections . . . upon the Late Hurrycane" with its accompanying hymn, and "An Ode Written upon Christmase Eve" suggest that Narveson's insight was true of Anglicans well into the eighteenth century.

Several of Finch's devotional poems reflect a sequence of practices described by Louis Martz in his classic study, *The Poetry of Meditation: A Study in English Religious Literature of the Seventeenth Century*.⁷⁴ Martz's reconstruction of the roots of seventeenth-century Christian devotional practices in Catholic Counter-Reformation treatises, which sheds light on religious writings by Catholics, Anglicans, and Puritans throughout the century, was later extended to include more emphasis on Protestant meditation.⁷⁵ The earliest of these treatises, such as St. Ignatius Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises* (1521–41), prescribed a specific series of practices, beginning with a brief preparatory prayer before establishing a mental image for the meditation on spiritual

⁷² Narveson, "William Austin, Poet of Anglianism," in *Discovering and (Re)Covering the Seventeenth Century Religious Lyric*, ed. Eugene R. Cunlar and Jeffrey Johnson (Pittsburgh, PA: Duquesne University Press, 2001), pp. 140–63, 141.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 141.

⁷⁴ Martz, *The Poetry of Meditation: A Study in English Religious Literature of the Seventeenth Century* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1954).

⁷⁵ See Martz, *The Paradise Within: Studies in Vaughan, Traherne, and Milton* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1964).

things.⁷⁶ Martz has shown how such a sequence underlies poems by poets as distinct as Southwell, Donne, and Milton. Finch's "A Preparation to Prayer" and "A Contemplation" can both be understood within this framework. Martz's study of the Catholic origins of English devotional practices explains a potentially puzzling aspect of Finch's religious verse, its occasional resemblance to Catholic beliefs in poems such as those paraphrasing St. Augustine's manual ("From St. Austin's Manual . . . the Desire of That Soul" and "The Happynesse of a Departed Soul").

As a theme, religion sanctioned devout women's verse of all kinds, and "the model of a woman's piety as the guiding force of her writing life continued to be influential throughout the [eighteenth] century" as Jane Shaw has observed.⁷⁷ Finch participates in a long tradition of religious writing by women and men that describes the longing for union with Christ in intimate terms, or religious ecstasy in terms of physical union, drawing especially on language from the Song of Songs. Many of the poems by Finch's contemporary Elizabeth Rowe offer striking examples of this mingling of devotional content with intimate and ecstatic imagery. Rowe believed that "divine love was the source of human love as she had experienced it, passionately with her husband Thomas Rowe, in this world";⁷⁸ her verse thus blends mysticism and eroticism in a manner challenging to modern readers. Finch's devotional verse similarly blends passion and devotion when she reiterates her longing for union with God, as in the lines "Most Gracious God most loving most Benign / To thee I call to fill this Soul of mine" ("From St. Austin's Manual . . . the Desire of That Soul," lines 3–4). She was especially drawn to Revelation, with its promise of succor for the faithful: imagery of white-robed elders, golden crowns, and angelic choirs recurs in her religious verse. Her longing for divine union relates her poetry to that of Rowe and other early eighteenth-century devotional poets like Isaac Watts. In lines

⁷⁶ Martz, *The Poetry of Meditation*, pp. 27–28.

⁷⁷ Shaw, "Religious Love," in *The History of British Women's Writing, 1690–1750*, vol. 4, ed. Ros Ballaster (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), pp. 189–200, 191.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 191.

such as “All my wish is to be thine / All my Thoughts to Thee incline” (“A Prayer for Salvation,” lines 3–4), Finch expresses devotional fervor in a manner typical of both traditional and contemporary expressions of religious love.

The Ode

Religious and political themes appear in almost every ode that Finch wrote. By choosing the ode, whether Horatian or Pindaric, for these and other topics, including the notion of melancholy or “the spleen,” she acknowledged the significance of her subject matter and entered a literary arena in which the ode was considered the most ambitious lyric form.⁷⁹ Finch’s “The Change,” for example, resembles a Horatian ode in its repetition of a single stanzaic structure. But she was most drawn to the Cowleyan irregular ode, in poems such as “On the Lord Dundee,” “Upon the Death of Sir William Twisden,” “The Spleen,” “Reflections . . . upon the Late Hurrycane,” and “Upon the Death of King James the Second.” A powerful influence on all writers of odes in the later seventeenth century, Abraham Cowley (1618–67) had written a number of Anacreontic lyrics and some Horatian odes, but was mainly recognized for his fifteen *Pindarique Odes, Written in Imitation of the Stile and Manner of the Odes of Pindar* (1656). As his title specifies, Cowley chose to “imitate” rather than translate Pindar, bringing the latter forward into the seventeenth century and creating for him an elaborate, irregular, witty style unlike the original but captivating to contemporary readers.⁸⁰ Using stanzas that are irregular

⁷⁹ Pindar, a Greek born c. 500 BCE, wrote lengthy poems with a strophe–antistrophe–epode structure, celebrating Olympic victors, heroes, and gods. Horace, writing in Rome almost 475 years after Pindar, composed lyrics in a variety of stanzaic forms, including repetition of a single pattern, often on didactic themes. Humanists rediscovered the ode and adapted the form for public, formal, usually occasional poems of celebration (Carol Maddison, *Apollo and the Nine: A History of the Ode* [Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1960], pp. 3–38). Following Italian and French poets, English writers began experimenting with odes in the late sixteenth century. Michael Drayton invoked Pindar, Anacreon, and Horace in *Poems, Lyrick and Pastoral* (1606) and was the first to master the ode in English (Maddison, pp. 290–91).

⁸⁰ See Maddison, *Apollo and the Nine*, pp. 371–73.

and richly imagistic, Cowley deduced from Pindar's verse a style that was digressive and highly metaphorical.

Finch and her contemporaries, women and men, found in Cowley's treatment of the ode a license for imagination and a form whose irregularity apparently burst formal constraints in ways that for some corresponded to the era's comprehensive understanding of wit, exemplified in William Davenant's "Preface to *Gondibert*, An Heroic Poem":

Wit is not only the luck and labour, but also the dexterity of thought, rounding the world, like the Sun, with unimaginable motion, and bringing swiftly home to the memory universall surveys. It is the Souls *Powder*, which when suppress, as forbidden from flying upward, blows up the restraint, and loseth all force in a farther ascension towards Heaven (the region of God), and yet by nature is much less able to make any inquisition downward towards Hell, the Cell of the Devill; But breaks through all about it as farr as the utmost it can reach, removes, uncovers, makes way for Light where darkness was inclos'd.⁸¹

As Kathryn R. King has explained, Cowley was also appreciated because his translations made classical learning available to women whose education rarely included classical languages. After the Restoration, his marginal status at court made him a sympathetic figure, whose celebrations of retired living resonated with certain women readers.⁸² In many odes, Finch confirms Stella P. Revard's argument about the appeal of the Pindaric ode to Stuart apologists.⁸³ Revard proposes that Cowley's obscure style in his *Pindarique Odes* was as much to disguise his support for the exiled Charles Stuart as to emulate his ancient model.⁸⁴ Following the Restoration, Cowley, Dryden, and Behn wrote Pindaric odes, which became "the preferred form for addressing the restored king and members of his court";⁸⁵

⁸¹ Davenant, "Preface to *Gondibert*, An Heroic Poem," in *The Works of Sr William Davenant*, Kt (London, 1673), p. 8.

⁸² King, "Cowley Among the Women: or, Poetry in the Contact Zone," in *Women and Literary History: "For There She Was"*, ed. Katherine Binhammer and Jeanne Wood (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2003), pp. 43–63.

⁸³ Revard, *Politics, Poetics, and the Pindaric Ode: 1450–1700* (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2008).

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 128. ⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 153.

thus, in elegizing Lord Dundee, Sir William Twisden, and James II in Pindaric odes, Finch employed a form rich in associations with the Court she had served. Although in “The Critick and the Writer of Fables,” probably composed for *Miscellany Poems* (1713), Finch claims weariness with the Pindaric style and a newfound attraction to the simpler style of fable, when late in life she elegized Mary Beatrice, she chose a Pindaric structure to convey her intense grief.

The Song

Finch’s interest in the ode, which she harnessed for both traditionally elevated topics (from the death of monarchs to meditation on the vanity of human wishes) and others such as the spleen, is just one aspect of her experiments with lyrical expression. Complementing Finch’s attraction to the more “elevated” lyric in odes is her use of lyric’s “lower” forms, such as the song. By the time Finch came to court, Charles II was in the last years of his reign and John Wilmot, second Earl of Rochester, had died in 1680. Charles’s court fostered the arts but was particularly associated with writing that was skeptical, sometimes irreverent, and even decadent, in contrast to the more decorous environment promoted by Mary Beatrice. The courts of both Charles II and James, Duke of York, encouraged music, continuing, for example, the masque tradition established by their Stuart predecessors. The earliest known poem by Finch in print, “A Song” (“Whilst Thirsis”), was set by Alexander Damascene in volume 3 of Henry Playford’s *The Theater of Music: or, A Choice Collection of the Newest and Best Songs Sung at the Court, and Public Theaters* (1686).⁸⁶ The anthology’s title suggests that Finch heard her song performed for King James. We do not know whether Finch gave permission for her lyric’s printing, but court culture routinely brought elite poets and composers together. Throughout Finch’s life, her songs were set and printed in collections: “A Song” (“’Tis strange, this heart”) (*Vinculum Societatis*, 1691); a setting by John

⁸⁶ In this first printing the character is referred to as “Strephon”; in the Folger Manuscript, which is our copy-text, the character’s name is “Thirsis.”

Eccles of “A Song” (“Strephon, whose Person”) (*A Collection of Songs*, 1704); both “A Sigh” and “A Song” (“Whilst Thirsis”) in *The Merry Musician* (1716), as well as settings in printed collections throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and into the twentieth.⁸⁷

Finch’s early interest in song would have found ample nurture in her courtly milieu. Charles II championed song as part of public theatrical entertainment, a trend that continued under James.⁸⁸ The plays shown in newly reopened theatres featured numerous songs composed by the playwrights themselves (e.g., Shadwell, Dryden), as well as courtier poets (e.g., Rochester) and pre-Interregnum predecessors, such as Shakespeare and Beaumont and Fletcher.⁸⁹ Songs were integral to the effects and plots of contemporary plays;⁹⁰ Finch’s manuscript songs, such as “A Song” (“’Tis strange, this heart”) and “A Song” (“Persuade me not”), resemble those incorporated into plays, reflecting courtship dynamics between lovers as they seek to outwit one another in the constant struggle between love and honor typical of contemporary plots. Finch included songs in her own plays that exemplify the current fashions: in Act 2 of *Triumphs*, the Queen commands a courtly love song, “All your sighs, to air are turning” (scene 1, line 116), while Carino requests a mournful song, “Love, give thy traine of Slaves away” (scene 1, line 283). Capriccio sings an amorous ballad-like song (“Tell not me of the killing,” scene 1, line 399) as he bounds onstage after a feast. In *Aristomenes*, uncanny voices serenade the captive hero in Act 2 (“Fallen wretch, make haste, and dye,” scene 1, line 190), while Act 3 features a pastoral song (“A yong Shepheard his life,” scene 1, line 321) marking the shepherds’ anticipated exile. Finch appended to *Aristomenes* “A Song Designed to Have

⁸⁷ In *The Merry Musician* (1716), the character Thirsis in Finch’s “A Song” (“Whilst Thirsis”) is referred to as “Strephon.”

⁸⁸ As early as 1660, he licensed an Italian opera house to be headed by Giulio Gentileschi, and although his plan failed, the king encouraged French and Italian musical influences (Willard Thorp, *Songs from the Restoration Theatre* [Princeton University Press, 1934], p. 7). Composers were soon setting English lyrics to airs inspired by the triple-time dance measures favored by Charles (Ian Spink, *English Song: Dowland to Purcell* [New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1974], p. 152).

⁸⁹ Spink, *English Song*, p. 153. ⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 185.

Been Brought into the Part between Climander and Herminia.” Since the lyrics repeat rather than complement the plot, Finch may have cut them as redundant. But in any case, her dramatic songs confirm Finch’s mastery of the Restoration theatre’s lyric idiom: readers must wonder whether poems such as “A Song for a Play Alcander to Melinda” were written for a particular play or simply as exercises in the popular genre. Finch must have been gratified by Courteville’s and Purcell’s settings of “A Song” (“Love, thou art best”), a poem first printed in *The Female Virtuoso’s* (1693). A compliment to the poet as well as to her husband’s nephew, to whom the playwright Thomas Wright dedicated the play, this poem is today Finch’s best-known song. Purcell, like most late-century composers, altered lyrics when setting poems: “for purely musical reasons he often repeated words, phrases, even whole lines in such a way as to upset poetic balance altogether.”⁹¹ Finch’s lyrics were not excepted from this practice and were usually revised somewhat to suit her composers’ interpretations.

In *An Essay upon Poetry* (1682), John Sheffield, then Earl of Mulgrave, declared that songs “now so much abound, / Without his Song no Fop is to be found.”⁹² Sheffield then demanded “Exact propriety of words and thought” as well as “expression easy, and the fancy high . . . No words transpos’d,” and above all, no “Bawdry” as his criteria for excellent songs.⁹³ Finch’s songs heeded Sheffield’s ideals. Although she participated in the fashion for pastoral love songs, she eschewed the cynical and ribald nature of much courtly verse. Finch wrote poems in the Anacreontic style, such as “A Song . . . upon a Punch Bowl,” but in “A Song” (“The Nymph in vain”), she wrote a kind of anti-Anacreontic, or anti-drinking, song.⁹⁴ In “A Moral

⁹¹ Franklin B. Zimmerman, “Sound and Sense in Purcell’s ‘Single Songs,’” in *Words to Music: Papers on Seventeenth-Century Song Read at a Clark Seminar December 11, 1965*, ed. Vincent H. Duckles and Franklin B. Zimmerman (Los Angeles: William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, 1967), p. 57.

⁹² John Sheffield, first Duke of Buckingham and Normanby, *An Essay upon Poetry* (London, 1682), p. 5.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 5–6.

⁹⁴ Anacreon (c. 582 – c. 485 BCE) was a Greek lyric poet whose verse survived only in fragments. Although he wrote both serious and light verse in a variety of verse forms, Finch’s generation identified him with verse celebrating love and wine, and his form

Song” and “Honour a Song” she counters the trends, counseling, in the former, resistance to love; in the latter, resistance to prudery. Finch also loved the ballad forms ubiquitous in popular culture, easily sung to well-known tunes, for poems such as “A Ballad to Mrs: Catherine Fleming in London” (“From me who whileom”). Finch’s songs, while very much a part of her milieu, are not incompatible with her composition of Psalm paraphrases, the “Hymne” following “Reflections . . . upon the Late Hurrycane,” and her odes. Such verse forms might be set to music in her culture, and all exemplify Finch’s love of song.

Love Poetry

Finch’s adaptations of lyric kinds and structures are demonstrated in her treatments of the capacious theme of love. Representations of this theme by Finch and her contemporaries exemplify a larger shift in Restoration and eighteenth-century poetry’s new combinations of kinds, structures, and modes to convey the passions. Frequently Finch uses the epistle to convey the greatest expressions of love, as in “On a Short Vissit” and her Ovidian “An Epistle from Alexander.” The quality of conversation heard in so many of her epistles enhances their intimacy, such as in “Freindship between Ephelia and Ardelia.” Finch’s love poems to her husband often take the form of epistles in which the dynamic of conversation is so crucial that words may be awaited from the beloved addressee, as in “A Letter to Flavio.” She often experiments with verse that reconfigures the subject–object relationship of traditional love poetry, addressing her husband as her muse in “To Daphnis, Who Going Abroad,” for example; in that poem and “A Letter to Flavio” she asks him to complete the poem for which she can find no words.⁹⁵ Finch makes a similar statement in “Freindship between Ephelia and Ardelia,” in which her friend presses her to define friendship, only to be told “Words indeed, no more can shew, / But ’tis to love, as I love You” (lines 19–20).

as what Cowley had defined as the “Anacreontic,” brief stanzas of three- or four-beat lines.

⁹⁵ Jennifer Keith, *Poetry and the Feminine from Behn to Cowper* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2005), p. 70.

Because of her era's tightly constrained gender roles, Finch and other women writers' treatment of love has attracted critical discussion. Among the works of Finch's immediate predecessors, Anne Bradstreet's love poems "To My Dear and Loving Husband" and "A Letter to Her Husband, Absent upon Publick Employment" (1678) build on Puritan respect for marriage, achieving Donne-like confidence through a style that removes obstacles "that traditionally denied women the role of the amatory transgressor."⁹⁶ As Bradstreet's love poetry was sanctioned by Puritan views of marriage, Katherine Philips's writings succeeded in part because she adopted genres favored by the Stuart court. Her "ability to interpolate into her verse the conventional forms of male utterance" guaranteed her acceptance, but also problematized her friendship poems: critics still ponder the degree to which they either are conventional, or should be read in the context of same-sex verse.⁹⁷ Like Philips, Finch expanded her love verse to include a wide circle of men and women friends. Some of the most personal, transcribed into the late Wellesley Manuscript, are "arguably the most interesting and inventive poems of the collection, if not of Finch's career as a writer."⁹⁸ The intensity of Finch's love for some of her female friends has prompted some recent critics to analyze her expression of same-sex passion.⁹⁹ Finch's contemporaries, such as Aphra Behn and Delarivier Manley (and later Eliza Haywood), pioneered women's erotic writing, but Finch claimed Philips as her primary model. Although she was certainly aware of scandals within her social orbit, steaminess and scandal do not feature in her love

⁹⁶ Jonathan F. S. Post, *English Lyric Poetry: The Early Seventeenth Century* (New York: Routledge, 1999), p. 227.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 248.

⁹⁸ Moyra Haslett, "The Love of Friendship," in *The History of British Women's Writing, 1690–1750*, vol. 4, ed. Ballaster, p. 218.

⁹⁹ See, for example, Harriette Andreadis, *Sappho in Early Modern England: Female Same-Sex Literary Erotics, 1550–1714* (University of Chicago Press, 2001). Andreadis argues that Finch expands the possibilities suggested by her predecessor Katherine Philips, by developing "a greater variety of speaking positions and [heightening] the erotic intensity of the shadowed and elliptical language of female affective relationships" (p. 131).

poems.¹⁰⁰ Translation afforded Finch and others a vehicle for representing extreme or unusual passions, among other themes.¹⁰¹ Her beautifully wrought “A Song of the Canibals” expresses as much the speaker’s feelings for the beloved as for the “Lovely Viper” (line 1):

So, may’st thou, above all the snakes
That harbour, in the neighbring brakes,
Be honour’d; and where thou does passe
The shades be close, and fresh the grasse.

(lines 11–14)

For Finch, the passions – and love in particular – often mingle with affairs of state. In her only surviving imitation of one of Petrarch’s sonnets (“From . . . the 188th: Sonnet of Petrarc”), the description of the speaker’s “black dispair” (line 4) may suggest political circumstances after the Revolution more than a beloved’s cruelty. Philips’s model of a coterie centered on Stuart loyalty was crucial for Finch; as noted earlier, her pen name, Ardelia, was taken, at least in part, from Philips’s “A Retir’d friendship, to Ardelia. 23d Aug. 1651.”¹⁰² Finch’s love for her friend Lady Thanet, described in “The Petition for an Absolute Retreat,” moves her to invite Lady Thanet to share her edenic retreat from the post-Revolution court. Written much later from London, “A Letter to Mrs: Arrabella Marow” describes for her dear friend the 1715 Rebellion’s effects on suspected Jacobites, expressing Finch’s anxiety for Marrow and their mutual friends. Other

¹⁰⁰ Sir Thomas Twysden, heir of her beloved Sir William, for example, married Catherine Wythens, supposedly the illegitimate daughter of Finch’s admired “Alinda,” Frances Wythens, wife of Sir Francis Wythens, and her lover Sir Thomas Culpepper of Aylesford, whom Wythens later married (Twisden, *The Family of Twysden and Twisden*, p. 296).

¹⁰¹ For an overview of the uses of translation by women writers in Finch’s era and afterward, see, for example, Mirella Agorni, “The Voice of the ‘Translatress’: From Aphra Behn to Elizabeth Carter,” *Yearbook of English Studies* 28 (1998): 181–95; and Sarah Annes Brown, “Women Translators,” in *The Oxford History of Literary Translation in English*, vol. 3: 1660–1790, ed. Stuart Gillespie and David Hopkins (Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 111–20.

¹⁰² Carol Barash has analyzed the implications of Philips’s verse, “which was rooted in the exile and return of Charles II and in changing constructions of gender and authority around the restored monarch” (*English Women’s Poetry*, p. 61).

friendship poems may not be politically motivated or are more attenuated in their political affiliations. In poems such as “To the Honorable the Lady Worsley at Long-Leate,” which compares her niece’s parents’ home to paradise, Finch delights in praising her relatives’ and friends’ talents, achievements, families, and estates. Her verse demonstrates her belief, as explained by Moyra Haslett, that “To compliment one’s friends is also to ennoble the self.”¹⁰³ Another example, “On the Death of . . . Mr. James Thynne,” consoles his parents by praising their distinguished ancestors, now joined by their adolescent son. Finch’s poems explore many kinds of love, including the awed reverence she expresses for Mary Beatrice in “The Losse” and “On the Death of the Queen,” and affection for her friends’ children in poems including “To . . . the Lady C—Tufton,” “The White Mouses Petition,” and “To the Lord March.” Indeed, Finch’s many poems addressed to the Tuftons and Thynnes express her love for both the parents and the children of these families. Besides her love of friends and relations, however, Finch’s love for the natural world is manifest not only in “A Nocturnal Rêverie” but also in poems like “To the . . . Countess of Hartford Who Engaged Mr. Eusden,” in which she affectionately chastises her sister-in-law’s granddaughter while painstakingly describing the grounds of her country estate. Yet another kind of love Finch professes, as already discussed, is for her God, reiterated in numerous poems, such as “A Prayer for Salvation” where she frankly declares, “All my wish is to be thine” (line 3).

Satire

Many of the poems cited above include satiric elements and passages, some fleeting and others sustained. Readers will find that in spite of Finch’s overt rejection of satire (“Who e’er of Satyre does my pen accuse / Knows not the stile of my well temper’d muse,” she declares in “On My Being Charged” [lines 1–2]), many of her works are satiric and should be understood as such in their contemporary context. Dustin Griffin’s study of satire reminds us of the mode’s range in Finch’s era as well as the

¹⁰³ Haslett, “The Love of Friendship,” p. 219.

relatively few examples that have come to exemplify satire to modern readers.¹⁰⁴ John Dryden's "Discourse Concerning the Original and Progress of Satire" (1693) established a definition of satire – of what the form includes and excludes – that has influenced modern criticism as it did that of his contemporaries.¹⁰⁵ Prominent discussions of, for example, the satires of Alexander Pope compare his works with those of Horace, Juvenal, and Persius, the triumvirate of ancients Dryden considered exemplars of the form.¹⁰⁶ But, as Griffin has observed, Dryden himself wrote only three satires, and probably composed his essay less to champion the form than to protest its abuse by his contemporaries.¹⁰⁷ In defining satire as a poem designed to attack a specific vice or folly in order to instruct readers in its opposing virtue,¹⁰⁸ Dryden specifically denounced lampoons, or scurrilous personal attacks, comparing them to "the slovenly Butchering of a Man."¹⁰⁹ Griffin notes that Dryden was surrounded by avid satirists including Andrew Marvell, Samuel Butler, John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester, and Charles Sackville, Earl of Dorset, as well as the many other authors of "state poems" assaulting government leaders and policies, especially those of the Stuart court.¹¹⁰ Surveying this crowded field, Ashley Marshall concludes "the truth is that the canonical masterpieces are not representative of satiric practice in this period."¹¹¹

Griffin's and Marshall's observations help explain why Finch repeatedly disclaimed writing in what has more recently been considered the most important mode in the poetry of the period. Although agreeing how to define satire is necessary to analyzing women's achievements in it, the social prohibitions against women

¹⁰⁴ Griffin, "Dryden and Restoration Satire," in *A Companion to Satire*, ed. Ruben Quintero (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2007), pp. 176–95.

¹⁰⁵ John Dryden, "Discourse Concerning the Original and Progress of Satire," *The Works of John Dryden*, vol. 4: *Poems 1693–1699*, ed. A. B. Chambers, William Frost, and Vinton A. Dearing (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), p. 12.

¹⁰⁶ See, for example, Howard D. Weinbrot, *Alexander Pope and the Traditions of Formal Verse Satire* (Princeton University Press, 1982). Weinbrot proposes that Pope's satiric power derives from his blending the strengths of Horace, Juvenal, and Persius.

¹⁰⁷ Griffin, "Dryden and Restoration Satire." ¹⁰⁸ Dryden, *Works*, vol. 4, p. 80.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 71. ¹¹⁰ Griffin, "Dryden and Restoration Satire," pp. 176, 178–79.

¹¹¹ Marshall, *The Practice of Satire in England, 1658–1700* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013), p. 12.

writing satire (even greater than against women writing at all) made many women writers avoid its more explicit manifestations.¹¹² As Marshall and others have discussed, not only were women deterred by their lack of classical education from adopting the pose of Roman satirist assumed by privileged male writers, but also the association between satire and personal invective discouraged women, anxious to avoid labels such as “termagant,” from the mode.¹¹³ In the preface to the Folger Manuscript, Finch states unequivocally, “As to Lampoons, and all sorts of abusive Verses, I ever so much detested, both the underhand dealing, and uncharitableness which accompanys them, that I never suffer’d my small talent, to be that way employ’d” (“The Preface,” lines 149–52). Finch allowed that her epistle “Ardelia’s Answer to Ephelia” “tends towards” satire (“The Preface,” line 158) but reiterates that “there was no particular person meant by any of the disadvantageous Characters; and the whole intention of itt, was in general to expose the Censorious humour, foppishnesse, and coquetterie that then prevail’d” (“The Preface,” lines 164–68). Finch defends the use of such “ridicule” for the purpose of “wean[ing] us from those mistakes in our manners, and conversation” (“The Preface,” lines 171–72). In other words, Finch’s approach paralleled Dryden’s prescription for writing modern satire, as opposed to the attacks he declared unacceptable. The distinction, as she understood it, explains her refusal to be called a satirist.

Nevertheless, Finch’s work contains many elements of satire. Sometimes her censure is through delicate implication, as in “The Petition for an Absolute Retreat,” in which William and Mary’s court is by definition the fallen world, and Eastwell, Eden. “Reflections . . . upon the Late Hurrycane” likewise condemns England for forsaking its divinely ordained monarch, a failure mirrored in the recent natural disaster. “All Is Vanity” excoriates “the Man of an Aspiring thought” (line 285) in a description reminiscent of the career of William III. Finch sometimes refers quite subtly, but pejoratively, to the reigning

¹¹² Marshall states that “although women did write satire in the eighteenth century . . . the clichés about satire being a male form are legitimate” (*ibid.*, p. 28).

¹¹³ *Ibid.*

monarch, as in her description of “The Soverains blurr’d, and undistinguish’d face” (line 88) in “The Spleen.” Finch’s political satire is not always oblique; the fables included in *Miscellany Poems* (1713) and those she retained in manuscript frankly mock the current political establishment and its values. “The Man Bitten by Fleas,” “Reformation,” and “Upon an Improbable Undertaking” all censure the 1688 Revolution. “A Tale of the Miser, and the Poet” and “The Tradesman and the Scholar” satirize Whig mercantile values, while “The Atheist and the Acorn” and “Man’s Injustice towards Providence” exemplify the Tory belief that Queen Anne’s inclination to tolerance had endangered the Church of England. In another political arena, Finch’s poems bitterly satirize her society’s restrictions on women (e.g., “The Introduction”). She can be equally caustic about bad-tempered husbands who abuse long-suffering wives, as in “The Spleen,” and about manipulative wives who torment their husbands, as in “A Tale” (“Over a cheerfull”) (which concludes by acknowledging that women in her culture are more often victims than aggressors). That Finch disapproved of women’s cultural subjection is clear in poems such as “On My Selfe,” “The Appology,” and “The Unequal Fetters,” among many examples.

Finch employed songs and ballads for satiric purposes but avoided bawdy lyrics. Instead her songs urge women to avoid alcoholic suitors (“A Song” [“The Nymph in vain”]) and men to flee coquettes (“A Song” [“By Love persu’d”]). Much later, “A Ballad to Mrs: Catherine Fleming in London” (“From me who whileom”) contrasts her current environs with the jarring noises and crowds of London: “Nor look for sharp satyrick wit, / From off the balmy plain: / The country breeds no thorny bays,” she reminds her friend (lines 80–82). But the poem’s image of wholesome country diet, exercise, and freedom from urban stress supplies a corrective vision of life that is still close to a pastoral ideal. Since most of Finch’s is not what we call formal verse satire – that is, imitations of classical models – her satire might be overlooked, but her propensity to view her culture from the perspective of a marginalized observer, however subtly,

compassionately, and humorously, endows her verse with many satiric qualities.

Fables

Satire is most visible in Finch's fables, ideal vehicles for her discerning wit that could be directed at fictional characters, human or otherwise. The importance of fable to "the necessities of States or mankind" is explained by Davenant in his "Preface to *Gondibert*, An Heroic Poem":

it appears that Poesy hath for its natural prevailings over the Understandings of Men . . . been very successful in the most grave, and important occasions that the necessities of States or mankind have produc'd. For it may be said that *Demosthenes* sav'd the *Athenians* by the Fable or Parable of the Doggs and Wolves, in answer to King *Philip's* Proposition; And that *Menenius Agrippa* sav'd the Senate, if not *Rome*, by that of the Belly, and the Hands: and that even our Saviour was pleas'd (as the most prevalent way of Doctrine) wholly to use such kinde of Parables in his converting, or saving of Souls; it being written, *Without a Parable spake he not to them*.¹¹⁴

In the early seventeenth century, Aesop was regarded somewhat like Homer: his tales dated from before the print era, yet had been preserved for their cleverness and wisdom. John Ogilby, writing during the English Civil War and Interregnum, was following precedents when he printed a lavish volume, *Fables of Aesop* (1651), featuring tales such as one about a "Royal Cedar" that foolishly provides a woodcutter with an axe to cut him down along with his grove. In this and similar fables, Ogilby provides a nuanced analysis of the recent war, which is far from simplistic if generally sympathetic to the Royal party.¹¹⁵

Finch translated a number of fables by Jean de La Fontaine, who drew from the Aesopic tradition to instruct a future King (*Fables choisies*, 1668–94).¹¹⁶ Dryden would later find the Aesopic beast

¹¹⁴ Davenant, "Preface to *Gondibert*," p. 19.

¹¹⁵ Annabel M. Patterson, *Fables of Power: Aesopian Writing and Political History* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1991), pp. 88–89.

¹¹⁶ On Finch's fables, including her translations of La Fontaine, see Jayne Elizabeth Lewis, "In Her 'Transparent Laberynth': Obstructions of Poetic Justice in Anne

fable a helpful medium for defending his unpopular conversion to the Roman Catholic faith (*The Hind and the Panther*, 1687). After James II's flight to France in December 1688, Sir Roger L'Estrange entered the field with *Fables of Æsop and Other Eminent Mythologists* (1692). He inherited from his predecessors a menagerie rich in political associations, so that when a stately oak is replaced by a stunted tree, readers easily associated his "Trees, Streight and Crooked" with James II and William III. In case of any doubt, L'Estrange appended both a moral and a "Reflexion" to each fable, many strikingly political. These are only a few of the fabulists whom Finch emulated throughout her career. She was also attentive to the translations of Royalist Francis Barlow (*Æsop's Fables with His Life*, 1666), whose 1687 edition contained English captions by Aphra Behn, and the internal evidence of Finch's poems suggests awareness of many more practitioners, such as John Dennis, who included fables in his *Miscellanies* (1693). After the turn of the century, for example, she appears to have read collections by Mandeville (*Some Fables after the Easie and Familiar Method of Monsieur de la Fontaine*, 1703), Pieter de la Court (*Fables, Moral and Political*, 1703), and perhaps Locke's *Æsop's Fables, in English and Latin* (1703).

For some of her fables, Finch adopts the tetrameter-couplet form of Samuel Butler's *Hudibras*. "A Tale of the Miser, and the Poet," when the first Copyright Law was under debate, associates Mammon with the Whig "monied men," and poets with Restoration culture. Finch's poet resigns the modern world to Mammon, but she clearly expects her readers to sympathize with the hope for "new Augustean Days" when poets will again be rewarded (line 98). By allowing Mammon to lecture the poet, Finch avoids accusations of insulting or dismissing the Whigs' practical view of culture. Her droll couplets (the conclusion rhymes "surpass us" with "*Parnassus*," lines 102–103) amuse while exposing current "Mammonists" as philistines, if no worse. Other fables employ inventive forms like tetrameter triplets, as in "To the

Finch's Fables," in *The English Fable: Æsop and Literary Culture, 1651–1740* (Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 128–55.

Honble. Mrs. H — n” (“Where is the trust”), which records a battle between ladies and mice for the purpose of warning Mrs. Hatton’s daughter not to crush the hopes of her suitors.

Annabel Patterson’s important study analyzed the fable as being among the chief vehicles of covert political expression from 1575 to 1725.¹¹⁷ Other critics have followed Patterson’s lead, particularly in recovering the importance of fable to pro-Stuart writers during the Civil War, and to Jacobites following the Revolution of 1688.¹¹⁸ Finch’s fables are not uniformly political, but her Jacobite sympathy predominates in this, possibly her favorite, poetic kind. La Fontaine and L’Estrange were her preferred models, sometimes credited in her titles. “Cupid and Folly” accounts for the blindness of love, while “The Atheist and the Acorn” attacks contemporary free-thinkers. But even the latter is susceptible to a political reading, since Tories believed Whig support for toleration of dissenting Protestants threatened the foundations of the Church of England. Both are among the dozens of fables Finch included in her print volume of 1713. Many of these may have been composed for the print volume and carry a strong message: Whig values are destroying England (as in “The Tradesman and the Scholar”); the “Glorious Revolution” has gone too far (“The Eagle, the Sow, and the Cat” and “The Man Bitten by Fleas”). By implication, Finch’s readers are urged to consider the alternative to the pending Hanoverian succession, already associated with the Whigs. “Moderation or the Wolves and the Sheep” apparently remained unprinted during her lifetime but clearly echoes Tory fears for the Church of England in the early eighteenth century, when Parliament repeatedly refused to pass a bill forbidding Occasional Conformity. Fable after fable reiterates Finch’s disdain for Whig innovations such as the Bank of England, the Stock Exchange, mercantile ventures, and a generally commercialized culture. Given Finch’s precedents and her interpretations, it is surprising that few have discussed the partisan

¹¹⁷ Patterson, *Fables of Power*, p. 2.

¹¹⁸ See also Lewis’s *The English Fable*, which pays special attention to Ogilby, L’Estrange, Dryden, Finch, and Gay. Mark Loveridge’s *A History of Augustan Fable* (Cambridge University Press, 1998) discusses fables to the end of the eighteenth century in his focus on them as constituting a particular literary mode.