

THE CAMBRIDGE EDITION OF THE WORKS OF

*Aphra  
Behn*

PLAYS 1682–1696

VOLUME IV

EDITED BY  
RACHEL ADCOCK, KATE AUGHTERSON,  
CLAIRE BOWDITCH, ELAINE HOBBY,  
ALAN JAMES HOGARTH, ANITA PACHECO  
AND MARGARETE RUBIK



THE CAMBRIDGE EDITION  
OF THE WORKS OF  
APHRA BEHN  
Volume IV: Plays 1682–1696

Aphra Behn (1640?–1689) is renowned as the first professional woman of literature and drama in English. Her career in the Restoration theatre extended over two decades, encompassing remarkable generic range and diversity. Her last five plays, written and performed between 1682 and 1696, include city comedies (*The City-Heiress*, *The Luckey Chance*), a farce (*The Emperor of the Moon*), a tragicomedy (*The Widdow Ranter*), and a comedy of family inheritance (*The Younger Brother*). These plays exemplify Behn's skills in writing for individual performers, and exhibit the topical political engagement for which she is renowned. They witness to Behn's popularity with theatre audiences during the politically and financially difficult years of the 1680s and even after her death. Informed by the most up-to-date research in computational attribution, this fully annotated edition draws on recent scholarship to provide a comprehensive guide to Behn's work, and the literary, theatrical and political history of the Restoration.

**Rachel Adcock** is Lecturer in English at Keele University. Her book, *Baptist Women's Writings in Revolutionary Culture, 1640–80* (2015), was nominated for the Richard L. Greaves Prize awarded by the International John Bunyan Society. She has also co-edited an edition of seventeenth-century women's works: *Flesh and Spirit: An Anthology of Seventeenth-Century Women's Writing* (2014).

**Kate Aughterson** is Principal Lecturer in English Literature at the University of Brighton, and the author of a number of books on gender and performance in the early modern period, including *Aphra Behn: The Comedies* (2003). She is general editor of the Intellect Publishing series on Performance and Communities.

**Claire Bowditch** is AHRC Postdoctoral Research Associate at Loughborough University, where she completed her PhD on Aphra Behn in 2015. Her research for this volume has been supported by Fellowships from the Arts and Humanities Research Council, the Folger Shakespeare Library, the Harry Ransom Center, and the Universities of Harvard, Illinois, and Princeton.

**Elaine Hobby** is Professor of Seventeenth-Century Studies at Loughborough University. She first wrote about Aphra Behn in 1980, when working on her PhD thesis. Elaine's research for this volume has been supported by Fellowships at the National Library of Australia, and at libraries across the USA, including the Folger Shakespeare Library, the Harry Ransom Center, Harvard University, Princeton University, the Huntington Library, the University of Illinois (Urbana-Champaign), and the William Andrews Clark Library.

**Alan James Hogarth** is a Postdoctoral Research Associate at the University of Leicester. Working with Mel Evans, and using the latest techniques in computational stylometry, he has investigated the authorship of drama, poetry, prose and letters traditionally attributed to Behn. He has also been involved with the computational aspects of the Thomas Nashe project, and contributed to *Visualising English Print*, building and running experiments on a corpus of early modern scientific texts.

**Anita Pacheco** is an Honorary Associate in the Department of English at the Open University. She is the author of *Coriolanus* (Writers & their Work series, 2007) and the editor of *A Companion to Early Modern Women's Writing* (2002). She has written extensively on Aphra Behn's works, focussing in particular on their political meanings and their connection with freethinking.

**Margarete Rubik** is Emerita Professor of English at the University of Vienna in Austria, where she was Head of the English department and chair of the gender committee. She has also been president of the Austrian Association of University-Teachers of English and Vice President of the German society for Contemporary Theatre. Her publications include *Early Women Dramatists* (1998); *Eighteenth-Century Women Playwrights*, vol. 1 (co-ed., 2001) and a special issue of *Women's Writing* about Behn (ed., 2012).

THE CAMBRIDGE EDITION  
OF THE WORKS OF  
APHRA BEHN

GENERAL EDITORS

Claire Bowditch  
Mel Evans  
Elaine Hobby  
Gillian Wright

Aphra Behn is one of the most important English writers of the seventeenth century, as well as one of the most significant women writers in any country and any age. Behn was a leading dramatist, a pioneering author of prose fiction, a skilled and prolific poet, an influential literary editor, and a successful translator. Her writings also engage with issues of great interest to current scholarly and student readerships, including gender, sexuality and race, the rise of the novel, and the history of the theatre.

This major edition brings together the expertise of an international team of scholars. Its freshly edited texts draw on primary resources from across the world, and are founded on a comprehensive reassessment of the Behn canon. It charts the complex textual history of Behn's works, locates them within their original literary and historical contexts, and places them in relation to modern scholarly debates.

TITLES IN THE SERIES

- 1 General Introduction and Plays 1670–1676
- 2 Plays 1676–1678
- 3 Plays 1679–1681
- 4 Plays 1682–1696
- 5 Poetry
- 6 Love-Letters between a Nobleman and his Sister
- 7 Prose Fiction including Translated Fiction
- 8 Letters and Non-Fiction Translations



THE CAMBRIDGE EDITION  
OF THE WORKS OF  
APHRA BEHN



Volume IV  
Plays 1682–1696

EDITED BY

Rachel Adcock

*Keele University*

Kate Aughterson

*University of Brighton*

Claire Bowditch

*Loughborough University*

Elaine Hobby

*Loughborough University*

Alan James Hogarth

*University of Leicester*

Anita Pacheco

*The Open University, Milton Keynes*

Margarete Rubik

*Universitaet Wien*



CAMBRIDGE  
UNIVERSITY PRESS

**CAMBRIDGE**  
UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA

477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia

314–321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi – 110025, India

79 Anson Road, #06–04/06, Singapore 079906

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning, and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

[www.cambridge.org](http://www.cambridge.org)

Information on this title: [www.cambridge.org/97811088840743](http://www.cambridge.org/97811088840743)

DOI: 10.1017/9781108887564

© Cambridge University Press 2021

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception  
and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements,  
no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission  
of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2021

Printed in the United Kingdom by TJ Books Limited, Padstow Cornwall

*A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library.*

ISBN 978-1-108-84074-3 Hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of  
URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication  
and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain,  
accurate or appropriate.



# CONTENTS

*List of Illustrations* [viii](#)  
*Acknowledgements* [ix](#)  
*List of Abbreviations* [xi](#)  
*Introduction* [xv](#)  
*Editorial Conventions* [xix](#)



*The City-Heiress* [1](#)  
*edited by Rachel Adcock*

*The Luckey Chance* [191](#)  
*edited by Kate Aughterson and Claire Bowditch*

*The Emperor of the Moon: A Farce* [373](#)  
*edited by Elaine Hobby and Alan James Hogarth*

*The Widdow Ranter* [531](#)  
*edited by Anita Pacheco*

*The Younger Brother* [705](#)  
*edited by Margarete Rubik*



*Bibliography* [877](#)

## ILLUSTRATIONS

- 1 The Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen, from Thomas De Laune, *The Present State of London* (1681). Reproduced by kind permission of the University of Illinois (Urbana-Champaign) 6
- 2 Title page of Aphra Behn, *The City-Heiress; or, Sir Timothy Treat-all* (1682). Reproduced by kind permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library 31
- 3 From William Morgan, 'London &c. Actually Survey'd'. Reproduced by kind permission of the British Library 195
- 4 Title page of Aphra Behn, *The Luckey Chance; or, An Alderman's Bargain* (1687). Reproduced by kind permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library 223
- 5 Playbill advertising John Harris's booth at Bartholomew Fair, c. 1700. Reproduced by kind permission of the Houghton Library 398
- 6 Title page of Aphra Behn, *The Emperor of the Moon* (1687). Reproduced by kind permission of the Firestone Library, Princeton University 409
- 7 Indentured servant contract for 'An Huchison, Aged 22 years', dated 3 July 1683 for four years' servitude in Virginia. Reproduced by kind permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library 534
- 8 Mezzotint portrait of Anne Bracegirdle as the Indian Queen in Behn's *The Widdow Ranter* (c. 1689). Artist unknown. Reproduced by kind permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library 547
- 9 Title page of Aphra Behn, *The Widdow Ranter* (1690). Reproduced by kind permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library 563
- 10 Extract from the score music for *The Younger Brother* composed by Thomas Morgan. Reproduced by kind permission of the Royal College of Music, London 729
- 11 Title page of Aphra Behn, *The Younger Brother* (1696). Reproduced by kind permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library 739

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The general editors would like to thank the following institutions for their support in producing this volume: the Arts and Humanities Research Council for funding 'Editing Aphra Behn in the Digital Age' (2016–20); the Digital Humanities Institute, University of Sheffield, for their assistance with the digital dimensions of the AHRC-funded project; the university libraries of Birmingham, Leicester and Loughborough; the Alexander Turnbull Library; the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University; Bibliothèque nationale de France; the Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford; the British Library; Cambridge University Library; the Library of Congress; the Firestone Library, Princeton University; the Folger Shakespeare Library; the Harry Ransom Center, University of Texas at Austin; the Houghton Library, Harvard University; the Huntington Library; Jesus College, University of Oxford; the Kislak Center, University of Pennsylvania; Monash University Library; the Morgan Library and Museum; the National Library of Australia; New York Public Library; the Paterno Library, Pennsylvania State University; the Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University; the Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Illinois (Urbana-Champaign); the Royal College of Music, London; St John's College, University of Oxford; the State Library of New South Wales; the State Library of Victoria; University of Sydney Library; Vanderbilt University Library; and the William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, UCLA. Elaine Hobby would like to thank Melbourne University for the Macgeorge Bequest fellowship to support her research in Melbourne, Australia in 2019.

The following people have been crucial to the preparation work, through their support and guidance: Judith Milhous for generously sharing her expertise on Restoration theatre, especially regarding aspects of staging; Hugh Craig for his advice on computational stylistics and attribution; Lyndsay Croft for checking the EEBO-TCP texts; Georgia Priestley for her involvement in preparing the attribution corpus; Jenna Townend for her work on the volume bibliography; Maureen Bell, Hugh Craig, Robert D. Hume, Mary Ann O'Donnell, Paul Salzman, and Jane Spencer, as members of the Editorial Board; Linda Bree, Hugh Houghton, Kate Loveman, Katy Mair, Michael J. Pidd, Bethany Thomas, and Wim Van Mierlo as members of the Project Management Board; members

of the International Advisory Group; our colleagues at the Universities of Birmingham, Leicester, and Loughborough; and Martin Butler, Elizabeth Hageman, Neil Keeble, Paddy Lyons, James McLaverty, David Norbrook, Jennifer Richards, Valerie Rumbold, Tiffany Stern and Marcus Walsh.

The general editors are grateful to Bethany Thomas and her colleagues at Cambridge University Press for their support throughout the preparation of this volume.

The editors of Volume IV, in addition to those persons and institutions named above, also wish to acknowledge the following people and institutions.

Rachel Adcock: Christian Algar and Maddy Smith, Curators for British Heritage Collections at the British Library; the Irving S. Gilmore Music Library, Yale University; Sara Read; colleagues at Keele University, particularly Jonathon Shears and Rebecca Yearling; and Oliver Tearle.

Kate Aughterson and Claire Bowditch: Brighton University for funding Kate Aughterson's sabbatical in 2017; Jessica Moriarty, Ailsa Grant-Ferguson, and Deborah Philips; Alison, Jacqueline, and Anthony Bowditch; Judith Collins; Michael, Faye, and William; Jennifer Cooke and Lucy Dawkins; David Fletcher, Catie Gill, Kathy Herlock, Amelia Mills, and Sara Read; Warren Chernaik, Edward Legon, Simon Smith, and Alexandra Walsham.

Elaine Hobby and Alan Hogarth: Rachel Adcock, Line Cottegnies, Catie Gill, Wallace Kirsop, Sara Read, Andrew Pinnock, Chris White; Carol Bolton, George, Julie, Lily and Missy Overton, Henry Overton, Rachel Barton, Jacob and Oliver, Frankie Debenham, Iain Campbell, George and Eliza, Lyndsay Croft, Kevin Hughes, Milo and Olivia; and Marianne Hogarth.

Anita Pacheco: Richard D. Brown and Warren Chernaik.

Margarete Rubik: Rachel Adcock, Manfred Draudt, Karen Gevirtz, Paddy Lyons, Sara Read, Herbert Seifert, Patrick Wallis, Corinna Weiss, and Philip Withington.

## ABBREVIATIONS

All references to the Bible are taken from the King James (Authorized) Version unless otherwise stated

<i>Annals</i>	Alfred Harbage and S. Schoenbaum, <i>Annals of English Drama 975–1700: An Analytical Record of All Plays, Extant or Lost, Chronologically Arranged and Indexed</i> , 3rd edn, rev. Sylvia Stoler Wagonheim (London: Routledge, 1989)
BBTI	British Book Trade Index, Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford
CSPD	<i>Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of Charles II</i> , 28 vols. (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1860–1939)
D&M	Cyrus Lawrence Day and Eleanor Boswell Murrie, <i>English Song Books, 1651–1702: A Bibliography with a First-Line Index of Songs</i> (London: Bibliographical Society at Oxford University Press, 1940)
Danchin	Pierre Danchin, ed., <i>The Prologues and Epilogues of the Restoration 1660–1700: A Complete Edition</i> , 4 Parts in 7 vols. Part 1, 1660–1676 (vols. I and II) (Nancy: Publications Université de Nancy, 1981); Part 2, 1677–1690 (vols. III and IV) (Nancy: Presses Universitaires de Nancy, 1984)
Downes	John Downes, <i>Roscius Anglicanus</i> , ed. Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume (London: Society for Theatre Research, 1987)
EBBA	English Broadside Ballad Archive, University of California, Santa Barbara
ECCO	Eighteenth Century Collections Online
EEBO	Early English Books Online
ESTC	English Short Title Catalogue
Evelyn	E. S. De Beer, ed., <i>The Diary of John Evelyn</i> , 6 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955)
Highfill	Philip H. Highfill Jr, Kalman A. Burnim, and Edward A. Langhans, <i>A Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses,</i>

- Musicians, Dancers, Managers & Other Stage Personnel in London, 1660–1800*, 16 vols. (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1973–93)
- Lemprière John Lemprière, *Lemprière's Classical Dictionary of Proper Names Mentioned in Ancient Authors Writ Large*, ed. F. A. Adams, 3rd edn (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1984)
- London Gazette* *The London Gazette, Published by Authority*
- London Stage* William Van Lennep, Emmett L. Avery, Arthur H. Scouten, and others, eds., *The London Stage, 1660–1800: A Calendar of Plays, Entertainments & Afterpieces, together with Casts, Box-Receipts and Contemporary Comment, Compiled from the Playbills, Newspapers and Theatrical Diaries of the Period*, 5 parts (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1960–68), vol. 1 (1965)
- Lords' Journals* *Journals of the House of Lords* (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office)
- Newdigate Newdigate Family Collection of Newsletters, Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington DC (Folger.MS.L.c.1–3950)
- ODNB *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*
- O'Donnell Mary Ann O'Donnell, *Aphra Behn: An Annotated Bibliography of Primary and Secondary Sources*, 2nd edn (Farnham: Ashgate, 2004)
- OBP Tim Hitchcock, Robert Shoemaker, Clive Emsley, and others, *The Proceedings of the Old Bailey, 1674–1913*
- Pepys *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, ed. Robert Latham and William Matthews, 11 vols. (London: HarperCollins, 1995)
- Plomer, I Henry R. Plomer, *A Dictionary of the Booksellers and Printers Who Were at Work in England, Scotland, and Ireland from 1641 to 1667* (London: Blades, East, & Blades, 1907)
- Plomer, II Henry R. Plomer, *A Dictionary of the Printers and Booksellers Who Were at Work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1668 to 1725* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1922)
- PoAS *Poems on Affairs of State, 1660–1714*, ed. George deForest Lord and others, 5 vols. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1963–71)
- Register* Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume, *A Register of English Theatrical Documents 1660–1737*, 2 vols. (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1991), vol. 1

# LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- SR, I      *A Transcript of the Registers of the Worshipful Company of Stationers from 1640 to 1708 A.D.*, 3 vols. (London: privately printed, 1913–14), vol. I, 1640–1655 (1913)
- SR, II     *A Transcript of the Registers of the Worshipful Company of Stationers from 1640 to 1708 A.D.*, 3 vols. (London: privately printed, 1913–14), vol. II, 1655–1675 (1913)
- SR, III    *A Transcript of the Registers of the Worshipful Company of Stationers from 1640 to 1708 A.D.*, 3 vols. (London: privately printed, 1913–14), vol. III, 1675–1708 (1914)
- Spencer    Aphra Behn, *The Rover and Other Plays*, ed. Jane Spencer (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995)
- Summers, Behn    Montague Summers, ed., *The Works of Aphra Behn*, 6 vols. (London: Heinemann, 1915)
- TC, I      Edward Arber, *The Term Catalogues, 1668–1709 A.D.*, vol. I (London: privately printed, 1903)
- TC, II     Edward Arber, *The Term Catalogues, 1668–1709 A.D.*, vol. II (London: privately printed, 1905)
- Tilley      Morris Palmer Tilley, *A Dictionary of the Proverbs in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1950)
- Todd      Janet Todd, ed., *The Works of Aphra Behn*, 7 vols. (London: Pickering, 1992–96)





## INTRODUCTION

This volume of *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Aphra Behn* is comprised of plays from the final years of Behn's writing life: *The City-Heiress*, probably first performed and published in 1682; *The Luckey Chance*, performed and almost certainly published in 1686; *The Emperor of the Moon*, performed and first published in 1687 (republished in 1688); *The Widdow Ranter*, performed in 1689 and published either later that year or in early 1690; and *The Younger Brother*, probably first performed and certainly published in 1696. In the case of *The Widdow Ranter*, this volume provides both the prologue and epilogue written for the play's first performance, and the different prologue and epilogue included in the first printed edition (here given in an appendix, pp. 700–03). The volume does not include Behn's theatrical paratexts for other writers' work during this period – her prologues and epilogues for *Romulus and Hersilia* (1682) and prologue for *Valentinian* (1684) – or the prologue and epilogue for her own *Like Father, Like Son*, a lost play of 1682. All of these paratextual verses, published as broadsides in Behn's lifetime, are included with her poetry in Volume v.

Editorially, Volume iv follows the general principles for *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Aphra Behn* in the respects applicable to drama, as set out in full in Volume i. It is organised by date of first performance rather than by first publication or composition. (For this reason, *The Young King* – probably first performed in 1679 though not published until 1682 – is included in Volume iii.) As with the rest of the edition, the central aims are here to reconstruct Behn's own intentions for her works, insofar as these can be determined, and to place her texts within the linguistic, cultural, and political contexts that were available to her first audiences and readers. Given the dramatic focus of the volume, the edition-wide objective of locating Behn's works in relation to the institutions of the book trade is complemented by the parallel objective of orientating her texts within the conventions and conditions of the London theatres. Details of our editorial practice are outlined in the Editorial Conventions section that follows, while play-specific information can be found in the editorial section and its Textual Headnote prefacing each work.

The five plays printed in Volume iv include three that were performed and published during the last years of Behn's life, as well as two that first reached

public audiences only after her death in 1689. Politically, these years (1682–96) stretch from the immediate aftermath of the Exclusion Crisis (c. 1679–81), through the three years of James II and VII's reign (1685–88), to the 1688 Revolution and the accession of William and Mary; the last play to be attributed to Behn, *The Younger Brother*, was first performed two years after the death of Mary II. In the theatre, these fourteen years witnessed many changes in dramatic tastes, from Exclusion-era political tragedies such as *Venice Preserv'd* and *The Sicilian Usurper* in the early 1680s, to the comedies of a new generation of playwrights such as William Congreve, Mary Pix, and John Vanbrugh in the mid 1690s. Institutionally, the period also witnessed two major upheavals within the London theatre: the 1682 merger of the King's and the Duke's companies to form the United Company, followed twelve years later by that organisation's break-up and the subsequent formation of the Lincoln's Inn Fields Company. Behn was unusual among dramatists of the later 1680s in continuing to write for the commercial theatre – albeit less frequently than in the 1670s – even after the creation of the United Company had greatly reduced opportunities for new plays; and, as the staging and publication of *The Widdow Ranter* and *The Younger Brother* demonstrate, she was to remain a marketable dramatist even after her death.

For Behn, the years from 1682 to 1689 were the busiest and most diverse of her writing life. As Volumes v–viii of this edition indicate, this was the period when she was most active across a range of non-dramatic literary genres. Such generic diversification can be attributed to both financial imperatives – her need to find new sources of income amid the dearth of theatrical opportunities in the 1680s – and an interest in literary experimentation evident in her writing since the early 1670s. Already active as a poet in the 1670s and early 1680s, when her published verse included a commendatory poem for Edward Howard's *The Six Days Adventure*, as well as several songs reproduced in miscellanies and songbooks, and the literary imitation 'A Paraphrase on Oenone to Paris', she was to move in the mid and late 1680s into such new poetic genres as panegyrics on royal events and Aesopian satire, as well as publishing her own single-authored *Poems upon Several Occasions* (1684). Over the same period she established a reputation in the modish fields of prose fiction and translation, and edited two literary miscellanies. Her ability to produce non-dramatic texts of such range, innovation, and sheer quantity alongside maintaining a successful career in the theatre is rare and remarkable.

Behn's plays of this period also exhibit impressive diversity in terms of both genre and subject matter. *The City-Heiress* and *The Luckey Chance* continue in the tradition of London-based comedies previously evident in *The Town-Fopp* (1676, pub. 1677) and *Sir Patient Fancy* (1678) but with a different political focus,

following on from her topically inflected historical drama, *The Roundheads* (1681, pub. 1682). *The Emperor of the Moon*, a farce, brought Italian *commedia dell'arte* up to date with an admixture of scientific satire, in a dazzlingly successful comedy that continued to attract audiences well into the eighteenth century. *The Widdow Ranter*, another politically inflected historical drama, can be linked with her near contemporary prose fiction *Oroonoko* due to the two works' innovative American settings; it also represents a reversion to tragicomedy, a genre she had not utilised since *The Forc'd Marriage* (1670, pub. 1671). *The Younger Brother*, a comedy of familial inheritance and sexual intrigue, is more difficult to situate within Behn's career as its late emergence, seven years after her death, leaves so much unclear – most importantly, when it was written and how much of the published text can be attributed to Behn.

By the early 1680s Behn had been writing for the London theatre for over a decade, and had formed many professional, cultural, and political connections. The plays included in the present volume saw her collaborating with a wide range of theatrical and book trade professionals, as well as seeking the patronage of a number of public figures. The text of *The City-Heiress*, for instance, attests to her professional relationship with the booksellers Thomas Brown and Thomas Benskin, who were responsible for its publication. It also evinces links with the playwright Thomas Otway, who provided the prologue; leading actors such as Elizabeth Barry, Thomas Betterton, Charlotte Butler, Thomas Jevon, Anthony Leigh, and James Nokes; and the nameless 'Person of Quality' who supplied the epilogue. Dedicated to the Earl of Arundel, a member of the powerful Howard family, the play aligned Behn firmly with the anti-Popish Plot and anti-Exclusionist cause, with which the earl himself was publicly associated. Arundel's courage in speaking out against the Plot, despite the risk to his own safety, is lauded by Behn in her dedicatory epistle.

Comparable evidence of professional and political connectedness can also be found in her other plays of the period. Behn seems to have been skilled in writing for the talents of individual performers, many of whom worked with her repeatedly. Barry, Betterton, and Nokes, already seasoned Behn performers, were all to act in *The Luckey Chance*, while Leigh and Jevon took part both in that play and in *The Emperor of the Moon*. The young Anne Bracegirdle, later one of the most successful actors of her generation, was to enjoy an early leading role as the Indian Queen in *The Widdow Ranter*. While Behn, unlike some writers of her generation – notably Dryden – did not publish habitually with a particular bookseller, she did place multiple works with the same firm(s). Just as Brown and Benskin, who issued *The City-Heiress*, had previously published *The Roundheads*, Joseph Knights and Francis Saunders, booksellers for

*The Emperor of the Moon*, later issued *Lycidus* (1688). William Canning, who published *The Luckey Chance*, was to be Behn's most frequent bookseller in her final years, responsible for texts including *The Fair Jilt*, *Oroonoko*, *A Discovery of New Worlds* (all 1688), and *A Congratulatory Poem to Queen Mary* (1689). Her dedications of *The Luckey Chance* to Laurence Hyde, Earl of Rochester, and *The Emperor of the Moon* to Charles Somerset, Marquess of Worcester, also signal her continuing engagement with contemporary politics and politicians, even in works with less central or obvious political concerns.

Behn's connections with other writers, like her popularity with both audiences and readers, were to continue even after her death. *The Widdow Ranter* was performed posthumously in 1689 with a prologue and epilogue provided by John Dryden – his first known work alongside Behn since *Ovid's Epistles* in 1680. Like Behn, Dryden had opposed William III's accession to the throne; his puns on rebellion, plots, and William's Irish wars in his *Widdow Ranter* paratexts suggest that he recognised these shared loyalties, which may in part explain his willingness to write on her behalf. The early 1690s were to see Behn maintain a frequent presence within the London book trade: a second edition of *Abdelazer* appeared in 1693, poems attributed to her were published for the first time in 1691 and 1692, and a collected edition of her prose fiction, *The Histories and Novels of the Late Ingenious Mrs Behn*, appeared in 1696. A dramatised version of *Oroonoko*, by Thomas Southerne, first staged in late 1695, was closely followed by *The Younger Brother*, published in 1696 under the aegis of Charles Gildon. Both her work and her name had retained popularity.

Like many of the texts posthumously attributed to Behn, including both poems and prose fiction, *The Younger Brother* raises complex questions of authorship and attribution. These issues have been explored through traditional literary and modern computational methods in preparation for this edition. Both the methods and their findings are discussed in the editorial note to *The Younger Brother* in the present volume.

## EDITORIAL CONVENTIONS

This edition makes available for students, scholars, acting companies, and the general reader a fully accessible, original spelling version of Aphra Behn's works. Textually, it follows broadly conservative principles, seeking to reproduce early witnesses to her work as closely as possible, while making such minimal interventions as are necessary to mediate the text for a contemporary readership. In our reconstruction of the text and provision of textual notes, we have endeavoured to find an appropriate balance between addressing the needs of higher-level undergraduate readers and documenting for period specialists how and why this text varies from its base-text (as represented, for example, in Early English Books Online) and other listed witnesses.

Most of Behn's plays survive in only a single lifetime or early posthumous edition. Where more than one early edition exists, editors have chosen as their base-text the witness that best represents Behn's own intentions for her writings, insofar as these can be deduced. These base-texts have in each case been collated with all other extant editions known to have been produced in (or, in the case of posthumous texts, shortly after) Behn's lifetime. We have not sought to compare these early editions with texts produced substantially after her death, on the grounds that those later texts lack valid independent authority.

Each work is prefaced by an editorial note that outlines key information on cultural contexts and sources and discusses textual matters such as how the interventions of early printers and booksellers have influenced spelling, punctuation, and visual presentation. This textual discussion is based on careful collations made of witnesses of the copy-text – normally at least ten, if that number is known to be extant. Locations and shelfmarks of the copies examined are provided. Behn worked with many different stationers in the course of her career, and the consequent variations and consistencies in these diverse texts offer valuable information for book historians as well as Behn scholars.

Each page of the text includes two kinds of annotation: commentary notes that clarify political or cultural allusions or gloss obscure words; and textual notes that indicate emendations made by the editor, and that record differences between witnesses of the copy-text (and, where relevant, between the copy-text and earlier or subsequent editions). The existence of a commentary note is

flagged in the text by a footnote number; textual notes are listed by line number, but are not otherwise flagged in order to minimise intrusions into Behn's text. Both commentary and textual notes are located on the same page of the text to which they refer for ease of comparison. Where no author of a work is named in a commentary note, the implied author is Behn.

In general, any intervention made by an editor is recorded in a textual note. The following categories of emendation have, however, been made silently in all texts:

- The design of headings and subheadings within individual works has been regularised across the edition.
- End-of-line hyphens have been removed; in those rare instances when a word that contained an end-of-line hyphen needs to appear in the lemma of a textual note, the symbol  $\neg$  is used to indicate where it originally fell.
- The seventeenth-century use of the symbol = for hyphenation has been regularised to the symbol -.
- Catchwords have been removed; any inconsistencies or stop-press changes to catchwords are therefore discussed in the Textual Headnote, not through textual annotation.
- Display initials have been normalised, and any subsequent capital letter or letters have been changed to lower case.
- Long s has been regularised to s, VV to W, swash italics to plain italics.
- The numeral I, which exists only in that form in seventeenth-century printing, has been presented as either I or 1, depending on which is more appropriate in the immediate context.
- Most ligatures (such as fl, æ) have been expanded (the exceptions are æ and œ in French-language quotations, which have been preserved).
- In sentences that include interpolated text in a non-dominant font (e.g. italic within roman or vice versa), the font of any subsequent punctuation mark is regularised to that of the sentence, if necessary.
- The amount of spacing between words and before and after punctuation has been normalised if no change in meaning results.
- The length of dashes (e.g. to indicate pauses) has been regularised.
- If two words have been run together and their distinction is indicated by an initial capital on the second word, or by a change of font from roman to italic or vice versa, these appear in this edition with a space between them.
- If a punctuation mark or letter is visible in some copies of the same edition but blind or invisible in another or others, the mark is treated as universally present, and no textual note is provided.

- Where more than one lifetime edition of a text has been collated, no record is made of differences in accidentals such as punctuation marks, font, capitalisation, or spelling unless these have an impact on meaning.
- In seventeenth-century editions of plays, speech prefixes are normally abbreviated and presented in italics. In this edition, speech prefixes in plays are always given in full and presented in roman small capitals. The Textual Headnote outlines the abbreviations used in the base-text and lists any inconsistencies; no textual notes are provided.
- In plays, we have used parentheses rather than square brackets to indicate stage directions that are present in the original; square brackets are used only to indicate the addition of editorially inferred indications of the manner or direction of speech.
- In Restoration printed plays, the great majority of stage directions relating to manner of delivery (such as *aside*) are normally placed at the end of the speech or part of speech to which they refer, and are introduced by a single roman square bracket. In this edition, such stage directions have been moved so that they precede the relevant speech or part of speech, and are enclosed within italic parentheses. If more than one position for such a direction is reasonably likely, this is outlined in a commentary note; otherwise, such changes are made without annotation. Other more unusual positioning or presentation of stage directions is accompanied by a textual note.

Some texts present special difficulties of the kinds listed above. Such matters are in each case discussed in the Textual Headnote to the text itself.

Further textual emendations have been made as and when required to clarify meaning. Such changes are always indicated by a textual note. Common instances include the correction of manifest errors as well as changes to punctuation in cases where this is the simplest way of making the meaning of a text clear to a modern reader. In his modern-spelling (but otherwise conservative) edition of Dryden's poetry, Paul Hammond remarks that 'seventeenth-century accidentals can puzzle and mislead even quite experienced modern readers, and the accidentals supplied by a modern editor may well be found more helpful' (*Poems of John Dryden*, vol. 1, p. xviii). We share this view and, notwithstanding our own conservative principles, have emended punctuation when retaining the original would have risked ambiguity or confusion.

Whilst Restoration English spelling, especially in printed texts, differs less from modern standard British English than that of the earlier seventeenth century, it retains some orthographic practices that may give the modern reader undue pause. The general practice in the current edition is to retain and gloss

such unfamiliar spellings. A particular challenge, however, is represented by words that exist in two alternative spellings both in the seventeenth century and at the present day, but where these two spellings, interchangeable in the earlier period, have subsequently diverged in meaning. Such homophones or near homophones include words which now differ in grammatical function such as *to/too* and *aught/ought*, as well as lexical (content) words such as *president/precedent* and *course/coarse*. The practice in this edition is to emend in the case of grammatically divergent homophones but to retain original spelling in the case of lexical words.

A fuller account of the edition's principles and practices is provided in the Textual Introduction to Volume 1.

## NOTE ON DATES

Dates are given in Old Style, except that the new year is taken to begin on 1 January.

Dates of plays are those of first known performance, followed by the year of first publication if that differs.



# The City-Heiress

*edited by Rachel Adcock*

*The City-Heiress* was Behn's topical response to the controversial issue of Exclusion, dramatising conflicts over inheritance when there is no straightforward patrilineal line of descent. Charles II had no legitimate children, which meant that his Catholic brother James, Duke of York, was heir to the throne. However, in the wake of the Popish Plot (1678–81; a conspiracy to convince Charles of a Catholic plot to murder him and install his brother), the debate continued to rage over whether James should succeed Charles or be excluded from the succession. This debate, now known as the Exclusion Crisis, divided the political landscape into loyal Tories, who generally upheld the lawful succession, and exclusionist Whigs, a wealthy, staunchly anti-Catholic mercantile class, heavily entrenched in the City of London, who petitioned for a constitutional monarchy that would uphold rights of the people and their governing structures. Many felt that those divisions were only too reminiscent of the earlier civil wars (1642–51); indeed, many young Tories, represented in *The City-Heiress* by Wilding, were sons of wealthy landowners who lost their estates fighting for the Royalist cause during the 1640s. *The City-Heiress*'s representation of a disinherited Tory rake who eventually humiliates and reclaims his estates from his rigid Whig uncle, Sir Timothy Treat-all, reimagines such conflicts by dramatising a Tory victory over a representative of the Whig-dominated City of London. The play also explores the Tory treatment of women possessing Whig fortunes (a City heiress and a widow), another example of fortunes being recouped to the 'Loyal' cause; however, by way of contrast, this behaviour raises more ambiguous questions about such politically contentious issues as arbitrary rule, force, and consent.

## The Play's Cultural Context

*The City-Heiress*'s first performance was probably on either 13 or 15 May 1682 at the Duke's Theatre, Dorset Garden. It contributed to Tory celebrations welcoming the return in March 1682 of the heir to the throne, James, Duke of York, from exile in Scotland, where he had been since October 1679. Charles II had sent his brother to Scotland in the role of high commissioner in an attempt to quell political unrest in London over the prospect of a Catholic successor. These anxieties were fed by accounts of a Popish plot, supposedly fomented by the Pope's emissaries, to assassinate the king and install the Catholic James. Such events, it was feared, would

lead to an arbitrary rule, endangering the ‘lives, liberties, and properties’ of English subjects (Harris, *London Crowds*, p. 97). Seizing on the testimonies of Titus Oates, the foremost but later discredited witness to these plots (Prologue, ll. 15–34), Whig politicians soon began to demand that James be excluded from the succession, some even trying to implicate him in the Popish Plot. From 1679 to 1681, Oates’s testimonies in the courts were taken seriously enough to convict and execute several prominent Catholics for their alleged involvement. Among the five Catholic peers tried and executed after they were accused by Oates was William Howard, Viscount Stafford, uncle of Behn’s dedicatee, Henry Howard, Lord Arundel.

While James had been safer in Scotland, his invitation to return was an indication that Charles was ready ‘to test the political waters’ (De Krey, *London*, p. 250). Back on the offensive, the king had launched *quo warranto* (‘by what authority’) proceedings to question the legitimacy of the London Corporation’s Charter, a powerful symbol of Whig opposition (De Krey, *London*, p. 237). *The City-Heiress* was, therefore, part of a new wave of loyalist Tory propaganda that supported Charles’s new-found resolution and sought to present the practices of the Whigs, including their strategic ‘treating’ or feasting, as seditious (De Krey, *London*, pp. 221–22; Harth, *Pen*, p. 162). The play’s setting, ‘*Within the Walls of London*’, purposefully targets the ‘single locality in which disaffection to church and state had proved most damaging, namely the Corporation of London’ (De Krey, *London*, p. 221). It dramatises a Tory takeover of the Whig City and its rich heiresses in order to restore the ‘rightful’ succession of property. Even the staunch Whig, Sir Timothy Treat-all (the character most guilty of preventing property succession), is forced to toast the triumphal return of the Duke at his own feast (III.1.266).

### The Duke of York’s Return, Public Celebration, and Feasting

James’s landing at Yarmouth and return to the capital was celebrated in some publications as the parallel to Charles II’s return from exile in 1660 (e.g. Anon., *Loyal Protestant*, 16 March 1682). *The City-Heiress* continues these celebrations by dramatising the restoration of order (Wilding’s inheritance) and by staging various convivial celebrations of the kind encouraged by the Tory press. Published songs celebrating ‘Royal *Jemmy*’s return’ emphasised ‘Rout[ing]’ and ‘Flout[ing]’ those who ‘Rail[ed] at the Succession’, and urged communal health drinking that avowed loyalty and devotion (Anon., *Well-Wishers*, p. 1; McShane Jones, ‘Roaring Royalists’, pp. 75–77). Sir Timothy’s feast in III.1 features loyal healths drunk to the ‘Royal Duke of Albany’, to the host’s dismay; the play also ends urging unity in good fellowship, that ‘all honest [i.e. Tory] hearts as one agree | To bless the King, and Royal *Albanie*’ (V.5.248–49). Behn here follows contemporary songs in their adoption of James’s second title,

'Duke of Albany', derived from the ancient name for Scotland. This title celebrated the Stuarts' Scottish origins, but also foregrounded James's recent success in restoring order to this northern kingdom on his brother's behalf, where he established a Succession Act that 'condemned any attempts to alter the succession by written or spoken word as treasonous' (De Krey, *Restoration*, p. 186). The contemporary song, 'Great Jemmy', also urged the drinking of toasts to 'Jemmy the Valiant', 'the HERO who Scotland subdu'd' who 'brought to Allegiance the factious Crowd' (Taubman, *Heroick Poem*, p. 16). Nathaniel Lee's flattering panegyric, *To the Duke on his Return*, even went so far as to justify a prince's right to take up arms against such rebels (p. 2). To an extent, Behn's play also justifies the rough treatment of 'disloyal' Whig characters by the boisterous, and ultimately irresistible Tories, Wilding and Sir Charles Meriwill. However, in a move characteristic of Behn's drama, such behaviour is scrutinised when it results in the forceful treatment of women.

James's return, combined with the court's recent assault on the London Corporation's charter, further convinced the Whig faction that the Tories intended to curb the people's liberty. In response, they sought support for their cause through association and conviviality, organising feasts where principal citizens and ordinary ward voters were lavishly treated to food and drink provided by opposition lords such as the Duke of Monmouth and the Earls of Shaftesbury and Essex, as well as by members of Parliament, sheriffs, and aldermen (De Krey, *London*, pp. 250–54; Key, "High Feeding", pp. 161–73). The play targets such partisan feasting through its mockery of Sir Timothy, the alderman who 'treats all' the knights, ladies, and country justices he can find. Many of these characters' real-life counterparts had travelled to London to 'show their support ... for a Protestant succession' (De Krey, *London*, p. 251). By mid April, such feasting practices had become more controversial. When the returning Duke of York was invited on 20 April 1682 to attend the annual banquet of the Honourable Artillery Company (of which he was captain general), opposition aldermen organised a counter-feast for the next day in Haberdashers' and Goldsmiths' Halls. Tickets were sold for a guinea and stated that the feast was 'in testimony of Thankfulness' for saving the nation from the Popish Plot, and for 'preserving and improving mutual Love and Charity among such which are sensible thereof' (Anon., *Loyal Protestant*, 20 April 1682). Even the venue invited a comparison with the actions of the previous generation's parliamentarians, whose Sequestration Committee had used Goldsmiths' Hall as a base from which to order the confiscation of royalist estates during the 1640s and 1650s (Anon., *Charge Given* (1682), p. 4; L'Estrange, *Observer*, 27 April 1682). The direct affront to his heir, and widespread suspicion that the real reason for the event was 'to Rail and Plot against the Crown', led Charles to prohibit this rival feast (Anon., *Loyal Feast* (1682); De Krey, *London*, pp. 252–53). The Tory press made much of the embarrassment the

king's order had caused the organisers (Anon., *Whigg-Feast* (1682); J. D. E., *O Ye, Yes* (1682); 'The Whigs' Disappointment', in Thompson, *Choice Collection* (1684), pp. 222–25). Otway's prologue to *The City-Heiress* takes pleasure in the humiliation of feast organisers and would-be attendees, the latter of whom – in a humorous overturning – had been cheated of 'zealous Guinny' by those at 'Sequestrators Hall' (ll. 36, 44).

*The City-Heiress* presents a humiliated opposition party whose enthusiasm for feasting was diminishing. Sir Timothy bewails the lack of lords attending his feast (III.1.13–16); however, in real life such treats continued in preparation for the London Corporation elections in June (Key, "High Feeding", p. 170). Behn's play was therefore a necessary part of Tory propaganda efforts, dramatising an open-house Whig feast, but one which is eventually commandeered for Tory purposes. The feast in III.1 includes ritual entertainments that also featured at the loyal Artillery Company feast, including frequent healths drunk to the Duke of York and a loyal Scottish song ('Ah, Jenny, gen') which recalls Thomas D'Urfey's 'A Scotch S[o]ng: Sung at the Artillery Feast' (*New Collection* (1683), pp. 74–78). The play also humorously puts into practice the advice preached in the sermon before the Artillery Company feast, where Thomas Sprat advised the company assembled to correct rebellious 'Domestic Separations' with 'pious use of the Sword' (*Sermon* (1682), p. 9; Key, "High Feeding", p. 167). Because of his exclusionist views, therefore, Sir Timothy is forced to take part in loyal health drinking and robbed in V.1. His declarations of 'Tyranny' (III.1.268) and 'Arbitrary power' (V.1.124) echo Whig accusations about restrictions to the people's liberty under a popish successor, but are ultimately trivialised. In its representation of Sir Timothy's case, the play accords with other Tory justifications of force where the 'rightful' succession of property is concerned.

### London and the Corporation

*The City-Heiress* is set 'Within the Walls of London' in order to dramatise the contest for dominion over the City and its charter, by which it had traditionally resisted subjection to the monarch's rule. The Tories' 'recovery of loyalist hegemony' in the capital's governing structures – the Corporation and the justice system over which it presided – were essential to regaining control of the kingdom at this crucial juncture (De Krey, *London*, p. 221). The City's charter allowed the London Corporation the authority to elect its own mayor, magistrates, and sheriffs, which had led to Whig candidates dominating the London judiciary with widespread support (De Krey, 'Revolution', p. 204). Sir Timothy observes that the 'hectoring' Tories (I.1.38), the gentlemen libertines who had ignored propriety and attacked officers of the law during the 1660s and 1670s, are no longer able to assert their influence (Turner,

*Libertines*, p. 156). Sympathetic juries impanelled by Whig sheriffs from 1681 to the autumn of 1682 prevented the convictions of several exclusionists, famously returning ‘*Ignoramus*’ (‘we do not know’) verdicts (Harth, *Pen*, pp. 34–35). The best-known instance was the treason trial of Anthony Ashley Cooper, the first Earl of Shaftesbury, in whose closet a draft Protestant Association, a document swearing to resist James’s future rule, and other treasonous documents were allegedly found. Sir Timothy, one of the twenty-five elected aldermen-magistrates who governed the Corporation under the mayor, also boasts that he can debauch the law for his own ends, threatening to turn his ‘Tory Rascal’ nephew over to the mercy of the Whig-dominated courts to ‘hang’ for stealing an heiress (III.1.201–02). When Diana (disguised as the heiress Charlot Gettall) suggests that Sir Timothy might be considered equally guilty of this crime, if he secretly marries her, he replies: ‘Madam, we never accuse one another; ... Let ’em accuse me if they please, alas, I come off hand-smooth with *Ignoramus*’ (III.1.200–02). When Sir Timothy is confronted with the discovery of treasonous papers in his closet (recalling Shaftesbury’s Association), he responds confidently: ‘a man may speak Treason within the Walls of *London*, thanks be to God, and honest conscientious Jury-men’ (V.1.144–46). Every such ‘assault’ by Tory propagandists like Behn ‘was intended as a reminder of “*Ignoramus* justice” and of the London charter under which it flourished’ (Harth, *Pen*, p. 155; De Krey, *London*, p. 223).

The Whig reaction to the Charter’s possible revocation was to declare this an assault on ancient customs, rights, and liberties, and themselves the party ‘best suited to defend the constitution and fundamental law of England’ (Weil, *Political Passions*, p. 38). However, Tory propagandists sought to present the Whigs’ use of the Charter as a cloak for treasonous activities (Northleigh, *Parallel* (1682), p. 2), and their contestation over the succession as a mask for their true intentions, to make the monarchy elective (‘where every man may hope to take his turn’ (III.1.285–86)). Whig support for an elective monarchy led to the false rumour that Shaftesbury had sought election to the Polish crown in 1674 prior to Jan III’s election, a rumour much exploited in satires of 1681–82, especially in D’Urfey’s *Scandalum Magnatum* (1682) and Dryden’s *Medall* (1682). When Wilding appears disguised as an emissary from the Polish diet (the national assembly of Poland), and measures Sir Timothy’s head for the crown (III.1.307–08), his actions recall an earlier anonymous satire, *A Modest Vindication* (1681), in which ‘*Polish Deputies*’ are ‘sent Post *incognito*’ to the Earl, ‘with the Imperial Crown and Scepter in a Cloak-bag’ (p. 2). Sir Timothy approves the emissary’s sentiment, ‘hate Monarchy!’ (III.1.282), except when he might have a chance to rule himself. This was a charge also levied by the Tories against the earlier commonwealth men and ‘the very arbitrary style of government that had emerged as a result in the 1640s and 1650s’ (Harris, *London Crowds*, p. 131).

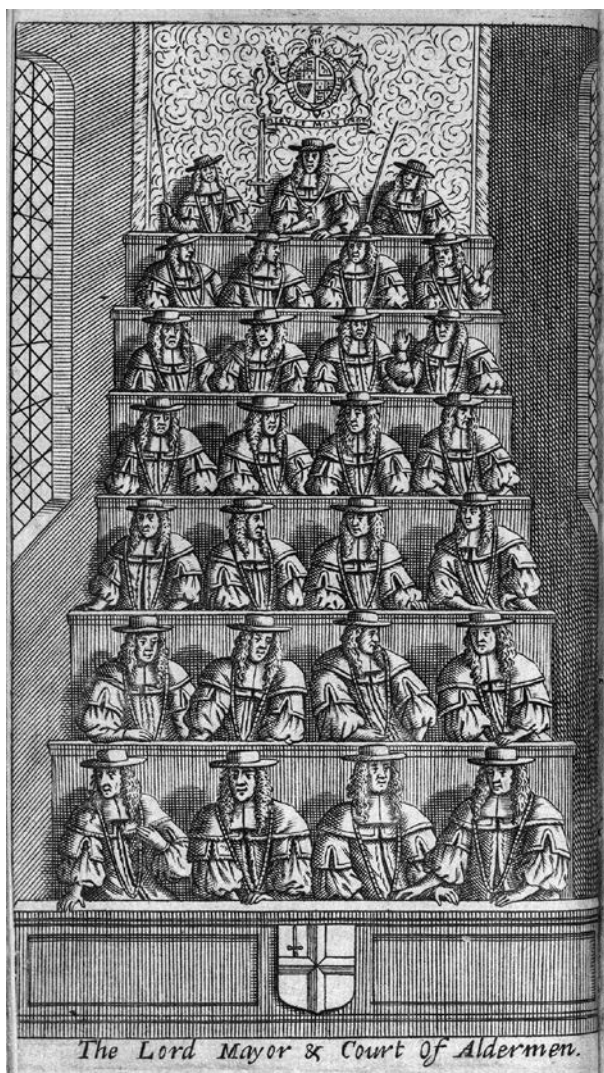


FIGURE 1 The Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen; taken from Thomas De Laune, *The Present State of London* (1681). Reproduced by kind permission of the University of Illinois (Urbana-Champaign).

Early in the play, Sir Timothy insists that his 'Integrity has been known ever since Forty One' (I.1.100–01), and that his wealth derives from confiscated bishops' lands (I.1.101–02); he openly declares that a man 'deserves not the name of a Patriot, who



does not for the Publick Good defie all Laws and Religion' (III.1.344–46). Through these links, Tory propagandists 'sought to invert the [W]hig exploitation of fears of arbitrary government' (Harris, *London Crowds*, p. 135), a tactic Behn adopts. While Sir Timothy advises Diana/Charlot not to 'suffer the force or perswasion of any Arbitrary [i.e. Tory] Lover whatsoever' (III.1.214–15) while she is under his care, he proceeds to take advantage of her precarious situation himself. Threatening his absent nephew with corrupt Whig justice for stealing her, Sir Timothy aims to persuade Diana/Charlot to marry him instead. In another example of Whig hypocrisy, Sir Timothy restricts the very rights and privileges that Whigs professed to protect, proving himself an unworthy custodian of Charlot/the City's charter.

*The City-Heiress*, therefore, joins contemporary Tory texts in mocking civic Whigs for their hypocrisy and dishonesty, and their incessant treating and gluttony. Readings of the play have differed, however, over the interpretation of Sir Timothy as a caricature of a particular Whig politician or as a generic stereotype. Two persuasive candidates are Shaftesbury and the Chamberlain of the London Corporation, Sir Thomas Player, who had been appointed to the common council to prepare the defence of the London Charter. Sir Timothy's age (Shaftesbury would be sixty-one in July 1682), his involvement in the commonwealth government (I.1.100–01), his welcome of the Polish ambassador (III.1.286), and the 'Bag of Knavery' (V.1.136) discovered in his closet, link him closely to Shaftesbury, while his position as an alderman and his Guildhall speech-making (V.5.206) align him more closely with Player. Both men were targeted for their supposed lewd behaviour by the Tory press, Shaftesbury for 'open lewdness' (Dryden, *Medall* (1682), l. 37) and Player for his regular visits to Madam Cresswell's brothel, which also attracted other prominent Whigs (Summers, *Behn*, 1, 274–76; Thompson, *Unfit*, p. 44). Otway's *Venice Preserv'd* (Duke's, February 1682), also includes two similar caricatures of Whig politicians: Antonio, the 61-year-old speech-making senator, who enjoys being flogged by his mistress; and the lecherous, elderly plotter Renault (prologue, ll. 23–33; Haley, *Shaftesbury*, pp. 213–14). Elderly sexuality – old age began at 60 – was often represented in Restoration comedies, in the tradition of classical drama, as 'inappropriate, ... posing a potential threat to social order' (Toulalan, 'Old Age', p. 338), and Behn, like Otway, firmly associates this with the machinations of Whig politicians.

### Heiresses and Widows

*The City-Heiress* also dramatises wider political conflict between Sir Timothy and the Tory gallants, Wilding and Sir Charles Meriwill, through competition for two rich heiresses. This contest, a kind frequent in Restoration comedies during the

Exclusion Crisis, enacts 'the inherent superiority and right to power of the Stuart dynasty and its ruling elite' (Pacheco, 'Reading Toryism', p. 690). Through their respective marriages, the gallants commandeer Whig City fortunes. Wilding ends the play about to marry Charlot Gettall, the 'City heiress' of the play's title and daughter of a recently deceased Whig alderman, Sir Nicholas, worth an impressive £3,000 a year (II.1.219). Meanwhile, the landed, but initially unattractive Sir Charles prevails with Lady Galliard, a rich City widow who is 'at her own dispose' (I.1.155), though reportedly influenced by a Puritan Whig mother and the mercenary interests of her family (I.1.156–57, II.1.156–59). Both women begin the play attempting to reject the choices of their relatives. Charlot has scandalously disobeyed her guardians and eloped with Wilding, believing that he is heir to Sir Timothy's £6,000 a year fortune, and Lady Galliard succumbs to Wilding's advances despite her family's City interests. However, by the play's end, Lady Galliard's attempt to resist a patrilineal system that predetermines her marital choice is disappointed – she is forced to consent to marrying Sir Charles on threat of rape in an acutely uncomfortable moment – while Charlot's faith in Wilding puts her reputation at serious risk. Probably syphilitic, Wilding spends most of the play pursuing these two women alongside his mistress, Diana. *The City-Heiress*, therefore, not only inspects the ideological power of representing the victorious Tory possession of the City and its fortunes, but also provides a more nuanced exploration of the politics of consent that had ramifications for the political moment as well as for gender relations. As in Behn's previous works, aggressive and self-interested Tory masculinity, and the way it exploits women, comes under significant scrutiny.

Assertive and aggressive courtship is repeatedly urged and practised during the play. When advising his nephew, the boisterous Sir Anthony Meriwill asserts that a 'willing Rape is all the fashion' (IV.1.319), referring to the vogue for abducting and marrying a rich heiress before her relations could prevent the match. After marriage, a woman's goods, leases, and lands came under the control of her husband (Erickson, *Women*, p. 24). Stealing an heiress without her consent – which might also involve non-consensual sexual activity – was a felony under 3 Hen. 7 c. 2, a penalty which served to protect family property and inheritance, and made such activities risky. Even a 'willing' abductee might later be persuaded by her family to deny that she had consented (Staves, 'Behn', pp. 16, 28 n. 7; Alleman, *Matrimonial Law*, pp. 53–59). Wilding's secrecy about Charlot's whereabouts is therefore imperative to avoid scandal, but also to ensure that he is not tried and convicted, which is highly likely under Whig judicial control. Sir Timothy later explains to Diana/Charlot that if she had married his nephew, he would have 'hang'd him for a Rape' (III.1.195). The kind of riotous libertine behaviour that encouraged abductions and rapes was ideologically significant (Turner, *Libertines*, pp. 161–62; McShane Jones,



'Roaring Royalists', pp. 77–78). When instructing his nephew in successful manly (Tory) behaviour, Sir Anthony encourages him to be 'impudent, be sawcy, forward, bold, towzing, and lewd' (II.3.105). This ideology supposes that 'loyal' women will be receptive to the superior sexual potency of the Tory gallants. Behn's play, however, questions the idea of a 'willing rape' through its representation of Sir Charles's treatment of Lady Galliard. She is placed in an impossible situation where she can either be raped (where there are no witnesses to prove her non-consent), or 'willingly' espouse herself to Sir Charles (Walker, 'Rereading Rape', p. 3; Turner, *Libertines*, pp. 159–60). After she 'chooses' the second option, Sir Anthony reveals himself as a witness to the spousal, forcing Lady Galliard to uphold her promise.

The stereotype of the salacious and worldly widow is cited throughout the play as justification for the men's aggressive wooing of Lady Galliard: Wilding explains that she is 'made of no such sanctified Materials' as would require his pretending to be virtuous, because 'she is a Widow' (I.1.152–53). Popular medical guides provided the basis for these ideas, claiming that lack of the regular sexual activity to which they had become accustomed made widows ill because they were 'mad for lust, and infinite men' (Culpeper, *Directory* (1662), p. 115). Proverbially, widows were said to require and appreciate rough and speedy wooing: 'he that woos a maid must feign, lie, and flatter; but he that woos a widow must down with his breeches and at her' (Ray, *Collection* (1670), p. 49; Tilley, M18). Sir Charles eventually puts such advice into practice, the stage directions specifying that he '*fumbl[es] to undo his Breeches*' while later declaring that 'In spite of all her fickleness and art; | There's one sure way to fix a Widows heart' (IV.1.542, 573). Unlike, for instance, the widow Mrs Crostill in *The Debauchee* (1677), who endorses rough wooing – appreciating a lover who swears he 'must and will have you' (IV.1; see Volume II of the Cambridge Edition) – Lady Galliard ends the play sadly gazing at Wilding while she gives her hand to Sir Charles, sighing that the latter's 'unwearied Love at last has vanquisht me' (V.5.237). As is so often the case, Behn expresses the dividedness of female psychology: here, Lady Galliard at once desires the freedom to continue to pursue her lover, and yet accepts Sir Charles's view that Wilding would bring her to 'Infamy, to Scandal' (V.5.51).

The competition over heiresses, which often led to protracted marriage negotiations, and sometimes to multiple abduction attempts, encouraged the popular perception of heiresses as 'jilt[s]' (II.2.126–27). In the play's epilogue, Charlotte Butler, who played Charlot, slyly observes that her character might provoke incredulity because she is 'true' to 'her first Love' (l. 2). Two recent *causes célèbres* involving heiresses enhanced this popular view, which the play complicates through its presentation of Charlot, who is fiercely loyal, and Lady Galliard, who is forced to abandon Wilding. The most recent such controversy was the abduction of Bridget

Hyde (1662–1734), stepdaughter of the alderman Sir Robert Vyner, goldsmith and chief banker to Charles II, by the rake Peregrine Osborne, Viscount Dunblane, son of Thomas Osborne, Earl of Danby. In the play, the recently deceased alderman Sir Nicholas Gettall, worth £3,000 a year, may recall Vyner, a former mayor of London. Hyde and Dunblane were secretly married at St Marylebone Church on 25 April 1682, despite a jury ruling in 1680 that Bridget – supposedly worth £100,000 – was already married to her cousin, John Emerton (Allen, ‘Bridget Hyde’, p. 21). The abduction itself was scandalous, but the charge of bigamy made it even more so, and Danby was forced to buy off the Emertons to prevent further prosecution. A similarly scandalous case involved the 15-year-old heiress to the vast Percy estates, Lady Elizabeth Ogle née Percy (1667–1722), who had already been married twice by 1682 (ODNB, ‘Seymour [née Percy], Elizabeth’). In 1681 she fled abroad from her second husband, the rich libertine Thomas Thynne, who was later murdered by one of her previous suitors on 12 February 1682 (an event referenced in the epilogue). By mid March she had returned to England, one observer sending intelligence that she was overwhelmed by new suitors (Savile, *Life and Letters*, I, 354). Ogle was widely criticised in manuscript and print: ‘Satire in its Own Colors, 1682’ proclaimed ‘Ere she was fifteen | Her bald tail-piece had seen, | And taught her a trick to miscarry’ (Wilson, *Court Satires*, p. 274; Anon., *Directions to Fame* (1682)).

Behn’s play complicates such presumptions about heiresses’ conduct, exploring the consequences of extreme wooing methods (abduction, threatened rape) that were conventionally justified by popular beliefs about female nature: in Sir Anthony’s words, ‘women love importunity’ (I.1.461). As valuable heiresses, both Hyde and Ogle had been subjected to abduction attempts ‘between’ marriages. Hyde was abducted by Cornet Wroth at pistol point in July 1678 (CSPD, 21 July), and earlier attempts were also planned (CSPD, 10 February 1677; Allen, ‘Bridget Hyde’, p. 21). Depending on the perpetrator, these schemes might be viewed as condonable Tory ‘frolics’. However, while it is possible to view the play as a light-hearted work of Tory triumph over Sir Timothy, *The City-Heiress* invites more complicated responses to the female characters who are similarly rifled and tyrannised, and where consent is enforced or (at best) coerced. After Sir Charles has forced Lady Galliard to consent to marriage and consummate the match, his tyranny continues when he removes Lady Galliard’s authority over her servants and prevents her appeal to the City Mayor for justice. In a supposedly humorous jibe at corrupt Whig *Ignoramus* juries, Sir Charles threatens to influence his own jury of Lady Galliard’s female neighbours so that they will not pass judgement that he is a rapist (IV.1.524–26). The play, then, encourages a nuanced response to the politics of consent: while it is ideologically Tory, through not so subtle parallels with Whig practices it scrutinises as well as satirises the riotous behaviour Toryism condoned and encouraged.

## The Dedicatory Epistle

*The City-Heiress* is dedicated to Henry Howard (1655–1701), later seventh Duke of Norfolk, styled Earl of Arundel in 1678 and summoned to Parliament on 27 January 1678 as ‘Baron Mowbray’ (*ODNB*; *Lords Journals*, 28 January 1678). He was the son of Henry Howard (1628–84), sixth Duke of Norfolk, who, because he was Catholic, did not wield the power expected of him as the premier peer in England. Anti-Catholic feeling surrounding the Popish Plot had caused the sixth duke to move to Bruges in 1679–82, leading to increased visibility for Arundel, who was 27 in May 1682 (Causton, *Howard*, pp. 188–99). Arundel’s marriage on 8 August 1677 had also aligned him more firmly to the cause of the Duke of York: his wife’s father, Henry Mordaunt (1623–97), second Earl of Peterborough, had negotiated James’s marriage to Mary of Modena and was appointed the Duke’s groom of the stole (Causton, *Howard*, p. 218; *ODNB*). Part of the occasion for this dedication, however, was almost certainly Arundel’s recent election as a steward of the Honourable Artillery Company at their annual feast on 20 April hosting the company’s captain general, the Duke of York, who was newly returned from Scotland (*CSPD*, 1682, pp. 173–74; *Loyal Protestant*, 25 April 1682). Arundel’s election, like that of the Duke of Albemarle and other noble peers, who would sit alongside the company’s honorary chair, the Tory lord mayor, John Moore, was part of a plan to fill the company with men loyal to James and communicate the existence of widespread support for the succession. A previous Whig attempt to replace assistants and officers in the company who were close to the duke, ‘in order to circumvent royal control of its military resources’, had been successfully blocked the previous year (De Krey, *London*, p. 215). Stewards were responsible for organising the company’s annual feasts, inviting noble and civic dignitaries as well as company members to declare support for James through the drinking of loyal healths and (for new members) kissing the duke’s hand (Key, “‘High Feeding’”, p. 167). Behn’s dedication evokes Arundel’s new status as director of such state-approved festivities, an appropriate opening for a play intended to mock subversive Whig feasting.

The dedication also provides Behn with an opportunity to praise the Howard family for their loyalty to the crown in ‘these troublesome times’ (l. 27) when their Catholic faith subjected them to the suspicions and accusations of informers. Indeed, not eighteen months earlier, Arundel’s great-uncle, William Howard (1612–80), Viscount Stafford, had been falsely implicated and executed for his supposed involvement in the Popish Plot: a victim, Behn suggests, of the hysteria Titus Oates and his exclusionist supporters actively encouraged. Another of Arundel’s uncles, Cardinal Philip Howard (1629–84), from 1680 the cardinal protector of England and Scotland, was also named as a conspirator in the Popish Plot (*ODNB*).

At Stafford's trial by the Peers, Arundel was the only one of his kinsmen not to condemn him (Evelyn, 7 December 1680), a 'loyal' act that Behn singles out for special praise because of the dangers – 'Snare[s]' (l. 30) – associated with supporting an accused Catholic. Arundel's Catholic father had been forced out of his position in Parliament by the Test Act of November 1678, his freedom 'at the mercy of any aspiring trading witness' (Causton, *Howard*, p. 188). By contrast, Arundel, though raised a Catholic, conformed to the Church of England in or before April 1679, when he took the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, and re-entered the Lords (*Lords Journals*, 11 April 1679; Luttrell, *Brief Historical Relation*, I, 9). Although his conversion may have disappointed his father – and the two were also involved in a property dispute while Norfolk was in Bruges – Arundel fought a duel with the Seneschal of Hainault on his father's behalf on 26 April 1682 (*Loyal Protestant*, 29 April 1682; Causton, *Howard*, pp. 200–01). In this Dedicatory Epistle and elsewhere, Behn praises Arundel's loyalty (to family and crown) despite significant personal risk: on James's accession in 1685, she praised him (by then seventh duke of Norfolk) as 'the greatest *Subject*, and the *best*, | Whose *Loyalty* indur'd the utmost test' (*Pindarick on the Coronation* (1685), p. 16; see Volume v of the Cambridge Edition).

This Epistle Dedicatory is one of several texts in which Behn praises the Howard family. It is possible that she had developed a personal connection with them through Thomas Colepeper (1637–1708), who later claimed that Behn's mother had been his wet-nurse. Colepeper's mother, Barbara (1599–1643), was the daughter of Robert Sidney (1563–1626), first Earl of Leicester, whose family was closely aligned with the Howards (Todd, *Aphra Behn*, pp. 18–19; ODNB). Behn likely developed an acquaintance with Viscount Stafford in Antwerp after sailing there in July 1666 ('Antwerp: ye 31 of A[u]gust 66', in Cameron, *New Light*, p. 55), an experience she would draw on in her elegy for Stafford addressed to his son, 'A Pastoral to Mr Stafford': 'There 'twas my chance, so Fortune did ordain, | To see this great, this good, this God-like Man' (see Volume v of the Cambridge Edition). Here, and in *Poem to Sir Roger L'Estrange* (1688), Behn praises Stafford as 'A *Victim* to the Lawless Peoples rage' who 'like a *God*, dy'd to redeem *Our Faith*' (ll. 41, 44; see Volume v of the Cambridge Edition). Behn's motives for writing these Tory-aligned panegyrics to the Howards were certainly social as well as political, and they were rewarded: in 1685, Behn praised Arundel as the 'MAECENA of my *Muse*, my *Patron Lord*' (*Pindarick on the Coronation* (1685), l. 624).

### Relation to its Sources

Gerard Langbaine's *Account of the English Dramatick Poets* (1691) was one of the first works to identify Behn's sources for *The City-Heiress*. Langbaine observed that

most of the Characters are borrow'd; as those of Sir *Timothy Treat-all* and his Nephew, from *Sir Bounteous Progress*, and *Folly-wit*, in *Middleton's Mad World my Masters*: and those of Sir *Anthony Merrywell*, and his Nephew *Sr. Charles*, from *Durazzo* and *Caldoro*, in *Massenger's Guardian*. Part of the Language in each Play is likewise transcrib'd. As for the Plot of Sir *Timothy's* endeavouring to supplant his Nephew of his Mistriss, 'tis the same Design with other Plays, as *Ram-Alley*, and *Trick to Catch the Old One*. (p. 19)

Langbaine's earlier *Momus Triumphans* (1687) cited only *Mad World* and *The Guardian* as sources (p. 2). An unknown seventeenth-century hand noted on the Clark Library copy of *The City-Heiress* that 'Part of this Play stollen from *Mad World* My M<asters> & pt. from *Ram Alley*'. 'Ram-Alley' was subsequently scored out by a different seventeenth-century hand, which wrote 'The Guardian' above it. Like Langbaine, this reader appears to have been interested in distinguishing between Behn's direct borrowings from the speeches of *Mad World* and *The Guardian*, and the borrowing of tropes and ideas from *Ram-Alley*. Both hands on the Clark copy annotate the list of actors' names with the names of characters in the corresponding plays, and up until the end of Act II both write several notes comparing speeches and tropes with those in *The Guardian* and *Ram-Alley*.

Where Behn has borrowed or worked with the dialogue of these plays has been footnoted in this edition, but some general comparisons follow below. In terms of the plot, Behn is indebted to the city comedies' focus on the gulling of old, rich landowners or aldermen by their wittier and more attractive heirs, but combines this with an interest in the more pressing political battle between the greedy Whigs and nobler Tories. As is characteristic of Behn's work, her play also encourages a more sophisticated response to the female roles of courtesan/mistress, widow, and rich virgin.

#### Thomas Middleton, *A Mad World, My Masters* (1608)

Behn's most direct borrowings come from *A Mad World*. In this play, an 'old rich knight', Sir Bounteous Progress, 'keeps a house like his name, bounteous, open for all comers' (I.1.57). Richard Follywit, his nephew, has been disinherited for the company he keeps. His friends Mawworm ('parasite', *OED*) and Hoboy have led him to behave wickedly, and he no longer dresses 'all in black' or gets drunk only on fasting nights (I.1.11–21; a speech adapted for Sir Timothy in *City-Heiress*, I.1.49–56). He plans to restore his inheritance by stealing Sir Bounteous's will, which, like Sir Timothy's, is kept in a box in his closet. Follywit pretends to be the rich 'Lord Owemuch', whom Sir Bounteous fawns over. At the end of II.2, Follywit and his friends pull disguises out of a portmantua and he outlines their plan in blank verse

(compare Wilding's speech at the end of III.1 where he says his only concern is to bed women). In II.4, the men proceed to rob the house, from which Behn borrows both action and dialogue for V.1. Both Sir Bounteous and Sir Timothy are brought on in their nightclothes and ridiculed, Sir Timothy echoing the former's lamentation that he should never have kept an open house.

Overall, Behn's burglars are presented as less motivated by money and more by their desire to restore lawful inheritance (bar Fopington, who recalls the 'parasite' Mawworm). Only when Wilding believes that taking money will conceal the robbery's true purpose (to steal the papers) does he allow the men 'lawful prise' (V.1.28–29). By contrast, *A Mad World's* thieves are financially motivated. Unlike Wilding, although Follywit's inheritance is restored, he is gulled into marrying his uncle's unnamed courtesan (IV.5.111), a small punishment given that she is very beautiful. Wilding, however, is not reprimanded for robbery, implying that this is a politically and socially just act, and Sir Timothy is gulled into marrying Wilding's mistress, Diana.

Thomas Middleton, *A Trick to Catch the Old One* (1605), revived as a stock play between 1662 and 1665 (see Downes, pp. 59, 114 n. 4)

Middleton's *Trick* takes the overarching plot of a deprived nephew forced to use his wits to fool his uncle into restoring his fortunes in a different direction from *Mad World*. Here, the disguising of a mistress as a wealthy widow is integral to the trick (compare Diana's disguise as an heiress, III.1). The nephew, Theodorus Witgood, has 'sunk into that little pit, lechery' (I.1.4), while his usurious uncle Lucre has profited by seizing his property in mortgage. Witgood begins the play by berating his mistress (named only as 'Courtesan') for spending his money, to which she responds that she has given him her virginity (I.1.31) and will do anything to help him. Behn's Diana, by contrast, is less hopelessly devoted, and complains openly about her diminishing entourage (II.2.62–75). Lucre, in the mistaken belief that his nephew has attracted a rich widow (Courtesan) as a potential wife, declares him his heir. His rival, Walkadine Hoard, is gulled into marrying the widow/Courtesan, and her real identity is revealed at the wedding feast in the final scene (as is Diana's in V.5).

Behn also makes some use of *Trick's* representation of the rivalry between the uncles Lucre and Hoard (recalled in the relationship between Sir Timothy and Sir Anthony). In I.3, for instance, Hoard criticises Lucre's management of his nephew's behaviour, to which Lucre responds 'Upbraidst thou me with "Nephew"?' (I.2.27), a passage drawn on in Sir Anthony's heated defence of Sir Charles (I.1.222–32). Witgood also ends up marrying Hoard's niece towards the end of the play, becoming Hoard's heir and the Courtesan's nephew (a parallel situation to Wilding's

relationship to Diana by the end of *City-Heiress*). This serves to close off a future sexual relationship between the two (there is ‘no meddling with my aunt’ (*Trick*, V.2.141–42)) that is not emphasised in Behn’s play. Hoard’s claim that his new wife is a ‘common strumpet!’ is met with Witgood’s defence that she ‘ne’er had common use’ (V.2.108–10), but in Behn’s play it is Diana herself who defends her honour (V.5.204–05). Witgood, unlike Wilding, is concerned that Courtesan finds a respectable and rich match (so long as it accords with his own scheme), and she accepts this prospect eagerly. Diana, however, knows that she cannot be a mistress forever and, while expressing reluctance (V.3.36–70), marries a man who will give her security.

Lording Barry, *Ram-Alley; or, Merrie-Trickes* (1611)

*Ram-Alley* shares the gulling plot with *Trick*, on which it was based. In this play a witty younger son, William Smallshanks, plans to trick the usurer, Throte, who has profited from Smallshanks’s profligacy and hastened his bankruptcy. Smallshanks enlists the help of his whore, Francis, who pretends to be Constantia Somerfield, an heiress worth £2,000. On the way to Throte’s place of business in Ram-Alley, they meet Smallshanks’s father, Sir Oliver, who questions Francis/Constantia about her recently deceased father before Smallshanks is forced to intervene. In the similar scene in *City-Heiress*, Diana leads the deception by feigning tears (III.1.41–43). When Smallshanks and Francis reach Ram-Alley, Smallshanks instructs Throte to give his ‘heiress’ an idealised account of his circumstances, especially that he ‘stand[s] in hope | To bee created Barron’ (sig. C4v), a conversation that is similar to Wilding’s instructions to his uncle (III.1.65–79). Throte’s subsequent negative assessment of Smallshanks is echoed in Sir Timothy’s criticism of Wilding to Diana, and both Throte and Sir Timothy discuss ways to nullify oral marriage contracts.

Unlike *Trick*, *Ram-Alley* also has a subplot focusing on the courtship of a rich and beautiful widow, Mistress Changeable Taffata. Like Lady Galliard, Taffata is juggling lovers, and drops her handkerchief from her balcony to encourage one (sig. B4v). While Lady Galliard encourages Wilding and Sir Charles, Taffata has made promises to the melodramatic Boutcher, to her deceased husband’s friend Captain Puff, and to Sir Oliver Smallshanks. When Puff is rejected, he becomes violent, threatening to ‘slash’ her ‘petti-coate’, contemptuous when she threatens to call constables (sig. E3r). Here, the audience are aware that Sir Oliver is concealed under Taffata’s skirts, and that she has reliable servants and a justice system that will support her. Lady Galliard has no such protection from Sir Charles. At the end of *Ram-Alley*, Taffata is subjected to another violent assault. Smallshanks has heard that his father is to marry Taffata – which would reduce his living – and tricks his way into her lodgings at night. In his desperation he threatens her: ‘Ile teach coy widdowes a

new way to woe, ... if you deny your bed. | Ile cut your throat, without equivocation, ... Ist a match[?]' (sig. H3r-v). When Taffata agrees, Smallshanks urges immediate consummation, and when she tries to delay until the next day, he declares she 'shall not sleepe upont'. Her response conforms with the contemporary stereotype that widows prefer rough wooing (sig. H3v). While Taffata embraces Smallshanks, Behn's Lady Galliard never condones Sir Charles's behaviour. When Sir Oliver in *Ram-Alley* arrives with musicians to play for his new bride under her balcony, he is faced with his son '*above in his shirt*' (sig. H4v). The audience are invited to celebrate Taffata's good fortune in avoiding the match with Sir Oliver, but the response invited by Lady Galliard's match is rather different.

Philip Massinger, *The Guardian* (1633, pub. 1655 in *Three New Playes*)

Behn appears to be more indebted to *Ram-Alley* in terms of overarching plots and situations, but from *The Guardian* she borrows patterns of dialogue for I.1 and a model for Sir Anthony. The guardian of the title is Durazzo (Sir Anthony's equivalent), who coaches his nephew Caldoro; the nephew, like Sir Charles, is prone to use melodramatic and circumlocutory language in courtship. Caldoro loves Caliste, the daughter of a banished gentleman, but she is in love with the libertine Adorio, who declares that he does not want to lose his 'uncurb'd liberty' by taking on the 'yoke' of marriage (p. 6), like Wilding. In II.3, Adorio decides to abduct Caliste, but in the event, she is mistakenly stolen by Caldoro, and she only accepts Caldoro's suit ('aided' by his uncle) when she believes Adorio loves the servant whom he has abducted in error. Caliste eventually chooses Caldoro as her husband, though it would be a brave woman who did not choose to marry the man with whom she eloped. Durazzo, unlike Behn's Sir Anthony, is relatively harmless.

The first scene of Behn's play is particularly indebted to *The Guardian*. Like Sir Timothy's dressing down of Sir Anthony at I.1.219-49, Durazzo is berated by Neapolitan noblemen. Sir Anthony and Durazzo both observe their son enter 'muffled' and in pursuit of the object of his affections from church, listening to her arguing with her libertine lover, and challenging him where he insults her honour. In Behn's play, Lady Galliard is given more dialogue to counter libertine arguments, and she communicates how torn she is at the prospect of taking a lover. Caliste, as a virgin heiress, does not entertain such libertine ideas.

### First Performance and Performance History

The first recorded performance of *The City-Heiress* was on Wednesday, 17 May 1682 at the Duke's Theatre, Dorset Garden, when the Moroccan ambassador was



in the audience (*True Protestant Mercury*, 17–20 May; *Loyal Protestant*, 20 May). The 1681–82 theatrical season at the Duke's was dominated by plays commenting on the Exclusion Crisis (see *London Stage*, pp. 299–312). Four of Behn's plays were performed during this time: *The False Count* (November 1681); *The Roundheads* (December 1681); *Like Father, Like Son* (March 1682; unpublished except for the prologue); and *The City-Heiress*. These joined other polemical Tory productions such as Ravenscroft's *The London Cuckolds* (October 1681), the anonymously authored *Mr. Turbulent* (October? 1681), and D'Urfey's *The Royalist* (January 1682). Otway's *Venice Preserv'd*, with its allusions to Shaftesbury and its focus on disrupted inheritance, was also in the repertory from February 1682, and was certainly performed on 21 April (with a new prologue and epilogue celebrating the Duke of York's presence), and again at the end of May (*London Stage*, pp. 306–09). Although the date of *The City-Heiress*'s first performance is unknown, Luttrell dated his copy of the separately printed prologue and epilogue '15 May 1682', providing a latest possible date. Milhous and Hume cite examples from February and March 1682 where Luttrell obtained copies two to five days after first performance, which supports a tentative dating of either 13 May (if the theatre managers preferred the first night to take place on a Saturday) or 15 May ('Dating', p. 389; Bowditch and Hume, *Finances*). This departs from the assignation of the play to 'Late April' by the editors of *London Stage* (p. 308), which they based on the play's reference to the aborted Whig feast of 21 April. However, *The City-Heiress* also seems to allude to the recent clandestine marriage of the heiress Anne Hyde (24 April), which makes a late April dating very unlikely.

Langbaine's *Account* echoed Behn's claim in the Epistle Dedicatory that *The City-Heiress* 'had the luck to be well receiv'd in the Town' (p. 19). It was available for purchase at least by 22 June, when it was advertised in Benskin's *Domestick Intelligence* (22–26 June 1682), but it is not clear from this whether it was still in the repertoire. By September, the Whig writer Thomas Shadwell was criticising the work's favourable reception by Tory audiences in *Tory-Poets*, arguing that even 'Women and Boys may write and yet may please' if they mention '*Ignoramus Juries* ... That thredbare Subject' (p. 8). Behn's female authorship also came under attack, Shadwell likening Otway to a 'Pimp' necessary to encourage applause for 'th'*City-heresie*' and 'the good Old Cause', thereby also referencing Behn's earlier Tory play, *The Roundheads* (p. 9). Lady Galliard's sexual assignation with Wilding in IV.1 later drew criticism from the satirist Robert Gould, who charged the hypocritical 'chast[e] Sappho' with bawdy: the 'lewd Widow comes, with brazen face, | Just reeking from a Stallion's rank embrace, | T'acquaint the Audience with her slimy case' ('Play-House. A Satyr' (written 1685, pub. 1689), p. 173).

While this demonstrates that *The City-Heiress* was popular, if divisive, the Duke's prompter, John Downes, paired the play with *The Feign'd Curtizans* (1679) as one

that 'liv'd but a short time' (Downes, p. 78); probably this was because of its topicality rather than any lack of quality. A passage from Thomas Brown's *Wit for Money* (1691) would appear to support this. Brown observes that 'the Town has forgot [the play] long ago', so that even a 'prying Book-monger may'nt find it out'; he thinks that it will 'never be acted again, 'twas one of the Tory Plays, which won't do now the tide's turn'd, ... where *Passive Obedience* and *Jus Divinum* [i.e. divine right], are asserted as Infallible Doctrines, and all Sins venial but desire of Liberty' (p. 14). Later, however, it is clear that Sir Timothy Treat-all had become a byword for a rich, though not specifically 'Whig', fool (see Ames, *Lawyerus* (1691), p. 9; Anon., *Catalogue* (1691), p. 1; B. E., *New Dictionary* (1699), pp. 80, 83). Although *London Stage* suggests a revival in 1698, based on the appearance of a new edition of the play that states it was acted 'at his Royal Highness his THEATRE' (p. 484), this phrase is more likely due to 'slavish adherence to the 1682 text' (O'Donnell, p. 64). If a play was in the repertory, its publisher would surely have emphasised this. A later advertisement for the 1701 revival of the play also stated that it was 'not Acted these 18 years' (de Fonvive, *Post Man*, 9–12 August 1701).

### Eighteenth-Century Performances

*The City-Heiress* was clearly 'tied to a particular Tory moment and message' (Spencer, *Afterlife*, p. 188), and the *London Stage* records only two revivals: (1) 13 August 1701 at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane, 'not acted these 18 years' and 'Written by the Ingenious Mrs Ann Behn', in a period where 'Aphra' and 'Ann' were interchangeable (Jackson, 'Play Notices', p. 827; Avery, *London Stage*, p. 13); and (2) 10 July 1707 at the Queen's Theatre, where it was performed as a benefit night for the actors playing Sir Charles Meriwill and Fopington (Avery, *London Stage*, p. 150). I have come across no records of later performances.

### The Cast

The 1682 edition of *City-Heiress* indicates most of the major characters and the actors who played them. (It neglects to mention Mrs Sensure and several servants.) Playwrights created characters with the strengths of the company in mind, and audiences would bring with them certain expectations about what kinds of character an actor usually played, creating implicit associations across theatrical productions. It is therefore useful to provide a brief account of the play's actors and their recent roles.

The role of the play's satiric butt, the alderman SIR TIMOTHY TREAT-ALL, was taken by James Nokes (c. 1642–96), the 'leading comic actor of his time' who played

regularly opposite Anthony Leigh (Sir Anthony Meriwill) in the Duke's Company in a much lauded double act (ODNB). He was often cast as an older, dim-witted exclusionist cuckold during the early 1680s, playing Sir Davy Dunc in Otway's *The Souldiers Fortune* (1680, pub. 1681), and Vinditius (a character based on Oates) in Lee's *Lucius Junius Brutus* (1680, pub. 1681). The roistering old Tory, SIR ANTHONY MERIWILL, was played by Nokes's comic partner, Anthony Leigh (d. 1692), best known for playing 'sexually unconventional or over-enthusiastic old men', including the similarly voyeuristic Jolly Jumble in *The Souldiers Fortune*, and the depraved senator Antonio in Otway's *Venice Preserv'd* (Hughes, 'Restoration Theatre', p. 36).

The part of WILDING, the rake, was taken by Thomas Betterton (1635–1710), the co-manager and leading actor of the Duke's Company, who often played opposite Elizabeth Barry (Lady Galliard). Betterton had succeeded in a wide range of tragic and comic roles including libertines. In the 1670s he had often played the rake-hero character (most famously as Dorimant in Etherege's *The Man of Mode* (1676)), and took on roles where the rake became a more 'cynical manipulator rather than a carefree man-about-town' such as the murderer and rapist Don John in Shadwell's tragedy *The Libertine* (1675), revived as *The Libertine Destroy'd* in the same month as the company was performing *City-Heiress* in 1682 (Holland, *Ornament*, pp. 80–81; *London Stage*, p. 309). He also demonstrated characteristic 'skill and sensitivity' in portraying characters faced with betrayal (Highfill, II, 73): two months previously he played the tragic hero Jaffier in *Venice Preserv'd*, a character whose impoverishment by his senator father-in-law (presented by the play as a 'Cruel' disruption of traditional rights, p. 72) led to his plotting against the senate.

Wilding's loyal friend DRESSWELL was played by actor and singer John Bowman (?1651–1739), who had recently acted the senator Priuli in *Venice Preserv'd*, but had more often played 'the fop and the kindly friend', as here (Highfill, II, 198). The role of the foolish fortune hunter FOPINGTON was taken by the comic actor Thomas Jevon (1651/2–88), famous for roles requiring a 'light-footed trickster' (Holland, *Ornament*, p. 80), especially those that required singing or dancing. Jevon was originally a dancing master (ODNB). In III.1.547 he displays these talents with fellow dancer Charlotte Butler (Charlot). Jevon had appeared as Furnish in *Mr. Turbulent* (1681), 'a Swaggering, debauched Person' (sig. A2r). SIR CHARLES MERIWILL, the initially polite Tory nephew, was played by Joseph Williams (c. 1663 – in or after 1707), a promising young actor who had taken leading roles since 1680 (ODNB; Highfill, xvi, 140). He had recently appeared as the moderate friend and eligible bachelor – Fairlove, in *Mr. Turbulent*, and Heartall in D'Urfey's *The Royalist* (1682) – but had also played the rich and handsome, but seemingly unappealing, Beaumont in *The Second Part of the Rover* (1681), who is spurned by La Nuche (Elizabeth Barry). In Otway's *The Orphan* (1680) he played Polydore, who pretends to be his brother

Castilio (Betterton) to have sex with the latter's contracted wife Monimia (Barry); she takes her own life as a result. Barry won much admiration for this role and the stage relationship was likely to have implications for her role as Lady Galliard opposite Williams (Sir Charles).

The role of the rich widow, LADY GALLIARD, was taken by Elizabeth Barry (1658?–1713), the foremost female actor of the Restoration, playing both tragic and comedic roles often opposite Betterton (*ODNB*; Highfill, I, 316). Behn's plays take seriously the plight of the discarded mistress and utilised Barry's 'gift for tragedy ... depending upon her to make the echoes of tragic language in her speeches not ridiculous but affecting' (Staves, *Literary History*, p. 64; Howe, *First English Actresses*, p. 135); Barry was also the seduced Corina in *The Revenge* (1680) as well as La Nuche, a character also 'constantly torn between attraction and resistance' (Hughes, *Theatre*, p. 132). Along with Belvidera in *Venice Preserv'd*, among her most successful roles was Monimia in Otway's *The Orphan*, where the prompter, Downes, observed that 'she forc'd Tears from the Eyes of her Auditory, especially those who have any Sense of Pity for the Distress't' (Downes, p. 79; Highfill, I, 315). Barry also performed *The City-Heiress's* prologue, the first time she is recorded as taking this role.

Charlotte Butler, or Boteler (fl. 1673–95), played CHARLOT, the rich and loyal city heiress, and performed the play's epilogue. She was a talented singer and dancer: Cibber wrote that she 'was allow'd, in those Days, to sing and dance to great Perfection' (Highfill, II, 448). These talents are displayed in III.1 where she sings 'Ah, Jenny, gen' and an 'Italian song' and dances with Jevon (Fopington). Butler had previously spoken the epilogue to Otway's *The Orphan*, where she threatens to retire to 'some City Lodgings ... Till I am thought some Heiress rich in Lands, | Fled' (p. 72), and the recent prologue to Behn's failed *Like Father, Like Son* (March 1682). The epilogue's comedy stems, in part, from the incongruity between her character's virtue and Butler's more knowing persona (Solomon, *Prologues*, pp. 119–21). Butler herself had a 'spotty reputation' (Highfill, II, 448–50; Wilson, *Court Satires*, pp. 76–79).

Wilding's witty mistress DIANA was played by Elizabeth (Betty) Curren (fl. 1673–?1743), who took leading roles with the Duke's Company, including the city Whig Lady Fancy in *Sir Patient Fancy*, Ariadne in *The Second Part of the Rover*, and Aquilina, Antonio's mistress in *Venice Preserv'd* whom he pays to whip him (Highfill, IV, 98–99). Mistress Norris (fl. 1660–84), who played Wilding's housekeeper MRS. CLACKET, like her (probable) husband, Henry Norris, was a 'utility performer' who played old women, bawds, and governesses (Highfill, XI, 49–50). She had previously played the wife of the eponymous Puritan in *Mr. Turbulent*, the servant Callis in *The Rover* (1677), and Philpa in *The Feign'd Curtizans*. Lady Galliard's chambermaid, MRS. CLOSET, was played by Elinor Leigh (fl. 1670–?1709), the wife of Anthony Leigh (Sir Anthony Meriwill). She had played Angellica Bianca's forceful serving woman, Moretta, in *The Rover*, and the bustling Mrs Dashit in *The Revenge*.

## Staging

While many Restoration plays were set in London, Behn specifies that *The City-Heiress* is to be staged 'Within the Walls of London' (Actors Names). For Restoration audiences, this would signify the Whig-dominated City of London proper, encompassing the Inner and Middle City areas surrounded by the old Roman city walls, and opposed, ideologically, to the court at Whitehall (Whyman, *Sociability*, p. 55). As De Krey argues, 'opposite partisan perspectives of the crisis' were 'embodied in enduring spatial communities with distinctive characteristics', which the theatrical company needed to exploit if the ideological dimension of the play was to be effectively communicated (*London*, p. 275). A painted scene at the back of the vista stage depicting a recognisable landmark like the Guildhall (the seat of the London Corporation), visible during the opening street scene where the shutters would be open (and then at II.2 and V.4), could have been used to depict the City, control over which was currently being contested by Whig and Tory factions. Three pairs of wings contributed to the stage picture, and when, in I.1, two groups of characters enter 'as from Church' (I.1.192SD), they probably emerge, dressed finely, from behind one of the wings on which a church was painted. In two of the three street scenes (II.2 and V.4), characters appear and speak on whichever of the balconies (to the left or right of the proscenium arch) represents Lady Galliard's house. The proscenium door directly below serves as entrance to her house, and in other scenes as the door leading (further) 'inside'. The opposite proscenium door leads 'outside' or 'away'. Throughout the play the Tory characters (Wilding, Sir Anthony, and Sir Charles) force themselves into the innermost spaces of the Whig City, barging through doors uninvited. Wilding forces his way through Charlot's chamber door in II.1.65SD; Sir Charles 'Offers to force in as to the Bed-chamber' where he must eventually exit (IV.1.350SD); Laboir 'Reel[s] in' the door to fetch the bound Sir Timothy (V.1.179SD); Sir Anthony 'Thrusts the Musick in' through Lady Galliard's front door, swiftly followed by the rest of the characters (V.4.60SD). Successive scenes depicting the Tory conquest of the Whig City might suggest uncomfortable links between the burglary of Sir Timothy (V.1), the binding of the Polish envoy/Wilding (V.2), and the restrictions facing Lady Galliard (IV.1) and Diana (V.3).

Aside from the street scenes, the rest of the action takes place inside Charlot's temporary lodgings (II.1), Lady Galliard's house (II.3, IV.1, V.5), and Sir Timothy's house (reception room, III.1, V.1; chambers inside, V.2, V.3). Sir Timothy's reception room (III.1) was probably suggested via a new set of wings on either side of the vista stage and a pair of shutters two-thirds of the way upstage closing off the discovery space, which would be painted to represent the reception room walls. When Sir Timothy's guests and 'Musick' enter from the dining room, they could arrive quickly

and spectacularly from the discovery space and begin their group dance. The shutters could later be drawn apart so that Lady Galliard is ‘*discover’d in an undress*’ at her dressing table for IV.1 (a set of shutters opens to reveal a chamber upstage). While Behn envisages interesting parallels through her staging, it is extremely likely that the theatre did not follow her instructions, particularly concerning V.2–V.5 where there are two ‘discovery’ scenes (V.2, V.3) and a short street scene (V.4) in quick succession. In this edition I suggest that V.2–V.3 were performed against the backdrop for V.1, the discovery space shutters drawn back for the street scene (V.4), and the shutter set at the very back of the vista stage drawn across to represent Lady Galliard’s dressing room for V.5.

## Songs and Music

### Songs

The *dramatis personae* requires musicians to appear onstage to accompany the songs and dances performed in III.1 and IV.1, and to perform a ‘sprightly Air’ (V.4.31) under Lady Galliard’s balcony before Sir Anthony ‘*Thrusts*’ them in the door (especially comedic if one of the musicians has a bass viol and chair). Songs were usually accompanied by a theorbo or guitar (Price, *Music*, p. 76), as is indicated in the extant printed copies of the songs included in this play. For dances, more musicians were needed. One or more violinists were usually supported by a basso continuo accompaniment, consisting of a theorbo or guitar, and a bass viol or violoncello (Price, *Music*, pp. 78–80).

**‘Philander was a jolly swain’** a drinking song performed by Sir Anthony in III.1.221–32 that does not appear to have been reproduced in contemporary song-books. Anthony Leigh (Sir Anthony) also sings a drinking song in *The Counterfeit Bridegroom* (1677), V.2; see Volume II of the Cambridge Edition.

**‘Ah, Jenny, gen your Eyes do kill’** attributed to Behn by Simpson (*British Broadside*, pp. 379–80), although it is anonymous in its subsequent reprintings, and not included in later miscellanies of her poetry. It appears though to have been very popular, possibly a reflection of the wider vogue for songs written in Scots dialect or alluding to Scotland. In the same year, an adapted and extended version, the anonymous *Jockey’s Lamentation*, described it as a ‘*New Song greatly in request both at Court and City*’. *Jockey’s Lamentation* also included the music for a melody line for ‘a pleasant New Play-House Tune’, which later appeared with an accompanying bass line in Playford’s *Choice Ayres* (1684) titled ‘A SONG in the CITY HEIRESSSES’.

Unlike other later adaptations, which include additional verses, Playford prints the two verses of Behn's song with only minor changes (e.g. 'faded' for 'gloomy'). Most subsequent versions made more significant changes and included various additional verses (see Anon., *Newest Collection* (1683), pp. 7–8; Shirley, *Compleat Courtier* (1683), p. 154; Anon., *Loves of Jockey and Jenny* ([1684–85]); Playford, *Wit and Mirth* (1699), pp. 280–81). The tune of 'Ah, Jenny Gin' became 'one of the most popular broadside tunes of the late seventeenth century' (Simpson, *British Broadside*, p. 379). Its first appearance was for 'Strephon's Comforts', but it was used subsequently for 'some three dozen other pieces issued within the next decade or so' (Simpson, *British Broadside*, pp. 380–81). These songs focus mostly on (tragic) love, but a notable departure was its use as the tune for 'Plot and Plotters Confounded; or, The Down-Fall of Whiggism' (Thompson, *Choice Collection* (1684), pp. 111–12).

**'In Phillis all vile Jilts are met'** presumably a more demanding song because it was performed by a minor character ('Betty'), unnamed on the dramatis personae and probably a professional singer (Price, *Music*, p. 69). It was subsequently published with the notation for musical accompaniment in *Newest Collection* (1683), pp. 21–24 (melody), and Playford's fourth book of *Choice Ayres* (1683), pp. 14–15 (melody and bass line accompaniment). Playford's contents page attributes the song to 'Mr Baptist', the Italian Giovanni Battista Draghi (c. 1640–1708), who was organist in Queen Catherine's chapel and wrote the musical accompaniments for Shadwell's semi-operatic version of *The Tempest* (1674), adapting Dryden and Davenant's version of the Shakespeare original, and for *Psyche* (1675), and several play songs (Playford, *Theater of Music* (1685–87); ODNB). In both collections, the last two lines of each verse are repeated and the performers instructed to play and sing 'Soft'. Each verse has a different tune. The song remained popular and was published several times in the eighteenth century; see the anonymous *Cupid* (1736), p. 155; *Muses Delight* (1754), p. 282; and *Apollo's Cabinet* (1757), p. 282.

**'Italian song in two parts'** Draghi may have also composed (and even co-performed) the 'Italian song' in III.1, which shows off the vocal talents of Charlotte Butler (Charlot). The description, 'in two parts', most likely indicates a song with two voices singing different parts simultaneously (rather than taking turns). The vogue for Italian music had continued since Charles II began to introduce Italian musicians to his court from 1660 (Mabbett, 'Italian Musicians', p. 237). Even 'anti-Catholic feeling' provoked by the Popish Plot, 'does not seem seriously to have damaged the English taste for Italian music', evidenced by a published collection, *Scelta di canzonette italiane* (1679), which included works by Draghi and others (Mabbett, 'Italian Musicians', p. 241). Italian songs appear in Shadwell's *The*



*Lancashire-Witches* (1682), p. 30, and *Bury-Fair* (1689), p. 27 (where the ‘Italian song of two parts’ is also accompanied by ‘musick’).

### Act Music

Like all Restoration plays, *The City-Heiress* also required a theatre orchestra to play the music between acts. Contemporary accounts suggest that such orchestras numbered from nine to twelve instrumentalists (up to twenty for more lavish productions), who were placed in a music room or in the pit, immediately in front of the stage (Price, *Music*, pp. 81–82). Eleven of the act ‘tunes in Sr Timothy Treatall’, composed by Solomon Eccles, are preserved in BL Add. MS 29283–5, fols. 65–68. Seven of these are also preserved in Yale Misc. MS 170, Filmer 6, fols. 33–35, out of order (Price, *Music*, p. 153). Eccles (fl. 1677?–1702; sometimes ‘Egles’ or ‘Eagles’) became a member of the King’s Musick by November 1685 at the latest, and by March 1689 he was earning £30 annually plus livery (Highfill, v, 6–7). He also composed the music for Otway’s *Venice Preserv’d*. Eccles has often been confused with an older Solomon Eccles (1617?–82), a musician turned Quaker, who may have been a relative (*ODNB*; Highfill, v, 6). Price’s observation that act tunes were ‘performed immediately at the conclusion of each act except the last’ and sometimes between scenes (*Music*, p. 13), suggests that eleven act tunes were used after I.1, II.1, II.2, II.3, III.1, IV.1, V.1, V.2, V.3, and V.4, and perhaps during IV.1 where a scene change is specified in the text (though unlikely to have been carried out in practice).

### Textual Headnote

This edition is based on the copy of the 1682 edition held by the British Library (chosen because a high-quality digital version is available through their catalogue: Digital Store 644.g.13.), collated with fourteen other copies:

BL	British Library 644.g.13
BNF	Bibliothèque nationale de France 8 – RE – 8897
Bod	Bodleian Library Mal. 104 (1)
CC	William Andrews Clark Memorial Library *PR3317 C51 (Kemble’s copy)
CH	Huntington Library 112065 (Robert Hoe’s copy)
CUL	Cambridge University Library Brett Smith 55
CY	Yale University Ij B395 682C (EEBO copy)
DFo	Folger Shakespeare Library B1719
IU1	University of Illinois (Urbana-Champaign) IUA01058
IU2	University of Illinois (Urbana-Champaign) IUA07525



MH	Houghton Library *EC65 B3957 682c
MU	Monash University *SW 820.4 A...2 PLA v. 1
NLA	National Library of Australia RB DNS 7169
NP	Princeton University Library Ex PR3317.C58 1682 c.1
TX	Harry Ransom Center, University of Texas at Austin Aj B3696 682c

## The 1682 Edition

The 1682 edition of *The City-Heiress* was published by late June collaboratively by Daniel Brown, Thomas Benskin, and Henry Rhodes. The speed of publication following a play's first performance had become 'more erratic' during the early 1680s, 'presumably as a result of the upheaval connected with the exclusion crisis', but an average time of two to three months was 'the norm' by 1682 (Milhous and Hume, 'Dating', p. 390). *The City-Heiress* was speedily published, therefore, appearing by late June 1682, two months at most after the aborted Whig feast of 21 April, and just six weeks after an estimated first performance date of 13 May. It was advertised in the Term Catalogue for Trinity 1682 (June) for the standard play price of one shilling (TC, 1, 495), and in Benskin's newsbook *Domestick Intelligence; or, News both from City and Country* (22–26 June, 26–29 June, and 6–10 July). By contrast, the same publishing partnership's publication of *The Roundheads* took up to three months. It seems likely, therefore, that Brown, Benskin, and Rhodes wanted to capitalise on the play's topicality for commercial reasons, publishing it in time for the hotly contested London shrieval elections on 24 June (De Krey, *London*, pp. 254–61). The final paragraph of the dedicatory epistle is set in a smaller font than the rest of that document, with the paragraph's line spacing also reduced, perhaps suggesting that the printer had calculated that it would be somewhat shorter than it was, and that it arrived too late for the dedication's overall setting to be adjusted (see pp. 37–38).

Before *The Roundheads* (pub. 1682), Behn had published *The Second Part of the Rover* (1681) and *The False Count* (1681/82) with Tonson. Her decision to move to Brown, Benskin, and Rhodes for *The Roundheads*, *The City-Heiress*, *The Young King* (1682/83), and (without Rhodes) the epilogue to *Romulus and Hersilia* (1682) was perhaps because Tonson either refused, or offered her a very low price for copyright. *The Roundheads*, *The City-Heiress*, and the epilogue were all very topical and hence unlikely to remain in the repertory, reducing the likelihood that they would enjoy profitable reprints. ESTC evidence suggests that neither Brown, Benskin, nor Rhodes had published plays before, though Brown and Benskin had already worked together in 1682 to share the costs of securing more expensive publications (such as three anonymous works, *New Collection; History of ... Queen Mary; Forfeitures of Londons Charter*). Young stationers, newly freed from their apprenticeships,

experimented before they found their niche market. In this collaboration, Brown was the senior established figure, having begun trading in 1672 (Plomer, II, 53). Benskin and Rhodes both began trading in 1681 and were therefore newly starting out (Plomer, II, 54, 252). Commercial concerns were therefore likely to have been the driving force for their publication of Behn's topical Tory works, especially for Benskin (originally apprenticed to Langley Curtis, a leading opposition figure), who had begun his career with Whig publications including a *Vindication of ... Monmouth* (1681), and pamphlets condemning Catholic intrigue and Viscount Stafford (e.g. the anonymous *Faux's Ghost* (1680) and *Poem on ... Viscount Stafford* (1680)). This shift in Benskin's publication choices might reflect 'a belief that the political views of readers were changing' to align with Tory concerns (Harris, *Restoration*, p. 267).

It is not known whom Brown, Benskin, and Rhodes hired to print the play, but the task was completed carefully: for instance, there are no turned letters, and there is almost complete consistency in the abbreviations used for speech prefixes (for the few exceptions, see Table 1). Proof sheets must have been carefully read before printing continued, because there are very few press variants between copies, and most of these appear on the D inner forme, where the uncorrected copy seen (CY, the EEBO copy) has on Div (p. 18) 'fought' (for 'sought'), 'seen her,' (for 'seen her'), and 'fooner' (for 'sooner'); see II.2.112, 125, 145. The proofreading must have happened at an early stage, given that most copies examined have the corrected version; and that the corrector missed two further manifest errors that were never corrected: on D2r (p. 19) page number 19 appears as 91, and on one occasion Lady Galliard is given the speech prefix 'L. Call.' instead of 'L. Gall.' (see II.2.171). Also, on C1r (p. 9), the speech prefix '*Sir Anth.*' appears where Sir Charles is in fact speaking, an error corrected in an early hand in the Princeton copy (see I.1.393).

Other press variants in copies examined are limited to the correction on B4v of 'for-Acting' (present in BNE, CY, MH, MU, NLA, NP) to 'for Acting' (I.1.351); and the correction on H3v of 'Impolitick' (CY, IU, MH, NLA) to 'impolitick' in all other copies (see V.3.65).

The remaining manifest errors are very few indeed:

C2v (p. 12)	Sair-case (Stair-case)	II.1.42
C4v (p. 16)	Widling ( <i>Wilding</i> )	II.2.10
E1r (p. 25)	chastize (probably, catechize)	III.1.41
E4v (p. 32)	excellently (excellency)	III.1.423
G4r (p. 47)	<i>Breeches</i> ( <i>Breeches</i> )	IV.1.542
H1r (p. 49)	secred (secret, or possibly sacred)	V.1.37

The 1682 printing does, though, have an unusual feature: instead of setting most short stage directions flush right after a bracket (as is normal in Restoration play printing), the compositor, though quite often using that formatting, sometimes places the stage direction part way along an otherwise empty line, and whatever the positioning, sometimes omits the bracket. No system explaining this variety has been identified, although it is the case that many of the stage directions (both shorter and longer ones) that are set without a bracket relate to action that takes significant stage-time. Since no clear explanation for the variations in formatting has been established, however, and since difference between the measure of the page in this edition and that of the base text in any case makes any attempt to mimic the 1682 choices meaningless, this edition sets all such stage directions flush right after a parenthesis, providing textual notes to indicate the change in position or absence of a bracket.

Four further features of the text's appearance have also been adjusted to bring it into line with this edition's editorial conventions, but in these cases without specific noting in the textual apparatus. First, all lines of all entrances in this edition are centred (almost always, the 1682 edition uses a hanging indent; the only exception is Jervice's entry V.1.29SD, which the 1682 edition sets centred across two lines). White space is provided around entrances whether or not this is present in the 1682 edition. Secondly, directions relating to the direction and manner of speech (such as *aside* or *In a soft tone*) always preface the speech or part of speech that they define, and are placed in parentheses; in the 1682 edition, as is normal in the Restoration, such stage directions normally appear after the speech or part-speech they relate to, and appear after a square bracket; though sometimes, like other short stage directions, the 1682 compositor placed these part-right, not flush-right. Thirdly, because this edition reserves the use of square brackets for editorially inserted stage directions, parentheses replace square brackets for stage directions that are present in the base-text. Finally, all speech prefixes are given as full names in this edition, whereas in the 1682 edition abbreviations are used and variants are found.

TABLE 1 Speech prefixes (*The City-Heiress*)

Character	Speech prefix, 1682	Variant	Act, scene, line this edn
SIR TIMOTHY	<i>Sir Tim.</i>	<i>Sir Tim</i> , E1r (p. 25)	III.1.80
WILDING	<i>Wild.</i>	Wild. F3r (p. 37)	IV.1.62 to contrast italic dialogue
SIR ANTHONY	<i>Sir Anth.</i>		

TABLE 1 (*cont.*)

SIR CHARLES	<i>Sir Char.</i>		
DRESSWELL	<i>Dress.</i>		
FOPINGTON	<i>Fop.</i>		
JERVICE	<i>Jer.</i>		
LADY GALLIARD	<i>L. Gall.</i>	<i>L. Call. D2r</i> (p. 19)	II.2.171
CHARLOT	<i>Charl.</i>	<i>Char. E4v</i> (p. 32)	III.1.402
DIANA	<i>Dian.</i>		
MRS CLACKET	<i>Mrs. Clack.</i>		
CLOSET	<i>Clos.</i>		
MAID	<i>Maid.</i>		
BOY	<i>Boy.</i>		
SENSURE	<i>Sen.</i>		
BETTY	<i>Bet.</i>	<i>Betty E1r</i> (p. 25)	III.1.49
LABOIR	<i>Lab.</i>		
FIDDLER	<i>Fid.</i>		
WILLIAM	<i>Will.</i>		
ALL	<i>All.</i>		

Any other editorial interventions in the text, and all variants between copies, are identified in the textual notes.

### *Copies of the 1682 Edition*

The CC copy (John Philip Kemble's) has annotation indicating that an early owner has noticed Behn's use of sources in several places; those of particular interest are indicated above and in commentary notes. The CY copy is trimmed, missing text from the edge of leaf B1r–v (the opening of I.1), and also a lot of the running heads; the TX copy is trimmed, losing text on the edge of nearly half the pages. Several other copies are also trimmed, but with no resultant loss of text other than of some running-heads. Since in all other respects the trimmed copies match other copies in the affected leaves, we have assumed that the missing text also matches. The MH copy has gatherings A and B, and leaves F1r–v, F4r–v from 1682; the other gatherings and part gatherings are replaced by the 1698 edition (which has identical catchwords with 1682). The NP copy bears bookplates of Stainforth and of John Evesham, and has the signature 'Th. G. Hotham' on the title page.

## Prologue and Epilogue

Before the 1682 *City-Heiress* appeared in print, Jacob Tonson published as a broadside its prologue (written by Thomas Otway) and epilogue (attributed to ‘a *Person of Quality*’). Publishing polemical prologues and epilogues separately had become common in the early 1680s, and Tonson was one of several publishers printing those by Otway, many of which celebrated the Duke of York’s recent return from Scotland (Hammond, *Making*, pp. 157–58; Danchin, III, 394–411). It was also quite common for plays’ prologues and epilogues to be written by other, often more successful, writers. Otway had enjoyed considerable recent success with *Venice Preserv’d* and his textual presence might have been especially desirable as Behn’s immediately prior play had not been well received. Behn was the only playwright to use the description ‘*Person of Quality*’ to describe a contributor in the 1680–81 and 1681–82 seasons, for the epilogue to *The False Count* (Danchin, III, 318–411), and may have been trying to imply that she was patronised by a high-ranking and influential individual. Luttrell’s copy of Otway’s prologue and the anonymous epilogue is annotated ‘15 May 1682’ (Huntington, 135903), and he was usually ‘quite prompt’ in his acquisition (Milhous and Hume, ‘Dating’, p. 389), suggesting a première on or shortly before this date. The Folger copy of the prologue and epilogue is annotated ‘19 May 1682’, also supporting a first performance date in the period 13–15 May (Langhans, ‘More Restoration’, p. 127).

There are no variants among the copies of the prologue and epilogue consulted at the Huntington Library, Harry Ransom Center, and Bodleian Library. The Huntington copy is the basis of the collation in the textual footnotes here. The differences between this separately printed copy of the prologue and epilogue and the prologue and epilogue printed in the 1682 edition are concerned almost entirely with accidentals; the few substantive differences are indicated in textual notes, with the abbreviation *Otway* indicating the broadside version.



THE  
CITY-HEIRESS:  
OR,  
Sir Timothy Treat-all.  
A  
COMEDY.

As it is Acted  
At his Royal Highness his THEATRE.

---

Written by Mrs. *A. Behn*.

---

L O N D O N :

Printed for *D. Brown*, at the *Black Swan* and *Bible* without  
*Temple-bar*; and *T. Benskin* in *St. Brides Church-yard*;  
and *H. Rhodes* next door to the *Bear-Tavern* near  
*Bride-lane* in *Fleetstreet*. 1 6 8 2.

THE CITY-HEIRESS: OR, Sir Timothy Treat-all.<sup>1</sup> A COMEDY. As it is Acted At his Royal Highness his THEATRE.<sup>2</sup> Written by Mrs. A. Behn. LONDON: Printed for D. Brown,<sup>3</sup> at the *Black Swan* and *Bible* without *Temple-bar*; and T. Benskin<sup>4</sup> in St. Brides Church-yard; and H. Rhodes<sup>5</sup> next door to the *Bear-Tavern* neer *Bride-lane* in *Fleetstreet*. 1682.

FIGURE 2 (overleaf) Title page of Aphra Behn's *The City-Heiress; or, Sir Timothy Treat-all* (1682). Cambridge University Library, Brett-Smith.55. Reproduced by kind permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.

- 
- 1 **THE CITY-HEIRESS ... Treat-all:** Behn's title highlights two topical issues for April–May 1682: inheritance and Whig feasting ('treating'); see Headnote, pp. 1–4.
  - 2 **his ... his THEATRE:** the Duke's Theatre, Dorset Garden, where, from 9 November 1671, the Duke's Company usually performed; named for James, Duke of York (1633–1701), brother and heir presumptive of Charles II.
  - 3 **D. Brown:** Daniel Brown, bookseller, traded between 1672 and 1729 (Plomer, II, 53). From Hilary term (January to March) 1682 until Michaelmas term (late September until Christmas) 1682, Brown also worked as senior partner with Thomas Benskin and Henry Rhodes to issue Behn's *Roundheads* (early 1682) and *Young King* (November 1682; dated 1683). With Benskin only, he sold the anonymous *Romulus and Hersilia* (November 1682; dated 1683) for which Behn wrote the prologue and epilogue; see Textual Headnote, pp. 25–26.
  - 4 **T. Benskin:** Thomas Benskin, bookseller and newsbook publisher, traded between 1681 and 1704 (Plomer, II, 30; BBTI); while he sold both exclusionist and anti-exclusionist political works, at this time his output tended to support Tory positions, likely for commercial reasons (Harris, *Restoration*, p. 267); between 13 May 1681 and 16 November 1682 he published the Tory newsbook, *Domestick Intelligence; or, News both from City and Country* (Harth, *Pen*, p. 78); see Textual Headnote, pp. 25–26.
  - 5 **H. Rhodes:** Henry Rhodes (or Rodes), bookseller and stationer, traded between 1681 and 1709 (Plomer, II, 252); see Textual Headnote, pp. 25–26.



To the Right Honourable *Henry* Earl of *Arundel*, and Lord *Mowbray*.<sup>1</sup>

MY LORD,

'Tis long that I have with great impatience waited some opportunity to declare my infinite Respect to your Lordship; coming, I may say, into the World with a Veneration for your Illustrious Family,<sup>2</sup> and being brought up with continual Praises of the Renowned Actions  
5 of your glorious Ancestors, both in War and Peace,<sup>3</sup> so famous over the Christian World for their Vertue,<sup>4</sup> Piety,<sup>5</sup> and Learning,<sup>6</sup> their elevated Birth,<sup>7</sup> and greatness of Courage, and of whom all our English History are full of the Wonders of their Lives: A Family of so ancient

1 **Henry ... Lord Mowbray:** Henry Howard (1655–1701), later seventh Duke of Norfolk; he was styled Earl of Arundel in 1678 and summoned to Parliament on 27 January 1678 as 'Baron Mowbray' (*Lords' Journals*, 28 January 1678). This dedication was probably occasioned by his election, on 20 April 1682, as steward of the Honourable Artillery Company at their annual feast for their captain general, the Duke of York, who had recently returned from Scotland (*CSPD*, 1682, pp. 173–74; *Loyal Protestant*, 25 April 1682); see Headnote, pp. 11–12.

2 **coming ... Illustrious Family:** Behn probably developed her knowledge of the Howards through Thomas Colepeper (1637–1708), who later claimed that Behn's mother had been his wet nurse; his mother was a Sidney and connected to the Howard family through marriage (Todd, *Aphra Behn*, pp. 18–19; *ODNB*). The Howards were among the most prominent noble families in the kingdom.

3 **Renowned Actions ... Peace:** Arundel's ancestors included Thomas Mowbray (1366–99), first Duke of Norfolk, who was portrayed as a loyal servant in Shakespeare's *Richard II* (*ODNB*). The last three generations of the dukes of Norfolk had demonstrated their loyalty to the Stuart kings: Arundel's great-grandfather, Thomas Howard (1585–1646), fourteenth Earl of Arundel, was a loyal diplomat, appointed by Charles I to lead forces against the Scots in 1639 (*ODNB*); Arundel's grandfather, Henry Frederick Howard (1608–52), fought for Charles I at Edgehill (*ODNB*).

4 **Vertue:** 'excellence in a particular sphere' (from the French, *OED*).

5 **Piety:** the Howards were a well-known Catholic family, though Arundel himself had conformed to the Church of England by April 1679. The dedication focuses on the unjust execution of Arundel's Catholic great-uncle, William Howard (1612–80), Viscount Stafford, a victim of Titus Oates and the Popish Plot. However, this may be a more specific allusion to the piety of Philip Howard (1557–95), the thirteenth Earl of Arundel, who had died in prison, a victim of Elizabethan anti-Catholic fervour.

6 **Learning:** Arundel's great-grandfather, Thomas Howard, fourteenth Earl of Arundel, was a well-known collector and patron of art. Evelyn marvelled at the 'negligence' of Arundel's father, Thomas Howard (1628–84), sixth Duke of Norfolk, in caring insufficiently for the family library and art collections, suggesting that neither Norfolk nor his son was particularly learned (Evelyn, 19 September 1667; Chaney, 'Evelyn', p. 43).

7 **elevated Birth:** high social rank; the Duke of Norfolk was the first peer of the realm.

Nobility,<sup>8</sup> and from whom so many Hero's have proceeded to bless 10  
 and serve their King and Country, that all Ages and all Nations men-  
 tion 'em even with Adoration. My self have been in this our Age an  
 Eye and Ear-witness,<sup>9</sup> with what Transports of Joy, with what unu-  
 sual Respect and Ceremony, above what we pay to Mankind, the  
 very Name of the Great *Howards* of *Norfolk* and *Arundel*, have been 15  
 celebrated on Forein Shores!<sup>10</sup> And when any one of your Illustrious  
 Family have pass'd the Streets, the People throng'd to praise and bless  
 him, as soon as his Name has been made known to the glad Croud.  
 This I have seen with a Joy that became<sup>11</sup> a true English heart, (who  
 truly venerate its brave Countrymen) and joyn'd my dutiful Respects 20  
 and Praises with the most devout; but never had the happiness yet  
 of any opportunity to express particularly that Admiration I have  
 and ever had for your Lordship and your Great Family. Still, I say,  
 I did admire you, still I wisht and pray'd for you; 'twas all I cou'd or  
 durst: But as my Esteem for your Lordship dayly increas'd with my 25  
 Judgment, so nothing cou'd bring it to a more absolute height and  
 perfection, than to observe in these troublesome times,<sup>12</sup> this Age of

- 
- 8 **of whom ... Nobility:** Arundel was descended from Edward I (1239–1307), whose great-great-grandson, Thomas Mowbray, was made first Duke of Norfolk (*ODNB*); a later dedication to Arundel also suggests that 'Our Chronicles, our Histories, our Records are all full of the glorious Actions, and puissant Name of the *Howards*' (H. K., *Monumenta* (1683), sig. A3r).
- 9 **an Eye and Ear-witness:** in July 1666, Behn sailed to Antwerp, Flanders, where, her letters reveal, she was in contact with Viscount Stafford, Arundel's great-uncle ('Antwerp: ye 31 of A[u]gust 66', in Cameron, *New Light*, p. 55; see Volume VIII of the Cambridge Edition); see Headnote pp. 11–12.
- 10 **Great Howards ... Forein Shores:** Shakespeare's Mowbray was said to have fought heroically in the crusades before dying in Venice (*Richard II*, IV.1.84–92), and subsequent generations of Howards had travelled abroad for diplomatic and religious reasons; H.K.'s dedication listed 'France, Flanders, Brabane, Germany, even to Rome it self ... into Asia, from thence into Africk', where visitors could behold 'the pious footsteps of [Arundel's] Religious Ancestors' (*Monumenta*, sig. A3r–v); compare Behn, *Pindarick on the Coronation*, ll. 617–24.
- 11 **became:** befitted (*OED*).
- 12 **these troublesome times:** the Popish Plot (1678–81; a conspiracy by Titus Oates and other informers to convince Charles II of a Catholic plot to murder him and install his Catholic heir and brother, James, Duke of York), and the subsequent debate over whether James should succeed to the crown, known as the Exclusion Crisis, were still raging; during this time, many prominent Catholics were investigated; see Headnote, pp. 1–2, 11–12.

Lying, Peaching,<sup>13</sup> and Swearing,<sup>14</sup> with what noble Prudence, what  
steadiness of Mind, what Loyalty and Conduct you have evaded the  
Snare,<sup>15</sup> that 'twas to be fear'd was laid for all the Good, the Brave, and  
Loyal,<sup>16</sup> for all that truly lov'd our best of Kings and this distracted<sup>17</sup>  
Country. A thousand times I have wept for fear that Impudence and  
Malice wou'd extend so far as to stain your Noble and ever-Loyal  
Family with its unavoidable Imputations;<sup>18</sup> and as often for joy, to see  
how undauntedly both the Illustrious Duke your Father,<sup>19</sup> and your  
self, stem'd the raging Torrent that threatned, with yours, the ruine  
of the King and Kingdom; all which had not power to shake your  
Constancy or Loyalty: for which, may Heaven and Earth reward and  
bless you; the noble Examples to thousands of failing hearts, who  
from so great a President<sup>20</sup> of Loyalty, became confirm'd. May Heaven  
and Earth bless you for your pious and resolute bravery of Mind, and  
heroick Honesty,<sup>21</sup> when you cry'd, *Not guilty*;<sup>22</sup> that you durst, like  
your great self, speak Conscientious Truths in a Juncto<sup>23</sup> so vitious,

13 **Peaching**: informing on (a former associate) (*OED*); informers during the Popish Plot were widely suspected of fabricating information, especially to bolster the Whig cause for Exclusion; see Headnote, pp. 2, 11–12.

14 **Swearing**: giving (false) evidence against a person while under oath (*OED*).

15 **evaded the Snare**: avoided prosecution; conforming to Protestantism in 1679 was one way through which Arundel frustrated potential accusations; see Headnote, pp. 11–12.

16 **laid for ... Loyal**: during the Plot, Oates was responsible for the deaths of 'some thirty-five men', including Viscount Stafford (*ODNB*, 'Oates, Titus'); Behn would later describe Stafford as 'Brave, Pious, Loyal, Just, without constraint' ('A Pastoral to Mr. Stafford' (1685, l. 77); see Volume v of the Cambridge Edition).

17 **distracted**: divided; agitated or confused by competing interests (*OED*).

18 **Imputations**: accusations (*OED*).

19 **Duke your Father**: Henry Howard, sixth Duke of Norfolk (1628–84).

20 **President**: i.e. precedent.

21 **heroick Honesty**: defending an accused papist, especially one who was a family member, could have brought Arundel under suspicion; see Headnote, pp. 11–12. Tories associated qualities like 'honesty' and 'loyalty' with themselves; 'heroick' meant 'noble' (*OED*), but Behn also uses the term to refer to Royalists in *Roundheads* (see Volume III of the Cambridge Edition).

22 **when ... Not guilty**: in 1678 Arundel's great-uncle, Viscount Stafford, was one of five Catholic peers implicated in the Popish Plot by Oates (*ODNB*); at the end of Stafford's trial on 7 December 1680, all his kinsmen voted to condemn him except Arundel (Evelyn, 7 December 1680).

23 **Juncto**: self-elected council (*OED*); used as a term of disparagement for constitutionally questionable governance in *Roundheads* (I.2).

when Truth and Innocence was criminal: and I doubt not but the  
 Soul of that great Sufferer<sup>24</sup> bows down from Heaven in gratitude 45  
 for that noble service done it. All these and a thousand marks you  
 give of daily growing Greatness; every day produces to those like me,  
 curious to learn the Story of your Life and Actions, something that  
 even adds a Lustre to your great Name, which one wou'd think cou'd  
 be made no more splendid: some new Goodness, some new act of 50  
 Loyalty or Courage,<sup>25</sup> comes out to cheer the World and those that  
 admire you. Nor wou'd I be the last of those that dayly congratulate  
 and celebrate your rising Glory;<sup>26</sup> nor durst I any other way approach  
 you with it, but this humble one, which carries some Excuse along  
 with it. 55

Proud of the opportunity then, I most humbly beg your Lordships  
 Patronage of a Comedy, which has nothing to defend it, but the  
 Honour it begs; and nothing to deserve that Honour, but its being  
 in every part true Tory!<sup>27</sup> Loyal all-over! except one Knave,<sup>28</sup> which I  
 hope no body will take to<sup>29</sup> himself; or if he do, I must e'en say, with 60  
*Hamlet*,

24 **that great Sufferer**: Viscount Stafford. Behn also lamented his death in 'A Pastoral to Mr. Stafford' and in *Poem to Sir Roger L'Estrange* (1688; see Volume v of the Cambridge Edition).

25 **new act ... Courage**: an allusion to Arundel's loyalty to his great-uncle, though his own life could have been in danger; also, a possible reference to Arundel's victory in a duel with the Seneschal of Hainault on 26 April 1682, on his father's behalf (*Loyal Protestant*, 29 April 1682; Causton, *Howard Papers*, pp. 200–01).

26 **your rising Glory**: Arundel's new position in the House of Lords as Baron Mowbray, followed by his father's retreat to Bruges in September 1679 (Causton, *Howard Papers*, p. 188), had increased his visibility and status; this had culminated with his new position in the Honourable Artillery Company; see Headnote, pp. 11–12.

27 **Tory**: an epithet used to describe supporters of James, Duke of York's succession during the Exclusion Crisis, originally applied derogatively by their opponents, the Whigs; see Headnote, pp. 1–2.

28 **one Knave**: the alderman of the play's subtitle, Sir Timothy Treat-All, a character amalgamating various Whig figures and stereotypes; see Headnote, p. 7.

29 **take to**: interpret as (*OED*).

— Then let the stricken Deer go weep —<sup>30</sup>

It has the luck to be well receiv'd in the Town;<sup>31</sup> which (not from my Vanity) pleases me, but that thereby I find Honesty begins to come in fashion again, when Loyalty is approv'd,<sup>32</sup> and Whigism becomes a Jest<sup>33</sup> where'er 'tis met with. And no doubt on't, so long as the Royal Cause has such Patrons as your Lordship, such vigorous and noble Supporters, his Majesty<sup>34</sup> will be great, secure and quiet,<sup>35</sup> the Nation flourishing and happy, and seditious Fools and Knaves that have so long disturb'd the Peace and Tranquility of the World, will become the business and sport of Comedy, and at last the scorn of that Rabble that fondly<sup>36</sup> and blindly worshipt 'em;<sup>37</sup> and whom nothing can so well convince as plain Demonstration, which is ever more powerful and prevalent<sup>38</sup> than Precept, or even Preaching it self.<sup>39</sup> If this have

30 *Then let ... go weep*: spoken by Hamlet in III.2 in response to his uncle's disordered departure following the performance of *The Murder of Gonzago*. Behn suggests that Whigs in the audience will be similarly wounded when they see their errors represented in her play. *Hamlet* was revived in 1661 and before 1676 by the Duke's Company where Betterton (Wilding) played Hamlet (Downes, p. 51; *Tragedy of Hamlet* (1676), sig. A2v).

31 *well receiv'd in the Town*: Langbaine echoed this assessment in his *Account of the English Dramatick Poets* ((1691), p. 19); see Headnote, pp. 17–18.

32 *Honesty ... Loyalty is approved*: qualities of honesty ('honourable moral behaviour; virtue' and 'decency' (*OED*)) and loyalty were associated by the Tories with their own cause. In a turn of fortunes, by early 1682, Loyal addresses from all over the country had been sent to the Crown expressing 'abhorrence' for the exclusionists' position (Harris, *Restoration*, pp. 266–77).

33 *Whigism becomes a Jest*: the (originally derogatory) epithet 'Whig' was applied to the exclusionist party who sought to remove James from the succession; Tory writers, who supported the succession, sought to make Whig ideas and practices ridiculous on the stage; see Headnote, pp. 1–7.

34 *his Majesty*: Charles II (1630–85). 35 *quiet*: undisturbed by civil strife (*OED*).

36 *fondly*: foolishly (*OED*).

37 *that Rabble ... worshipt 'em*: Behn makes similar allusions to the Whigs' power over 'the unthinking Crowd' in *Second Part of the Rover* (1681), prologue, and over the 'rascally Rabble' (*Roundheads*, III.2); see Volume III of the Cambridge Edition.

38 *prevalent*: influential (*OED*, prevalent).

39 *ever ... Preaching it self*: compare Behn's Epistle Dedicatory to *Luckey Chance* (1686) where 'tis Example that prevails above Reason or Divine Precepts (*Philosophy not understood by the Multitude*); 'tis Example alone that inspires Morality, and best establishes Vertue' (this volume, p. 226).

edifi'd effectual,<sup>40</sup> 'tis all I wish; and that your Lordship will be pleas'd 75  
 to accept the humble Offering, is all I beg, and the greatest Glory I  
 care shou'd be done.<sup>41</sup>

MY LORD,

*Your Lordships most Humble*  
*and most Obedient Servant,* 80

A. BEHN.

---

40 **edifi'd effectual**: improved morally through effective teaching (*OED*); aping the Puritan use of spiritual jargon which included 'edifying' (compare Anon., *Jesuite in Masquerade* (1681): 'I suppose them Non-conforming Ministers by their talking of Edifying' (p. 3); Spurr, *English Puritanism*, p. 41).

41 **It has ... done**: in the 1682 edition this final paragraph which, followed by Behn's closing compliment, fills the rest of the page, is in a much smaller font than what precedes it, perhaps suggesting that the dedicatory epistle was longer than Behn or the printer had anticipated.

THE PROLOGUE,<sup>1</sup>

Written by Mr. Otway.<sup>2</sup>

SPOKEN by Mrs. BARRY.<sup>3</sup>

How vain have prov'd the Labours of the Stage,  
In striving to reclaim a vitious Age!  
Poets may write the Mischief to impeach,<sup>4</sup>  
You care as little what the Poets teach,  
As you regard at Church what Parsons preach.  
But where such Follies and such Vices reign,  
What honest<sup>5</sup> Pen has patience to refrain?  
At Church, in Pews, ye most devoutly snore,  
And here, got dully<sup>6</sup> drunk, ye come to roar;

5

0.1 PROLOGUE] 1682; PROLOGUE To the CITY HEIRESS, Or, Sir TIMOTHY  
TREATALL. Otway

0.2 Mr.] 1682; Tho. Otway

1 **THE PROLOGUE**: the play's prologue and epilogue were also published separately by Jacob Tonson, probably for the play's première. It was common for topical Tory prologues and epilogues to be published separately in the early 1680s; Tonson published some of Otway's and all of Dryden's prologues and epilogues from 1681–82 (Hammond, *Making*, pp. 156–58); see Headnote, p. 29.

2 **Mr. Otway**: Thomas Otway (1652–85), poet, playwright for the Duke's Theatre, and friend of Behn's; Otway's popular Tory play, *Venice Preserv'd* (Duke's, February) was performed on 21 April 1682 to celebrate the Duke of York's return from exile in Scotland, which was cause for Otway to write a new celebratory epilogue for it; this prologue also contributes to the Tory cause; see Headnote, p. 17.

3 **Mrs. BARRY**: Elizabeth Barry (1658?–1713), a leading actor of the Duke's who played both comic and tragic roles opposite Thomas Betterton (Wilding); in this play, Barry's ability to evoke sympathy for her distressed heroines was required for the more controversial Lady Galliard (Highfill, I, 315; Howe, *First English Actresses*, p. 135); this appears to have been Barry's first performance of a prologue, but she had previously spoken epilogues for both Otway and Behn.

4 **Mischief to impeach**: to accuse or charge (*OED*, *impeach*) particular individuals in order to prevent injury to the general public good (*OED*, *mischief*).

5 **honest**: i.e. Tory. 6 **dully**: stupidly (*OED*).

Ye go to Church to gloat,<sup>7</sup> and Ogle<sup>8</sup> there,<sup>9</sup> 10  
 And come to meet more lewd convenient here.<sup>10</sup>  
 With equal Zeal<sup>11</sup> ye honour either place,<sup>12</sup>  
 And run so very evenly your Race,<sup>13</sup> }  
 Y'improve in Wit just as you do in Grace.<sup>14</sup> }  
 It must be so, some Daemon<sup>15</sup> has possest 15  
 Our Land, and we have never since been blest.  
 Y' have seen it all, or heard of its Renown,  
 In reverend shape<sup>16</sup> it stalk'd about the Town,<sup>17</sup> }  
 Six Yeomen tall attending on its frown.<sup>18</sup> }

10 *gloat*] *Otway*; *glout* 1682

18 *In*] 1682; *In a Otway*

7 *gloat*: cast amorous glances (*OED*). 'gloat' is adopted here from the separately printed prologue and epilogue; *City-Heiress* printed 'glout' (i.e. look sullen (*OED*)), which makes less sense in this context.

8 *Ogle*: stare amorously (*OED*).

9 *Ye go ... there*: mocking the hypocrisy of attending church to eye members of the opposite sex; compare *Roundheads*, where Loveless and Freeman attend a city conventicle to view 'pretty Women there' (L1).

10 *come to meet ... here*: to encounter more easily accessible mistresses or prostitutes at the theatre.

11 *Zeal*: ardent feeling or enthusiasm (*OED*), often used in relation to Whigs/nonconformists because of their lust for political and religious reform, and, as here, sexual gratification; compare *Turbulent's* 'heat of ... zeal' in Anon., *Mr. Turbulent* (1682), p. 49.

12 *either place*: the church and the theatre.

13 *run ... evenly your Race*: an ironic use of a biblical image (e.g. Hebrews 12:1: 'let us run with patience the race') frequent in sermons; a pun on 'evenly' to mean both running 'steadily' (in this case, after women rather than God) and 'justly'/'fairly' (*OED*), giving equal attention to church and, more inappropriately, the playhouse.

14 *Y'improve ... in Grace*: i.e., your judicious wit (developed through theatre attendance) will increase as much as your spiritual grace (developed through listening to sermons); that is, not at all.

15 *Daemon*: evil spirit (*OED*); compare 1 Timothy 4:4 'in the latter times some shall depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits, and doctrines of devils'; specifically, Titus Oates (1649–1705), a target of Tory derision; see Headnote, p. 2.

16 *reverend shape*: looking like a clergyman. Oates took care to appear like a doctor of divinity, falsely maintaining that he had attained a doctorate from the University of Salamanca, Spain.

17 *In ... the Town*: the Huntington Library copy of the separately published prologue has 'Dr Titus Oates' written in the margin here.

18 *Six Yeomen ... its frown*: contemporary accounts record that a 'Guard of four such Ruffians ... attend his *Doctorship*' (Elliot, *Modest Vindication* (1682), p. 31); others suggested Oates enjoyed 'complete power to imprison those he chose' (Warner, *History*, I, 202); see Headnote, pp. 2, 11–12.



Sometimes with humble note <sup>19</sup> and zealous lore, <sup>20</sup>	}	20
'Twou'd play the Apostolick Function o'er: <sup>21</sup>		
But, Heav'n have mercy on us when it swore. <sup>22</sup>		
Whene'er it swore, to prove the Oaths were true,		
Out of its mouth at random Halters <sup>23</sup> flew		
Round some unwary neck, by Magick <sup>24</sup> thrown,		25
Though still the cunning Devil sav'd its own:		
For when the Inchantment could no longer last,		
The subtile Pug, <sup>25</sup> most dexterously uncast, <sup>26</sup>		
Left awful <sup>27</sup> form for one more seeming pious,	}	30
And in a moment vary'd to defie us:		
From silken Doctor, <sup>28</sup> home-spun Ananias <sup>29</sup>		
Left the lewd <sup>30</sup> Court, and did in City fix, <sup>31</sup>	}	
Where still by its old Arts it plays new Tricks, <sup>32</sup>		
And fills the heads of Fools with Politicks.		

19 **note**: sign or doctrine by which the true church may be known (*OED*).

20 **zealous lore**: enthusiastic religious teaching (*OED*); Oates was 'very remarkable for a Canting Fanatical way' (Elliot, *Modest Vindication*, p. 1).

21 **play ... o'er**: spread the Gospel message in the manner of the New Testament apostles (*OED*).

22 **Heav'n have mercy ... swore**: Oates became the leading informer during the Popish Plot; see Headnote, pp. 2, 11–12.

23 **Halters**: hangmen's nooses (*OED*).

24 **Magick**: the song, 'State Empirick', proclaimed: 'O Doctor [Oates]! I fear, you study'd Art Magick, ... Your Canting was Charm' (Thompson, *Choice Collection* (1684), p. 28).

25 **subtile Pug**: cunning, small demon (*OED*). 26 **uncast**: exposed (*OED*).

27 **awful**: awe-inspiring (*OED*).

28 **silken Doctor**: according to North, Oates wore a 'Silk Gown and Cassock' (*Examen*, p. 205); figuratively, 'silken' refers to those who make use of ingratiating words (*OED*).

29 **Ananias**: in Acts 5:1–6, a follower of the apostles who promises to contribute everything he owns to their cause, but keeps some back secretly and is struck dead by God as punishment; used as a name in Jonson's *Alchemist* (1610) for an officious anabaptist who wishes to turn 'widow's and ... orphans' goods' into gold (II.5.47); a byword for a hypocritical person, with connotations of Puritanism/nonconformity. Compare the Presbyterian 'lay-elder' Ananias in *Roundheads*, III.2, and the chaplain Tickletext in *Feign'd Curtizans* (1679), III.1, called an 'amorous Ananias' (see Volume III of the Cambridge Edition).

30 **lewd**: wicked (*OED*).

31 **home-spun ... fix**: dressed in home-spun cloth (*OED*). On 31 August 1681 Oates was deprived of his pension and removed from Whitehall, taking refuge in the City of London (Luttrell, *Brief Historical Relation*, I, 119).

32 **new Tricks**: after leaving Whitehall, Oates 'betook himself to the seditious and disloyal part of the City, associating chiefly with those who [were] suspected of High Treason, and Capital Misdemeanours' (Elliot, *Modest Vindication*, p. 41).

*This Daemon*<sup>33</sup> lately drew in many a Guest, 35  
*To part with zealous Guinny for — no Feast.*<sup>34</sup>  
*Who, but the most incorrigible Fops,*<sup>35</sup>  
*For ever doom'd in dismal Cells, call'd Shops,*  
*To cheat and damn themselves to get their Livings,*<sup>36</sup>  
*Wou'd lay sweet Money out in Sham-Thanksgivings?*<sup>37</sup> 40  
*Sham-Plots*<sup>38</sup> you may have paid for o'er and o'er;  
*But who e'er paid for a Sham-Treat*<sup>39</sup> before?  
*Had you not better sent your Offerings all,*  
*Hither to us,*<sup>40</sup> *than Sequestrators Hall?*<sup>41</sup>  
*I being your Steward,*<sup>42</sup> *Justice had been done ye;* 45  
*I cou'd have entertain'd you worth your Money.*

40 *Sham-Thanksgivings*] 1682; *Sham-Tanksgivings Otway*

42 *e'er*] *Otway*; *ere* 1682

33 *This Daemon*: the spirit of Whig subversion more generally.

34 *drew in ... no Feast*: on 21 April 1682, Whig lords and citizens organised a counter-feast to the Artillery Company's annual feast where the Duke of York was guest of honour. Eight hundred sympathisers bought tickets for a guinea, but Charles II forbade the gathering as an unlawful assembly; Tory writers suggested that its subsequent cancellation was a source of great embarrassment to the Whig party (Key, "High Feeding", pp. 167–68); see Headnote, pp. 2–4.

35 *incorrigible Fops*: those foolishly devoted to what is fashionable and who are beyond reform (*OED*).

36 *Shops ... Livings*: places of trade for greedy shopkeepers who cheat their customers, perhaps also disloyally depriving the king of taxes due to him (Harth, *Pen*, p. 182; Dryden, *Medall* (1682), ll. 191–96).

37 *Sham-Thanksgivings*: i.e. the counterfeit and therefore 'counterfeit' (*OED*) Whig feast which was advertised as a celebration of 'Thankfulnesse' for the country's preservation from the Popish Plot (*Loyal Protestant*, 20 April).

38 *Sham-Plots*: counterfeit plots (*OED*); plots invented by the Whigs (such as that implicating Viscount Stafford; see Epistle Dedicatory) to bolster the belief in a papal plot to set up the 'popish successor', the Duke of York; such plots were propaganda for the exclusionist cause (see Harris, *London Crowds*, pp. 114–15).

39 *Sham-Treat*: i.e. the counterfeit feast; 'treats' involved providing hospitality to others as a means of bribing them to support a cause and facilitating the growth of political networks (*OED*); see Headnote, pp. 3–4.

40 *us*: the theatre and its employees.

41 *Sequestrators Hall*: the Whig feast was due to take place at Haberdashers' Hall with room for overflow in Goldsmiths' Hall (Key, "High Feeding", p. 167); during the 1640s and 1650s, commissioners sitting at Goldsmiths' Hall confiscated ('sequestered') Royalists' estates, and it was therefore the former site of Royalist (read: Tory) humiliation (see Anon., *Charge Given* (1682), p. 4; L'Estrange, *Observer* (27 April 1682), p. 1).

42 *Steward*: an officer 'charged with the arrangements for the annual dinner' (*OED*); Barry humorously offers herself as an organiser of theatrical entertainments, as another kind of Tory counter to Whig treats; see Headnote, pp. 3–4, 17–18.

ACTORS NAMES.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Nokes, <sup>2</sup>	Sir Timothy <sup>3</sup> Treat-all, <sup>4</sup>	An old seditious Knight that keeps open house for Commonwealths-men <sup>5</sup> and true blue <sup>6</sup> Protestants. —— He is Unde to <i>Tom Wilding</i> . 5
Mr. Betterton, <sup>7</sup>	Tom Wilding, <sup>8</sup>	A Tory. —— His discarded <sup>9</sup> Nephew.
Mr. Lee, <sup>10</sup>	Sir Anthony Meriwill, <sup>11</sup>	An old Tory Knight of <i>Devonshire</i> . <sup>12</sup>

1 **ACTORS NAMES:** for further details of actors, see Headnote, pp. 18–20.

2 **Mr. Nokes:** James Nokes (c. 1642–96), the ‘leading comic actor of his time’, who regularly played opposite Anthony Leigh (Sir Anthony Meriwill) in a celebrated double act (*ODNB*); often cast as an older, dim-witted exclusionist cuckold during this period.

3 **Timothy:** name often applied to old republicans and/or nonconformists on the Restoration stage; compare Timothy Tickletext in *Feign’d Curtizans*, Timothy Turbulent in Anon., *Mr. Turbulent*, and Sir Timothy Ticklecause mentioned in D’Urfey, *Virtuous Wife* (1680), p. 50.

4 **Treat-all:** to feast all-comers ‘at one’s own expense, by way of ... bribery’ (*OED*, treat). By the late 1670s ‘treating’ had become more divisive (Key, “‘High Feeding’”, p. 165); see Headnote, pp. 2–4.

5 **open ... Commonwealths-men:** Tory writers associated Whigs with those loyal to the Commonwealth in 1649–60; Nathaniel Thompson printed a mock ticket for the aborted Whig feast inviting those who ‘*HATE Loyalty*’ and ‘*Approve of the Rebellion commenced from 41. to 48.*’ (*Loyal Protestant*, 20 April 1682); see Headnote, pp. 3–4.

6 **true blue:** faithful; staunch (*OED*); often used ironically of Whigs; see Anon., *Loyal Feast* (1681), p. 1; Dryden, *Mac Flecknoe, or A Satyr upon the True-Blew-Protestant Poet, T.S.* (1682).

7 **Mr. Betterton:** Thomas Betterton (1635–1710), the leading actor of the Duke’s Company who regularly played opposite Elizabeth Barry (Lady Galliard); well known for playing libertine rakes and tragic heroes (*ODNB*; Highfill, II, 73).

8 **Wilding:** a wild or uncultivated person (*OED*); also the name of the Tory reforming rake in D’Urfey’s *Sir Barnaby Whigg* (1681) who marries a rich heiress at the play’s end.

9 **discarded:** deprived (*OED*) of his allowance and inheritance; according to the English practice of ‘freedom of the testator’, Sir Timothy could choose to disinherit his nephew (Barclay, ‘Natural Affection’, pp. 313–14).

10 **Mr. Lee:** Anthony Leigh (d. 1692), actor best known for comic roles, especially the comedic double act he formed with Nokes (Sir Timothy Treat-all); both were often cast as ‘foolish old men’ (*ODNB*; Highfill, IX, 223–26).

11 **Meriwill:** combining ‘merry’ (‘joyful’; ‘boisterous due to alcohol’) and ‘will’ (‘desire’; ‘determination that something shall be done by another’) (*OED*).

12 **old Tory ... Devonshire:** like Sir Credulous Easy, ‘A Foolish *Devon-shire* Knight’ in *Sir Patient Fancy* (1678; see Volume II of the Cambridge Edition), Sir Anthony owns a country estate, but visits London during term time.

Mr. Williams, <sup>13</sup>	Sir Charles Meriwill,	His Nephew, a Tory also, in love with Lady Galliard, and Friend to Wilding.	10
Mr. Boman, <sup>14</sup>	Dresswell,	A Young Gentleman, Friend to Wilding.	
Mr. Jevon, <sup>15</sup>	Fopington, <sup>16</sup> Jervice, Footmen, <sup>17</sup> Musick, <sup>18</sup> &c.	A Hanger on on Wilding. Man to Sir Timothy.	15
Mrs. Barry, <sup>19</sup>	Lady Galliard, <sup>20</sup>	A rich City-Widow <sup>21</sup> in love with Wilding.	
Mrs. Butler, <sup>22</sup>	Charlot,	The City-Heiress, in love with Wilding.	20

13 **Mr. Williams:** Joseph Williams (c. 1663 – in or after 1707), a young (and likely handsome) actor who often played eligible bachelors (*ODNB*; Highfill, xvi, 140).

14 **Mr. Boman:** John Bowman (?1651–1739), singer and actor who often played ‘the fop and the kindly friend’ (Highfill, ii, 198).

15 **Mr. Jevon:** Thomas Jevon (1651/2–88), actor famous for ‘low-comic roles, and especially ... those involving singing or dancing’; he was originally a dancing master (*ODNB*).

16 **Fopington:** from ‘fop’, indicating a character over-fond of his appearance, dress or manners, and, simply, a fool (*OED*); compare Sir Fopling Flutter in Etherege’s *Man of Mode* (Duke’s 1676).

17 **Footmen:** two are named: Laboir, Wilding’s footman; William, Lady Galliard’s footman. Two boys are also needed: Diana’s servant in II.2, and Lady Galliard’s in II.3. It is not known who played these parts in 1682.

18 **Musick:** a company of musicians (*OED*), probably consisting of one or two violinists (including the ‘Fidler’ who speaks in V.4), a theorbo (lute) or guitar player, and a bass viol player (see Price, *Music*, pp. 76–81); see Headnote, p. 22.

19 **Mrs. Barry:** Elizabeth Barry (1658?–1713), a leading actor who played both comic and tragic roles opposite Thomas Betterton (Wilding); see Prologue note 3.

20 **Galliard:** full of high spirits (*OED*); the name of a male libertine in *Feign’d Curtizans* (see Volume III of the Cambridge Edition).

21 **City-Widow:** woman formerly married to a Whig (City) husband.

22 **Mrs. Butler:** Charlotte Butler (fl. 1673–95), an actor who was also a talented singer and dancer (skills employed in III.1); she had a questionable reputation (Highfill, ii, 448–50; *ODNB*).

Mrs. Corror, <sup>23</sup>	Diana,	Mistriss to Wilding, and kept by him.
Mrs. Norice, <sup>24</sup>	Mrs. Clacket, <sup>25</sup>	A City-Bawd & Puritan. <sup>26</sup>
Mrs. Lee, <sup>27</sup>	Mrs. Closet, <sup>28</sup>	Woman to Lady Galliard. <sup>29</sup>

SCENE, *Within the Walls of London*.<sup>30</sup>

25

24 Lady] La. 1682

- 
- 23 **Mrs. Corror:** Elizabeth (Betty) Currer (fl. 1673–?1743) played leading roles in the Duke's Company, often as the lover of older/Whig men (Highfill, iv, 98–99).
- 24 **Mrs. Norice:** (fl. 1660–84), a 'utility performer' who played old women and bawds (Highfill, xi, 49–50).
- 25 **Clacket:** to 'clack' is to chatter or prate (*OED*).
- 26 **City-Bawd & Puritan:** someone employed in pandering to sexual debauchery (*OED*) while also espousing strict moral values; a hypocrite; possibly alluding to the Puritan bawd Madam Cresswell, whose brothel facilitated Whig networks (*ODNB*); see Headnote, p. 7.
- 27 **Mrs. Lee:** Elinor Leigh (née Dixon; fl. 1670–1709?) was married to Leigh (Sir Anthony Meriwill) and often played servants (*ODNB*; Highfill, ix, 226–28).
- 28 **Closet:** private room; secret place (*OED*).
- 29 **Woman to Lady Galliard:** three additional women's parts are needed: Mrs. Sensure (III.1, V.1), Diana's maid Betty (II.2, III.1, IV.1, V.3), and a maid for Charlot (III.1). It is not known who played these parts in 1682.
- 30 **Within the Walls of London:** the play is unusual in its taking place wholly in the City of London, the area encompassed by the Roman city walls; this 'city', the 'seed-bed of civic radicalism', was governed by its own corporation which, until 1682, had been Whig-dominated (De Krey, 'Revolution', p. 208). The setting is ideologically significant given the upcoming shrieval elections and ongoing contest for control of the City of London Corporation; see Headnote, pp. 4–7.

---

THE  
CITY-HEIRESS:  
OR,  
Sir Timothy Treat-all.

---

ACT the First.  
SCENE the First. *The Street.*<sup>1</sup>

*Enter Sir Timothy Treat-all, followed by Tom Wilding, bare,*<sup>2</sup>  
*Sir Charles Meriwill, Fopington, and Footman with a Cloak.*

- SIR TIMOTHY    Trouble me no more: for I am resolv'd, deaf and obdurate,  
                         d'ye see, and so forth.
- WILDING        I beseech ye, Uncle, hear me.
- SIR TIMOTHY    No.
- WILDING        Dear Uncle ——— 5
- SIR TIMOTHY    No.
- WILDING        You will be mortifi'd ———
- SIR TIMOTHY    No.
- WILDING        At least hear me out, Sir.
- SIR TIMOTHY    No, I have heard you out too often, Sir, till you have talkt 10  
                         me out of many a fair thousand; have had ye out of all the Bayliffs,  
                         Serjeants, and Constables clutches about Town,<sup>3</sup> Sir; have brought  
                         ye out of all the Surgeons,<sup>4</sup> Apothecaries,<sup>5</sup> and Pocky Doctors<sup>6</sup>

0.4 *and Footman*] and [white space] *Footman* 1682

5–6 Dear Uncle ——— ... No.] [*speeches share one line*] 1682

7–8 You ... be mortifi'd ... No.] [*speeches share one line*] 1682

---

1 ***The Street***: probably signified by a suite of wings and shutters depicting houses, lodgings, churches, and shops, with some recognisable building or landmark at the back of the vista stage to signify 'Within the Walls of London'; see Headnote, pp. 21–22.

2 ***bare***: hatless (*OED*).

3 ***Bayliffs ... about Town***: Sir Timothy claims that he has often had to stand bail for his disorderly nephew or has had to bribe law enforcers to set him free.

4 ***Surgeons***: those treating external complaints, such as venereal disease, by practical means (as opposed to physicians who treated internal disorders; Wilson, 'Exposing', p. 72).

5 ***Apothecaries***: drug dispensers (*OED*); many apothecaries also suggested their own treatments (Evans and Read, *Maladies*, p. xx).

6 ***Pocky Doctors***: pox doctors; doctors who treated venereal disease (*OED*).

hands, that ever pretended to cure incurable Diseases;<sup>7</sup> and have  
 crost ye out of the Books<sup>8</sup> of all the Mercers,<sup>9</sup> Silk-men,<sup>10</sup> Exchange-  
 men,<sup>11</sup> Taylors, Shoemakers, and Semstrisses;<sup>12</sup> with all the rest of  
 the unconscionable City-tribe of the long Bill,<sup>13</sup> that had but Faith  
 enough to trust, and thought me Fool enough to pay.

SIR CHARLES But, Sir, consider, he's your own Flesh and Bloud.

SIR TIMOTHY That's more than I'll swear. 20

SIR CHARLES Your onely Heir.

SIR TIMOTHY That's more than you or any of his wise Associates can  
 tell, Sir.

SIR CHARLES Why his wise Associates? have you any exception to the  
 Company he keeps? This reflects on me and young *Dresswell*, Sir, 25  
 men both of Birth and Fortune.

SIR TIMOTHY Why, good Sir *Charles Meriwill*, let me tell you, since  
 you'll have it out, that you and young *Dresswell* are able to debauch,  
 destroy, and confound<sup>14</sup> all the young imitating Fops in Town.

SIR CHARLES How, Sir! 30

SIR TIMOTHY Nay, never huff, Sir; for I have six thousand pound a  
 year,<sup>15</sup> and value no man:<sup>16</sup> Neither do I speak so much for your

28 that] That 1682

- 
- 7 **Surgeons ... incurable Diseases:** 'quacks' capitalised on society's anxieties about the spread of venereal disease (Anselment, *Realms of Apollo*, p. 135). It is likely that Wilding has syphilis.
- 8 **crost ... the Books:** paid Wilding's debts, recorded in the credit books of various tradespeople.
- 9 **Mercers:** dealers in fabrics like silk and velvet (*OED*); gallants like Wilding were satirised as a 'kind of *Walking Mercers shop*: that shews one Stuff to day, and another to morrow' (Anon., *Character of a Town-Gallant* (1680), p. 1).
- 10 **Silk-men:** men who make or deal in silk (*OED*); Tories were caricatured as dressing in luxurious fabric, 'Huffing and swearing in Silk so fine' (Anon., *Answer to ... the Loyal Feast* (1682), p. 1).
- 11 **Exchange-men:** shopkeepers at either the Royal Exchange (opened 1570) or the New Exchange (opened 1609) who sold fashionable and luxury goods (Whittle and Griffiths, *Consumption*, p. 5).
- 12 **Semstrisses:** needlewomen specialising in plain sewing (*OED*), required for shirts and linen.
- 13 **City-tribe of the long Bill:** City shopkeepers and tradespeople who accommodate clients' running up of expensive bills; compare the list of tradespeople in the satirical Anon., *Character of a Town-Gallant* (1682, p. 4).
- 14 **confound:** ruin (*OED*).
- 15 **six thousand pound a year:** a huge income for a man of Sir Timothy's status; an average income for a temporal lord was c. £6,000 a year, but the average income for lower-ranking knights, including aldermen with knighthoods, was c. £800 per year (Hume, 'Economics', p. 495).
- 16 **value no man:** am equivalent to no man (in value or wealth) (*OED*).

- particular,<sup>17</sup> as for the Company you keep, such Tarmagant<sup>18</sup> Tories<sup>19</sup> as these, (*gestures to Fopington.*) who are the very Vermine<sup>20</sup> of a young Heir, and for one Tickling<sup>21</sup> give him a thousand Bites. 35
- FOPINGTON Death! meaning me, Sir?
- SIR TIMOTHY Yes, you, Sir. Nay, never stare, Sir; I fear you not: no mans hectoring<sup>22</sup> signifies this — 23 in the City, but the Constable's;<sup>24</sup> no body dares be sawcy here, except it be in the Kings name.
- SIR CHARLES Sir, I confess he was to blame. 40
- SIR TIMOTHY Sir *Charles*, thanks to Heaven, you may be lewd,<sup>25</sup> you have a plentiful Estate, may whore, drink, game,<sup>26</sup> and play the Devil; your Uncle Sir *Anthony Meriwill* intends to give you all his Estate too: But for such Sparks as this,<sup>27</sup> and my Fop in fashion here, why with what Face, Conscience, or Religion, can they be lewd and 45 vitious,<sup>28</sup> keep their Wenches, Coaches, rich Liveries,<sup>29</sup> and so forth, who live upon Charity, and the Sins of the Nation?<sup>30</sup>
- SIR CHARLES If he have Youthful Vices, he has Vertues too.

34 *gestures to Fopington*] to Foping 1682

17 **for your particular**: about your individual case (*OED*).

18 **Tarmagant**: quarrelsome (*OED*).

19 **Tories**: supporters of James, Duke of York's succession during the Exclusion Crisis, also popularly regarded as engaging in dissolute behaviour (Turner, *Libertines*, pp. 161–62); the name was originally applied derogatively by their opponents, the Whigs; see Headnote, pp. 1–2.

20 **Vermine**: objectionable acquaintances (*OED*); parasites. Fopington's character is based on Mawworm ('intestinal parasite', *OED*) in Middleton's *Mad World*; see Headnote, pp. 13–14.

21 **Tickling**: i.e. being gently rubbed (as trout are caught); hangers-on would target and exploit young heirs; proverbial, 'To catch one like a Trout with tickling' (Tilley, T537). Compare Beaumont and Fletcher, *Scornful Lady* (1616): 'Leave off your tickling of young heires like trouts' (III.2.51).

22 **hectoring**: bullying (*OED*). 23 **this** —: Sir Timothy gestures.

24 **no mans ... Constable's**: the City's legal system is under Whig control, and privileged court libertines (i.e. Tories) can no longer ignore it; see Turner, *Libertines*, pp. 159–61.

25 **lewd**: wicked (*OED*). 26 **game**: gamble (*OED*).

27 **Sparks as this**: Sir Timothy gestures to Wilding as a man who 'affects smartness' (*OED*, spark) like a fop.

28 **vitious**: depraved (*OED*, vicious).

29 **Liveries**: uniforms (for footmen and other servants) (*OED*).

30 **live upon ... Nation**: survive by their friends' generosity, devoting themselves to drinking, gambling, and whoring.



SIR TIMOTHY Yes, he had; but I know not, you have bewicht him  
amongst ye. (*weeping.*) Before he fell to Toryism, he was a sober 50  
civil Youth,<sup>31</sup> and had some Religion in him, wou'd read ye Prayers  
night and morning with a laudable voice, and cry *Amen* to 'em;  
'twou'd have done ones heart good to have heard him: — Wore  
decent Cloaths;<sup>32</sup> was drunk but<sup>33</sup> upon Fasting-nights,<sup>34</sup> and  
swore but on Sundays and Holy-days: and then I had hopes of 55  
him. (*Still weeping.*)

WILDING Aye, Heaven forgive me.

SIR CHARLES But, Sir, he's now become a new man,<sup>35</sup> is casting off all  
his Women, is drunk not above five or six times a week, swears  
not above once in a quarter of an hour, nor has not gam'd this two 60  
days. —

SIR TIMOTHY 'Twas because the Devil was in's Pocket<sup>36</sup> then.

SIR CHARLES — Begins to take up at Coffee-houses,<sup>37</sup> talks gravely in  
the City, speaks scandalously of the Government,<sup>38</sup> and rails most  
abominably against the Pope and the French King.<sup>39</sup> 65

50 ye.] ye 1682

31 **Before ... civil Youth:** young male Tories were characterised by their contempt for the law and support of libertine values more generally (see Turner, *Libertines*); stereotypically, Whigs leant towards Puritanism or nonconformity in their beliefs and manners.

32 **decent Cloaths:** rather than emulating the flamboyant fashions of the court, Whigs preferred dark sober dress (Capp, *Culture Wars*, pp. 172–78); in Behn's source text for this speech, the clothes are 'black' (Middleton, *Mad World*, I.1.13).

33 **but:** only (*OED*).

34 **Fasting-nights:** on public fasting days the consumption of most foods was prohibited, but drinking was not (Ryrie, 'Fall and Rise', p. 91); a jibe at Whig/Puritan immoderation. In Behn's source for this speech, Follywit says he never comes 'home drunk but on fasting nights to cleanse my stomach', i.e. by vomiting (*Mad World*, I.1.13–14).

35 **new man:** a play on the Puritan (Whig) language of religious conversion originating in Ephesians 4.24 ('put on the new man').

36 **Devil was in's Pocket:** Wilding is penniless; from proverbial, 'The Devil dances in an empty pocket' (Tilley, D233) because there is no cross (as a symbol on a penny) to drive him away.

37 **Coffee-houses:** social and political centres for Whigs; thought by the crown to be establishments for forwarding the cause for exclusion (Harris, *London Crowds*, p. 102).

38 **talks gravely ... Government:** speaks earnestly about the popish threat in order to encourage resistance to a potentially popish government; see Harris, *London Crowds*, pp. 98–103.

39 **Pope ... French King:** Whig exclusionists had capitalised on Oates's accusations of a Popish Plot and, throughout the Exclusion Crisis, rumours abounded of a French (Catholic) invasion (Harris, *London Crowds*, p. 140).

- SIR TIMOTHY Aye, aye, this shall not wheedle me out of one English  
Guinny; and so I told him yesterday.
- WILDING You did so, Sir.
- SIR TIMOTHY Yes; by a good token you were witty upon me, and swore I  
lov'd and honour'd the King nowhere but on his Coin. 70
- SIR CHARLES Is it possible, Sir?
- WILDING God forgive me, Sir; I confess I was a little overtaken.<sup>40</sup>
- SIR TIMOTHY Aye, so it shou'd seem: for he mistook his own Chamber,  
and went to bed to my Maids.
- SIR CHARLES How! to bed to your Maids! Sure, Sir, 'tis scandal on 75  
him.
- SIR TIMOTHY No, no, he makes his brags on't, Sir. Oh that crying sin  
of Boasting! Well fare,<sup>41</sup> I say, the days of old *Oliver*;<sup>42</sup> he by a  
wholsome Act, made it death to boast;<sup>43</sup> so that then a man might  
whore his heart out, and no body the wiser. 80
- SIR CHARLES Right, Sir, and then the men pass'd for sober religious  
persons, and the women for as demure Saints<sup>44</sup> ——
- SIR TIMOTHY Aye, then there was no scandal; but now they do not only  
boast what they do, but what they do not.<sup>45</sup>
- WILDING I'll take care that fault shall be mended, Sir. 85
- SIR TIMOTHY Aye, so will I, if Poverty have any feats of Mortification;<sup>46</sup>  
and so farewell to you, Sir. (*going*.)

87 (*going*.) [*SD set part-right*] 1682

40 **overtaken**: overwhelmed by my emotions (*OED*). 41 **Well fare**: farewell (*OED*).

42 **days of old *Oliver***: the interregnum when Oliver Cromwell (1599–1658) ruled as lord protector (c. 1653–58).

43 **a wholsome Act ... boast**: in 1650, Parliament passed An Act for Suppressing ... Adultery and Fornication, punishing those committing this offence after 24 June 1650 as felons; therefore, no one would 'boast' of adulterous liaisons (Capp, *Culture Wars*, p. 25; compare the Act's (satirical) discussion by a council of women in *Roundheads*, V.3; see Volume III of the Cambridge Edition).

44 **Saints**: a term used by some religious sects to refer to one another in the seventeenth century (*OED*), and by their detractors to emphasise their hypocrisy.

45 **what they do not**: when they cannot perform sexually.

46 **have any ... Mortification**: has the ability, through deprivation, to curb your immoderate behaviour (*OED*).

- WILDING Stay, Sir, are you resolved to be so cruel then, and ruine all my  
Fortunes now depending?
- SIR TIMOTHY Most religiously —— 90
- WILDING You are?
- SIR TIMOTHY I am.
- WILDING Death, I'll rob.
- SIR TIMOTHY Do and be hang'd.
- WILDING Nay, I'll turn Papist. 95
- SIR TIMOTHY Do and be damn'd.
- SIR CHARLES Bless me, Sir, what a scandal would that be to the Family  
of the *Treat-alls*!
- SIR TIMOTHY Hum! I had rather indeed he turn'd Turk or Jew,<sup>47</sup> for  
his own sake; but as for scandalizing me, I defie it: my Integrity 100  
has been known ever since Forty One;<sup>48</sup> I bought three thousand  
a year in Bishops Lands, as 'tis well known, and lost it at the Kings  
return;<sup>49</sup> for which I'm honour'd by the City.<sup>50</sup> But for his farther  
satisfaction, consolation, and distruction, know, That I Sir *Timothy*  
*Treat-all*, Knight and Alderman, do think my self young enough to 105  
marry,<sup>51</sup> d'ye see, and will wipe your Nose<sup>52</sup> with a Son and Heir of  
my own begetting, and so forth. (*going away.*

47 **I ... Turk or Jew:** anti-Catholic feeling in England is such that Wilding would be better off converting to non-Christian faiths, Islam (*OED*, Turk) or Judaism, both associated at this time with a 'proclivity for deceit and treachery' (Britton, 'Muslim Conversion', p. 85).

48 **my Integrity ... Forty One:** in 1641 the Long Parliament abolished Charles I's courts of Star Chamber and High Commission, leading to civil war; in the 1680s, Tory propagandists drew comparisons between the Whig exclusionists and the parliamentarians of the 1640s (Harris, *London Crowds*, p. 131). Sir Timothy's speech indicates that he is at least 60 years old.

49 **I bought ... Kings return:** as a result of Parliament's abolition of episcopacy, bishops' lands were confiscated and sold to the highest bidders in 1646; at the Restoration, purchasers lost their lands but often stayed on as tenants with favourable rents or had their original investment returned, minus any profits (Gentles, 'Sales', p. 595).

50 **honour'd ... City:** elected to the Court of Aldermen; this body formed part of the City of London Corporation, made up of the twenty-five aldermen (one for each London ward) and presided over by the lord mayor. Whigs were well represented: 'by 1672, almost one-quarter of the aldermen were also nonconformists' (De Krey, 'Revolution', p. 204; see Headnote, pp. 4–5).

51 **young ... marry:** i.e. produce an heir, although he is probably 60 or older; while old age and related infertility were believed to begin at 50, some medical writers suggested it was not until the mid sixties, or later, 'that procreative heat begin to be lost' (Toulalan, 'Old Age', p. 343).

52 **wipe your Nose:** cheat you (*OED*).

WILDING Death! marry!

SIR CHARLES [*To Wilding.*] Patience, dear *Tom*, or thou't spoil all.

WILDING [*Aside to Sir Charles.*] Damn him, I've lost all Patience, and 110  
 can dissemble no longer, though I lose all, — [*Aloud.*] Very good,  
 Sir; heark ye, I hope she's young and handsome; or if she be not,  
 amongst the numerous lusty-stomacht Whigs that dayly nose<sup>53</sup>  
 your publick Dinners,<sup>54</sup> some may be found that either for Money,  
 Charity, or Gratitude, may requite your Treats. You keep open 115  
 house to all the Party,<sup>55</sup> not for Mirth, Generosity, or good Nature,<sup>56</sup>  
 but for Roguery. You cram the Brethren, the pious City-Gluttons,<sup>57</sup>  
 with good Cheer, good Wine, and Rebellion in abundance,  
 gormandizing<sup>58</sup> all Comers and Goers, of all Sexes, Sorts,<sup>59</sup>  
 Opinions, and Religions, young half-witted Fops, hot-headed Fools, 120  
 and Malecontents: You guttle<sup>60</sup> and fawn on all, and all in hopes of  
 debauching the Kings Liege-people into Commonwealths-men;<sup>61</sup>  
 and rather than lose a Convert, you'll pimp for him.<sup>62</sup> These are  
 your nightly Debauches. — Nay, rather than you shall want it,<sup>63</sup>  
 I'll cuckold you my self in pure Revenge. 125

SIR TIMOTHY How! Cuckold his own natural Uncle!

SIR CHARLES Oh, he cannot be so prophane.

53 **nose**: discover (as if by sense of smell) (*OED*).

54 **lusty stomach't ... publick Dinners**: although institutional (guild or corporation) or occasional feasting in London was traditional, by March 1682 Whig lords and sheriffs had begun a 'partisan feasting season', treating noblemen, officials, and ward inhabitants (Key, "High Feeding", p. 165); because many Whigs were also nonconformists or Puritans, their immoderation and gluttony were the focus of much criticism (Key, "High Feeding", p. 172; Headnote, pp. 2–4).

55 **Party**: (Whig) faction (*OED*).

56 **Mirth ... good Nature**: stereotypically Tory values (see Markley, "Be Impudent", p. 117).

57 **the Brethren ... City-Gluttons**: 'Brethren' refers (here, ironically) to members of nonconformist groups (*OED*) who preached moderation and yet regularly organised or attended Whig feasts (Key, "High Feeding", p. 172; Headnote, pp. 3–4).

58 **gormandizing**: feeding to excess (*OED*). 59 **Sorts**: ranks (*OED*).

60 **guttle**: feed voraciously (*OED*).

61 **debauching ... Commonwealths-men**: corrupting those loyal to the king so that they embrace Whig values.

62 **pimp for him**: procure a sexual partner for him (*OED*).

63 **want it**: fail to do it (*OED*).

WILDING Prophane! why he deni'd but now the having any share in  
me; and therefore 'tis lawful.<sup>64</sup> I am to live by my wits, you say,  
and your old rich good-natur'd Cuckold is as sure a Revenue to 130  
a handsome young Cadet,<sup>65</sup> as a thousand pound a year. Your<sup>66</sup>  
tolerable face and shape is an Estate in the City, and a better Bank  
than your Six *per Cent*.<sup>67</sup> at any time.

SIR TIMOTHY Well, Sir, since Nature has furnisht you so well, you need  
but up and ride, show and be rich; and so your Servant, witty 135  
Mr. Wilding. (*Goes out; Wilding looks after him.*)

SIR CHARLES [*Aside.*] Whilst I am labouring anothers good, I quite  
neglect my own. This cursed, proud, disdainful Lady *Galliard*, is  
ever in my head; she's now at Church, I'm sure, not for Devotion,<sup>68</sup>  
but to shew her Charms, and throw her Darts<sup>69</sup> amongst the gazing 140  
Crowd, and grows more vain by Conquest. I'm near the Church,  
and must step in, though it cost me a new Wound.

(*Wilding stands pausing.*)

WILDING I am resolv'd — Well, dear *Charles*, let's sup together to  
night, and contrive some way to be reveng'd of this wicked Uncle  
of mine. I must leave thee now, for I have an assignation here at 145  
Church.

SIR CHARLES Hah! at Church!

WILDING Aye, *Charles*, with the dearest she-Saint, and I hope sinner.

136 *out; Wilding] out, he 1682* 142.1 *Wilding] Wild. 1682*

64 **he deni'd ... 'tis lawful**: based on Leviticus 20:20, the Book of Common Prayer prohibited marriage (hence also sexual relations) between nephews and the wives of their uncles (Parker, *Admonition* (1662), p. 1).

65 **Cadet**: a younger son or brother (*OED*); thus a gentleman or nobleman with little hope of inheritance; a man of limited funds.

66 **Your**: i.e. a man's.

67 **Six per Cent.**: the 1660 Act against Usury (12 Car. II. C. 13) limited interest rates to 6 per cent; Wilding argues that a passably handsome man might gain better returns through entertaining the wives of rich husbands.

68 **not for Devotion**: not to pray.

69 **throw her Darts**: following the Petrarchan love poetry tradition, women were often portrayed as 'killing' or 'wounding' their admirers with their eyes, which could project love's darts or Cupid's arrows.

- SIR CHARLES What at Church? [*Aside.*] Pox, I shall be discovered now  
in my Amours. [*Aloud.*] That's an odde place for Love-Intrigues. 150
- WILDING Oh, I am to pass for a sober discreet person to the Relations;  
but for my Mistriss, she's made of no such sanctified Materials; she  
is a Widow,<sup>70</sup> *Charles*, young, rich, and beautiful.
- SIR CHARLES (*Aside.*) Hah! if this should prove my Widow now!
- WILDING And though at her own dispose,<sup>71</sup> yet is much govern'd by 155  
Honour,<sup>72</sup> and a rigid Mother, who is ever preaching to her against  
the Vices of Youth, and t'other end of the Town Sparks;<sup>73</sup> dreads  
nothing so much as her Daughters marrying a villanous Tory: So  
the young one is forc'd to dissemble Religion, the best Mask to hide  
a kind<sup>74</sup> Mistriss in. 160
- SIR CHARLES (*Aside.*) This must be my Lady *Galliard*.
- WILDING There is at present some ill understanding between us; some  
damn'd Honourable Fop lays siege to her, which has made me ill  
received; and I having a new Intrigue elsewhere, return her cold  
disdain, but now and then she crosses my Heart too violently to 165  
resist her. In one of these hot fits<sup>75</sup> I now am, and must find some  
occasion to speak to her.
- SIR CHARLES [*Aside.*] By Heaven, it must be she! — [*Aloud.*] I am  
studying now, amongst all our she-Acquaintance, who this shou'd  
be. 170
- WILDING Oh, this is of quality to be conceal'd: but the dearest loveliest  
Hypocrite, white as Lillies, smooth as Rushes, and plump as Grapes  
after showers,<sup>76</sup> haughty her Meen,<sup>77</sup> her Eyes full of disdain, and

70 **Widow:** widows were popularly believed to be salacious and worldly; Culpeper's *Directory* (1662) held that lack of regular sexual activity led them to become ill, and 'mad for lust, and infinite men' (p. 115); see Headnote, pp. 8–9.

71 **at her own dispose:** usually, a widow had the right to dispose of herself and her fortune in marriage to whomever she wished (or to stay single) without needing parental consent.

72 **Honour:** regard for her reputation (*OED*).

73 **rigid Mother ... Sparks:** Lady Galliard's mother is a zealous Puritan ('rigid') Whig who disapproves of the rakish court men living to the west of Temple Bar near the court (*OED*, rigid).

74 **kind:** both good natured (*OED*), and sexually available (*OED*).

75 **hot fits:** sudden and transitory fervent inclinations (*OED*).

76 **white ... after showers:** conventional poetic language; compare Charles Sackville's 'Song' where 'Black Bess' is 'plump' and 'smooth' with 'skin white as milk' ('A Song [on Black Bess]').

77 **Meen:** manner (*OED*, mien).

yet bewitching sweet; but when she loves, soft, witty, wanton, all  
that charms a Soul, and but for now and then a fit of Honour! Oh, 175  
damn the Nonsense, wou'd be all my own.

SIR CHARLES (*aside.*) 'Tis she, by Heaven! [*Aloud.*] Methinks this  
Widow shou'd prove a good Fortune to you,<sup>78</sup> as things now stand  
between you and your Uncle.

WILDING Ah, *Charles*, but I am otherways dispos'd of. There is the most 180  
charming young thing in nature fallen in love with this person of  
mine, a rich City-Heiress, *Charles*; I have her in possession.

SIR CHARLES How can you love two at once? I've been as wild, and as  
extravagant, as Youth and Wealth cou'd render me; but ne'er arriv'd  
to that degree of Lewdness, to deal my Heart about: my Hours I 185  
might, but Love should be intire.

WILDING Ah, *Charles*, two such bewitching Faces wou'd give thy Heart  
the lye:<sup>79</sup> — But Love divides us, and I must into Church. Adieu  
till night. (*Exit Wilding.*)

SIR CHARLES And I must follow to resolve my heart in what it dreads 190  
to learn. Here, my Cloak. (*Takes his Cloak from his man, and puts it  
on.*) Hah, Church is done! See, they are coming forth!

*Enter People cross the Stage, as from Church;<sup>80</sup> amongst 'em Sir Anthony  
Meriwill, follow'd by Sir Timothy Treat-all.*

Hah, my Uncle! He must not see me here.

(*Throws his Cloak over his face.*)

189 (*Exit Wilding*) [*no SD*] 1682      192.2 Timothy] Tim. 1682

78 **prove ... Fortune to you:** the property a woman brought to a marriage became her husband's  
(see Erickson, *Women*, p. 24).

79 **give ... the lye:** seeing both women's faces would contradict what is in Sir Charles's heart  
(*OED*, give the lie).

80 **Enter ... as from Church:** characters probably entered from behind a wing on which a church  
was painted and moved downstage; '*as from Church*' suggests action or costume identifying  
this, perhaps especially fine clothes – Pepys dressed in his best clothes on the Lord's Day – or  
carrying prayer books (Vincent, *Dressing the Elite*, p. 94).

- SIR TIMOTHY What my old Friend and Acquaintance, Sir *Anthony Meriwill!* 195
- SIR ANTHONY Sir *Timothy Treat-all!*
- SIR TIMOTHY Whe!<sup>81</sup> How long have you been in Town, Sir?
- SIR ANTHONY About three days, Sir.
- SIR TIMOTHY Three days, and never came to dine with me! 'tis unpardonable! What, you keep close to the Church,<sup>82</sup> I see: You are for the Surplice<sup>83</sup> still, old Orthodox you: the Times cannot mend you,<sup>84</sup> I see. 200
- SIR ANTHONY No, nor shall they mar me, Sir.
- SIR CHARLES (*Aside.*) They are discoursing; I'll pass by.  
(*Exit Sir Charles.*)
- SIR ANTHONY As I take it, you came from Church too. 205
- SIR TIMOTHY Aye, needs must, when the Devil drives.<sup>85</sup> I go to save my Bacon,<sup>86</sup> as they say, once a month,<sup>87</sup> and that too, after the Porrage is serv'd up.<sup>88</sup>

204 *Aside.*] [*SD part of right-set SD*] *Aside. Exit Sir Char.* 1682

204.1 Charles] Char 1682

- 
- 81 **Whe:** an exclamation in some Behn plays (including *Rover*, *Feign'd Curtizans*, and *Second Part of the Rover*) used for emphasis; it is not found in other plays of the period except the anonymous *Counterfeit Bridegroom* (1677), sometimes attributed to Behn; see Volumes II and III of the Cambridge Edition.
- 82 **you keep ... Church:** unlike Sir Timothy, who is a Whig nonconformist, Sir Anthony remains devoted to the established church, signalling him as a loyal Tory.
- 83 **Surplice:** ministers' vestments, abolished by Puritans during the interregnum and reinstated after the Restoration; Anon., *Dissenter Truly Described* (1681) recorded that nonconformists took offence 'At Surplice, and Lawn-Sleeves' (p. 1).
- 84 **the Times ... mend you:** despite the widespread distrust of popery following the recent Popish Plot, Sir Anthony continues to embrace what Sir Timothy regards as popish innovations in worship.
- 85 **needs must ... Devil drives:** proverbial, Tilley, D278.
- 86 **to save my Bacon:** to escape harm (*OED*); proverbial, Tilley, B24.
- 87 **needs must ... once a month:** recusancy laws enacted by Elizabeth I and James I fined those absent from Sunday church services: absence for one week meant a fine of one shilling; a full month's absence cost twenty pounds (Berman, *Law*, p. 229). Non-payment or repeated continuous absence could result in imprisonment (Miller, *Popery*, p. 165).
- 88 **after ... serv'd up:** arriving in time to miss hearing the Book of Common Prayer, sometimes 'termed by the name of Pottage, or Porridge' (Cheshire, *Sermon* (1641), p. 13) by Puritans, because it resembled 'something dull and turgid' (*OED*).



- SIR ANTHONY Those that made it, Sir, are wiser than we. For my part, I  
 love good wholesome Doctrine, that teaches Obedience to my King 210  
 and Superiours,<sup>89</sup> without railing at the Government, and quoting  
 Scripture for Sedition, Mutiny, and Rebellion.<sup>90</sup> Why here was  
 a jolly Fellow this morning made a notable Sermon. By *George*,<sup>91</sup>  
 our Country-Vicars are meer Scholars to your Gentlemen Town-  
 Parsons!<sup>92</sup> Hah, how he handled the Text,<sup>93</sup> and run Divisions 215  
 upon't!<sup>94</sup> 'twou'd make a man sin with moderation, to hear how  
 he claw'd away<sup>95</sup> the Vices of the Town, Whoring, Drinking, and  
 Conventicling,<sup>96</sup> with the rest of the deadly number.<sup>97</sup>
- SIR TIMOTHY Good lack!<sup>98</sup> an<sup>99</sup> he were so good at<sup>100</sup> Whoring and  
 Drinking, you'd best carry your Nephew, Sir *Charles Meriwill*, to 220  
 Church; he wants<sup>101</sup> a little Documentizing<sup>102</sup> that way.

---

89 **teaches Obedience ... Superiours**: after 1662, clergy had to assent to the re-established Book of Common Prayer and follow it for church services. On the anniversary of the king's birth and Restoration, the people were to promise 'all dutiful allegiance to thine [i.e. God's] Anointed servant, and to his heirs after him' (*Book of Common Prayer* (1662), sig. 2S8r).

90 **without railing ... Rebellion**: 'Tories, at least, believed the whigs were using [sermons] to teach radical theories of resistance' (Harris, *London Crowds*, p. 102).

91 **By George**: a mild oath, by St George (*OED*), England's patron saint.

92 **Country-Vicars ... Town-Parsons**: observation that country ministers were unschooled in the preaching techniques of the town; perhaps they stuck to their scripts, 'hanging their Heads perpetually over their Notes, ... blundering as they read ... with very little *Life*' (Burnet, *Discourse* (1692), p. 230).

93 **handled the Text**: dealt with the biblical passage(s) under consideration.

94 **run Divisions upon't**: the rhetorical practice of dividing the biblical passage under consideration into words or phrases to more clearly explicate its meaning (see diagram in Wilkins, *Ecclesiastes* (1679), pp. 8–9; Kneidel, 'Ars Praedicandi', pp. 3–20); these explications are here likened to a pleasing musical variation (*OED*, run divisions).

95 **claw'd away**: reviled (*OED*).

96 **Conventicling**: attending illegal meetings of Protestant nonconformists, often frequented by Whigs and widely suspected of sedition. Two Conventicle Acts (1664, 1670) prohibited such meetings but persecution was particularly intense in 1681–86, 'the period of the tory reaction which followed the defeat of exclusion' (Harris, *London Crowds*, p. 64).

97 **deadly number**: alluding to the Seven Deadly Sins, a pre-Reformation concept of sin gradually replaced by the Ten Commandments during the Reformation (Willis, "Moral Arithmetic", pp. 73–74); Sir Anthony is associated with traditional rather than reformed religious views.

98 **Good lack**: good luck (*OED*). 99 **an**: if (*OED*).

100 **good at**: successful at condemning. 101 **wants**: is in need of (*OED*).

102 **Documentizing**: furnishing with evidence (*OED*).

- SIR ANTHONY Hum! You keep your old wont still; a man can begin  
no discourse to you, be it of *Prester John*,<sup>103</sup> but you still conclude  
with<sup>104</sup> my Nephew.
- SIR TIMOTHY Good Lord! Sir *Anthony*, you need not be so purty;<sup>105</sup> what 225  
I say, is the Discourse of the whole City, how lavishly you let him  
live, and give ill Examples to all young Heirs.
- SIR ANTHONY The City! the City's a grumbling, lying, dissatisf'd City,  
and no wise or honest<sup>106</sup> man regards what it says. Do you, or any  
of the City, stand bound to his Scrivener<sup>107</sup> or Taylor? He spends 230  
what I allow him, Sir, his own; and you're a Fool or Knave, chuse ye  
whether, to concern your self.<sup>108</sup>
- SIR TIMOTHY Good lack! I speak but what wiser men discourse.
- SIR ANTHONY Wiser men! wiser Coxcombs.<sup>109</sup> What, they wou'd have  
me train my Nephew up, a hopeful Youth, to keep a Merchants 235  
Book,<sup>110</sup> or send him to chop Logick in a University,<sup>111</sup> and have  
him return an errant<sup>112</sup> learned Ass, to simper, and look demure,  
and start<sup>113</sup> at Oaths and Wenches,<sup>114</sup> whilst I fell his Woods, and

103 *Prester John*: like 'Presbyter John' and 'Jack Presbyter', a derogatory name for Whig nonconformists derived from that of the legendary Christian king of Ethiopia (*OED*) who was 'look't upon as another Pope' (Ludolf, *New History* (1682), p. 152).

104 *conclude with*: i.e. finish by talking about. 105 *purty*: pretty; disingenuous (*OED*).

106 *honest*: i.e. Tory.

107 *Scrivener*: a professional penman (*OED*), able to draw up legal contracts including wills, leases, marriage settlements; also involved in moneylending (Nicolson, *John Milton*, p. 5).

108 *my Nephew ... your self*: compare Lucre's response in Behn's source to criticism of his management of his nephew: 'Upbraid'st thou me with "nephew"? ... What's this to me?' (Middleton, *Trick*, I.3.27–30).

109 *Coxcombs*: fools who pretend to be wise (*OED*).

110 *keep a Merchants Book*: work as a merchant's bookkeeper, an occupation Sir Anthony considers beneath his heir, but which was associated with Whiggism and the rising mercantile class (De Krey, 'Revolution', p. 208).

111 *chop Logick ... University*: to reason argumentatively (*OED*); implication that such tuition would help render subversive or spurious arguments more persuasive. Logic was a 'prerequisite course encountered early in a university career by all students' (Feingold, 'Humanities', p. 278).

112 *errant*: absolute (*OED*, *arrant*). 113 *start*: balk (*OED*).

114 *start at ... Wenches*: nonconformists were well known for their refusal to take oaths: more radical Baptists and Quakers on principle did not swear oaths, and many nonconformists had also refused to subscribe to aspects of the 1662 Act of Uniformity (Keeble, *Literary Culture*, pp. 45–46); nonconformists also tended to preach against lascivious behaviour.

grant Leases;<sup>115</sup> and lastly, to make good what I have cozen'd him of,<sup>116</sup> force him to marry Mistress *Crump*,<sup>117</sup> the ill-favour'd<sup>118</sup> 240 Daughter of some Right Worshipful.<sup>119</sup> — A Pox<sup>120</sup> of all such Guardians.<sup>121</sup>

SIR TIMOTHY Do, countenance Sin and Expences, do.

SIR ANTHONY What sin, what expences? He wears good Cloaths, why Trades-men get the more by him; he keeps his Coach,<sup>122</sup> 'tis for his ease; a Mistriss, 'tis for his pleasure; he games, 'tis for his diversion: And where's the harm of this? is there aught else you can accuse him with?<sup>123</sup> 245

SIR TIMOTHY Yes; — (*aside.*) a Pox upon him, he's my Rival too. [*Aloud.*] Why then I'll tell you, Sir, he loves a Lady.<sup>124</sup> 250

SIR ANTHONY If that be a sin, Heaven help the Wicked!<sup>125</sup>

SIR TIMOTHY But I mean honourably.<sup>126</sup> —

240 Mistress] Mrs. 1682      247 aught] ought 1682

- 
- 115 **I fell ... grant Leases:** he would potentially defraud his nephew by selling the timber from his estate (the finest, oldest oak tree might fetch £1) and letting out his lands to tenants for farming (Melton, *Sir Robert Clayton*, p. 175).
- 116 **to ... cozen'd him of:** 'to compensate him for what I have cheated him of'.
- 117 **Crump:** suggests a crooked or deformed (*OED*) appearance.
- 118 **ill-favour'd:** having an unpleasant appearance (*OED*).
- 119 **some Right Worshipful:** a man of distinguished rank and importance (*OED*).
- 120 **A Pox:** exclamation of irritation (*OED*).
- 121 **Good Lord! ... Guardians:** compare Behn's source, where Durazzo (Sir Anthony's equivalent) is chastised for 'too much indulgence' to his nephew; he responds with a similar list of employments (Massinger, *Guardian*, pp. 2–3). A seventeenth-century annotation on 'Do you ... concern yourself', in the Clark copy of *City-Heiress*, reads 'Gu[ardian] p.[...]' (the page is trimmed).
- 122 **keeps his Coach:** a visible statement of wealth and modishness, and also convenient in avoiding damage to rich clothing; coaches were expensive: in 1682–83 John Verney spent £80 of his £480 income on livery, coachman, and maintenance (Whyman, *Sociability*, p. 103).
- 123 **Do, countenance ... with:** compare Durazzo's response to Donato's chastisements in Behn's source: 'He wears rich clothes, I do so ... 'Tis not amiss' (*Guardian*, p. 3). The seventeenth-century annotator of the Clark copy of *City-Heiress* wrote '3.' in the margin here.
- 124 **I'll tell ... Lady:** Camillo tells Durazzo that his nephew intends to marry into a banished family, a matter for more legitimate concern (*Guardian*, p. 3).
- 125 **If that ... the Wicked:** an exchange reminiscent of Falstaff's vindication in Shakespeare's *1 Henry IV*, a play focused on wayward sons: 'If sack and sugar be a fault, heaven help the wicked' (II.4.386).
- 126 **honourably:** with intention to marry her.

- SIR ANTHONY (*Angrily.*) Honourably! Why do you know any Infirmity  
in him, why he shou'd not marry?<sup>127</sup>
- SIR TIMOTHY Not I, Sir. 255
- SIR ANTHONY Not you, Sir? why then you're an Ass, Sir. — But is the  
Lady young and handsome?
- SIR TIMOTHY Aye, and rich too, Sir.
- SIR ANTHONY No matter for Money, so she love the Boy.
- SIR TIMOTHY Love him! no, Sir, she neither does, nor shall love him.<sup>128</sup> 260
- SIR ANTHONY How, Sir, nor shall love him! By *George*, but she shall, and  
lie with him too, if I please, Sir.
- SIR TIMOTHY How, Sir! lie with a rich City-widow, and a Lady, and to  
be married to a fine Reverend old Gentleman within a day or two?
- SIR ANTHONY His name, Sir, his name; I'll dispatch him presently. 265  
(*Offers to draw.*<sup>129</sup>)
- SIR TIMOTHY How, Sir, dispatch him! — Your Servant, Sir.  
(*Offers to go.*)
- SIR ANTHONY Hold, Sir! by this abrupt departure, I fancy you the Boy's  
Rival: Come, draw. (*Draws.*)
- SIR TIMOTHY How, draw, Sir!
- SIR ANTHONY Aye draw, Sir: Not my Nephew have the Widow! 270
- SIR TIMOTHY With all my soul, Sir; I love and honour your Nephew.  
I his Rival! alas, Sir, I'm not so fond of Cuckoldom. Pray, Sir, let  
me see you and Sir *Charles* at my house, I may serve him in this  
business: and so I take my leave, Sir. — (*Aside.*) Draw quoth a!<sup>130</sup>  
a Pox upon him for an old Tory-rory.<sup>131</sup> (*Exit.*) 275

268 *Draws.*] [*SD set part-right*] 1682

274 *Aside.*] [*SD part of set-right SD*] *Aside. Exit.* 1682

127 **any Infirmity ... not marry:** the most pressing infirmity in relation to marriage contracts was impotency (Gouge, *Of Domesticall Duties* (1622), p. 182).

128 **she neither ... him:** in Behn's source, Donato also tells Durazzo that the object of his nephew's affection, Caliste, does not love him (*Guardian*, p. 4).

129 ***Offers to draw:*** duelling was illegal in Restoration England but was considered necessary to uphold male honour; Charles II tended to grant pardons for duellists (Peltonen, *Duel*, pp. 206–09).

130 **quoth a:** i.e. 'he said?'; expression of contempt for another's words (*OED*).

131 **Tory-rory:** roisterer (*OED*); a Tory.

*Enter as from Church, Lady Galliard, Closet, and Footman: Wilding passes carelessly by her, Sir Charles Meriwill following wrapt in his Cloak.*

SIR ANTHONY Who's here? *Charles* muffled in a Cloak, peering after a woman? — My own Boy to a hair.<sup>132</sup> She's handsome too. I'll step aside: for I must see the meaning on't. *(Goes aside.*<sup>133</sup>

LADY GALLIARD Bless me! how unconcern'd he pass'd!

CLOSET He bow'd low, Madam. 280

LADY GALLIARD But 'twas in such a fashion, as exprest Indifferency, much worse than Hate from *Wilding*.

CLOSET Your Ladyship has us'd him ill of late; yet if your Ladyship please, I'll call him back.

LADY GALLIARD I'll die first. — Hah, he's going! — Yet now I think 285  
on't, I have a Toy<sup>134</sup> of his, which to express my scorn, I'll give him back now: — this Ring.<sup>135</sup>

CLOSET Shall I carry it, Madam?

LADY GALLIARD You'll not express disdain enough in the delivery; and you may call him back. *(Closet goes to Wilding.* 290

SIR CHARLES *(Aside.)* By Heaven, she's fond of him.

WILDING Oh, Mistress *Closet*! is it you? — Madam, your Servant: By this disdain, I fear your Woman, Madam, has mistaken her Man. Wou'd your Ladyship speak with me?

LADY GALLIARD Yes. — *(Aside.)* But what? the God of Love instruct 295  
me.

WILDING Command me quickly, Madam: for I have business.

LADY GALLIARD *(Aside.)* Nay, then I cannot be discreet in Love.

278 *Goes aside*] [*SD set part-right*] 1682

290 *Closet goes to Wilding*] *Clos. goes to Wild* [*SD set part-right*] 1682

292 *Mistress*] *Mrs.* 1682

132 **to a hair**: exactly; proverbial, Tilley, H26.

133 **Charles muffled ... aside**: in Behn's source, Durazzo is instructed to 'stand conceal'd' to see his nephew following Caliste from church; Caldoro appears 'muffel'd' and both he and Durazzo watch as Caliste speaks to her lover (*Guardian*, p. 4).

134 **Toy**: trifle (*OED*).

135 **Ring**: love tokens such as rings were given as courtship gifts but were also commonly given when a couple were 'contracted, betrothed, or "made sure"' (Cressy, *Birth*, p. 263).

- [Aloud.] Your business once was Love, nor had no idle hours  
 To throw away on any other thought.<sup>136</sup> 300  
 You lov'd as if you'd had no other Faculties,  
 As if you'd meant to gain Eternal Bliss  
 By that Devotion onely: And see how now you're chang'd.
- WILDING Not I, by Heaven; 'tis you are onely chang'd.  
 I thought you'd love me too, curse on the dull<sup>137</sup> mistake; 305  
 But when I beg'd to reap the mighty Joy  
 That Mutual Love affords,  
 You turn'd me off for Honour,<sup>138</sup>  
 That nothing<sup>139</sup> fram'd by some old sullen Maid,  
 That wanted<sup>140</sup> Charms to kindle flames when young. 310
- SIR ANTHONY (*Aside.*) By George, he's i'th' right.
- SIR CHARLES (*Aside.*) Death! can she hear this Language?
- LADY GALLIARD How dare you name this to me any more?  
 Have you forgot my Fortune, and my Youth?  
 My Quality, and Fame?<sup>141</sup> 315
- WILDING No, by Heaven, all these increase my Flame.
- LADY GALLIARD Perhaps they might, but yet I wonder where  
 You got the boldness to approach me with it.
- WILDING Faith, Madam, from your own encouragement.
- LADY GALLIARD From mine! Heavens, what contempt is this! 320
- WILDING When first I paid my Vows, (good Heaven forgive me)  
 They were for Honour<sup>142</sup> all;  
 But wiser you, thanks to your Mothers care too,  
 Knowing my Fortune an uncertain hope,

136 **To throw ... thought:** Lady Galliard adopts blank verse to talk of love, a common practice in Restoration comedies when heightened emotion is being expressed, 'approaching the sentiments or diction of heroic drama' (Holland, *Ornament*, p. 112). Wilding follows her lead.

137 **dull:** stupid (*OED*).

138 **turn'd ... for Honour:** dismissed me to preserve your reputation (*OED*).

139 **nothing:** thing of no importance (*OED*); bawdy term for female genitals.

140 **wanted:** lacked (*OED*).

141 **Quality, and Fame:** high social position and reputation (*OED*). Compare Caliste's response to Adorio's libertine requests in Behn's source (*Guardian*, p. 6).

142 **for Honour:** honourable (*OED*).

- My Life of scandal, and my lewd Opinion,<sup>143</sup> 325  
 Forbid my Wish that way: 'Twas kindly urg'd;  
 You cou'd not then forbid my Passion too,  
 Nor did I ever from your Lips or Eyes,  
 Receive the cruel sentence of my Death.
- SIR ANTHONY [*Aside.*] Gad, a fine fellow this! 330
- LADY GALLIARD To save my life, I wou'd not marry thee.
- WILDING That's kindly said:  
 But to save mine, thou't do a kinder thing;  
 — I know thou wo't.
- LADY GALLIARD What, yield my Honour up! 335  
 And after find it sacrific'd anew,  
 And made the scorn of a triumphing Wife!
- SIR ANTHONY [*Aside.*] Gad, she's i'th' right too; a noble Girl I'll warrant  
 her.
- LADY GALLIARD But you disdain to satisfie those fears; 340  
 And like a proud and haughty Conqueror,  
 Demand the Town, without the least Conditions.<sup>144</sup>
- SIR CHARLES (*Aside.*) By Heaven, she yields apace.
- SIR ANTHONY [*Aside.*] Pox on't, wou'd I'd ne'er seen her; now have I a  
 Legend<sup>145</sup> of small *Cupids* at Hot-cockles<sup>146</sup> in my heart. 345
- WILDING Now am I pawsing on that word Conditions.  
 Thou sayst thou wou'dst not have me marry thee;  
 That is, as if I lov'd thee for thy Eyes,  
 And put 'em out to hate thee:

143 **lewd Opinion**: bad reputation (*OED*). Compare Adorio's suit to Caliste where he admits himself 'a thing far, far beneath you. | A noted Libertine', before asking his beloved for sex outside of marriage, which is heard sympathetically (*Guardian*, p. 5).

144 **Conditions**: stipulations by a besieged town to facilitate a peaceful surrender.

145 **Legend**: legion; multitude (*OED*).

146 **at Hot-cockles**: playing a rough game where a blind player (in this case, Sir Anthony's heart) attempts to guess who had struck them (*OED*). Compare Durazzo's response in Behn's source: 'there are a legion of young *Cupids* | At barley-break in my breeches' (*Guardian*, p. 5). A seventeenth-century hand underlined this phrase and wrote 'p. 5' in the margin of the Clark copy of *City-Heiress*.

- Or like our Stage-smitten Youth, who fall in love with a woman 350  
 for Acting finely, and by taking her off the Stage, deprive her of the  
 only Charm she had,<sup>147</sup>  
 Then leave her to Ill Luck.
- SIR ANTHONY [*Aside.*] Gad, he's i'th' right again too! A rare Fellow!
- WILDING For, Widow, know, hadst thou more Beauty, yet not all of 'em 355  
 were half so great a Charm as thy not being mine.
- SIR ANTHONY [*Aside.*] Hum! How will he make that out now?
- WILDING The stealths of Love, the Midnight kind admittance,  
 The gloomy<sup>148</sup> Bed, the soft-breath'd murmuring Passion;  
 Ah, who can guess at Joys thus snatcht by parcels!<sup>149</sup> 360  
 The difficulty makes us always wishing,  
 Whilst on thy part, Fear still makes some resistance;  
 And every Blessing seems a kind of Rape.<sup>150</sup>
- SIR ANTHONY [*Aside.*] H'as don't!<sup>151</sup> — A Divine Fellow this; just  
 of my Religion. I am studying now whether I was never acquainted 365  
 with his Mother.<sup>152</sup> (*Lady Galliard walks away, Wilding follows.*)
- LADY GALLIARD Tempt me no more! What dull<sup>153</sup> unwary Flame  
 Possess me all this while! (*In Rage.*) Confusion on thee,  
 And all the Charms that dwell upon thy Tongue.

351 for Acting] 1682 *corr.*; for-Acting 1682 *uncorr.*

366 (*Lady Galliard ... Wilding follows*) *L. Gall ... Wild. follows* [*SD set part-right and without bracket*] 1682

147 **taking ... she had**: many spectators fell in love with female performers and married them (see Howe, *First English Actresses*, pp. 32–36); Pepys observed that flattering candlelight made female actors look 'fine', but 'poor things they are to look now too near-hand' (Pepys, 19 March 1666). Wilding briefly moves out of verse into prose.

148 **gloomy**: shady (*OED*). 149 **by parcels**: a little at a time (*OED*).

150 **Fear still ... Rape**: Wilding argues that the increased danger for women in acting on their illicit sexual desires, as well as their partial resistance as a result, makes such liaisons ('Blessing[s]') more sexually fulfilling.

151 **H'as don't**: he has done it.

152 **A Divine ... Mother**: in Behn's source, Durazzo responds in a similar way to Adorio's libertine suit of Caliste (*Guardian*, p. 6). A seventeenth-century hand bracketed this phrase and wrote 'p. 6' in the margin of the Clark copy of *City-Heiress*.

153 **dull**: insensible (*OED*).



- Diseases ruine that bewitching form, 370  
 That with thy soft feign'd Vows debauch't my Heart.
- SIR CHARLES (*Aside.*) Heavens! can I yet endure!
- LADY GALLIARD By all that's good, I'll marry instantly;  
 Marry, and save my last stake,<sup>154</sup> Honour, yet,  
 Or thou wilt rook<sup>155</sup> me out of all at last. 375
- WILDING Marry! thou canst not do a better thing:  
 There are a thousand Matrimonial Fops,<sup>156</sup>  
 Fine Fools of Fortune,  
 Good-natur'd Blockheads too, and that's a wonder.
- LADY GALLIARD That will be manag'd<sup>157</sup> by a man of Wit. 380
- WILDING Right.
- LADY GALLIARD I have an eye upon a Friend of yours.
- WILDING A Friend of mine! then he must be my Cuckold.
- SIR CHARLES (*Aside.*) Very fine! can I endure yet more?
- LADY GALLIARD Perhaps it is your Uncle. 385
- WILDING Hah, my Uncle! (*Sir Charles makes up<sup>158</sup> to 'em.*
- SIR ANTHONY [*Aside.*] Hah, my *Charles*! why well said *Charles*, he bore  
 up briskly to her.
- SIR CHARLES Ah, Madam, may I presume to tell you ——
- SIR ANTHONY [*Aside.*] Ah, Pox, that was stark naught! he begins like a 390  
 Fore-man o'th' Shop, to his Masters Daughter.<sup>159</sup>
- WILDING [*Aside.*] How, *Charles Meriwill* acquainted with my Widow!

154 **save my last stake**: gaming metaphor; keep the last thing of value that can be placed at hazard (*OED*).

155 **rook**: cheat (*OED*) at gaming.

156 **Matrimonial Fops**: dull, foolish (*OED*) lovers whose aim is marriage; in *Second Part of the Rover*, Ariadne curses 'the formal Matrimonial fop' preventing her from meeting her lover (II.2; see Volume III of the Cambridge Edition).

157 **manag'd**: manipulated (*OED*); cuckolded. 158 **makes up**: advances (*OED*).

159 **Fore-man ... Masters Daughter**: presumably, 'with trepidation', as Durazzo describes Caldoro's approach, in Behn's source, 'like a School-boy that had plaid the Truant, | And went to be breech'd' (*Guardian*, p. 7). Behn adds the class element.

- SIR CHARLES<sup>160</sup> Why do you wear that scorn upon your face?  
 I've nought but honest meaning in my Passion;  
 Whilst him you favour, so prophanes your Beauties, 395  
 In scorn of Marriage and religious Rites,<sup>161</sup>  
 Attempts the ruine of your sacred Honour.
- LADY GALLIARD (*Aside.*) Hah, *Wilding*, boast my love!<sup>162</sup>
- SIR ANTHONY [*Aside.*] The Devil take him, my Nephew's quite spoil'd!  
 Why what a Pox has he to do with Honour now?<sup>163</sup> 400
- LADY GALLIARD [*To Wilding.*] Pray leave me, Sir.
- WILDING [*Aside.*] Damn it, since he knows all, I'll boldly own my  
 flame —  
 [*Aloud to Sir Charles.*] You take a liberty I never gave you, Sir.
- SIR CHARLES How, this from thee! nay, then I must take more, 405  
 And ask you where you borrow'd that Brutality,  
 T'approach that Lady with your sawcy Passion.<sup>164</sup>
- SIR ANTHONY [*Aside.*] Gad, well done, *Charles*! here must be sport  
 anon.
- WILDING I will not answer every idle Question. 410
- SIR CHARLES Death, you dare not.
- WILDING How, dare not!
- SIR CHARLES No, dare not: for if you did —
- WILDING What durst you, if I did?
- SIR CHARLES Death, cut your Throat, Sir. 415  
 (*Taking hold on him roughly.*<sup>165</sup>)

160 SIR CHARLES: all copies of the 1682 edition attribute this speech instead to Sir Anthony, but the address here to Lady Galliard makes it certain that Sir Charles was meant. This was noted by an early reader of the Princeton copy, who wrote 'Charl.' over 'Anth.'

161 **In scorn of ... Rites:** court libertines rejected social institutions like marriage, preferring sexual freedom (see Chernaik, *Sexual Freedom*; Anon., *Character of a Town-Gallant*, p. 1).

162 **boast my love:** tell his friends about her desire for him.

163 **I've nought ... now:** a similar speech about honour by Caldoro, in Behn's source, is followed by Durazzo's condemnation: 'What a devil hath he to do with Virgin-honor' (*Guardian*, p. 8). In the Clark copy of *City-Heiress*, a seventeenth-century hand marked the exchange '[p.] 7.8', referring to the comparable passage in *Guardian*.

164 **You take ... Passion:** a seventeenth-century hand marked this exchange 'p. 8' on the Clark copy of *City-Heiress*, referring to *Guardian*.

165 **You take ... roughly:** compare Adorio's challenge to Caldoro, to which the latter responds by striking him and drawing (*Guardian*, p. 9).

- SIR ANTHONY Hold, hold, let him have fair play, and then curse him  
that parts ye. *(Taking 'em asunder, they draw.*
- LADY GALLIARD Hold, I command ye, hold!
- SIR CHARLES There rest my Sword to all Eternity.  
*(Lays his Sword at her feet.*
- LADY GALLIARD Now I conjure ye both, by all your Honour, 420  
If you were e'er acquainted with that Vertue,  
To see my face no more,  
Who durst dispute your interest in me thus,  
As for a common Mistriss, in your Drink.  
*(She goes out, and all but Wilding, Sir Anthony and  
Sir Charles who stands sadly looking after her.*
- SIR ANTHONY A heavenly Girl! — Well, now she's gone, by George, I 425  
am for disputing your Title<sup>166</sup> to her by dint of Sword.<sup>167</sup>
- SIR CHARLES I wo't not fight.
- WILDING Another time we will decide it, Sir. *(Wilding goes out.*
- SIR ANTHONY After your whining Prologue, Sir, who the Devil would  
have expected such a Farce?<sup>168</sup> — Come, *Charles*, take up<sup>169</sup> thy 430  
Sword, *Charles*; — and, d'ye hear, forget me<sup>170</sup> this Woman. —
- SIR CHARLES Forget her, Sir! there never was a thing so excellent!
- SIR ANTHONY You lye, Sirrah, you lye, there are a thousand  
As fair, as young, and kinder, by this day.  
We'll into th' Country,<sup>171</sup> *Charles*, where every Grove 435  
Affords us Rustick Beauties,

417 *(Taking)* *Taking* 1682      424.1 *(She)* *She* 1682  
424.1–2 Wilding, *Sir Anthony and Sir Charles*] Wild. *Sir Anth. and Sir Char.* 1682  
428 Wilding] Wild. 1682

166 **Title:** (alleged) right (*OED*). 167 **dint of Sword:** force of arms (*OED*).  
168 **After ... farce:** compare Durazzo's 'After a whining Prologue, who would have look'd for such a rough Catastrophe' (*Guardian*, p. 9). '9.' is written by a seventeenth-century hand in the margin of the Clark copy of *City-Heiress*.  
169 **take up:** pick up from the floor. 170 **forget me:** forget for my sake.  
171 **into th' Country:** a common double entendre; back to his countryside estate, but also 'into' women (cunts); compare the title of Wycherley's *Country-Wife* (1675).

- That know no Pride nor Painting,<sup>172</sup>  
 And that will take it and be thankful, *Charles*;  
 Fine wholesome Girls that fall like ruddy Fruit,  
 Fit for the gathering, *Charles*.<sup>173</sup> 440
- SIR CHARLES Oh, Sir, I cannot relish the coarse Fare.  
 But what's all this, Sir, to my present Passion?
- SIR ANTHONY Passion, Sir! you shall have no Passion, Sir.
- SIR CHARLES No Passion, Sir! shall I have life and breath?
- SIR ANTHONY It may be not, Sirrah, if it be my will and pleasure. 445  
 — Why how now! sawcy Boys be their own Carvers?<sup>174</sup>
- SIR CHARLES Sir, I am all Obedience. (*Bowing and sighing.*)
- SIR ANTHONY Obedience! Was ever such a Blockhead! Why then if I  
 command it, you will not love this Woman?
- SIR CHARLES No, Sir. 450
- SIR ANTHONY No, Sir! But I say, Yes, Sir, love her me; and love her me  
 like a man too, or I'll renounce ye, Sir.
- SIR CHARLES I've try'd all ways to win upon her heart,  
 Presented,<sup>175</sup> writ, watcht, fought, pray'd, kneel'd, and weept.
- SIR ANTHONY Why there's it now; I thought so: Kneel'd and weept! a 455  
 Pox upon thee — I took thee for a prettier<sup>176</sup> fellow. —  
 You shou'd a hufft and bluster'd at her door;  
 Been very impudent and sawcy, Sir;  
 Lewd, ruffling,<sup>177</sup> mad; courted at all hours and seasons;  
 Let her not rest, nor eat, nor sleep, nor visit.<sup>178</sup> 460

172 **Painting**: application of make-up (*OED*).

173 **Fine wholesome ... Charles**: in Behn's source, Durazzo also advises his nephew to travel to his country villa and gives a lengthy discourse about the pleasures of hunting before explaining he has bred his 'Tenants Nutbrown daughters, wholsom Girls' to 'contend to do thee service' and if they do not comply he voids their leases (*Guardian*, p. 13).

174 **sawcy ... own Carvers**: insolent boys choose their own wives; see proverbial, 'To be one's own Carver' (Tilley, C110).

175 **Presented**: given gifts (*OED*). 176 **prettier**: more skilful (*OED*).

177 **ruffling**: swaggering; a man with a tendency towards handling a woman with rude familiarity (*OED*).

178 **Let her not ... visit**: proverbially, widows required determined and vigorous wooing: 'He that woos a widow must woo her day and night' (Tilley, M17); compare *Ram-Alley*, Behn's source: 'Doe, but dally not; thats the widdowes phrase' (sig. D1v) (see Foyster, 'Marrying', pp. 108–24, and Headnote, pp. 8–9).

Believe me, *Charles*, women love importunity.<sup>179</sup>

Watch her close, watch her like a Witch, Boy,

Till she confess the Devil in her,<sup>180</sup> — Love.

SIR CHARLES I cannot, Sir.

Her Eyes strike such an awe into my Soul, —

465

SIR ANTHONY Strike such a Fiddlestick.<sup>181</sup> — Sirrah, I say, do't; what,

you can towse<sup>182</sup> a Wench as handsomly — You can be lewd

enough upon occasion. I know not the Lady, nor her Fortune; but

I am resolv'd thou shalt have her, with practising a little Courtship

of my mode. — Come —

470

Come, my Boy *Charles*, since you must needs be doing,

I'll shew thee how to go a Widow-wooing.

---

179 **women love importunity**: i.e. women require persistent solicitation (*OED*).

180 **Watch ... Devil in her**: those suspected of witchcraft (generally women) were deprived of sleep and watched intently in the hope that the devil or their familiars would come to them, or the women would confess their guilt (Sharpe, *Witchcraft*, p. 123).

181 **Fiddlestick**: nothing; word substituted in derision for something believed insignificant (*OED*).

182 **towse**: pull (a woman) about rudely or in horseplay (*OED*, touse).

**ACT the Second.**  
**SCENE THE FIRST.    *A Room.*<sup>1</sup>**

*Enter Charlot, Fopington, and Clacket.*

CHARLOT    Enough, I've heard enough of *Wilding's* Vices, to know I am undone. (*weeps*) — *Galliard* his Mistriss too? I never saw her, but I have heard her fam'd for Beauty, Wit, and Fortune. That Rival may be dangerous.

FOPINGTON    Yes, Madam, the fair, the young, the witty Lady *Galliard*,  
 even in the height of all his love to you; nay, even whilst his Uncle courts her for a Wife, he designs himself for a Gallant.<sup>2</sup> 5

CHARLOT    Wonderous Inconstancy and Impudence!

MRS. CLACKET    Nay, Madam, you may rely upon Mr. *Fopington's* Information: therefore if you respect your Reputation, retreat in time. 10

CHARLOT    Reputation! that I forfeited when I ran away with your Friend Mr. *Wilding*.

MRS. CLACKET    Ah, that ever I should live to see (*weeps*) the sole Daughter and Heir of Sir *Nicholas Gettall*,<sup>3</sup> run away with one of the lewdest Heathens<sup>4</sup> about town! 15

CHARLOT    How! your Friend Mr. *Wilding* a Heathen; and with you<sup>5</sup> too, Mistress *Clacket*! That Friend Mr. *Wilding*, who thought none so worthy as Mistress *Clacket*, to trust with so great a secret as his flight with me; he a Heathen! 20

18 Mistress] Mrs. 1682      19 Mistress] Mrs. 1682

1 **A Room:** in *Wilding's* lodgings, up at least one set of stairs; no specific characteristics are needed for this room other than that one door exits to the staircase.

2 **Gallant:** lover (*OED*).

3 **sole ... Sir Nicholas Gettall:** Sir Nicholas's surname indicates his considerable fortune; the average income for a knight was c. £800 per annum (Hume, 'Economics', p. 495), though it is revealed later in this scene that Sir Nicholas is worth £3,000 (l. 219). Sir Nicholas may be based partly on the alderman Sir Robert Vyner (1631–88), goldsmith and banker, whose stepdaughter Bridget was abducted; see Headnote, pp. 9–10.

4 **Heathens:** non-Christians (*OED*), a term often used by Puritans for those who continued to worship in the 'popish' state church and/or follow libertine philosophies.

5 **with you:** in your estimation (*OED*).

- MRS. CLACKET Aye, and a poor Heathen too, Madam. 'Slife, if you must marry a man to buy him Breeches,<sup>6</sup> marry an honest man, a religious man, a man that bears a Conscience, and will do a woman some Reason.<sup>7</sup> — Why here's Mr. *Fopington*, Madam; here's a Shape,<sup>8</sup> here's a Face, a Back as straight as an Arrow,<sup>9</sup> I'll warrant. 25
- CHARLOT How! buy him Breeches! Has *Wilding* then no Fortune?
- FOPINGTON Yes, Faith, Madam, pretty well; so, so, as the Dice run:<sup>10</sup> and now and then he lights upon<sup>11</sup> a Squire, or so, and between fair and foul Play, he makes a shift<sup>12</sup> to pick a pretty Livelihood up.<sup>13</sup>
- CHARLOT How! does his Uncle allow him no present Maintenance? 30
- FOPINGTON No, nor future Hopes<sup>14</sup> neither: Therefore, Madam, I hope you will see the difference between him and a man of Parts,<sup>15</sup> that adores you. (*Smiling and bowing.*)
- CHARLOT If I find all this true you tell me, I shall know how to value my self and those that love me. 35
- [Aside.] This may be yet a Rascal.

*Enter Maid.*

- MAID Mistriss, Mr. *Wilding's* below. (*Exit.*)

37 *Exit*] [*SD set part-right*] 1682

- 
- 6 **marry ... him Breeches:** marry a man so poor that you have to buy his breeches.
- 7 **do ... Reason:** both treat a wife appropriately (*OED*) and have sexual intercourse with her (*OED*); knowingly playing on lusty stereotypes of zealous men (i.e. nonconformists).
- 8 **Shape:** exemplary general appearance (*OED*).
- 9 **a Back ... Arrow:** although a straight back was taken to indicate good birth and civility, fops were mocked for taking this to extremes; Gould's 'Play-House. A Satyr' mocked foppish deportment: 'So stiff they are, in all parts ty'd so strait, | 'Tis strange to me the blood shou'd circulate' (*Poems* (1689), p. 169).
- 10 **so, so ... Dice run:** his fortune depends on how lucky he is gambling on dice.
- 11 **lights upon:** comes across (by good fortune) (*OED*).
- 12 **makes a shift:** carries out a stratagem (*OED*).
- 13 **now and ... Livelihood up:** *Wilding* targets (naïve) country gentlemen (*OED*, squire) when gaming; while court libertines enjoyed high-stakes gambling (for display as well as gain), *Wilding* relies on the kind of gambling practised at common inns (Evans, 'Sceane', pp. 4–5).
- 14 **nor future Hopes:** no hope of inheriting his wealth.
- 15 **man of Parts:** accomplished man (*OED*).

- FOPINGTON Below! Oh, Heavens, Madam, do not expose me to his lewd  
fury, for being too zealous in your service. (*In great disorder.*
- CHARLOT I will not let him know you told any thing, Sir. 40
- FOPINGTON (*To Clacket.*) Death! to be seen here, would expose my Life.
- MRS. CLACKET Here, here, step out upon the Stair-case, and slip into my  
Chamber.<sup>16</sup> (*Going out, returns in fright.*
- FOPINGTON 'Owens,<sup>17</sup> he's here! lock the door fast; let him not enter.
- MRS. CLACKET Oh, Heavens, I have not the Key! hold it, hold it fast, 45  
sweet, sweet Mr. *Fopington*. Oh, should there be Murder done,  
what a scandal wou'd that be to the house of a true Protestant!<sup>18</sup>  
(*Knocks.*
- CHARLOT Heavens! what will he say and think, to see me shut in with  
a man?
- MRS. CLACKET Oh, I'll say you're sick, asleep, or out of humour. 50
- CHARLOT I'd give the world to see him. (*Knocks.*
- WILDING (*Without.*) *Charlot, Charlot!* Am I deny'd an entrance? By  
Heaven, I'll break the door.  
(*Knocks again; Fopington still holding it.*
- FOPINGTON Oh, I'm a dead man, dear *Clacket!* (*Knocking still.*
- MRS. CLACKET Oh, hold, Sir, Mistress *Charlot* is very sick. 55
- WILDING How, sick, and I kept from her!
- MRS. CLACKET She begs you'll come again an hour hence.
- WILDING Delay'd, by Heaven I will have entrance.
- FOPINGTON Ruin'd! undone! for if he do not kill me, he may starve me.<sup>19</sup>

39 *In great disorder*] [*SD set part-right*] 1682      42 Stair-case] Sair-case 1682

43 (*Going*] *Going* 1682      46 *Fopington. Oh*] *Foping Oh* 1682

47.1 *Knocks*] [*SD set part-right*] 1682      52 *Without*] *Without* 1682      53.1 *Fopington*]  
*Fop.* 1682      55 *Mistress*] *Mrs.* 1682

16 **Stair-case ... Chamber:** Mrs. Clacket's quarters are (imagined to be) on the other side of a staircase that leads up from the ground floor.

17 **'Owens:** zounds ('God's wounds'); an oath (*OED*).

18 **should there ... true Protestant:** Whig sympathisers often presented themselves as 'true Protestants' (and were mocked with the term), because of their dedication to preserving the country from supposedly murderous papists.

19 **starve me:** cause me to die (*OED*); compare Wilding's comment later in the scene: 'Those sort of Rascals will do any thing | For ready Meat and Wine' (ll. 174–75).