THE PUBLICATION OF THE POETRY OF JOHN WILMOT EARL OF ROCHESTER FROM 1680 TO 1728

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TWO VOLUMES

VOLUME I

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in memory of

PAUL STRATHEARN

(1952-89)

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SUMMARY

This thesis examines the publication of Rochester's poems from their entry into print in 1680 to the first successful King's Bench prosecution for obscene libel in 1728. It combines critical readings of particular poems with detailed bibliographical analysis of the printing processes that produced them. Historical investigation of the changes that took place in publishing and press-control during this period explain the processes of transformation undergone by the poems in their successive reprintings.

Volume II provides a catalogue of early editions of Rochester's poems compiled according to principles of bibliographical description. In the appendix to Volume II, transcriptions of poems from early editions are laid out in a parallel text arrangement. Volume I presents the development of the 3 main series of Rochester editions in terms of publishing history and history of law. Chapter 1 examines different texts of Rochester's *The Imperfect Enjoyment* in the context of late seventeenth-century press-control, with particular reference to the Licensing Act and the increase in lower-court prosecutions for obscenity. Chapters 2 to 4 examine Jacob Tonson's series of Rochester editions, studying their bibliographical and textual composition and connecting the alterations carried out on 3 poems --'Love a Woman! y'are an Ass', *To A Lady, in A Letter*, and 'Fair Cloris in a Piggsty lay'-- with Tonson's contribution to the formation of the 1710 Copyright Act. The last two chapters concentrate on the early eighteenth-century editions of Edmund Curll, and analyse the changes that took place in the texts of the *Satyr* ('Were I (who to my cost already am)'), *The Imperfect Enjoyment* and *A Ramble in Saint James's Parke*.

This analysis of the early printed texts of Rochester's poems reveals the extent to which they were transformed by changing conditions of press-control, and uncovers the contribution Rochester's poems made to the evolution of modern obscenity law.

INTRODUCTION.

Rochester's poems were written, not for publication in print, but for manuscript circulation among the Earl's friends. By the time of his death in the summer of 1680, Rochester's poems were held in high esteem by a wide readership that included the bourgeois critics of the coffee-houses as well as the literary cognoscenti of the court. But at this stage, Rochester's reputation as a poet rested on manuscript copies of his work rather than printed texts. There was no book. This thesis is concerned with the entry of Rochester's poems into print. My point of departure is the first printed collection of the poems that appeared shortly after Rochester's death. By examining in detail 3 very different versions of Rochester's work that circulated in print over the next 50 years, this thesis contributes to our understanding not only of the transformations undergone by the texts of a particular poet over a particular period of time, but also of the changes that took place in the conditions of writing and publishing at a crucial point in English history.

My approach, then, reverses the usual direction of enquiry followed by textual criticism. Where textual criticism has been concerned with reconstructing what the author actually wrote (or intended to write), my concern is with the way in which texts are re-written in the course of publication. Where post-war editors of Rochester have struggled through the maze of manuscript material in search of an endlessly-receding 'ideal text', my attention has been concentrated on examining the successive mutation of printed texts long after they left Rochester's hands. Much of the material that has proved useful for the present enquiry would have been discounted as irrelevant and corrupt by the platonic tradition of scholarship before Derrida. Rather than looking back towards that point of origin where the pure text glimmers in the distance, my gaze is turned towards the opposite horizon, looking forward across a prospect of texts endlessly mutating, reproducing and reprinting, down to the present day.

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By reversing the retrospective direction of textual enquiry, some of the problems of the platonic tradition can be avoided. The problem of intentionality has reached crisis proportions in recent textual criticism. 20 years ago, James Thorpe could announce with confidence that 'the ideal of textual criticism is to present the text which the author intended'[1]. Since then, a bewildering fragmentation of intention has taken place, with textual critics attempting to distinguish between 'programmatic intention', 'active intention' and 'final intention': the fracturing of authorial intention in textual criticism parallels the dismantling of the single unified subject in other disciplines[2]. In the present area of study, the problem of intentionality has been made all the more acute by the absence of any authorising gesture on the part of Rochester. My solution has been to examine these texts as collaborative efforts: Rochester was only one member of a changing, shadowy cast of contributing writers. The poems assembled under his name bear the traces of re-writing by manuscript copyists, publishers, compositors, editors; some editions invite the reader to contribute to the text. These are indeed 'Poems by Several Hands'.

Volume II of this thesis provides two different kinds of material produced by this approach. A catalogue of editions published in the 50 years after Rochester's death describes the physical production of the poems. Bibliographical analysis enables an excavation of the manufacturing processes behind the words on the page; contents are described in detail in order to make apparent the selection and ordering of the poems in different editions. Once again, the vagaries of Rochester's publication history sabotage the latent platonism of the scholarly endeavour: the extremely low survival-rate of editions makes it impossible to reconstruct an 'ideal copy' according to the classic principles of bibliographical description. In the appendix to Volume II transcriptions of poems from early editions are laid out in a parallel text arrangement to enable comparison to be made between the different versions. Reading across different versions of the same line --vertically rather than horizontally-- provides a

picture of the transformation of these texts through a brief period of time.

If Volume II presents the evidence of textual transformation in diagrammatic form, Volume I presents the material in narrative form. The story begins in the year 1680 with the death of Rochester and the publication of the first printed collection of his poems, and ends with the first successful King's Bench prosecution for obscene libel in 1728. Two major changes in the policing of printed discourses took place during the period under consideration. Government control of the publishing trades evolved from a primitive system of pre-publication licensing to a sophisticated system that combined post-publication prosecution and property rights. Closely connected with this change was a significant expansion of the territory policed by the agencies of press-control to include not only seditious and blasphemous texts but also the new legal category of the obscene.

The first chapter examines the evolution of the earliest printed collection of Rochester's poems in terms of their appearance during the temporary lapse in the Licensing Act between 1679 and 1685; the transformations undergone by the poems in Andrew Thorncome's 1685 edition are related to the revival of licensing legislation in that year. Analysis of late seventeenth-century prosecutions for obscenity clarifies the issues at stake in these transformations of the text.

The next 3 chapters are concerned with the series of editions initiated by Jacob Tonson in 1691. Chapter 2 locates the series within the context of the political and literary features of Tonson's career, and conducts an analysis of the textual and bibliographical composition of his 1691 Rochester edition in greater detail than has hitherto been attempted. Chapter 3 examines the effects of Tonson's last-minute alterations to two poems in the 1691 edition, and Chapter 4 connects Tonson's project of self-censorship with his participation in the debate around methods of press-control that resulted in the 1710 Copyright Act.

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The last two chapters concentrate on the 'unspeakable' Edmund Curll, whose early eighteenth-century editions of Rochester contributed to the consolidation of the law of obscene libel. Curll's confrontations with figures such as Swift, Pope, Ionson and Defoe provide a framework for the issues of authorship and transgression raised by Rochester's poems in the early eighteenth century. Chapter 5 compares the composition, presentation and textual formation of the first phase of Curll's series of editions with Ionson's earlier collection of Rochester. Curll's Rochester underwent extensive transformation and expansion in 1714, and Chapter 6 examines the second phase of these editions in the context of Curll's precedent-setting prosecution for obscene libel in 1728.

It will be evident that my approach in this thesis reverses the usual direction of enquiry conducted by literary history as well as that of textual criticism. Where literary historians employ analysis of the cultural, political and social features of the landscape surrounding the text in order to explain the moment of its first production, this thesis uses similar material --legal records, contemporary newspapers, publishing history-- in order to account for the changes undergone by texts through their reproduction in succesive reprintings. The aim of this approach is an ambitious one: to connect a critical reading of different versions of the poems with an analysis of both the manufacturing processes that went into the printing of the words on the page and the structures of press-control that governed publication. The irony is that this approach to Rochester could never have been attempted without the achievements of the Platonic, intentionalist scholarship of Vieth and Walker[3].

*

Throughout the thesis, Vieth's useful classification of the early editions of Rochester's poem into 4 'series' has been followed[4]. The 'A-series' comprises the editions of the '1680' group, Thorncome's 1685 edition, and the reprintings of Thorncome's edition that appeared in 1701, 1713, and 1731. The 'B-series'

refers to the editions initiated by Jacob Tonson's edition of 1691, and includes the pirate editions of 1710 and 1718 as well as Tonson's own reprintings of the edition that continued to appear up to 1732. The 'C-series' represents the largest sequence of early editions of Rochester, beginning with the edition issued in 1707 by Benjamin Bragge and Edmund Curll, and continuing to the very end of the eighteenth century. The 'D-series' is to a large extent peripheral to the present study, and contains only two editions of almost entirely spurious material published in 1718 and 1761.

Because the titles, imprints and dates of early editions of Rochester are often confusingly similar, Vieth's system of classification provides a convenient method of identifying particular editions. The year of publication is preceded by a series code (A, B, C, or D): 'A-1685' thus specifies Thorncome's A-series edition of 1685. A lower-case letter after the year of publication distinguishes editions that appeared in the same year: 'C-1721-a' thus refers to one of the two editions of the C-series that appeared in 1721. For the two-volume editions of the C-series, the volume number is given after the year of publication: 'C-1718-2' thus refers to the second volume of the 1718 C-series edition. The letter 'P' indicates pirate editions, i.e. B-series editions produced by publishers other than Tonson, C-series editions produced by publishers other than Curll: thus Henry Hills' 1710 piracy of Tonson's edition is identified as 'B-1710-P'. For the editions of the '1680' group, the edition-symbol used by James Thorpe follows the identifier 'A-1680': thus 'A-1680-HU' specifies the Huntington edition of the '1680' group[b].

Poems are cited by title (in italics) and/or first line (within inverted commas). These are derived from the index of titles and first lines in Walker's edition, and from the list of poems omitted from Vieth's edition[c]. Where there are pertinent variants between the first line derived from Walker or Vieth and the edition under discussion, these variants are enclosed within square brackets. The first lines of some frequently-cited poems have been shortened for convenience after their occurence in the

text: thus 'Fair Cloris' refers to the poem 'Fair Cloris in a Piggsty lay'.

Quotations from poems present a particular difficulty in work of this nature. Because the argument frequently refers to specific printings of the poems, the option of quoting throughout from a standard scholarly edition such as that of Vieth or Walker is not available. For the 5 poems transcribed in the Appendix, quotations are taken from these transcriptions. Where the specific printing of a poem is referred to, a transcription of the text from that edition is provided; elsewhere, quotations are from Walker's edition. Quotations from poems not included in Walker's edition are transcribed from their earliest available printing in the early editions.

The work of this thesis has been enabled by the progress of scholarship in bibliographical analysis and publishing history that has been accomplished over the last 50 years. Where there is a considerable amount of available scholarship on the production of the printed book, there is as yet no comparable body of work on the production and distribution of manuscript texts[7]. The absence of such a framework has made it necessary to restrict consideration of the manuscript pre-history of Rochester's textual production to those instances where manuscript readings are pertinent to printed texts. Similar problems arise with the proliferation of poetical anthologies that printed Rochester's poems. Even after the vast scholarly endeavour of projects such as the Yale **Poems on Affairs of State** volumes, the bibliographical complexities of poetical anthologies still present white space on the map of late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century publishing[8]. Accordingly, texts of poems from poetical anthologies are discussed only in relation to the collections printed under Rochester's name. This thesis provides an account of the publication history of the 3 main series of early Rochester editions, and contributes not only to our knowledge of a particular poet, but to our understanding of developments in the history of publishing and censorship whose effects are with us still.

Introduction.

Notes.

1. Thorpe 1969, p. 3.
2. McGann (1983) provides a succinct survey of the crisis in textual criticism.
3. Vieth 1963 and 1968; Walker 1984.
4. Vieth 1963, pp. 9-15.
5. Thorpe 1950, pp. 14-159.
6. Walker 1984, pp. 315-319. Vieth 1968, pp. 223-237.
7. Despite pioneering work such as that of Cameron (1963), the situation today is similar to the state of bibliographical studies before the arrival of W.W. Greg.
8. Lord 1975.

Chapter 1. LICENSE AND LICENTIOUSNESS: ROCHESTER'S POEMS AND LATE SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY CRIMINAL PROSECUTIONS.

John Wilmot, second Earl of Rochester, died on the 26th. of July 1680, at the age of 33. The manner of his death was as controversial as his life had been, and kept the rumour-mills of the London coffee-houses well supplied with fresh-ground speculation. Two contradictory versions of the death of the most infamous rake of an infamous court were already in circulation. Some gossips spoke of the sensational death-bed repentance of his past libertinage, and claimed that Rochester had embraced --at the very last minute-- the Christianity he had despised for most of his life. But others, particularly those friends at court who'd known Rochester, swapped horror-stories of convulsive 'hectical fits' and dismissed his timely conversion as yet another symptom of Rochester's ten-year case-history of venereal disease, the madness of a raving syphilitic'.

In his bestselling sermon for Rochester's funeral, Robert Parsons, chaplain to the Earl's mother, claimed that Rochester had made a last request that 'those persons, in whose custody his Papers were,' would 'burn all his profane and lewd Writings, as being only fit to promote Vice and Immorality'[2]. Parsons's image of Rochester's shameful and blasphemous texts ablaze with the flames of Holy Religion is particularly apt in the light of their subsequent publication history. Part of the ritual of press control still current at this time was the public burning by the hangman of a symbolic copy of the banned book. In the gesture of Rochester's last request this ritual erasure of difference and subversion intersects with those promiscuously-employed Restoration metaphors, the flames of desire and the fires of venereal disease.

But as a practical request it was a futile gesture. Handwritten copies of Rochester's poems had been circulating around the town throughout the past decade. Although the Earl of Rochester, as an aristocrat, seems to have disdained involvement in the publication of his writings, some individual poems had been

printed in pamphlet form over the previous couple of years and some handwritten copies had also fallen into the hands of opportunistic publishers of poetical anthologies. Moreover, even as the dying Rochester was (supposedly) consigning his writing to the flames, some enterprising London printers were busy preparing for an eager public the first collection of the Earl's poems.

Evidently a manuscript collection of about 60 poems connected with Rochester and his court circle had fallen into the hands of these printers. These poems appeared in print as **Poems on Several Occasions by the Right Honourable the E. of R---** within a month or two of Rochester's death in July. Pepys records possessing a copy on the 2nd. of November, and indeed Pepys' copy is one of only two surviving copies[3]. Because the other copy is now in the Huntington Library, California, this edition is refered to as the Huntington edition (A-1680-HU).

Even by seventeenth-century standards of printing the Huntington edition is shoddy workmanship. It is a grubby octavo of 152 pages with the text scrunched up as closely as possible to save on paper-costs-- even the cheap paper that made up this edition would have eaten up half the book's production costs[4]. All the signs of a rush-job are there. The text is littered with typographical errors and presented without such time-consuming details as running-titles or prefatory material; the punctuation is mindless rather than careless. And its printing was very anonymous. No names on the title-page, no printer, publisher or bookseller: the product of a fly-by-night operation which preferred not to be identified. As an extra detail to throw troublesome enquiries off the scent, a false imprint on the title-page claims the book was 'Printed at Antwerp'.

But the Huntington edition of September 1680 is only one of a group of 11 almost identical editions of **Poems on several Occasions** that were produced before the end of the seventeenth century. For convenience I shall refer to this group of 11 editions as the '1680' group, with 1680 in heavily inverted commas because some of them may have been printed as late as 1698. All 11 editions

in the group bear the fake claim to have been printed in Antwerp, but there is little doubt that they were all produced in London[5]. 4 of them carry the same publication date of 1680, but at least 3 of these may be false dates: the book was undoubtedly one of the most popular bestsellers of that Autumn, but 4 editions in as many months would seem phenomenal --though not impossible. All 11 editions print the same poems in the same order. No real effort was made to improve the quality of the text or the product with each new setting of type. Successive editions introduce as many new errors as they correct in a sort of stasis of sloppiness, and a uniformly low standard of printing --blotchy inking, broken type, type shortages, squinty typesetting-- runs through the whole '1680' group.

Indeed the printers of the '1680' group seem to have taken more trouble to preserve their anonymity than to promote the art and mystery of printing. For example, the title-page of each edition has a little ornament between the title and the imprint, the only decoration in the entire book. But the printers were careful not only to use the most common motifs of their day -- fleur-de-lis, pots, acorns-- but to set only undamaged pieces of ornament, because pieces with, for example, a broken leaf could be traced back to the printer by spotting its recurrence in other books printed by the same shop. And the measures taken by these printers to avoid typographical fingerprinting have been successful down to the present day. Even now, after intensive examination of the books by James Thorpe, the names of the printers of the '1680' group remain unknown[6].

*

The printers of the '1680' group have been described as 'pirates', that is, print-workers operating outside the current machinery of press-control. This requires some clarification.

The principal legal engine of press-control in the late seventeenth century was the licensing system, whereby the printer or publisher of a book was obliged to submit a manuscript copy of

the text to a state-appointed licenser before setting it in type[7]. In addition, the title-page of each book had to carry certain pieces of information that identified responsibility for its publication: the names of the author, the printer, the publisher and the licenser who approved the book.

Pre-publication licensing can be seen as descending from an essentially feudal concept of the crown's control over the production and sale of commodity goods. Books were simply another class of merchandise --like, for example, salt-- for which rights of manufacture, distribution and sale derived from the crown. As late as 1660 such pretensions on the part of the crown were being supported by a spurious argument that claimed that Edward IV had invited Dutch printers to set up a press in England eight years before Caxton produced his first book[8]. The power of the crown to confer patents for book manufacture remained the cornerstone of press control from the beginning of the sixteenth century to the very end of the seventeenth century.

The routine of pre-publication licensing depended on the policing of the means of production by the book-trades' guild, the Stationers' Company. The Stationers' Company enforced state controls of the physical machinery of the trade (limits on the number of presses allowed each printer, limits on how large an edition could be), and it administered day to day control of the workforce (limits not only on the number of master printers allowed to work in London at any one time, but also on the numbers of journeymen and apprentices allowed to work for the master printers). Licensing legislation invested in the Stationers' Company the power to carry out various punishments for transgression in print: destruction of presses, confiscation of type, seizure of stock.

Such a collaboration between crown and guild was already central to the operation of licensing as laid down by the Star Chamber decree of 1637[9]. It continued to be inscribed in both press-control legislation and the ordinances of the Stationers' Company right through the Interregnum and into the reign of Charles

II. But in January 1679, amidst the chaos of the Popish Plot, Parliament was hastily prorogued without having passed the legislation necessary to renew the 1662 Printing Act which was due to expire shortly. Accordingly, the legal apparatus of pre-publication licensing lapsed on the 13th. of March 1679 and it remained inoperative for the next 6 years.

When the first few editions of the '1680' group were printed, therefore, the machinery of press-control was in temporary abeyance. The '1680' group flouted the licensing system's fundamental requirement of explicit accountability by naming no printer, no publisher or bookseller as responsible for the book's production. But there was no licensing law to be broken. The only instruments of press-control in place during the temporary lapse of Printing Act were the Stationers' Company's own guild ordinances and the vagaries of common law.

Although the Stationers' Company had just acquired, in 1678, a set of new ordinances which spelled out strong measures against what they called the 'press in a hole', the printers of the '1680' group did not have much to fear from their fellow guildsmen. The guardians of the Stationers' Company were not as vigilant as they might have been. In addition to an inherent conflict of interest common to all self-regulatory bodies --they would rather turn a blind eye to the weaknesses of their brother printworkers-- the Company had become increasingly absorbed in the management of its own finances. Paradoxically, this was because the crown had given the Stationers' Company more and more royal patents in lucrative classes of books in the hope of bribing its officials into increased vigilance[10]. The result was that the Company expended almost all its energies in protecting and furthering its commercial interests as a patent-holder to the neglect of its obligations to police the press.

In addition, the problem of press-control in the early 1680s was to some extent statistical: 1680 witnessed the highest peak for twenty years in the production of the English press, thanks to the acres of print generated by the Popish Plot and the Exclusion

Crisis. Print output for 1680 would seem to have been about double the annual average, and remained at this high level for the first five years of the decade''. Even if the Stationers' Company had been interested in policing the products of the press at this time, its officials would have faced an impossible task because of the sheer volume of titles being produced.

As for common law, the first printers of the '1680' group editions might have considered themselves vulnerable to prosecution on two fronts: the 'obscenity' of the book's contents, and the 'libellous' association of the book with the late Earl of Rochester.

What seem to be the first steps towards an action for libel against the printers of the Huntington edition were taken by Rochester's family and friends at the end of November, 1680. 3 weeks after Pepys recorded possessing a copy of the book the following advertisement appeared in the **London Gazette**:

> Whereas there is a Libel of lewd scandalous Poems, lately Printed, under the name of the Earl of Rochesters, Whoever shall discover the Printer to Mr. *Thom L Cary*, at the Sign of the *Blew Bore* in *Cheap-Side, London*, or to Mr. *Will Richards* at his house in *Bow-street Covent-Garden*, shall have 5 l. reward.'[12]

Will Richards seems to have been a servant of Buckhurst, later Earl of Dorset, who appears in the book both as a contributor and as a target of satire; Thom Cary was probably connected with John Cary, steward to Rochester's mother[13]. But nothing further came of it, through lack of forthcoming information or through inability to proceed very far using current common-law libel precedents --it was to be another 20 years before the family of John Sheffield, Duke of Buckingham, managed to stop Edmund Curll from publishing his Life and Works, with a House of Lords decision that made it an offence to print anything by or about any deceased peer without the family's consent'[14].

As far as prosecution for obscenity was concerned, these anonymous printers seemed to have had little to fear from common law. Legal action on such grounds had been sporadic and arbitrary in the 20 years previous to 1680. John Garfield had been imprisoned in Newgate back in 1661 for writing the pamphlet-series **The Wandring Whore**[15]. But the only other case of this type before 1680 seems to have been that of the bookseller George Wells, who had his shop shut up in 1677 by the licenser, Sir Roger L'Estrange, for stocking **L'Ecole des Filles** and **Satyra Sotadica**[16]. At some point in 1680 John Coxe was prosecuted at the Middlesex County Sessions for publishing a translation of **L'Ecole des Filles** entitled **The School of Venus**, 'with the intention of debauching and corrupting young men and others of the said King's lieges and subjects', but the result of the prosecution has not survived[17]. In the first half of the 1680s only two cases among the many prosecutions of the press seem to have been prosecutions for what was shortly to become obscenity. An adaptation of an Italian satire called **The Whore's Rhetorick** landed its printer and publisher John Wickins in the Guildhall Sessions in 1683[18]: he was fined 40 shillings. The result of the case against William Cademan (or Cadman) in 1684 has not survived: he was accused of 'exposing, selling, uttering and publishing the pernicious, wicked, scandalous, vicious and illicit' translation of **Satyra Sotadica**[19]. Both the leniency of Wickins' fine and the infrequency of such prosecutions at this point in time contrast strikingly with prosecutions for political printing.

These isolated cases certainly do not suggest any serious concern of common law with 'obscene' publishing. From the evidence available, no legal category equivalent to 'obscenity' seems to have existed in the first half of the 1680s.

The first few editions of the '1680' group, then, were produced at a privileged moment in the history of press-control, during a temporary lapse in the Licensing Act. That their anonymous printers escaped prosecution was as much due to indifference towards such material on the part of the agencies of press-control as it was due to the efforts of these printers to maintain the secrecy of their operations. The printers of the '1680' group

escaped discovery and punishment not because of a general benevolence towards shady printers on the part of the state, but through lack of interest in prosecutions of 'lewd and lascivious' books. But this soon changed.

In 1685 two important events in this story took place. The first printing of **Poems on Several Occasions** to bear its publisher's name on the title-page appeared, and the bill to revive the Licensing Act was passed by Parliament.

The name to appear on the title-page of the 1685 edition of Rochester's poems was that of Andrew Thorncome. Thorncome does not seem to have been a prolific publisher. Records of only two other books bearing his name have survived, both published in 1684: **The Tongue combatants**, subtitled 'a dialogue between a comicall carajous country grazier and a London Bull Feather'd talkative tongue wife', and a treatise on animal husbandry called **Profit and Pleasure united**, advertised as 'a most exact treatise of Horses, Bulls, Oxen, Cows, Calves, Sheep, Swine, Goats and all other Domestick Cattel useful to Man; with directions for their Breeding'[20]. From his examination of type and variants in the '1680' group, James Thorpe believed that Thorncome 'may possibly' have published anonymously one of the '1680' group editions before having this 1685 edition printed[21]. Thorncome seems to have migrated to Boston, Massachusetts the year after the publication of his Rochester edition[22]. In his autobiography **Life and Errors** the bookseller John Dunton mentions meeting him there in the middle of 1686, and provides the only description we have of Thorncome:

> His company is coveted by the best Gentlemen in Boston. Nor is he less acceptable to the Fair Sex; for he has something in him so extremely charming, as he makes them very fond of his company. However, he is a virtuous person, and deserves all the respect they shewed him.[23]

No further trace of him in England is to be found: he doesn't seem to have returned. I have found no evidence to substantiate Vieth's suggestion that Thorncome might be the 'A.T.' responsible for the 1701 reprint of the 1685 edition[24].

Thorncome's edition has very strong similarities with the editions of the '1680' group in overall content, grubby general appearance and low standard of workmanship, but the differences are extremely important. Where the '1680' group consistently declared the book to be poems 'by the E. of R--', Thorncome uses the cautious formula 'Written by a late Perſon of Honour'. If Thorncome did publish one of the '1680' group editions, he was certainly careful to use a different title-page ornament from that edition when he came to have 1685 printed: the 'Harvard' 1680 edition has an ornament of three rows of fleur-de-lis, whereas A-1685 uses a triangle made up of acorns[25]. Thorncome also abandons the phoney 'Antwerp' imprint and gives prominence to the London location by printing it in large swash capitals.

Such changes are the consequences of what appears at the bottom of the title-page: 'Printed for *A. Thorncome*, and are to be Sold by most Booksellers'. These changes are the consequences of naming, of declaring accountability for the printed product. This declaration of accountability can in turn be seen as a consequence of the revival of licensing legislation[26]. The main concern of the Licensing Act (besides its measures to control the trade through regulation of printers and presses) was that each book should declare explicitly on its title-page who was responsible for its contents --that is, who got into trouble if the book proved dangerous, author, printer, publisher, bookseller or licenser. In the 1685 edition this act of naming set in motion a series of changes both in the selection of poems included in the book and in the texts of the individual poems.

Of the 61 poems from the '1680' group collection Thorncome's edition omits 9 and adds 5 new poems --two of these new poems had already been printed nine years before Rochester was born[27]. The poems Thorncome chose to omit present an interesting picture of the publisher's policy. 4 poems are left out because of their indelicacy in matters sexual. The mock pastoral 'In the fields of

Lincoln's Inn' describes in graphic detail the amatory experiments of the shepherdess Phyllis who

> Lay most penſively contriving
> How to fuck with *Pricks* by pairs. (A-1680)

'By all Love's soft, yet mighty Pow'rs' is all about menstruation, and the tenor of the satire in 'Say, heaven-born muse, for only thou canst tell' can be guessed by the sub-title:

> *How* Tall-Boy, Kill-Prick, Suck-Prick *did contend,*
> *For* Bridegroom Dildoe, Friend *did fight with* Friend;
> *But* Man *of* God, *by* Lay-Man *called* Parſon,
> *Contriv'd by turns how each might rub her* Arse *on.* (A-1680)

The omission of an unflattering satire on the former mistress of Charles II, the Duchess of Cleveland, was probably carried out for fear of retribution from the subject as much as for the actual obscenity of its imputations[28]. Rochester's elegant paraphrase of Seneca 'After Death, nothing is, and nothing Death' has been left out because of its thorough denial of the afterlife, its blasphemous dismissal of the entire Christian cosmology as

> ...senslesse Storyes, idle Tales
> Dreames, Whimseys, and noe more.

One of Rochester's most famous poems, *Upon Nothing*, is absent from A-1685; Thorncome also omits one poem by Radcliffe ('Rat too, rat too, rat too, rat tat too, rat tat too'), and two poems which had been published the year before in **The Works of Mr. John Oldham**[29]. Apart from these additions and omissions, Thorncome prints the same poems as the '1680' group in the same order. The texts of some of the individual poems, however, are very different.

The poem 'Naked she lay, claspt in my longing Arms' belongs to a seventeenth-century genre of 'Imperfect Enjoyment' poems concerned with premature ejaculation[30]. The English 'Imperfect Enjoyment' poems range from close translations of the French sources, through clever paraphrases such as Aphra Behn's 'One day the amorous Lysander' (which appears in all the '1680' group editions and is printed by Thorncome[31]), to Rochester's poem which only occasionally borrows from the earlier French versions. Rochester's poem climaxes much earlier than the other poems in the genre (at line 15), and introduces a long curse (lines 46-72) addressed to his prick.

That Thorncome insisted on the removal of those parts of the poem which did 'so much offend' is evident from the most cursory comparison of the 1685 text with that of any '1680' group edition[32]. The first problem in such a project was the poem's rhyming-couplet structure: so many of the words to be removed were at the end of the line. The simplest way of dealing with this problem was one-word substitution --for example, 'drive' replaces 'Swive' (line 27), continuing the rhyme with 'ſtrive'[33]. Only rarely, however, can this substitution be achieved without disturbance of the surrounding text. At line 64 'Tingling want' (to rhyme with 'grunt') clearly seemed almost as unsatisfactory as the 'tingling *Cunt*' of the '1680' group readings, for substitution has spread to the adjective with the replacement of 'tingling' with 'lustful'. Entire phrases are re-written in order to remove the offending rhyme. 'Her very look's a *Cunt*' (line 18) becomes 'her very looks had charms upon't', and 'who didſt refuſe to ſpend' (line 69) is translated into 'who didſt ſo much offend'.

'Swive', 'cunt', 'spend': there seems to have been a short-list of words which trigger alteration of the text, a lexis to which Thorncome was not prepared to put his name. 'Sperm', 'fuck' and 'prick' could be added to this list. The removal of this vocabulary didn't stop at mere excision, but involved smoothing over the surface of the poem to prevent the realisation that there had ever been anything different there: maintaining the rhyme, changing an iambic pentameter to an alexandrine (line 18), re-writing an entire line. To remove 'sperm' and 'spend' line 16 is drastically altered from

Melt into Sperme, and ſpend at ev'ry Pore:

to

Meling in Love, ſuch joys ne'r felt before.

But in the course of this translation the smooth continuity of the new line is disrupted by a piece of typographical slippage, the 't' dropped from the word 'melting': the compositor betrays the site of disturbance with an omitted piece of type.

Sperm becomes love, spending turns into joy: a process of abstraction is at work during these anxious moments that provoke

transformation of the text. The 'literal' words are translated into metaphors that encode what is no longer there. 'Cunt' is variously abstracted into 'Port' (line 40) and 'entrance' (line 43); the prick as 'the common *Fucking Poſt*' (line 63) becomes 'the common rubbing Poſt'. But it is precisely at those junctures in the 1680 text where these words are performing metaphorical functions that the transformation into abstract metaphor takes place in the 1685 text. Identity is 'dissolved' into ejaculate in the moment of an orgasm which transforms the entire body into a pulsing prick (lines 15-16). The rake's member has the power to change any orifice of either gender into a cunt (line 43), but later it's reduced to an inanimate phallus, a dildo, a '*Fucking Poſt*' (line 63). The moments of anxiety in the production of the 1685 text coincide with those moments in the 1680 text when metaphor enacts acute crises of subjectivity. Thorncome's evaporation of parts and functions of the body into metaphor provides a further twist to the poem's complex plot of problematised male identity.

The most radical instance of this operation occurs in the final couplet, where '*Pricks*' are transformed into 'Men' (lines 71 & 72):

A-1680 And may *Ten thouſand* abler *Pricks* agree,
A-1685 And may ten thouſand abler Men agree,

A-1680 To do the wrong'd *Corinna*, right for thee.
A-1685 To do the wrong'd *Corinna* right for thee.

Now, the fundamental joke that acts as a kind of mainspring for the poem is the commonplace that 'the prick has a mind and life of its own'. This joke not only informs the initial situation of premature ejaculation and subsequent impotence, it enables the subject of the poem to detach his wayward member from his self and address to it the long curse that begins (line 46) 'Thou treacherous, baſe, deſerter of my flame' and reaches its climax in the final couplet. In this curse the prick is animated with a life independent of the rest of the body: it is a 'Rude-roaring *Hector*' (line 54), a subject rebelling against its '*Prince*' (line 61). The body is dismantled into limbs, members and orifices in a state of anarchy, each pursuing its own ends[34]. The simple substitution of '*Pricks*'

with 'Men' attempts nothing less than the reintegration of the fragmented body into a single unified subject.

In Thorncome's 1685 edition there was, then, what Foucault might have described as a policing of the statements of the '1680' group[35]. But this policing of statements went further than the expurgation of the unauthorised vocabulary of the '1680' group. The policing of the text entailed the excision of the offensive image and the insertion of new material to conceal the vacancy. This new material papers over the gap to leave a smooth surface that discounts the possibility there could ever have been anything else there. The couplet

> Smiling, ſhe chids in a kind murm'ring Noiſe,
> And ſighs to feel the to too haſty joys;

(lines 19-20) seems an elegant and funny description of the mistress's reaction to her lover's premature ejaculation, and hardly suggests that the second line is 'infill' that takes the place of the image removed:

> And from her *Body* wipes the clammy joys;

Thorncome's vocabulary of anxiety is absent from this line --sperm is expressed metaphorically in the '1680' version-- yet the image of the woman's body spattered with 'the clammy joys' has to be removed. Even the word 'body' has been distilled into breath, a sigh.

But who was policing these statements? Who was the 'author' of this new material? Someone with the metrical skill to turn an iambic pentameter into an alexandrine, with a facility for rhyme, and a familiarity with contemporary literary metaphor. Not the compositor: these changes were much too complex to be handled on the composing-stick, and besides they are the only departures from a '1680' group text slavishly followed in punctuation, spelling, and error. (Only one correction in the poem is introduced in 1685, 'May'ſt thou Piſs' (line 69) to 'May'ſt thou not Piſs'[36].) It looks likely that the compositor was working off a '1680' group edition which had been marked-up with the required changes. That is, an editor has been involved in the production of this text. But Thorncome's editor attempts to conceal his own presence, to

disguise the work he has carried out. Working to establish what Foucault calls 'areas of tact and discretion'[37], he is himself tactful and discrete to the point of near invisibility.

The wisdom of Thorncome's judicious cuts and imaginative alterations became apparent three years later, in 1688, when a consistent policy towards 'obscene and lascivious bookes' began to be formulated, together with a coordinated move against them that involved all the agencies of press-control.

It is at this point in the story that we come across a very shady and underhand group of people called the Messengers of the Press[38]. They were the bloodhounds and retrievers of the agencies of press-control, combining the roles of spy, informer and policeman of the printing trades. Their powers of search, seizure and arrest had been set out by the 1662 Licensing Act, which had empowered them 'to search all houses and shops where they shall know, or upon some probable reason suspect any books or papers to be printed, bound or stitched' that contravened licensing legislation[39]. In the late 1680s, during the operation of the revived Licensing Act, the Messengers seem to have been run both by the Stationers' Company, in the line of its obligation to prevent unlicensed printing, and by the offices of the Secretaries of State --at any rate they received money from both. Although it could be quite a well-paid job --Robert Stephens, one of the most conspicuous Messengers of the Press, earned £50 a year plus expenses-- there was always trouble over the Messengers accepting bribes.

Over three days in March 1688 one of these Messengers of the Press, Henry Hills junior, made a shopping-trip round various London bookshops buying lewd and lascivious books[40]. Among other books and prints, he bought 4 copies of Rochester's poems at bookshops in Tower Hill, Westminster Hall and Pall Mall, paying one shilling and sixpence --the same price as a bound copy of a play-quarto-- for 3 of the copies, a shilling for the fourth. These purchases were not for his own private enjoyment. A few days before this shopping expedition 3 men had appeared before the Guildhall

Sessions charged with trading in 'obscene and lascivious bookes'. Hills was out shopping for evidence. His 'shopping-list', the expense-account for the cost of the books, has survived in the archives of the Stationers' Company[41].

The 3 books concerned in this case were Rochester's poems, **The School of Venus** and **A Dialogue between a Marridd Lady & a Maide**, a translation of **L'Academie des Dames** which was in turn descended from the mid-seventeenth-century Latin text by Nicholas Chorier, **Satyra Sotadica**[42]. In this case, therefore, we can see Rochester's poems joining the select company of the few books that had been proceeded against on grounds of obscenity during the previous 10 years. The sale of **L'Ecole des Filles** and **Satyra Sotadica** had provoked the licenser Sir Roger L'Estrange to shut up the shop of the bookseller George Wells back in 1677, and another translation of **L'Ecole des Filles** had caused John Coxe to be prosecuted at the Middlesex County Sessions in 1680[43].

The bonds of bail in the Guildhall Sessions case of 1688 list Joseph Streater 'for printing divers obscene & lascivious bookes', namely **The School of Venus** and **A Dialogue between a Marridd Lady & a Maide**, Benjamin Crayle 'for selling several obscene and lascivious bookes' unspecified, and Francis Leach for Rochester's poems[44]. This seems to be the first time the word 'obscene' has been used in the course of legal proceedings against such books. In April and May of 1688 Benjamin Crayle was fined 20 shillings and Joseph Streater was fined 40 shillings for the publication of **The School of Venus** --fairly low fines compared with fines for political seditious printing, which seem to have ranged from £10 to £20 in the 1680s. The case against Francis Leach for Rochester's poems appears to have been dropped: his bond was discharged in April, and there the record of his involvement ends. The repercussions for Crayle and Streater, however, were to rumble on for the next two years.

Between 1688 and 1690 the interest of the agencies of press-control in obscene books intensified considerably. At the end of 1689 Joseph Streater and Benjamin Crayle were again back in court,

this time for publishing and printing **Sodom: or the Quintessence of Debauchery**, a charming and quite filthy play closely connected to Rochester --a satire *Upon the author of a play called Sodom*, a piece of good-humoured scatological invective, recurs in all the '1680' group editions of Rochester's poems and appears (suitably cleaned-up or rather hosed-down) in Thorncome's 1685 edition[45]. This time it was the infamous Robert Stephens (nicknamed 'Robin Hog') who was the Messenger of the Press involved in the case[46]. Joseph Streater came off comparatively lightly, with a fine of 20 shillings, half the cost of his fine for **The School of Venus** the year before. But Benjamin Crayle fared far worse. He was fined £20 and was imprisoned for being unable to pay the fine.

Crayle's sentence represents a real escalation in the state's moves against 'obscene and lascivious' books. For the first time obscenity is elevated to the same degree of seriousness as political sedition: the amount of Crayle's fine is on a par with fines for seditious libel in the 1680s. The trick of imposing a fine beyond the means of the defendant had been a common method of ruining a printer of seditious books --isolate a tradesman from the means of production and you neutralise his opposition by bankrupting him. Obscenity in England had come of age and was being taken as seriously as those more traditional problems of press-control, sedition, libel and blasphemy.

In the first years of the 1690s, government pressure on the printers and publishers of 'obscene and lascivious bookes' did not relent. The case against Francis Leach for publishing Rochester's poems may have been dropped in 1688; in 1693 Elizabeth Latham was not so lucky.

Elizabeth Latham's claim to fame before 1693 had been as the first woman to become a member of the Stationers' Company through patrimony[47]. Since the foundation of the Stationers' Company, the sons of its guildsmen had been privileged with the right to gain membership to the Company by patrimony at an earlier age than ordinary apprentices would have been allowed to join the Company. The only women allowed to take part in the Stationers' Company

before Elizabeth Latham had been printers' or publishers' widows, and even their status in the Company was dubious[48]. In 1662 Elizabeth Latham gained the freedom of the Company in her own right because her father had been a bookseller and freeman. This entitled her to employ journeymen and apprentices in her bookselling business and to own a share in the lucrative patents of the Company.

In May 1693, however, Elizabeth Latham, was charged with publishing Rochester's poems, and was given bail of £40. Yet again the relentless Robert Stephens, Messenger of the Press, was involved in the case against her. When she was tried at the Guildhall Sessions the following month, her edition of Rochester was described as a 'scandalous, flagrant, lascivious, vicious book'[49]. The indictment against her quotes the four lines of the sub-title to 'The Argument' 'How Tall-Boy, Kill-Prick, Suck-Prick did contend...' etc. This indicates that the edition in the case was not Thorncome's 1685 edition or a reprint of it --Thorncome omitted this poem from his collection. On conviction, Elizabeth Latham was given a lighter fine than Crayle's £20, a fine of 5 marks, about £3. But she was imprisoned, cut off from her livelihood, and there is no record of when she was released. It's worth noting, moreover, that imprisonment was part of her sentence, and not contingent on an unpaid fine: imprisonment had been used as a punishment in cases of seditious or blasphemous publications, but never before had it been an intrinsic part of a sentence for obscenity.

The intensification of legal pressure on the producers of 'obscene and lascivious' books was not checked by the expiry of the Licensing Act in 1695. Whereas the temporary lapse in licensing legislation between 1679 and 1685 had been necessitated by much larger Parliamentary circumstance, the expiry of the Licensing Act in 1695 was due to a widely-felt dissatisfaction with licensing as an effective system of press-control, particularly with the Stationers' Company's role as a printing-trade police-force[50]. As soon as the Licensing Act had expired the government agencies of press-control were debating how to continue their accustomed powers

without it. The Lords Justices reached the astonishing conclusion that the Licensing Act had merely expressed powers the Secretaries of State already derived from common law[51]. A reallocation of responsibilities took place: central government, particularly the offices of the Secretaries of State, acquired powers previously held by the licensers and the Stationers' Company. The Messengers of the Press, for example, became government agents; warrants for search and seizure became more specific, naming particular printers and booksellers rather than books, and were enforced by the Messengers without the collaboration of the Stationers' Company[52].

The expiry of licensing legislation led to a significant extension of the machinery of press-control rather than its relaxation. As with sedition, blasphemy and libel, the late 1690s witnessed an escalation of government action against books within the emerging category of the obscene. 3 years after Elizabeth Latham's conviction, the indefatigable Robert Stephens publicly burned 'a Cart load of obscence [sic] Books and Cards, tending to promote Debauchery', the stock of an Italian bookseller called Bernardi[53]. But the intensification of pressure on the producers and distributors of 'obscene and lascivious' books is most clearly seen in the graduation of these trials from lower local courts such as the Guildhall and Middlesex sessions to the Court of the King's Bench. A major shift in the state's perception of the crime, of the nature and seriousness of the threat presented by these books, is evident in this change of venue.

In 1698 someone called 'Hill' was indicted by the King's Bench for 'printing some obſcene poems of my lord *Rocheſter*'s tending to the corruption of youth'[54]. Whether this was Henry Hills junior, who as a Messenger of the Press had bought four copies of Rochester's poems in the case against Streater, Crayle and Leach back in 1688, and later pirated Tonson's edition of Rochester in 1710, is impossible to tell from the brief mention of the case given in Strange's **Reports** of 1755[55]. The case did not come to court: Hill 'went abroad, and was outlawed'. In the light of the increasingly stiff sentences that Streater, Crayle and Latham had received in the lower courts, it is hardly surprising that Hill

chose to flee the country rather than be ruined by the wider sentencing powers of the King's Bench. As the defendant in a precedent-setting King's Bench prosecution Hill could expect only bankruptcy through imprisonment either by direct sentencing or by being unable to pay an exorbitant fine. Though Hill's flight left the case inconclusive, the seriousness of the case against him can be deduced from his rapid departure. Such a deduction was certainly reached thirty years later in a trial that used the Hill case as a precedent: 'he went abroad, and was outlawed; which he would not have done if his counsel had thought it no libel'[56].

It is probable that the editions of Rochester's poetry prosecuted in the cases of Leach, Latham and Hill belonged to the '1680' group. Examples of the prosecuted editions may have survived in the scattered copies of the later, undated (and slightly shorter) editions of the group, or they may have perished altogether in the destruction of stock that sometimes accompanied prosecution. In drawing up his stemma of '1680' group editions, James Thorpe had to postulate at least 3 lost editions, and a descendant of one of these postulates came to light as recently as 1978 --owners of such material still jealously guard the secrets of their very private collections[57]. We can be fairly certain that the prosecuted editions were not reprints of either Thorncome's judiciously altered 1685 edition or Jacob Tonson's carefully castrated 1691 collection. It seems reasonable to conclude that the same '1680' group collection of poems was being prosecuted in these trials, that in 10 years the legal position on Rochester's poems had gone from a case that was probably dropped, to a lower-court sentence of imprisonment, to an indictment before the King's Bench.

Chapter 2. THE CABINET OF THE SEVEREST MATRON: TONSON'S 1691 EDITION OF ROCHESTER.

'The Preface to the Reader' of Tonson's 1691 Rochester edition, contributed by the critic and historiographer royal Thomas Rymer, ends with an explicit declaration of self-censorship:

> *For this matter the* Publiſher *aſſures us, he has been diligent out of Meaſure, and has taken exceeding Care that every Block of Offence ſhou'd be removed.*
>
> *So that this Book is a Collection of ſuch Pieces only, as may be received in a vertuous Court, and not unbecome the Cabinet of the Severeſt Matron.*[1]

Just over 10 years earlier, Samuel Pepys had mentioned a very different collection of Rochester's poems, the first 1680 edition of **Poems on Several Occasions**, in a letter written to his friend William Hewer. Pepys was writing from his family's country estate near Huntingdon, to Hewer in London, asking him to send some things he had left behind at the house they shared in Buckingham Street:

> I thank you for the remembering my linen and papers, and pray you to send me the paper and blank paper-books, which I forgot to bring along with me, though I had laid them apart to the purpose in one of the drawers on the right hand of my scriptor with a flute and music books. But those you may let alone till I am at more leisure for them. There is also in the same drawer a collection of my Lord of Rochester's poems, written before his penitence, in a style I thought unfit to mix with my other books. However pray let it remain there; for as he is past writing any more so bad in one sense, so I despair of any man surviving him to write so good in another.[2]

This familiar letter to a close friend takes on an edgy defensiveness when the Rochester volume is mentioned. 'There is also in the same drawer': this sudden, shifty digression locates the letter within a late seventeenth-century discourse on the proper place to keep a copy of Rochester's poems.

There is, after all, no practical reason for Pepys to mention the book at all. He doesn't want it sent up with the paper and blank paper-books; he doesn't seem to have laid it apart with

the flute and music-books, among the things he had intended to take with him to the country. His anxious digression is an attempt to establish a pretext for the book's incriminating presence in the drawer of his writing-desk. Realising Hewer will come across the book when he looks through the drawer for the paper and blank paper-books, Pepys tries to forestall his friend's discovery of his secret by admitting to it in advance and by constructing a defence. In the last sentence, Pepys juxtaposes conflicting moral and aesthetic 'senses', according to which Rochester can be either 'good' or 'bad'. This allows Pepys to both admit and deny culpability for owning the book: he admits the poems are 'so bad in one sense', but defends himself with the pretext of their literary merit.

That Pepys should feel impelled to provide this guilty self-explanation is all the more extraordinary when the degree of his intimacy with Hewer is considered. They had known each other for nearly 20 years; Hewer, having begun as Pepys' clerk and manservant, had become his colleague and close friend, and now shared his house with Pepys' family[3]. The reason for this outburst of self-justification, and for the book's incriminating presence in the drawer, is the 'style' of the collection, 'a style I thought unfit to mix with my other books'. 12 years earlier, in the coded, partly-scrambled shorthand diary he kept locked away and secret, Pepys had recorded similar anxieties over another book, 'the most bawdy, lewd book that ever I saw', **L'Ecole des Filles**. This was an immensely popular and frequently-prosecuted piece of French obscenity printed in Holland; Pepys claims to have at first thought to buy it for his wife, but on closer inspection he 'was ashamed of reading in it'[4] . He describes buying the book

> in plain binding (avoiding the buying of it better bound) because I resolve, as soon as I have read it, to burn it, that it may not stand in the list of books, nor among them, to disgrace them if it should be found.[5]

The paranoid narrative of discovery formulated here is very close to the scenario his guilty imagination conjures up at the prospect of Hewer searching through the drawer of his scriptor. He sees prying eyes scanning the catalogue and shelves of his library to

find his secret shame: his library is in a sense a public space, open to the inquisitive gaze of his peers.

The diary entry for the following day is dominated by the reading of the 'idle, roguish book'. Pepys frames the business of the day between two versions of the same defence for his furtive behaviour. Reading the book in the morning, he describes it as 'a mighty lewd book, but yet not amiss for a sober man once to read over to inform himself of the villainy of the world'; reading it at night he describes it as 'a lewd book, but what doth me no wrong to read through for information sake'. The crucial 'but', present in both versions, is repeated in the next admission which makes the defence collapse completely :

> but that doth me no wrong to read for information sake (but it did hazer my prick para stand all the while, and una vez to decharger); and after I had done it, I burned it, that it might not be among my books to my shame...[6]

The defence that he is only reading the book 'for information sake' is as tortured as his defensive justification for keeping Rochester's poems hidden in the drawer of his writing desk on the grounds of their literary merit. It collapses as soon as he admits his vivid response to the text, though the admission is sealed off inside parentheses, coded into a mixture of languages and partially scrambled --the shorthand for the word 'prick' is garbled by inserting extra letters, a method Pepys usually uses for describing his extra-marital adventures with women[7].

Even the private, enclosed space of his chamber cannot contain the disruptive text. Pepys destroys his copy of **L'Ecole des Filles** after he has read it through: the ritual gesture of the public hangman enacted within the privacy of his own chamber. Yet his experience of the text survives in the diary entry. The compulsion to discourse, to self-exposure in writing, is simultaneous with the need to conceal and encode. Even the locked drawer in which the diary is kept, the peculiar system of shorthand in which the entries are written (a system shared with William Hewer[8]) --even these enclosures are not secure enough for Pepys'

record of his response to the text: the words of his orgasm have to be coded further, more deeply concealed.

Such furtive convolutions of concealment and disclosure can be seen in Pepys' treatment of his copy of Rochester's poems. The 1680 collection eventually did graduate from the scriptor drawer to the shelves of his library: but it was made fit to mix with his other books only by virtue of being bound up inside Gilbert Burnet's **Some Passages of the Life and Death of the Right Honourable John, Earl of Rochester**, one of the first hagiographic contributions to the conversion mythology around Rochester's death. The bound volume was lettered on the back simply 'Rochester's Life'[9]. Pepys didn't burn his copy of Rochester's poems, but the memory of burning **L'Ecole des Filles** re-surfaces in the opening paragraph of the letter to Hewer which mentions the incriminating Rochester volume:

> ...I received yours of the 30, which gives me occasion of praising God on your behalf, with relation to the evil you were so near to sustaining from your neighbour's fire. Indeed, the very mention of it (though it pleased God to prevent its effects) put me into great pain; and I hope it will conduce to the awakening in your neighbours and self a great caution in that particular.'[10]

In fact, Pepys had occasion to praise God on his own behalf, because the house threatened by fire was his own home, the house in York Buildings that Hewer had bought the year before and now shared with Pepys[11]. The 'evil' it pleased God to prevent included the burning of his own library as well as the destruction of Hewer's property. But the troubling memory of the book he had read and burned 12 years earlier, stirred by the presence of the Rochester collection in the right-hand drawer of his writing-desk, causes Pepys to displace the event as far away from himself as possible, to disclaim connection with this disturbing image of his guilty secret. His alarm at the threat of discovery is translated into his 'great pain' at the threat of fire, a fire that recalls the burning of **L'Ecole des Filles** 'that it might not be among my books to my shame'.

Chapter 2 The Cabinet of the Severest Matron

One reader's response to Rochester's poems, one man's solution to the problems of placing the book within the physical space of the library or chamber. But Pepys was not unique in his reactions to Rochester. A single copy of a later reprint of the '1680' collection (the 'Fisher' edition) survives in its original binding, bound at the back of a copy of Tonson's 1691 edition: the '1680' title-page has been removed to make the the book appear to be simply a continuation of Tonson's collection'[12]. Moves of segregation, demarcation and concealment similar to those provoked in Pepys by his copies of Rochester and **L'Ecole des Filles**. For the owner of this volume, Tonson's text of Rochester was the pretext that made the bawdier collection fit to mix with his other books.

The device of the book concealed within another book appears in an anonymous lampoon on Rochester which facetiously addresses the issue of the poems' proper location in the home:

> Yet, tho' his Poems are so lusheous,
> That all the Modest think 'em nauseous,
> They steal, with Godly Books of Pray'r,
> Into the Closets of the Fair,
> And oft are made unseemly Neighbours
> To Rev'rend *Baxter*'s Pious Labours,
> And by the Godly Dame selected
> From Sermons, not so much respected.'[13]

On the basis of internal evidence, *The Court Burlesqu'd* has been dated between June 1679 and July 1680'[14]. If this is correct it implies that the 'Godly Dame' is more likely to be concealing manuscript texts of Rochester within her closet rather than a printed collection: several poems had appeared in miscellanies and in broadsheet form, but the first printed collection did not appear until late 1680'[15]. Manuscript texts of the poems had been circulating for some time, distributed through an underground network that connected court coteries to the coffee-houses. But it must be remembered that the coffee-houses were an exclusively male preserve. As with news-sheets (and later, newspapers), most women were denied access to such texts'[16]. Rather than interpreting the lampoon as identifying a female audience for Rochester, it's more useful to look at how the figure of the female reader of Rochester is introduced into the discourse concerning the proper place for the poems.

The discussion of the Godly Dame's reading-matter forms part of a digression on the hypocrisy of women:

> For Ladies, tho' on Damask Cushion,
> They sham their Maids with their Devotion,
> And kneel at Church, on Mat or Hassock,
> To honour holy Gown and Cassock,
> Yet, by themselves, they never fail,
> To dearly love a Bawdy Tale.[17]

Such assumptions about the innate lustfulness of women saturate a wide range of late seventeenth-century texts written by men about women, from cheap obscenity such as the **Wand'ring Whore** pamphlets to the sophisticated products of aristocratic coteries, and almost invariably with an intensely misogynistic intensity. The anonymous satirist of *The Court Burlesqu'd* ends the digression by explaining women's supposed enthusiasm for bawdy books in more generalised terms:

> All have an Itch, from High to Low,
> Of knowing what we should not know.[18]

But despite the 'we' that includes both the male author and the presumably male reader, the term 'Itch', with its connotations of limitless female appetite, locates the explanation firmly within the context of misogynistic assertions of women's sexual voracity. The lampoon's prescriptions on the proper reading-matter for women (sermons, prayer-books) and the appropriate place for Rochester's poems (not the 'Closets of the Fair') are framed as part of an attack on the supposedly uncontrollable lusts of women.

The cabinet, the closet and the figure of the female reader turn up in the Robert Wolseley's preface to the 1685 edition of Rochester's play **Valentinian**. The latter part of this lengthy preface is taken up, not with the merits of Rochester's adaptation of Fletcher, but with a defence of the poems against Mulgrave's charge (in his **Essay upon Poetry**) that 'such nauseous Songs' are 'Bawdry bare-fac'd'[19]. Wolseley draws a sustained comparison between poetry and painting, in the course of which the enclosing space of the closet is first of all defined in terms of class rather than gender: 'Will [Mulgrave] say that these great Master-pieces of Genius and Skill, that have been Ornaments for the Closets of Princes, are *poor Pretences* to Painting, because they are obscene?'[20] As Wolseley defends the poems' obscenity on the

grounds of their intended audience and appropriate readership, however, specifications of private space multiply and diversify their relations to class and gender:

> ...for as those Painters I mention'd before, tho' they liv'd in Popish Countreys, did not, I ſuppoſe, intend their obscene Pieces for the service of the Church, or to be set up at the Market-Cross, but probably for the secret Apartments of some particular Persons ...so neither did my *Lord Rochester* design those Songs the *Essayer* is so offended with to be sung for *Anthems* in the *King*'s-*Chappel*, any more than he did his other obscene Writings (however they may have been since abus'd) for the Cabinets of Ladies, or the Closets of Divines, or for any publick or common Entertainment whatever, but for the private Diversion of those happy Few whom he us'd to charm with his Company and honour with his Friendship.[21]

The 'Closets of Princes', the 'secret Apartments of some private Persons', the 'Cabinets of Ladies', the 'Closets of Divines': Wolseley is precise in his allocation of appropriate (and inappropriate) spaces for different cultural artefacts. That the lady's cabinet and the divine's closet are adjoining rooms in Wolseley's text articulates a connection between these two categories of reader that is also present in *The Court Burlesqu'd*. Towards the end of the digression on the contents of the 'Closets of the Fair', the satirist suddenly changes direction away from the reading habits of women to those of the clergy:

> *So those who wear the Holy Robes,*
> *That rail so much at* Father Hobs,
> *Because he 'as so expos'd of late,*
> *The Nakedness of Church and State,*
> *Yet tho' they do his Books condemn,*
> *They love to buy and read the same.*[22]

Women and the clergy were both popular targets for accusations of hypocrisy, though more usually on the grounds of the supposed discrepancies between what they say and what they do --Rochester's own *Satyr* ('Were I (who to my cost already am') includes a sustained attack on the clergy that catalogues the paradoxes of clerical hypocrisy[23]. The target of the anonymous lampoon's attack is the discrepancy between what women and the clergy say and what they read. Women condemn bawdy tales, but read Rochester; the

clergy preach against Hobbes' subversiveness, but 'buy and read' his books. Rochester's reputation as a 'perfect Hobbist' makes the connection between the two categories of secret readers closer still. Parallelling these two categories of reader, the author of *The Court Burlesqu'd* makes it clear Rochester's poems are as inappropriate for women as Hobbes is unsuitable for divines; presumably Rochester's Hobbism, rather than his bawdiness, would exclude the poems from the clergy's closets. Wolseley, on the other hand, defines both women and divines as inappropriate readers of Rochester, the 'cabinet'/'closet' synonyms serving to conflate these two categories of reader to an equal degree of exclusion in relation to Rochester's poems.

But women and the clergy are only two of the categories of reader excluded from proper access to the poems by Wolseley's enclosures of private space. The 'closets of Princes' and the 'secret Apartments of some particular Persons', together with references to 'the Garden of the *Vatican*' and the palaces of 'the *Farnese*', 'the *Pichini*' and 'the *Burghese*'[24], these enclosures form part of a carefully-sustained strategy that runs through Wolseley's painting/poetry comparison and tries to hollow out a privileged aristocratic space in which Rochester's poems can find their proper place. This strategy culminates in the assertion that only 'those happy Few' who were friends of Rochester constitute the appropriate readership for the poems. Such an enclosure excludes just about everyone. The abuses of the press are referred to in Wolseley's criticism of the rupture of this enclosure. Specifying Rochester's 'other obscene Writings' in addition to 'those Songs the *Essayer* [Mulgrave] is so offended with', he almost certainly includes in his condemnation the printed play **Sodom**, published with an attribution to Rochester the previous year, as well as editions of the poems such as the copy read by Pepys[25]. (The printed text of **Valentinian**, for which Wolseley was writing this preface is neatly exempted from such condemnation by the opening sentence's claim that Rochester had always intended the play to have 'come abroad'[26].) But the terms of Wolseley's attempted enclosure also define the extended manuscript network as a rude intrusion on the circle of Rochester's 'proper' readers. The antithetical terms of

'the private Diversion of those happy Few' and 'any publick or common Entertainment whatever' make it clear that the manuscript distribution system of the coffee-houses is included in his condemnation. Another major category of reader to be excluded from Wolseley's 'private' enclosure, then, is the book-buying, coffee-house-frequenting bourgeoisie.

Women, the clergy and the bourgeoisie are all inappropriate readers of Rochester; the illiterate poor, of course, don't even enter into it. Wolseley restricts the proper readership for the poems to a very limited court coterie which includes, of course, himself. Son of Sir Charles Wolseley, courtier, friend of Rochester, Wolseley has constituted the 'ideal reader' of the poems in his own image and likeness: aristocratic, male.

It's almost inevitable that Tonson, if not Rymer, would have been familiar with Wolseley's preface. The text of **Valentinian** that is printed at the end of Tonson's edition of the poems is derived from the 1685 printing of the play to which Wolseley's preface is appended. In Rymer's preface to the 1691 edition of the poems, Wolseley's symbol of the 'Cabinets of Ladies' finds itself translated into 'the Cabinet of the Severeſt Matron'. Where Wolseley had defined the private space of the woman's 'Cabinet' as an inappropriate location for Rochester's poems, however, Rymer seems to present the same space as accessible to this specific edition of the poems. The Matron's Cabinet becomes the sanction for the poem's propriety in Rymer's preface. Through a diligent editing that has removed 'every Block of Offence', and by a careful selection of 'ſuch Pieces only' that might not 'unbecome' such a sensitive location, Tonson's edition of the poems is admitted to the restricted space of 'the Cabinet of the Severeſt Matron'.

But Rymer introduces the problem of the female reader of Rochester with terms that recall the facetious sneers of *The Court Burleſqu'd*, and remind us that patriarchal permissions of women's reading in the late seventeenth-century are seldom straightforward:

> *But, after all, what muſt be done for the Fair Sex? They confeſs a delicious Garden, but are told that* Venus *has her ſhare in the Ornamental part and*

> *imagery. They are afraid of ſome* Cupid, *that levels at the next tender Dame that ſtands fair in the way; and muſt not expect a* Diana *or* Hippolytus *on every Pedeſtal.*[27]

In the midst of these tortuous conceits for womanly modesty, Rymer's reference to the Hippolytus of the Phaedra story evokes the spectacle of a woman driven mad with (illegal) lust for her husband's son. Paired with the Diana story --a man turned into an animal by the sight of the body revealed, then torn to death by dogs-- this evocation of women's lustfulness locates the problem of female readership within the wider 'problem' of women's desire. The danger of Venus's 'ſhare in the Ornamental part and imagery' of the poems is that women's latent nymphomania will be released from the bounds of modesty --the ease with which women are prone to revert to a state of uncontrollable lustfulness is a ubiquitous feature in late seventeenth-century male writing on women[28]. It would seem that Rymer's 'Severeſt Matron' is not so different after all from the hypocritical 'Godly Dame' of *The Court Burlesqu'd.*

Before we rush to construct a reading of the 1691 edition based on a female 'ideal reader', and celebrate Tonson for opening up Rochester's poems to a previously excluded ~~women~~ female readership, we should note just how restricted late seventeenth-century women were in their access to books. Like the coffee-shop, the bookshop was an exclusively male preserve: despite the presence of printers' and publishers' widows in the book-trades, and a growing number of titles written by women for sale, modest women were not expected to browse in the male territory of the bookshop[29]. Men bought books for women. Pepys perusing **L'Ecole des Filles** in his booksellers' shop with the initial intention to buy the book as a French translation text for his wife must stand --in the absence of evidence to the contrary-- as a paradigm for women's access to books. Given the discourse on the unsuitability of Rochester's poems for women, as well as the Earl's racy reputation, it is unlikely that many husbands bought copies of even Tonson's edition for their wives.

As far as books addressed to women were concerned, these were generally in certain carefully-defined categories: skills books such as cookery-books and midwifery manuals, and courtesy books[30]. These were not always books of men telling women what to do. The figure of the lady's closet features in the title of Hannah Wolley's cookery-book **The Queen-like Closet**, which drew from her male rival a competing volume entitled **The Queen's Closet Opened**[31]. In 1691 it would have been unusual for a book of poems to have been addressed to women or to have been constructed around an implied female reader. Tonson did publish Richard Steele's compilation of essays **The Ladies Library** ('very proper for a New Year's Gift for the Ladies') more than 20 years later in 1714, and Tonson was involved in such periodical projects as **The Spectator** which assumed a degree of female readership[32], but these eighteenth-century developments were not yet under way in 1691. Despite the figure of the 'Severeſt Matron', the 'implied reader' of Tonson's 1691 edition of the poems is male.

Why, then, does Rymer's preface end with such a resonant evocation of a female reader for Rochester's poems? The figure of the female reader is used as the sanction for Tonson's censorship of the text, for the removal of 'every Block of Offence' from the poems. It enables a transaction between men, in the first instance between a male publisher and a male reader: the matron provides the permission and motivation for men to delete (from a text published for men) what men find disturbing, enflaming, shaming. Tonson 'has been diligent out of meaſure' to make the text acceptable, not for a certain kind of woman, but for a certain kind of man. This is why the 1691 edition provides a perfect cover for the copy of the bawdier Fisher edition bound at the back: the destination of the 1691 edition is the library of the most fastidious gentleman rather than the 'Cabinet of the Severeſt Matron'. Unlike Pepys's copy of the 1680 poems, Tonson's edition is intended to be kept openly on the shelf, not concealed in a drawer or disguised in a deceptive binding.

Having begun by looking into Pepys's private chamber, and having peeked into the 'Cabinets of Ladies', 'the Closets of

Divines', 'the secret Apartments of certain Persons', 'the Closets of Princes', and the 'Cabinet of the Severest Matron', it might prove instructive to inspect one more room before leaving the Closet for the time being.

It is a room of men, its walls hung with portraits of some of these men. Women are not admitted. In this room men get drunk together, toast absent women, compose verses on their charms, and, in the course of these sociable recreations, transact the business of power. This is the Kit-Cat Club --not the low-life nighterie of Sally Bowles' Berlin, but the powerful late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Whig grouping that was fiercely supportive of the Revolutionary Settlement. The men in this room represented a diverse cross-section of post-Revolutionary power: politicians such as Halifax, Wharton, Somers (all members of the Whig Junto), Somerset, Carlisle and later Horace Walpole; diplomats such as Matthew Prior, Charles Montagu, and George Stepney; literary patrons such as Dorset; writers such as Congreve, Vanbrugh and Addison; and one publisher, Jacob Tonson[33]. On the walls of the Kit-Cat room hung portraits of prominent members, painted by Kneller[34]. The business of toasting the women of the day was a serious one: the ladies' names were cut with a diamond on the toasting glasses, and verses on their beauty were composed (and later published by Tonson). Only one woman was ever admitted to the male space of the Kit-Cat room, the pre-pubescent Lady Mary Wortley Pierrepont, later Lady Mary Wortley Montague[35].

Tonson was instrumental (with Somers) in setting up the Club in the mid-1680s, and it was largely his efforts that kept it running. In the early days he bought in the pies from Christopher Cat from which the Club supposedly took its name; he arranged its venues in the room's various locations from a pudding-shop in the Strand to a tavern in Hampstead before it found a more permanent venue in a room of Tonson's own home at Barn Elms[36]. As a shoemaker's son in such distinguished company, his occupations for the Club were often servile (he bought Congreve's underwear[37]). Tonson was adept at making himself useful. Not only with such menial tasks --under the cover of buying type in Holland and books

in France, he seems to have acted as a courier and spy for certain political interests of Club members[38]. Tonson was variously styled 'Secretary' and 'Pimp, or Gentleman-Usher' to the Muses in recognition of the literary composition of the Kit-Cats, and his contribution to its activities; the patronage network offered by the Club to would-be literati hanging around waiting to get published in one of Tonson's famous **Miscellanies** was given the epithet 'Jacob's Ladder to Fame'[39]. His literary and publishing activities too were at the service of the Revolutionary Settlement. When Dryden resisted Tonson's pressure to provide a flattering dedication to William III for his translation of the **Aeneid**, Tonson maintained the propagandist parallel between the King and Aeneas by having the plates for the illustrations altered to give every figure of Aeneas the hooked nose that identified him as William[40].

For his efforts in legitimising and supporting the new regime of the House of Orange --and later, the House of Hanover-- Tonson was well rewarded. He ended his days a wealthy old man of 80 with a large country estate[41]. The basis for the spectacular success of his publishing business was established by the network of patronage provided by the Kit-Cat Club, not just through the loyalty of writers acquired by its literary connections, but also through lucrative government printing contracts obtained by virtue of his friends in high places[42].

In 1691, however, Jacob Tonson was still just a moderately successful bookseller of 35 who happened to have influential connections in politics. But the elements of his success as a publisher were already in place. He had published some popular play-quartos by Thomas Otway, Aphra Behn and others; he had started a fashion in anthologies of translated verse with his **Miscellanies** of the mid-1680s; he had already begun to champion Milton's reputation with the first deluxe edition of **Paradise Lost** in 1688[43]. Most lucrative and prestigious of all, since 1680 Tonson had been John Dryden's publisher[44]. By 1691 Jacob Tonson had established a reputation for specialised literary publishing, and in particular for publishing those authors associated with the Stuart court that had been swept away in the very British coup of

1688. These apparently contradictory elements in Tonson's career --powerful Whig connections and a stable of Stuart authors-- not only formed the basis for the success of his business, but conditioned his response to the task of publishing Rochester's poems. Tonson's 1691 edition of the poems was shaped by the strategies and concerns of the men in the Kit-Cat club-room.

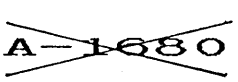
As the most famous rake of a court infamous for its debauchery, Rochester and his poems had come to epitomize for many people all the worst excesses of the Stuart court. Widespread condemnation of such excesses had been absorbed into the project of legitimising William and Mary's regime: the Revolution of 1688 was now being re-written as a moral revolution as well as a political one[45]. It is in the context of such propaganda that Rymer --soon to become William's historiographer royal under the patronage of Halifax and Somers-- pairs the private space of 'the Cabinet of the Severeſt Matron' with the sober space of 'a vertuous Court'. Behind this obsequious gesture towards the new regime lies the shadow of the other unspoken term of a commonplace antithesis, the vice of the Stuart court. It's a daring claim: that Tonson's judicious editing so transforms these typical products of the disparaged court that they become acceptable in the very different conditions of the Revolutionary Settlement. Self-censorship, carried out under the sanction of an ambiguous 'female reader' figure, admits Rochester's poems into the sober space of William and Mary's 'vertuous court'.

*

The task of publishing Rochester presented Tonson with an interesting dilemma that follows on from Pepys's paradox: Rochester's writing was considered 'so bad in one sense', yet 'so good in another'. After nearly two centuries of relative obscurity, it's easy to forget what a high reputation Rochester's poetry once enjoyed[46]. Attacks on the literary merits of the poems from detractors such as Mulgrave were widely recognised as expressions of personal spite, and only served to publicise Rochester's verse more widely; a consensus on the quality of his writing seems to

have emerged by the 1690s[47]. Even Rochester's defenders, however, had to contend with the infamy of both the man and his 'obscene writings'. In 1685, Wolseley had tied himself in knots defending 'those Songs' in terms of the context of their limited circulation. By 1691, Rymer's job had been made more difficult by the '1680' group editions that had flooded London in the past 10 years, and by the prosecution of Francis Leach in 1688 for publishing Rochester's 'obscene & lascivious' poems[48]. Tonson thus had a poet with a considerable literary reputation, whose copyright was as yet unclaimed because of the marginal status of previous editions; but the very notoriety which made Rochester such a marketable commodity also made him hot to handle for a publisher like Tonson. Not just in terms of prosecution, but of reputation: how could Rochester's 'scandalous, flagrant and vicious' poems be presented on the same book-list as **Paradise Lost**?

Tonson's solution was to distance his book from the '1680' editions that provided him with the primary source for his material. Disguising his edition as a new and very different collection, concealing the connections between A-series and the B-series, Tonson places the '1680' material 'under erasure'[49]. B-1691 could be represented by the Derridian diagram:



Removal of 'every Block of Offence' is only one technique in Tonson's repertoire of devices for displacement. Presentation, standards of production, detailed textual alteration, inclusion of material from other sources, re-arrangement of the order of the poems: at every level in the production of the book, Tonson tries to disconnect his edition from the infamous A-series editions that had gone before. Back in 1685, the obscure and marginal bookseller Andrew Thorncome had produced the first edition of Rochester's poems to carry its publisher's name on the title-page. His solution to the dilemma presented by the '1680' material was to omit some poems entirely and to drastically edit the poems he did include, excising and re-writing offensive passages. Despite Thorncome's selection and alteration, however, his book looks much like the

'1680' editions: the poems are arranged in the same order, printed in the same type, the title-page is similar, and as a whole his edition proclaims itself as a continuation of the '1680' group editions[50]. Tonson's approach to his '1680' material was much more considered and devious: it involved distancing and disconnecting his edition from previous printings in a variety of ways.

The low production standards of the A-series editions align them with prosecuted obscene ephemera such as **The Wandering Whore** pamphlets of the 1660s or indeed **L'Ecole des Filles**, the book that Pepys burned after reading. They show a consistently low standard of manufacture: blotchy inking, broken type, pieces of type dropped out during inking-up, type shortages, squinty typesetting. The editions are printed on 9½ octavo gatherings of cheap, coarse paper. To save on paper costs, the type is set as densely as possible, the poems are squeezed together separated only by single rules, stanzas have less than a line-space between them, and the page-widths are so narrow that the compositors often have to drop the last word of a line onto the line below. Labour costs too have been kept to a minimum. There are no running-titles (the headline is simply a page-number centred within paretheses), no section-titles or even a half-title over the first poem, no prefatory matter or table of contents. The poems are presented as baldly and as cheaply as possible[51].

A cursory glance through Tonson's 1691 edition is enough to recognise a huge difference in production standards: it's like going from a railway timetable to a coffee-table book. After the cramped, claustrophobic, penny-pinching typesetting of the '1680' editions, the first impression made by Tonson's book is the amount of blank space. The poems are generously spaced, with each poem beginning on a new page no matter how few lines are left at the top of the last page it occupies (rules below the last line of verse and at the bottom of the page indicate the end of the poem). All lines of poetry are deeply leaded, the distance between the rows of type increased by the insertion of strips of lead. Tonson's edition has an average of only 18 lines of type per page compared with 32 lines per page for the 1680 edition[52]. The result of Tonson's

'exceeding Care' in presenting the poems is a book that is very clear and very easy to read.

For the most part the paper is of good quality, though there are signs that Tonson may have regretted his extravagance with blank space and tried to pare paper costs while the book was at press: 6 of the 19 gatherings (most of the text of **Valentinian**) use an imported Dutch paper much coarser than the rest of the book[53]. There are no signs of type shortages; the poems are set in quite a large roman type, with poem titles in a very large type (the '1680' editions often use text-type for titles). Full-page section-titles, extensive prefatory matter, 3 sequences of running-titles and a table of contents for the poems that gives title and first line: money has been spent on providing time-consuming details absent from the '1680' editions[54]. Tonson even prints the Latin originals alongside 3 of Rochester's imitations in a parallel text arrangement. Particular care has been taken with the title-page, which is printed in black and red --this required running each copy of the sheet through the press twice, and involved intricate (and therefore expensive) press-work[55]. While the book does not aspire to the production standards of Tonson's luxury editions such as the illustrated **Paradise Lost** he had published three years earlier, the presentation of the poems clearly attempts to endorse the 1691 Rochester as a library edition, distancing it from the 'dirty books' of the A-series.

Tonson's book thus *looks* very different from the editions of the '1680' group. But differences in appearance and production standards conceal the fact that over half the material in B-1691 is taken from the '1680' collection. 39 poems are printed in Tonson's Rochester; 62 poems appear in the '1680' editions; the texts of 20 of Tonson's poems are derived, to a greater or lesser extent, from one of the '1680' group editions[56]. A copy of a '1680' edition has been used as Tonson's copy-text, marked up with editorial alterations. Removal of 'every Block of Offence' accounts for only one specific kind of editorial change: most of the alterations are new readings introduced from manuscript sources. Of the 20 poems for which Tonson has used a '1680' copy-text, however, 11 are

printed with little or no alteration. 4 out of this 11 exhibit no substantive variants whatsoever[57]; the others contain only minor changes such as different spellings of proper names (e.g. 'Sir Sydrophel'/'Sir Sindrophel' in 'Vulcan contrive me such a Cup', line 15) or plurals (e.g. 'Slave'/'Slaves' in 'Give me leave to raile at you', line 16), or have a single significant alteration such as 'This pleasing happy ruine'/'His pleasing happy Ruine' ('While on those lovely looks I gaze', line 4)[58]. Because of the brevity of most of these poems --they are mostly songs averaging 20-24 lines in length-- Tonson's interventions have a greater effect than a list of variants might suggest. The alteration of a single word or spelling makes the 1691 text of a poem look more different from the '1680' text than it actually is, and disguises the extent of Tonson's debt to the earlier collection: of the 20 poems taken from the '1680' group, more than half of them are printed with a minimum of alteration.

Almost all these minor changes can be related to readings also present in surviving manuscript texts of the poems. In 'What Cruel pains Corinna takes', for example, Tonson's reading 'not one Charm' for 'not a Charme' (line 3) is also found in a group of 3 surviving manuscript miscellanies[59]. The remaining 9 of the 20 '1680' poems in Tonson's Rochester introduce major changes to the texts[60]. 'Chloe, in Verse by your commande I write' is, at 264 lines in Tonson's version, the longest and textually most complex of the '1680'-derived poems, and has by far the largest number of variant readings. Over 30 departures from the '1680' text cover a broad spectrum of degrees of difference. Tonson's alterations range in extent from the insertion of additional material (lines 20-23), to re-phrasing (e.g. 'Hopeful Heir'/'Heir and Hopes', line 212), to single word substitution (e.g. 'Man'/'Fool', line 161), down to minor alterations such as contractions (e.g. 'it is'/'tis', line 29), verb forms (e.g 'bursts'/'burst', line 95) and pronouns (e.g. 'whom'/'who', line 171)[61]. With about half a dozen exceptions, the new readings of the 1691 'Chloe, in Verse by your commande I write' also appear in a wide range of manuscript texts of the poem[62].

Most of the poems that have substantial manuscript-derived readings, however, are shorter poems, and contain only two or three alterations to the '1680' text. The new readings in 'All my past life is mine noe more' are typical. Tonson's reads 'the Time that is to come' for 'what ever is to come' (line 6) and 'only thine' for 'wholly thine' (line 10); these readings are connected to a group of 4 surviving manuscript anthologies[63]. Such variant readings have a disproportionate effect on the text's appearance. They serve to sever the close textual connection between these poems and their '1680' sources, disguising Tonson's dependence on the texts of the much-maligned 'obscene' editions. This could well be their purpose as well as their effect. Tonson's career does seem to feature a growing concern for a primitive kind of textual accuracy --in his old age he sent a letter to his nephew instructing him on the detailed textual aspects of **Paradise Lost**[64]; but the introduction of new readings into '1680' copy-texts is so haphazard and random that it cannot really qualify as a considered scheme of editorial 'correction'. The casual sprinkling of manuscript-derived readings through the '1680' poems included in B-1691 could have been motivated as much by a desire to disconnect Tonson's texts from their source as by a desire to 'improve' the text: that is certainly their effect.

Tonson's selection of material from the '1680' group was fairly rigorous. Of the 62 poems that had appeared in the '1680' group editions, 24 also appear in Tonson's edition: just over a third of the poems in the '1680' collection were printed in B-1691. Most of these poems were songs, and most of these songs come from the same section of the '1680' group, from gathering D and the first half of gathering E[65]. Tonson omits 6 of the poems in this section, two longer satires and several poems that were evidently too obscene to be admitted to 'a Collection of such Pieces only, as may be received in a vertuous Court'[66]. In B-1691 most of the poems from this section are located in gatherings D and E, but considerable effort has been expended on rearranging the sequence in which they occur. Assigning these poems with the numbers provided by David Vieth's list of the contents of the Huntington

edition[67], the following comparison of the ordering of A-series and B-series sequences emerges ('..' indicates intervening poems):

A: 14 15 16.. 18 19.. 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33
B: 28.. 27.. 26 30 32 31 33 22 29 16 18 19 24 25 23.. 15.. 14

Only two pairs of poems are printed by Tonson in the same order as they appeared in the '1680' group; the rest of the poems have been scrambled into a totally different sequence. This rearrangement of material has not been dictated by chance or by the layout of the collection --Tonson's policy of beginning each poem on a new page gave him the flexibility to order the poems as he wanted. Tonson has gone to considerable effort to conceal the connections between his edition and the '1680' editions by re-ordering the sequence in which the poems are printed. Like the presentation of the book and the introduction of manuscript readings into the '1680' copy-texts, careful rearrangement of the poems serves to dissociate and distance Tonson's edition from the disreputable editions of the '1680' group.

The '1680' poems Tonson included in his edition were for the most part those which had appeared frequently in print throughout the 1670s and 80s. Several had been published in engraved song-books with musical accompaniments; most had been anthologised in printed miscellanies such as **The Wits Academy** (1677) or **Poems by Several Hands** (1685)[68]. 11 of the 20 '1680'-derived poems had been printed in the second edition of **Female Poems... Written by Ephelia** (1682), 14 in **The Triumph of Wit** (1688)[69]. Clearly Tonson's selection of poems from the '1680' group was influenced by their previous popularity in print, though he may also have been using the sensibilities of the miscellany market to gauge which Rochester poems could be suitably admitted to 'the Cabinet of the Severest Matron'. But the result of this conservative selection was a collection of poems many of which had already been published several times before.

Of the 19 poems for which Tonson did not use a '1680' copy-text, over half are taken from printed sources. 5 of these poems

are derived directly from printed miscellanies: 'My dear Mistris has a heart' from Aphra Behn's 1685 miscellany, Rochester's imitation of Ovid 'O Love! how cold, and slow to take my part' from Tonson's own miscellany of 1684, and three poems (one in Latin) from volumes of complimentary verse published in Oxford back in 1660[70]. The texts of two poems, *The Advice* and *The Discovery*, seem to be related to Hobart Kemp's miscellany of 1672, but the substantial number of variants and the omission and re-positioning of several lines suggest the B-1691 texts have a significant manuscript contribution[71]. Previously-printed play-quartos provide a prologue and two epilogues; one of these play-quartos, **Circe**, had been published by Tonson's brother Richard back in 1677[72]. Printed broadsheets provide Tonson with sources for two poems, 'There sighs not on the Plain' and the famous *Satyr* ('Were I (who to my cost already am)')[73]. The 1691 printing of the *Satyr* shows Tonson in a deep state of textual confusion: the broadsheet copy-text has been revised with the introduction of 17 readings derived from the '1680' editions. Despite emending the broadsheet against '1680', however, he seems to have distrusted the A-series text of the poem. Following the broadsheet in printing only the main section of the poem (lines 1-173), he leaves out the last 50-odd lines (174-225) which are printed in the '1680' group editions[74]. Was Tonson sceptical about Rochester's authorship of these additional lines, or did he consider the text of this section too unreliable to use? At any rate, the peculiar editorial practices in the 1691 text of Rochester's best-known poem emphasize Tonson's pragmatic approach to textual editing, as well as having the effect of disconnecting the Satyr from the stemma of the '1680' group.

Only 6 of the 39 Rochester poems in B-1691 appeared there in print for the first time: Tonson's edition was a triumph of the publisher's art of making new books out of old[75]. Half the poems in it were derived from the infamous '1680' editions; half the remaining poems were taken from other printed sources; most of the poems had been circulating widely in print over the past 10 to 15 years. But through improved production standards, haphazard alteration of texts with manuscript-derived readings, inclusion of material from other printed sources, and careful rearrangement of

the order of the poems, Tonson not only created the illusion that the collection was new, but also managed to make the book look totally different from the A-series editions to which it was so closely connected. The success of Tonson's illusion can be inferred from the frequency of claims over the past 300 years that his edition was somehow 'authorised' by Rochester's friends or family. Certainly, B-1691 has all the marks of an authorised edition, but these are more likely to be the effects of Tonson's deceptive techniques of textual production: authorisation would surely have brought him access to manuscript material of higher quality, obviating his extensive reliance on printed sources. These haphazardly-edited texts have even been interpreted as the 'purest' available readings of the poems by early twentieth-century editors of Rochester --though whether this was a 'scholarly' rationale for avoiding trouble with the modern censor is a moot point[76]. Back in 1691, however, Tonson's immediate project was the creation of a sufficient distance between his book and the '1680' editions as to allow his Rochester admission to the privileged space of the gentleman's library, under the sign of the Severest Matron's Cabinet.

Chapter 3. CANCELLATION AND CASTRATION: TWO ROCHESTER SONGS.

In the previous chapter we considered Tonson's erasure of the '1680' edition on two levels: the removal of 'every Block of Offence' declared in the preface, and the strategies of textual production that serve to conceal the connections between the two series of editions. In this chapter, we examine a third level of erasure provided by an incident that took place late in the process of manufacturing the book. At the very last minute, someone --Tonson himself, perhaps, or his editorial agent-- noticed two significant errors in the printing of leaf D7. On the recto, the word 'mirth' had been accidentally omitted from line 13 of 'Love a Woman! y'are an Ass', and on the verso the word 'proud' in 'To this moment a Rebell I throw down my Arms' had been printed 'poud'[1]. Sheet D had already been proof-read, a single copy of each side having been pulled for checking and correcting before printing off the run[2]. Somehow these errors had slipped through the proof-reading process: Tonson was left with 1000 to 1500 copies of a section of the book containing embarrassing mistakes[3]. But things quickly went from bad to worse. After the printing-errors on leaf D7 had been spotted, Tonson decided that the last stanza of 'Love a Woman!' constituted a 'Block of Offence' and had to be removed. Further inspection of sheet D revealed Blocks of Offence on leaf D3, in the text of *To A Lady, in A Letter*. Tonson had two options. He could start again, typeset and print off a new run of copies of the whole sheet with the mistakes corrected and the Blocks erased --an expensive option, not so much through the labour of typesetting and printing (composing unjustified lines of poetry was cheaper than justified prose), but because of the cost of new sheets of paper. Or he could replace just the two unacceptable leaves[4]. Tonson chose the less expensive option: cancellation of D3 and D7.

For the time being, the two offensive leaves were allowed to remain where they were. New versions of D3 and D7 were set in type, errors corrected and texts suitably altered. These cancelled pages may have been printed off on spare space in whatever book was being produced by the print-shop at the same time, but the absence of two

leaves from the first gathering of B-1691 raises the suspicion that the new setting of D3 and D7 may have been printed on sheet A^6. If such a hypothesis is correct, then the production of Rymer's preface is deeply implicated in the very processes of self-censorship he declares in it. The prefatory matter would have been among the last sections of the book to be typeset and printed, and Rymer would have been writing to order to a length that would allow space for the two new censored leaves to be printed there[6]. It could well be the process of cancelling leaves D3 and D7 to which Rymer refers when he claims that Tonson 'has been diligent out of Meaſure'[7]. Wherever the cancelled leaves were printed, copies of them would be sent off with the other sheets of the book to Tonson's warehouse for storage. Only when the sheets reached the binders' would the process of replacement have begun.

At the binders', the leaves containing the new typesetting of D3 and D7 would have been cut away from the sheet on which they had been printed, then the 19 sheets that made up each copy of the book would have been folded and stitched into whatever type of cover was required for that copy. Only at this stage, when the book was complete, could cancellation take place. First of all the binder would have cut out the two offensive leaves from gathering D in such a way as to leave a stub, a thin sliver of paper from the excised leaf sticking out from the binding[8]. Onto this stub he would have glued the new setting of the leaf, and the process of cancellation was complete. Tearing-out and pasting-in had to wait until the book was folded, stitched and bound because the sheet would have fallen apart in any attempt to excise the leaves at an earlier stage in the production process. For Tonson, self-censorship was thus a very physical process: Blocks of Offence ripped out of the completed book, unexceptionable replacements glued in, and the whole gesture of erasure repeated 1000 to 1500 times depending on the number of copies printed. It was also an expensive process: this method may have been cheaper than printing off a whole new sheet, but cancellation costs would still have eaten into Tonson's profit-margins --it must be remembered that B-1691, just as much as the '1680' group editions, was published 'meerly for Lucre sake'[9].

Given the vagaries of the production process in the hand-press period, it was inevitable that at least one copy of the book would survive with its offensive leaves intact. At the Huntington Library, California, there is a copy of the book in which the cancellation process has not been completed: the new printings of the leaves (the 'cancellantia') have been removed with the intention of re-locating them at D3 and D7, but the original printings of the leaves (the 'cancellanda') have never been replaced[10]. This accident in the manufacture of B-1691 provides us with a privileged glimpse into Tonson's processes of textual production.

*

In the new printing of leaf D7, the verso of the cancellans sets out the text of 'To this moment a Rebell I throw down my Arms' almost exactly as it had first been printed, inserting the omitted 'r' in 'proud' at line 3, and deleting the second comma in the same line. On the recto of D7, however, Tonson's cancellation affects the last 8 lines of the song 'Love a Woman! y'are an Ass'. In the cancelled leaf, the third stanza of the poem is less heavily punctuated than in the first setting of lines 9 to 16 --two commas are dropped, two colons are changed to commas. But the effect of cancellation on the last verse is drastic: Tonson omits it completely. Here is the uncancelled version of the last stanza:

> Then give me Health, Wealth, and Wine;
> And, if buſie love intrenches,
> There's a ſoft young Page of mine,
> Does the trick worth forty Wenches.

Apart from minor changes in spelling and punctuation, there are few differences between the '1680' text and the uncancelled 1691 version of the poem. Two departures from the '1680' text, 'The ſilliеſt part' for 'The idleſt part' (line 4) and 'ſoft young Page' for 'ſweet ſoft *Page*' (line 15) seem to be derived from a manuscript source connected to Harvard MS Eng. 636F[11].

There can be little doubt that it was the suggestion of sodomitical practices in the last stanza that constituted the 'Block of Offence'. Such offhand, casual references to sodomy are

to be found in several of Rochester's poems, but few of these references appear in Tonson's edition of 1691. Some of these poems are omitted completely, such as the *Ramble in Saint James's Parke*, with its snide side-swipe at the Jesuits' 'use of Buggery' (lines 145-146), or *The Imperfect Enjoyment*, in which the narrator's 'Dart of Love' would

> ...carelefly invade,
> *Woman* or *Boy*, nor ought its fury ſtaid,
> Where e're it pierc'd, a *Cunt* it found or made.
> (A-1680, lines 41-42)

It should be emphasized, however, that these poems provided Tonson with plenty of grounds for omission besides sodomy. Other poems Tonson included in the 1691 collection with their references to sodomy deleted. He based his text of *The Disabled Debauchee* for the most part on that of the 1680 edition, but omitted this nostalgic stanza:

> Nor ſhall our *Love-fits Cloris* be forgot,
> When each the well-look'd *Link-Boy*, ſtrove t'enjoy
> And the beſt Kiſs, was the deciding *Lot*,
> Whether the *Boy* us'd you, or I the *Boy*.[12]

But some sodomitical suggestiveness did slip through the mesh of Tonson's self-censorship. The '1680' text of 'Vulcan contrive me such a Cup' was printed in B-1691 without any manuscript-derived emendation; the narrator's full instructions to the Olympian silversmith survive in Tonson's edition, including the arch demand that he

> ...carve thereon a ſpreading Vine;
> Then add two lovely Boys;
> Their Limbs in amorous Folds intwine,
> The Type of future Joys. (B-1691, lines 17-20)

That the 'two lovely Boys' turn out to be the narrator's patron 'Saints' of sex and booze, Cupid and Bacchus, takes nothing away from the erotic investment of the stanza, but Tonson contented himself with changing the word 'Cunt' in the last line of the poem to 'Love'[13].

Nor must it be forgotten that Rochester's adaptation of **Valentinian** is printed at the back of Tonson's edition of the poems, and includes several clear references to sodomy; these are retained in Tonson's edition. They concern the Lycias, a eunuch who is used by the emperor Valentinian to assuage the desires raised by

the unobtainable Lucina. In the first scene with Lycias, Lucina has been unobtainable because of her fidelity to her husband. Valentinian calls for the eunuch to take care of his needs:

> VALENTINIAN.
> Fortune to thee, for I muſt uſe thee, *Lycias*.
>
> LYCIAS.
> I am the humble Slave of *Caeſar*'s Will,
> By my Ambition bound to his Commands,
> As by my Duty.
>
> VALENTINIAN.
> Follow me.
>
> LYCIAS.
> With Joy.------ [*Exeunt.*[14]

In the second scene with Lycias, Lucina is unobtainable because she is dead: she has killed herself after being tricked into infidelity with Valentinian. Once again the eunuch proves useful as a Lucina-substitute. When the scene opens, Emperor and catamite are '*diſcover'd on a Couch*'; Valentinian addresses the following tender speech to Lycias:

> Oh let me preſs theſe balmy Lips all Day,
> And bath my Love-ſcorch'd Soul in thy moiſt Kiſſes.
> Now by my Joys thou art all ſweet and ſoft,
> And thou ſhalt be the Altar of my Love,
> Upon thy Beauties hourly will I offer,
> And pour out Pleaſure and bleſt Sacrifice,
> To the dear Memory of my *Lucina*,
> No God nor Goddeſs ever was ador'd with ſuch Religion,
> As my Love ſhall be. For in theſe charming Raptures
> Of my Soul, claſpt in thy Arms, I'll waſte my ſelf away...[15]

If the crude imperative 'I muſt uſe thee' of the first scene recalls the page who 'does the trick' in 'Love a Woman!', Lycias' 'ſweet and ſoft' attractions echo the unrevised adjectives of the '1680' version of the poem, in which the boy is a 'ſweet ſoft *Page*'. Fortunately for Jonson, this steamy scene is interrupted before Valentinian can worship more explicitly at Lycias' 'Altar', by a militaristic Roman who proceeds to kill the eunuch.

But just before this rude intrusion, Lycias sings a song: this song turns out to be the last 8 lines of 'Give me leave to raile at you', which had appeared on leaf E4 in the 'Poems' section of the 1691 edition. A poem that had been a conventional love-lyric in the decontextualising location of the main section of the book reads rather differently when sung by a eunuch to his master. Particularly the last 3 lines:

Kindneſs only can perſwade,
It gilds the Lovers ſervile chain,
And makes the Slave grow pleas'd and vain.'[16]

Lycias' slavery is more than a figure of speech --he is literally a 'Slave to *Caeſar*'s Will'. His pleasure in his slavery has been expressed freely since his first scene ('With Joy'). The persuasions of the emperor's '*Kindneſs*' are clearly material; '*the Lover's servile Chain*' is for Lycias his explicitly sexual power-relation with Valentinian. The **Valentinian** text of the poem differs in three places from the text printed among the poems. At line 9 (line 1 of the play-text), where E4 reads 'has', the play-version prints 'hath'; at line 10 (line 2), 'but' in the main section becomes 'can' in the play-version; E4 at line 15 (line 8), reads 'pleas'd again' where the play prints 'pleas'd and vain'. The **Valentinian** readings follow on from the first printing of the play in 1685, whereas Tonson keeps close to the '1680' text of the poem in the main section printing, only changing the singular 'Slave' to a plural at line 16[17]. Tonson appears to have lost an ideal opportunity to introduce new readings to his '1680'-derived text at E4, as he had done so frequently in other poems. Together with the steamy scenes of sodomy he complacently prints in **Valentinian**, yet omits from the poems, these textual considerations suggest that Tonson didn't read the play very carefully.

Even if Tonson's inspection of **Valentinian** was cursory, his reading of 'Love a Woman!' and other poems containing references to sodomy clearly was more punctilious. In his editing of Rochester's poems, sodomy seems to have constituted an area of anxiety for Tonson. Now that the 'promotion' of homosexuality --whatever that means-- has been been outlawed, such references to sodomy may seem self-evidently obscene, inevitably censorable; but it might prove

useful to look beyond the present moment at what may have been local factors in provoking Tonson's anxieties.

The most conspicuous local factor must be the prosecution of **Sodom, or the Quintessence of Debauchery** less than two years earlier. Rumours that Rochester was the author of the play had been circulating since the late 1670s. Other candidates for authorship have been proposed over the centuries, most prominently 'one Fishbourn, a wretched Scribbler'; the play could also be the collective work of several collaborating hands'[18]. In September 1689 Joseph Streater and Benjamin Crayle were tried at the Guildhall Sessions for publishing the 'scandalous, flagrant, lascivious and vicious book'. Streater was fined the usual amount of 20 shillings, but Crayle was given a fine of 20 pounds, by far the highest recorded fine incurred in any press prosecution for obscenity up to this point; he was then imprisoned for being unable to pay the fine'[19]. At least one previous edition of the book seems to have been published in 1684, but the intensity of the disapproval provoked by **Sodom** can be inferred from the fact that not one copy of either this edition or the 1689 edition remains extant[20]. It must be emphasized that sodomy between men was only one of a spectacular diversity of sexual choices presented in the play, including incest, zooerasty, masturbation (with and without dildos), exhibitionism, pubic-wig fetishism, pederasty, voyeurism, urinophilia and several predilections that seem to lack Latin coinages. But sodomy is fairly central to the plot. The emperor Bolloximian, bored with women, passes an edict outlawing sex with women and 'promoting' buggery: such features vividly recall the postures struck in 'Love a Woman! y'are an Ass'.

Another important local factor must be the prolix discourse concerning William III's supposedly sodomitical inclinations. The spate of lampoons satirising William on the grounds of sodomy began within months of the proclamation of William and Mary as joint sovereigns at the beginning of 1689, and continued at least into 1690, when Tonson's edition of Rochester was being produced. From the very beginning, the new regime was acutely sensitive to such accusations. In April 1689, a lampoon called *The Coronation Ballad*

was printed; in November, Ralph Gray was pilloried and fined 100 marks for his authorship of the text. His ballad contained the following scathing verse:

> He is not qualified for his wife,
> Because of the cruel midwife's knife,
> Yet buggering Benting doth please to the life
> A dainty fine King indeed.[21]

'Buggering Benting' refers to William's relationship with Hans William Bentinck, Earl of Portland, the closest of the small circle of Dutch friends whose trust and loyalty the new King relied on to an extent that peeved even the most loyal of his supporters among the English[22]. Political jealousy and xenophobia sharpened the satirists' invective against William and Bentinck: another lampoon of 1689, *The Reflection*, claimed that 'William van Nassau, with Benting Bardasha, I Are at the old game of Gomorrha'[23]. Bentinck's influence on William, and the role he supposedly had to play to maintain it, are probably referred to in these lines from *Suum Cuique* (1689, tentatively attributed to Arthur Mainwaring), in which William is compared to the emperor Tiberius:

> To Capri the Tiberius does retire
> To quench with whore or catamite on fire --
> Dear catamite, who rules alone the state,
> Whilst monarch dozes on his up-propped height
> Silent, yet thoughtless, and secure of fate.[24]

The point of all these satirical references to William and sodomy does not seem to be some sudden surge of intolerance and prejudice against alternative sexual choices *per se*, but rather resentment at those near the centre of power, intensified by insular English suspicion and hostility towards the Dutch for being Dutch[25].

Resentment at the closed circle of influence at court under the new regime extended beyond Bentinck and the Dutch to include English courtiers such as the 19-year-old Algernon, Earl of Essex, and the 10-year-old Baron Windsor. These satirical constructions of a sodomite clique around William bear striking similarities to the catamite courtiers surrounding the emperor in **Sodom**. Alter the names, and this satire could refer equally well to Bolloximian:

> In love to his minions he partial and rash is,
> Makes statesmen of blockheads, and Earls of bardashes,
> His bed-chamber service he fills with young fellows,
> As Essex and Windsor which makes Capell jealous.[26]

The unflinching services of Bolloximian's courtiers Pockanello, ('pimp, catamite and the King's favourite') Pene and Tully in their pursuit of power and pleasure are parallelled in satirical portraits of life at William's court in the late 1680s and early 90s:

> He's an ill courtier, who can have a passion
> For Nauseous Petticoat, when out of fashion,
> Breeches are the stamp of Revolution.[27]

Sodom's heroic hysteria of language and imagery is echoed in a satire of 1690 called *The Anniversary*, in which a chorus of London prostitutes laments the decline in their trade since the days of Charles II, blaming their troubles on the fashion for sodomy set by William. They offer up a prayer to Old Rowley in language that is far from restrained:

> About thy Tomb, may flaming Dildoes burn,
> And Merkins instead of Lamps hang round thy Urn;
> While poor forsaken Misses mourn their Fate,
> Since all thy Cullies now are abdicate.[28]

Even Bolloximian's edict outlawing straight sex and 'promoting' the use of buggery finds a parallel in the satirical suggestion that William's influence has brought about a sexual, as well as a constitutional, Revolution in England. Another manuscript lampoon nostalgically compares life in the kingdom before William's coup with the present state of the nation:

> But here content with our own homely Joys,
> We had no Relish of the fair fac'd Boys
> Till you came in & with your Reformation
> Turn'd all things Arsy Versy in the Nation.[29]

Of course, the notion that the sovereign's vices influenced the behaviour of the populace had been a familiar feature of the political and satirical landscape for some time. That Charles' laxity had an adverse effect on the morals of the nation was a commonplace in the 1670s, 80s and 90s. Claims that William's sodomy had lured the men of England away from the missionary position find an ironic and inverse mirror-image in the sermons, tracts and pamphlets of contemporary campaigners associated with the Societies for the Reformation of Manners, whose project was the inauguration of a 'moral revolution' that would complete the unfinished business of the Glorious Revolution. Their arguments made much of the supposedly deleterious effect of Charles' example on the language,

sexual behaviour and drinking habits of the nation, marshalling such dubious assumptions to justify harassment of prostitutes, drunks and blasphemers all over the streets of London.[30]

The timetable and sentences of the trials of Streater and Crayle for publishing **Sodom** suggest that the prosecutors may have considered the play within the context of the sodomy lampoons. The case began in September 1689, and carried on until January 1690, when Crayle was found guilty; in the midst of this, in November, Ralph Gray was pilloried and fined for *The Coronation Ballad* which refered to William 'buggering Benting'. Crayle's £20 fine was on a par with sentences for political offences rather than the relatively low fines of 20 or 40 shillings previously imposed for obscenity[31]. The severity of Gray's punishment, a fine of 100 marks (about £66) in addition to the pillory, indicates the sensitivity of the new regime's judiciary to accusations of sodomy.

Tonson participated in this discourse around William's supposed sodomy by editing (and censoring) Rochester's poems. As a card-carrying Whig, Kit-Cat Club member, and indeed, according to some contemporaries, co-conspirator in the instigation of the coup, Tonson's intervention in this discourse was provoked by larger concerns than fear of prosecution from a regime sensitive to the subject of sodomy. The publisher who would later have the plates of his **Aeneid** altered to draw a parallel between 'hook-nosed Billy' and Aeneas would hardly issue poems that could invite an unflattering comparison between Rochester's page-boys and the 'fair-fac'd Boys' of William's bedchamber[32]. Tonson's loyalty to the Revolutionary Settlement goes some way towards accounting for the 'exceeding Pains' he took to excise leaf D7 and the last stanza of 'Love a Woman!'. Rymer's preface to the edition once again articulates Tonson's project very precisely: the 'Block of Offence' was removed to allow the poems to be received favourably in a 'vertuous Court' sensitive on the subject of sodomy.

In both the poems affected by Tonson's cancellation of leaves D3 and D7, a ceasefire in the warfare between the sexes is proposed: a state of peaceful but separate coexistence for men and women. In *To A Lady, in A Letter*, the male narrator negotiates a settlement whereby his drinking will be tolerated by Cloris in return for his agreement to 'ſuffer Rival Fop'. In 'Love a Woman!', the terms are more bluntly presented, but the solution of separateness is similar: drink and desire are again the bargaining-counters. Whereas Cloris's sexual appetite and the narrator's drunkenness remain opposite terms of a cross-referential chiasmic structure in *To A Lady, in A Letter*, a third term is introduced to the arrangements proposed in 'Love a Woman!'. Aurelia can satisfy herself with 'the Porter and the Groom'; the male narrator will get drunk with his 'lewd well-natur'd Friend'; and, 'if busie Love intrenches', he can always bugger the page-boy. The narrator, then, implicates himself in the problem of need presented by these proposed rearrangements.

The joke is simple, an extrapolation of the misogynistic commonplace that is articulated wherever straight men bond together: 'Women! Who can live with them, who can live without them?' The solution of separateness, however, was seriously proposed by some women in the late seventeenth-century, as a way of escaping from the debilitating effects of men's power over women. These proposals feature a retreat into the mutual support of female society. In the late 1680s, Elizabeth Cellier mooted a scheme for the establishment of a royal hospital that would not only act as a resource for foundlings and the lying-in of poor women, but would function as a training institution to improve the skills of midwives: in both capacities, its aim was to lower the high mortality rate of women in childbirth[33]. In the 1690s, Mary Astell proposed the formation of a female monastery to provide both a solution to the problem of women's education and an enclosed space where women could find a (limited) freedom from the quotidian power-relations enjoyed by men[34]. Such practical solutions to the specific problems facing late seventeenth-century women contrast strikingly with the flippant suggestion put forward by male

aristocratic discourse on separateness, that women resort to sexual satisfaction from fools or lower-class men.

Much of Rochester's poetry, however, is haunted by the realisation that women can do without men, or at least without the male aristocratic lover who narrates the poems. The swineherdess in 'Fair Cloris in a Piggsty lay' is satisfied --'innocent and pleas'd'-- by her own masturbation (her 'Thumb between her *Legs*') and just the thought of a man; the ladies of court abandon the use of their lovers for the discrete and reliable exertions of 'Signior Dildo' in the ballad that takes its title from that ubiquitous Italian gentleman[35]. The notion becomes more problematic for the male narrator in *A Ramble in Saint James's Parke* and the fragment 'Could I but make my wishes insolent'[36]. Both poems raise the problem of jealousy. In the holograph fragment, the rival fool is a 'blundering Blockhead' unworthy of the favours the mistress grants him: the closeness of the comparison, through the shared woman, between the rival and the narrator has the effect of targetting the poem's anger against the mistress. The permissions allowing Corinna in the *Ramble* to

> ...rub her Arſe on,
> Some ſtiff-Prick'd *Clown*, or well hung *Parſon*.
> (A-1680, lines 91-93)

on the basis of 'meer Luſt' (line 98) do not extend to her own choice of fools and fops that so infuriates the narrator. Corinna's choice would be restricted to social inferiors --'*Porters Backs*, and *Foot-mens Brawn*' (line 120)-- if the narrator had any say in it. The long curse that ends the poem is provoked by his mistress's dalliance with men too close to his own social position for his comfort. The terms under which women are allowed a degree of separateness from men in Rochester's poems are severely restrictive.

Such terms are clearly specified in the arrangements proposed for Aurelia in 'Love a Woman!':

> Let the Porter, and the Groom,
> Things deſign'd for dirty Slaves;
> Drudge in fair *Aurelia*'s Womb... (B-1691)

Porters and grooms, along with footmen and car-men, frequently recur in the Rochester poems among the cast selected as appropriate substitutes for the attentions of the aristocratic male narrator. The common factors shared by these men include their involvement in manual labour, their relation of service to the aristocratic women for whom they have been selected, and of course their low social status. Having stated so tersely and precisely the (limited) concessions available to the mistress under the proposed arrangements, the narrator is more expansive when it comes to his own side of the deal. In Tonson's uncancelled text, the last two stanzas of the four-stanza poem are given to outlining the narrator's alternatives to women: drink (and male companionship) and the pleasures of the 'ſoft young Page'.

The association between sex and drink saturates Rochester's poetry[37]. It provides the initial situation of the *Ramble*, and indeed the incentive for the narrator's visit to the park:

> ...I, who ſtill take care to ſee,
> Drunkenneſs reliev'd by *Lechery*;
> Went out into *St. James*'s *Park*,
> To cool my Head, and fire my heart. (A-1680, lines 5-9)

In *To A Lady, in A Letter*, the sequence of the two associative terms is reversed: 'following the God of Wine', the narrator leaves his mistress's arms (lines 11-12). Male bonding around the bottle introduces a third term to the drink-sex association in several of the poems. It is present in the initial situation of the *Ramble*, where the drunkenness that needs 'reliev'd' has been acquired at a Drury-Lane drinking-session with friends discussing 'who Fucks who, and who does worſe'; it is also implied in the situation of 'Vulcan contrive me such a Cup', the song from which Tonson did not delete the homo-erotic stanza about the 'two lovely Boys' whose 'Limbs in amorous Folds intwine'[38]. The 'Cup' commissioned from Vulcan is a huge toasting-bowl, for communal toasts between men getting drunk together. The pleasures of male companionship offered by it form an interlude between bouts of sex with women: the '1680' text ends with the line 'And then to *Cunt* again'. Such a straightforward relief of drunken lechery is not an option for *The Disabled Debauchee*, however. He takes his enjoyment in the male bonding of the drinking-bout ('*Fleets* of *Glasses*, sail about the *Board*'), and

particularly in the narrative pleasure of men sharing their experiences of women ('I'll fire his Blood by telling what I did... I'll tell of *Whores* attacqu'd... With Tales like these, I will such thoughts inspire...')[39]. These 'Tales' are explicitly intended not only to provide a route for the debauchee's sexual pleasure through discourse, but to arouse desire in other men. In the A-series texts of the poems, they include the tale of the kissing-contest with 'the well-look'd *Link-Boy*'; though Tonson omitted this stanza from the 1691 edition, the erotically-charged landscape of drink, sex and male bonding in *The Disabled Debauchee* must have seemed very familiar territory to the instigator of the Kit-Cat Club toasting-sessions in honour of the reigning beauties of the day.

The pleasures of drink and male companionship are not enough, however, for the narrator of the uncancelled text of 'Love a Woman!': 'buſie love intrenches'. His choice of the 'ſoft young Page' to relieve his drunken lechery is not accidental, nor --*pace* Patterson, Vieth and Griffin-- is it 'homosexual' in any post-nineteenth-century construction of the word[40]. The page-boy is only one member of a recurring cast of suitable male sex-objects for the Restoration courtier in texts associated with Rochester. In the poem immediately preceding 'Love a Woman!' in the A-series editions (but omitted from B-1691), the narrator describes his reaction to being deserted by his '*Punck*' in the following terms:

> I storm, and I roar, and I fall in a rage,
> And miſſing my *Whore*, I bugger my *Page*.[41]

We have already come across the 'well-look'd *Link-Boy*' erased from Tonson's text of *The Disabled Debauchee*, and the eunuch Lycias in **Valentinian** who is 'a humble Slave of *Caeſar*'s Will'[42]. As with the types of men selected as suitable for satisfying the mistress in the absence of the aristocratic lover, the male sex-object for men is usually specified in terms of class and occupation. They work and live in a relation of service to the buggering courtier, the page-boy attending to his domestic needs, the link-boy lighting his way through the streets. They could not be more different, however, from the porters, grooms, foot-men and car-men selected by the aristocratic male for the mistress's satisfaction. In their specifications, physical strength and maturity are emphasised in a

particularly phallic manner. Porters have strong '*Backs*', the footmen have '*Brawn*'; the '*Clown*' is 'stiff-Prick'd'[43]. In the varying versions of 'Love a Woman!', the page-boy is 'ſoft' and 'young' or 'ſweet' and ſoft'[44]. Where the occupation of the catamite is not specified so precisely, he is invariably refered to as a 'boy' --as in *The Imperfect Enjoyment*, where the narrator is indiscriminate whether he will 'careleſly invade, | *Woman* or *Boy*'. Differences in class, social standing and age are thus delineated whenever the aristocratic, adult narrator considers sodomy with a lower-class, younger boy.

Through these explicitly-maintained differentials, the power relation of master and servant is made clear whenever the situation of sodomy is specified. The narrator is in a privileged position of power, both in terms of class and in reference to contemporary expectations of the politics of the sex act: his active role in anal intercourse is effortfully insisted upon. The penetrative, phallic role of the narrator remains consistent whether he is having sex with either '*Woman* or *Boy*'. In this respect, the boy's 'Altar of Love' can be seen as a mirror image of the substitutes for the male lover offered to aristocratic women in the songs and satires, the dildos and thumbs through which they obtain satisfaction in the absence of the supposedly necessary penetrating member. That the boy's orifice is a substitute for the female receptacle is suggested by the violent terminology of the 'invasion' of the narrator's wayward phallus in *The Imperfect Enjoyment*:

> Where e're it pierc'd, a *Cunt* it found or made.
>
> (A-1680, line 43)

The parallel substitutions presented in 'Love a Woman!' --'Porter and Groom' for Aurelia, sodomy with the page-boy for the narrator-- emphasise the similarity of the terms proposed for aristocratic men and women under this settlement of separate coexistence for the sexes. The solution to the problem of desire is apparently the same for men and women: sex with the lower classes. But the power-relation between the aristocratic woman and her lower-class stallion cannot be identical to the relation between the narrator and his servant-catamite --gender differentiates as well as class.

Nor are the two types of relation presented in quite the same way, despite the structural parallel in the poem. Women who gain satisfaction from the services of lower-class men never escape without a satirical sneer --the most extreme example is the snide dialogue 'Quoth the Dutchess of Cleavland to Councillor Knight'[45]. The narrator's choice of a page-boy or link-boy to assuage his desire is never ridiculed. Finally, it must be remembered that Aurelia's use of 'the Porter and the Groom' is a permission granted by the narrator: the stanza begins with the word 'let'. Porter and groom are substitutes --representatives-- of the patriarchal power of the narrator's absent phallus. Under this power, Aurelia is not free.

The institutionalised sexual relationship of master and servant in late seventeenth-century England seems to have been constructed quite differently from, say, the relation of *Erastes* (older man) and *Eromenos* (younger partner) in the ancient Greek institution of pederasty[46]. If anything, the relation between master and servant in the Restoration context seems nearer to depictions of the courtier-page relation in Renaissance Italy. In a portrait by a painter of the Parmesan school, for example, Alessandro Alberti leans against a table covered with papers and books; before him kneels a 'soft young Page', lacing up --or *un*lacing?-- his master's breeches. The aristocrat looks out of the painting, over the boy's head, with the calm assurance of power in repose. The page-boy's head cranes round to look out at the viewer too, as if interrupted just as he was about to perform 'the trick worth forty Wenches'[47].

The Rochesterian relation between narrator and page-boy seems to connect into the coded discourses on Ganymede that had been accreting since ancient Rome. The word 'catamite' is 'supposedly' derived from a corruption of the Greek for Ganymede[48]. Endlessly extrapolating different implications from the story of the shepherd's rape by Jupiter, and his subsequent post as cup-bearer to the gods, the Ganymede discourse proliferated throughout the Middle-Ages and the Renaissance in dialogues, painting, sculpture and alchemical treatises. In England, the Ganymede myth

had been mobilised by Thomas Carew and Inigo Jones back in 1634, in a masque that sought to display Charles I's repudiation of his late father's vices:

> *Ganimede is forbidden the bed-chamber; and must only minister in publique. The gods* [the courtiers of Charles' court] *must keep no Pages, nor Groomes of their chamber under the age of 25, and those provided of a competent stocke of beard.*[49]

George Villiers, son of James's favourite Buckingham, was part of the inner circle of rakes at the Restoration court that included Rochester, Sackville, Sedley and Savile. Rochester may well have been familiar with Italian versions of the Ganymede discourse: he visited Italy as part of his grand tour in the early 1660s (according to Bishop Burnet he was 'a Master of the Modern Italian'), and he may have come across the Ganymede figure in the course of his alchemical researches[50].

In the context of one strand of the Ganymede discourse, the misogyny of 'Love a Woman!' can be located more precisely than has hitherto been attempted. Several recent critics, particularly women, have characterised the song as deeply misogynistic, even 'Rochester's most antifemale poem'[51]. That certain 'Blocks' should be found offensive to women is certainly an understandable reaction: in the first stanza, women are dismissed as 'the idle‡t/‡illie‡t part' of Creation (line 4). The narrator's rejection of women, however, can be defined more precisely against the tradition of debate over the rival charms of Ganymede and Hebe (the female cup-bearer whose post the shepherd-boy usurped) and arguments between Jupiter and Juno over his marital infidelities with both sexes. The terms of the debate derive from Virgil, Ovid and other Latin authors familiar to the Restoration court circle; from the twelfth century to the Renaissance, several dialogues featuring this debate among the gods were produced; Marlowe had rehearsed the rivalry between Ganymede and Juno in **Dido, Queen of Carthage**[52]. The form of the debate between the gods seems to have been a conventionalised and dynamic way of discussing the relative charms of sex with women and sex with boys. These aspects of the Ganymede discourse can be themselves 'deeply misogynistic': a particularly violent Florentine ceiling-painting of 1634 depicts

Jupiter hurling Hebe down from the clouds of Olympus with one hand, and drawing Ganymede up to his side with the other[53]. Located in the context of this debate, the misogyny of 'Love a Woman!' is not softened (or excused!), but rather sharpened and made more specific. The comparison between the relative joys of women and boys is brought to its most precise point in the last line of Tonson's uncancelled text of the song, where the page-boy is claimed to be able to do 'the trick worth forty Wenches'.

An unexpected result of this comparison between the pleasures of women and boys, however, is to draw Aurelia and the aristocrat together in another comparison that detonates the poem's misogyny in the male narrator's complacent face. For if Aurelia is held to be contemptible for resorting to the porter and groom --'Things deſign'd for dirty Slaves'-- where does that leave the narrator, who resorts to buggering the page-boy? After the clearly inadequate substitutions of drink and friendship in the third stanza, the solution proposed in the last stanza is identical to that for which Aurelia has been criticised earlier in the poem: sex with the lower classes. The last stanza includes the narrator in the trap of need. His contempt for Aurelia and for women in general rebounds on himself. Having sneered at Aurelia's lusts for lower-class men, the bite of satire snaps back at him in the last stanza, locating him within the target of his own invective. The solution proposed at the end of the uncancelled version of the poem is for aristocratic man and woman to coexist peacefully by agreeing to have sex, not with each other, but only with their social inferiors. After the pejorative terms in which sex with the lower classes has been framed for Aurelia in the second stanza, however, the page-boy's service has the effect of destabilising the narrator's secure position as the immune source of satirical perspective: it turns the satire against himself.

The pleasures of the page-boy are more than supplementary to the joys of 'Health, Wealth, Mirth and Wine': the unstable solution of the last stanza calls into question the play of tacit assumptions towards women (and towards desire) set up earlier in the poem. It also casts a sly sideways glance at the assumed purity

purity of the male bond represented by the 'lewd well natur'd Friend'. As in so many of Rochester's poems, the last lines of 'Love a Woman!' force a re-reading of what has come before[54].

Tonson's deletion of the last stanza simplifies the poem, and imposes a balanced symmetrical structure that was absent from the uncancelled text. As a 3-stanza poem the argument is closed and self-contained: women are rejected in the first stanza, the reasons for their rejection given in the second stanza, the alternative to women outlined in the third. Cutting out the last stanza shifts the emphasis to the poem's new point of symmetry in the second stanza; this stanza constitutes the most intensely misogynistic part of the poem. Whereas the opening lines are merely dismissive towards women ('The ſillieſt part of God's Creation'), a deep disgust with women is articulated in the alliterative 'd's at the centre of Tonson's text of the poem:

> Let the Porter, and the Groom,
> Things deſign'd for dirty Slaves;
> Drudge in fair *Aurelia*'s Womb....

Anne Righter has commented on the 'syntactical ambiguity' of the word 'for' in these lines, which makes both Aurelia and her lower-class lovers possible candidates for the 'dirty Slaves' insult: 'design'd for' can be taken to mean both 'designed to *be* dirty Slaves (such as the porter and the groom)' or 'designed to *serve* dirty Slaves (such as Aurelia)'[55]. Tonson's re-location of these lines to the centre of the poem's new symmetrical structure has the effect of shifting the emphasis more heavily in favour of the latter reading, making Aurelia the 'dirty Slave' and intensifying the poem's misogyny. In simplifying the structure of 'Love a Woman!', Tonson has directed the satire of the poem more forcefully against women.

Having manoeuvred Aurelia into the position of 'dirty Slave' of her desire, Tonson then rescues the male narrator from entrapment in the slavery of desire by holding back the final stanza. Friendship and drink become valid, complete and satisfying substitutes for women, rather than inadequate attempts at sublimation that lead the narrator to seek solace in his page-boy.

In Tonson's cancelled text, there is never any problem with the narrator's preference for male companionship over Aurelia's charms: 'buſie love' never 'intrenches'. Male bonding retains its asexual purity. The narrator escapes the trap of need in which Aurelia remains enmeshed --no equivalence between the sexes here. The joke is on Aurelia; by holding back the punch-line which includes the male narrator within the target of the poem's satire, Tonson makes sure it's a joke shared by men at the expense of women. There is a closing of ranks. Reader and narrator are drawn into a cosy circle of male complicity that dismisses women as 'dirty Slaves', 'the ſilleſt part of God's Creation'. Is it any surprise that the cancelled text of the poem recalls that room, the male sanctuary of the Kit-Cat club-room, where men get drunk together, toast absent women, and divide the spoils of the Revolutionary Settlement?

Even when the target of Tonson's self-censorship is the idea of sex between men, the effect of his act of censorship is to intensify the misogyny of the poem and to turn the direction of the satire unambiguously against women. The removal of the last stanza from 'Love a Woman!' for the sake of suppressing politically-sensitive suggestions of sodomy leaves Aurelia to bear the brunt of the poem's invective. Women --on behalf of whom this act of censorship was supposedly carried out-- become the exclusive targets of satire in the censored text of the poem. This is a feature of Tonson's textual editing that we shall come across again and again as we look at the alterations he makes to Rochester's poems.

*

To A Lady, in A Letter, the song affected by Tonson's cancellation of leaf D3, presents a much more complex textual history than 'Love a Woman! y'are an Ass'. What seems to have happened is this[56]. Rochester wrote the first version of the poem, which begins 'How happy Cloris (were they free)', and released copies of it for limited circulation among his friends; around the time of his death, a copy descended from one of these manuscripts fell into the hands of the printers behind the Huntington '1680'

edition[57]. After this first version had started circulating through the manuscript network, however, Rochester had decided to revise the poem extensively. He added two new stanzas and re-wrote entire lines in places --the poem now began 'Such perfect Blisse, faire Chloris, wee'. Once again, copies of the revised version circulated round Rochester's friends. In 1676 the revised version of the poem --a text presumably descended from one of this second wave of manuscript copies-- was printed in the anthology **A New Collection of the Choicest Songs**; the following year this text was re-printed in another anthology, **The Last and Best Edition of New Songs**[58]. This second, revised version of the poem was therefore printed four years before the earlier version found its way into print.

When Tonson came to put together texts of the Rochester songs for his 1691 edition, he abandoned his usual practice of using copy-texts derived from the '1680' editions and printed the second, revised, version of *To A Lady, in A Letter*. He didn't use the previously-printed texts of the anthologies **Choicest Songs** and **Best Songs** --significant differences between their texts and Tonson's indicate that the 1691 text is derived from an independent, though related, manuscript source[59]. Like 'Love a Woman!', Tonson's text of *To A Lady, in A Letter* is derived from a manuscript source closely connected to the scribal anthology Harvard MS Eng. 636F[60]. This song is thus one of only 6 poems in the 1691 edition derived from manuscript sources.

A further twist to the tale is provided by the survival of an intermediate draft in Rochester's own handwriting, made during the process of revision from the first version of the poem to the second. This intermediate draft forms part of a collection of manuscripts in the hands of Rochester and his wife, the Portland Manuscript[61]. Added at the end of 6 stanzas that represent the first ('How happy') version of the poem substantially altered, an embryonic drafting of two new stanzas is provided, together with an indication of their intended position after the second stanza[62]. Both new stanzas underwent much further revision before they reached the form represented by the second version of the poem. In

one of the new stanzas, the same general sense and the same rhymes are retained in the fully-revised version:

Portland: Upbraide mee not that I designe
B-1691: Think not in this that I deſign

Portland: Tricks to delude yr charmes
B-1691: A Treaſon 'gainſt Love's Charms,

Portland: When running after mirth & wine
B-1691: When following the God of Wine,

Portland: I leave yr Longing Armes
B-1691: I leave my *Cloris* Arms.[63]

The other new stanza, however, has been re-written out of all recognition by the time it has reached the fully-revised stage of the poem's composition. Here is the Portland stanza:

For wine (whose power alone can raise
Our thoughts soe farr above)
Affords Idea's fitt to praise
What wee thinke fitt to Love

The argument of the equivalent stanza in the revised version of the poem is quite different. This is Ionson's text of the stanza (before cancellation of D3):

Since you have that, for all your haſte,
At which I'le ne're repine,
Will take it's Liquor off as faſt,
As I can take off mine.

Many of the alterations that change the texture of the poem in the second version were first introduced at the stage of the Portland draft. 'Perfect' has been substituted for 'happy' at line 1; 'while' has been replaced by 'whilst' at line 29; line 20 has been changed from 'you mark | The *Coxcomb* for your own' to 'you mark | Him out to be yr owne'. Nonetheless, much of the material of the first ('How happy') version that will be changed in the second ('Such perfect') version still persists in the intermediate draft of the Portland Manuscript.

The components of the transmission of the text of *To A Lady, in A Letter* could thus be summarised as follows:

1) A-1680: first ('How happy') version.
2) A-1685: reprint of A-1680 'How happy' version.
3) Portland: intermediate draft of poem during revision.
4) 1676 & 77: second ('Such perfect') version in **Choicest Songs & Best Songs.**
5) B-1691: 'Such perfect' version, from a different (though related) manuscript source from 4^{G4}.

In printing the 'Such perfect' version of *To A Lady, in A Letter*, therefore, Tonson has rejected the A-series text of the poem and has gone to the trouble of having the type set from a manuscript. Rather than following his usual 1691-edition practice of simply introducing alternative readings into a '1680' copy-text from the manuscripts at his disposal, Tonson has used a manuscript copy-text for this poem. But having gone to these lengths to improve the 'textual accuracy' of *To A Lady, in A Letter*, Tonson then alters this 'purified' text in the last-minute process of cancellation of leaf D3. Two sets of contradictory moves are therefore visible in the transmission of this text from A-series to B-series: the changes introduced by the revision process from the 'How happy' version to the 'Such perfect' version, and the changes wrought by Tonson's project of self-censorship during the cancellation process.

A survey of the alterations to the text brought about by the final stage of revision may help to make the traces of Tonson's self-censorship more visible. The first stanza has been extensively revised, though the rhymes remain the same and the argument is altered in tone (antithetical structures sharpened in degree of contrast) rather than in content:

A-1680 How happy *Cloris* (were they free)
B-1691 Such perfect Bliſs, fair *Cloris*, we

A-1680 Might our enjoyments prove?
B-1691 In our Enjoyment prove:

A-1680 But you with formal *Jealouſie*,
B-1691 'Tis Pity reſtleſs Jealouſie

A-1680 Are ſtill tormenting *Love*.
B-1691 Should mingle with our Love.

Alterations in the second stanza are confined to replacing 'inſtructs' at line 5 to 'has taught', and making the conditional line 'If *Rival Bottle*, you'll allow' into a more forceful imperative: 'You Rival Bottle muſt allow' (line 7). These first two stanzas form the only part of the poem unaffected by the cancellation process, because these stanzas are printed on leaf D2.

Throughout the remainder of the poem, the revisions introduced after the intermediate draft tend to nudge individual phrases towards a greater degree of grammatical complexity, pointing up the twists of the argument through sharper contradictions and syntactically-structured antitheses. In the first half of stanza 6, the conjunction 'nor' is moved from line 22, where it performed a fairly neutral link between two adjectives, to the beginning of the previous line, where it defines the entire sentence of the stanza:

A-1680 You never think it worth your care,
B-1691 Nor do you think it worth your care

A-1680 How empty, nor how dull,
B-1691 How empty, and how dull,

In the revised version, stanza 6 extends the argument of the previous stanza --Cloris's indiscriminate catholicity of taste-- much more continuously and dynamically, rather than simply adding another separate building-block unit as a further example of her predilection for coxcombs. Negatives have attracted considerable attention during the last stages of revision, undergoing processes of intensification and enhancement. At line 26, 'we'll not diſagree' has been revised to 'we ne'er diſagree'; the adjectival negative 'not fit for me' is changed to the more extreme negative noun 'no Match' at line 28[65].

Some revisions simply alter a single word or change the position of one word in a sentence. 'Cods' at line 24 was the focus of intensive revision during the transmission of the text from

text from first version to second version. Two alternative alterations for the word are given in the Portland draft, 'purse' on the line, and 'backs' written above it. Neither alternative, however, was rejected at that stage of composition; neither word was scored out[66]. 'Cods' returns to the text of the Harvard manuscript at this point, but the printed texts of both anthologies **Choicest Songs** and **Best Songs** and Tonson's uncancelled state substitute 'Bags' for this problematic piece of anatomy. The narrator's 'Paſſion' for wine at line 29 is diffused to 'Pleaſure', thus encompassing both his and Cloris's pursuit of two different kinds of intoxication more neatly. A more vivid sense of duration for their bouts of drink and sex is given in the following line by changing the position of the word 'am' in order to place 'whole nights' at the beginning of the line:

A-1680 Am whole *Nights* taking in,
B-1691 Whole nights am taking in.

Even the mere alteration of an adjective's position in the sentence can dramatically increase the complexity of the poem's argument. Rochester's last lines, as Anne Righter has shown, will suddenly move the poem into a different focus and reveal a variety of warring meanings[67]. The revised ending of *To A Lady, in A Letter* achieves an abrupt volte face of dizzying complexity by simply switching round the adjective 'luſty' from 'Juice' to 'Men':

A-1680 While I my Paſſion to purſue,
B-1691 Whilſt I, my Pleaſure to purſue,

A-1680 Am whole *Nights* taking in,
B-1691 Whole nights am taking in

A-1680 The luſty *Juice* of *Grapes*, take you
B-1691 The luſty Juice of Grapes, take you

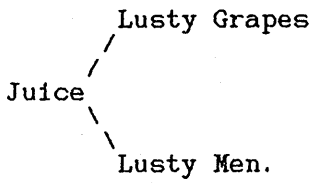
A-1680 The luſty *Juice* of *Men*.
B-1691 The Juice of luſty Men.

The construction of the last two lines, which bring together all the recurring comparisons of drink/sex metaphors of consumption, is a parallel structure in the first version and in Rochester's initial draftings in the Portland manuscript. 'The lufty *Juice* of *Men*' is laid directly underneath 'the luſty *Juice* of *Grapes*' in the first version --even the italic type of the nouns brings out the parallelism. In the early stages of the intermediate draft,

Rochester first swaps round the adjective 'Lusty' from 'Juice' to 'Grapes' and 'Men'. The lines

> The juice of Lusty Grapes, take you
> The juice of Lusty Men--

thus continue the parallel structure in a slightly different form:

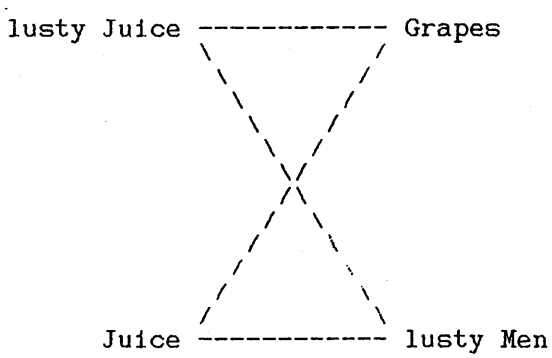


This reversal of the position of both occurrences of the adjective leads Rochester on to the next stage of revision of these lines, where he crosses out the words 'Juice of Lusty' (Grapes) at line 31, and writes above this phrase the words 'Lusty juice of'[68]. The last stage of the Portland Manuscript's drafting of these lines thus reads:

> The Lusty Juice of grapes, take you
> The juice of Lusty Men--

And it is this arrangement that continues into the texts provided by the Harvard Manuscript, the two anthologies **Choicest Songs** and **Best Songs**, and the uncancelled state of Tonson's 1691 edition.

A complex chiasmic structure is thus introduced into the last two lines, overlaid upon the traces of the parallel 'Juice of' structure that still remain from the first version of the poem. This structure could be summarised in the following diagram:



Where the parallel structure of the first version maintained Cloris and the narrator, and their two forms of consumption, in separate, discrete compartments, the chiasmic structure opens up ambiguous possibilities of equivalence between the two sides of the comparison similar to the uncancelled last stanza of 'Love a Woman! y'are an Ass'[69]. It draws the narrator's wine into a much tighter

relation with the sperm consumed by Cloris. Not only does this heighten the 'peculiar passivity' of the male narrator[70] --very different from the 'ſtiff-Prick'd', brawny-backed phallicism of other men in the Rochester poems-- but it makes it possible to excavate, by reading along one diagonal of the chiasmic cross, a scenario in which the male narrator ingests 'the lusty Juice' of 'lusty Men'. The site of this scenario is deeply submerged, hardly registering on the surface of the poem; but its buried presence is just visible in the contours of the narrator's uneasy, vulnerable masculinity.

The chiasmic structure also has the effect of directing back at the narrator the snide invective to which Cloris has been subjected earlier in the poem. In the A-series version, the parallel construction establishes around the narrator a degree of immunity from the contempt heaped on Cloris for her indiscriminate promiscuity, by keeping the two terms of the comparison separate. The hard-drinking narrator is safe in a 'Boy was I drunk last night' male-bond boasting-session; Cloris is dismissed by the male-bond put-down 'What a slut'. Through the interpenetrative chiasmic crossings of the revised last two lines, the narrator is re-located within the circle of the poem's satire, as a target of his own invective.

No sooner had 1000-1500 copies of this dramatically revised text of *To A Lady, in A Letter* been printed off, than Tonson ordered the cancellation of most of the poem. This cancellation included deleting the last stanza in its entirety. Tonson was not the first to experience anxieties around this stanza: the publishers of the 1676 and 1677 anthologies **Choicest Songs** and **Best Songs** had removed the full-stop after 'me' at line 28, replaced it with ',&c.' and suppressed the last stanza[71]. The site of disruption in their texts was thus flagged in a particularly vivid manner. No such advertisement for the absent fragment of text is given in Tonson's cancelled printing of leaf D3: across the empty space left by the omission of the stanza at the bottom of the new verso, a line the width of the page has been printed, following Tonson's usual practice of occupying blank space at the end of the

poem with rules. These poem-ending and space-filling devices are usually double rules in B-1691, however, and there is no rule at the end of D3^{v} in the uncancelled state, even though about a third of the page has been left blank[72]. The single rule placed at the end of the cancelled text of the poem provides a subtle mark of the self-censorship that has been carried out. Tonson draws a line underneath the seventh stanza, obliquely declaring: Thus far will I go in printing this text, but no further.

Once again, the effect of Tonson's intervention in the text is to rescue the male narrator from within the target of his own satire. The cancelled text now ends with this concluding stanza:

> All this you freely may confeſs,
> Yet we ne'er diſagree:
> For did you love your Pleaſure leſs,
> You were no Match for me.

This sounds convincing as a conclusion, apparently closing the argument in a firm and logical termination to the poem, concealing the possibility that there had ever been anything else there. But it's a very different conclusion from the one reached in the uncancelled text. Cloris and the narrator, drink and sperm are kept apart at an even greater distance than in the last stanza of the 'How happy' version of the poem: they never even reach the parallel formation of the first version of the last two lines, never mind enter into the compromising chiasmic relation of the revised version. Instead of drawing together the strands of the comparisons between sperm/drink, Cloris/the narrator that run through the poem, Tonson's cancelled text ends with the reader's attention concentrated on Cloris's 'confession' of indiscriminate promiscuity (a confession voiced by the male narrator, not by Cloris!), and an ambiguously double-edged admiration for her love of 'Pleaſure'. One side of the comparative pairing, that is, has been been dropped from the conclusion: the narrator's love of drink. Tonson's conclusion thus not only creates an imbalance in the paired comparisons of the poem, it weights the ending against Cloris by presenting her term in the pairing (the consumption of sperm) without the narrator's term (the consumption of wine).

In 'Love a Woman!', the solution to the 'problem' of relations between the sexes (defined as the 'silliness' of women) proposed by the narrator of Tonson's cancelled text is a state of drunken celibacy. Both the uncancelled and the cancelled texts of *To A Lady, in A Letter* present the same solution to the same problem (here defined as 'reſtleſs Jealouſie'), but the emphases on the terms of the narrator's proposed arrangements fall differently in the leaf that was excised and in the leaf that replaced it. Cloris's side of the bargain is that she will be allowed to have as many coxcombs or insipid sparks as she wants, provided she tolerates the narrator's drunkenness. Cancelled and uncancelled texts carry these terms for Cloris, but the deletion of the last stanza removes this permission from the context of a bargain and transforms it into an accusation. Once again, Tonson's intervention in the Rochester text aligns the poem much more closely with late seventeenth-century traditions of verse satire on the supposed nymphomania and moriaphilia of women[73].

The removal of the last stanza, therefore, rescues the male narrator from the compromising chiasmic innuendo of fellatio and focusses the invective of the poem with much greater intensity upon Cloris. The textual paradox of the 1691 printing of the poem is that, having obtained from a manuscript source a version that implicates the narrator in the enclosure of his own invective, Tonson then heroically liberates the narrator from the prison of the satire by cancelling out the last stanza.

Tonson's erasure of the last stanza on behalf of 'the Severest Matron' seems to have been provoked, at least initially, not by a rude vocabulary or a compromising innuendo, but by the image of a woman ingesting semen. This image --a central one in the argument of the poem-- seems to have presented a problem to Tonson as he checked through the freshly-printed copies of the sheet. In the second of the two new stanzas he had acquired from his manuscript source, he spotted an equally troubling occurrence of the image and took steps to remove it. On D3^{r}, the latter half of the fourth stanza is completely re-written during the cancellation process.

> Since you have that, for all your haſte,
> At which I'le ne're repine,
> Will take it's Liquor off as faſt,
> As I can take off mine

becomes

> Since you have that, for all your haſte,
> At which I'll ne'er repine,
> Its Pleaſure can repeat as faſt,
> As I the Joys of Wine.

The offending 'Liquor' had proved troublesome for the printers of the 1776 anthology **Choicest Songs**, who printed the line 'Will take its ------- off as fast'. When the poem was anthologised the following year in **Best Songs**, however, the word 'liquor' was reinstated[74].

It's possible that the two new lines of the cancelled text are the composition of Tonson himself: he had dabbled in verse on several occasions in the previous decade. Unable to obtain commendatory verses from Dryden and Waller for his second (1683) edition of Creech's translation of Lucretius, Tonson had written them himself. He forged 'How happy had our English tongue been made' in Dryden's style, and passed off 'What all men wisht, tho few cou'd hope to see' under the initials 'E.W.'[75]. (Many years later, Tonson admitted the forgeries to his nephew, but by that time his Dryden pastiche had been 'taken by Creech & everyone else for Dryden', and his Waller piece had been included in Atterbury's edition of **The Second Part of Mr. Waller's Poems**[76]). In 1684, Tonson had contributed a further effort at commendatory verse to his edition of Aphra Behn's **Poems Upon Several Occasions**, *To the Lovely Witty Astraea, on her Excellent Poems* ('Oh, wonder of thy Sex! Where can we see')[77]. And in 1685 his **Sylvae: or, the Second Part of the Poetical Miscellanies** included his pastoral elegy *On the Death of Mr. Oldham* ('On the Remains of an old blasted Oak')[78].

Tonson's contribution to the Rochester canon writes out the offending 'Liquor' but writes in an equally lewd suggestion of Cloris's stamina and voracity, as well as a hint at her capacity for multiple orgasm. The direction of the transformation of the text here is not towards decency or prudishness. Tonson's

censorship at stanza 4 is not repressive of sexuality: it re-directs the poem away from the image of a woman ingesting semen, towards the more familiar territory of the supposedly limitless demands of female sexual appetite.

Representations of a voracious, threatening female appetite saturate the discourse of Rochester's poetry, though they tend to be clustered in those poems Tonson chose to omit from his edition. They are frequently paired with complaints about the male's inability to 'repeat' *his* pleasure 'as fast' once ejaculation has been achieved: *The Imperfect Enjoyment* is of course the most outstanding example of this scenario, but the same trope occurs in the fragment *Actus Primus Scena Prima*. Tarsander's complaints

> For ſtanding *Tarſes* we kind Nature thank,
> And yet adore thoſe *Cunts* that make 'em lank;
> ...What pleaſure has a *Gameſter*, if he knows,
> When e're he plays, that he muſt always looſe?

draw an optimistic riposte from Swiveanthe:

> Do not thy *Tarſe*, *Natures* beſt gift, deſpiſe,
> That *C--t*, that made it fall, will make it riſe.[79]

Set against such plaintive articulations of male incapacity to repeat pleasure, representations of an insatiable female appetite form an inverse relation that is anxious and troubling for these male narrators. Another common pairing links women's capacity for repeated pleasure with the image of female ingestion of sperm that Tonson's two lines replace. In the *Ramble*, for example, these lines follow a catalogue of 'Fools' whose semen the narrator feverishly imagines Corinna has absorbed:

> When your lew'd *Cunt*, came ſpewing home,
> Drencht with the Seed of half the *Town*.
> My Dram of Sperme, was ſupt up after,
> For the digeſtive Surfeit Water.
> Full gorged at another time,
> With a vaſt *Meal* of Naſty Slime;
> Which your devouring *Cunt* had drawn
> From *Porters Backs*, and *Foot-mens Brawn*,
> I was content to ſerve you up,
> My *Ballock* full, for your *Grace Cup*. (A-1680, lines 113-122)

In *To A Lady, in A Letter*, the only pleasure the narrator can repeat is the action of raising the wine-glass to his lips. Articulations of male incapacity for repeated sexual pleasure and images of female ingestion of semen are both absent from Tonson's

cancelled text of the poem. Instead, we are left with Tonson's elegantly-turned sneer at Cloris's ability (and desire) to repeat her pleasures as fast as the narrator can down drink. The new material inserted into stanza 4 thus imbeds the poem even more deeply in the tradition of antifeminist verse satire that criticises women for their supposedly incontinent desires and their limitless abilities to assuage them.

Stanza 4, then, presents the same textual paradox as the omitted last stanza. Dissatisfied with the first-version text provided by the '1680' group editions, Tonson uses a manuscript text to obtain two extra stanzas absent from the the first version; he then re-writes half of the second new stanza as part of the alterations carried out during last-minute cancellation of leaf D3. The image placed under erasure is the same image that provoked the suppression of the last stanza, the spectacle of Cloris ingesting her lovers' sperm; the effect of Tonson's substitution, like that of the deletion of the last stanza, is to turn the satire of the poem more violently against Cloris, against women, and away from the male narrator.

Where the purpose of Tonson's interventions in stanza 4 and the last stanza was to remove the same offensive image, at line 24 the alteration carried out during cancellation concentrates on a single unacceptable word, 'Bags'. Excavating the site of Tonson's disruption of the text at this point uncovers as many layers as Troy:

A-1680:	So that their *Cods* be full
Portland 1:	purse
Portland 2:	backs
A-1685:	*Purſe*
Harvard:	Codds
B-1691-u:	Bags
B-1691-c:	Veins

'Bags' had presented no problem for the publishers of both the second-version anthologised texts of the 1670s, but the word 'Cods' had caused some anxiety for Andrew Thorncome when he came to print the first-version text of the poem in 1685. By a strange coincidence, Thorncome chose to substitute the same reading that

Rochester had considered in his intermediate draft of the poem, 'purse', before adding the word 'backs' just above the line. It's extremely unlikely that Thorncome's substitution is manuscript-derived; but, like 'Bags', 'purse' was a contemporary synonym for the testicles: to have no money in one's purse was to be impotent[80]. Tonson's substitution of 'Veins' for 'Bags' was therefore not the first instance of self-censorship at this point in the poem.

'Cods', 'purse', and 'Bags' all cluster around the idea of the container, providing a neat analogy between the testicles of Cloris's lovers and the narrator's 'Rival Bottle'. 'Backs' and 'Veins' are the odd men out in this complex of 'container' readings. The 'strong back' is a common term for male potency in Rochester's poems, in all instances occurring in situations where the male narrator imagines women being serviced by fools and lower-class men --the same situation as stanza 6 of *To A Lady, in A Letter*[81]. The '*Porters Backs*' are paired with the '*Foot-mens Brawn*' in the *Ramble*, where the narrator imagines Corinna to be 'drencht with the Seed' of other men. *Tunbridge Wells* (also absent from B-1691) provides two further examples of the term. The narrator overhears the following remedy suggested to a mother whose 16-year old daughter has not yet started menstruating:

> ...Get her a Husband Madam,
> I Marry'd at that Age, and ne're had had'em:
> Was just like her; Steele-Waters, let alone,
> A Back of Steele, will bring 'em better downe.[82]

This inspires the narrator to speculate on the steps taken by the woman dispensing this advice to solve her own problem, infertility. His speculations are addressed to that 'poor foolish Fribble', her absent husband:

> ... For here walke Cuffe, and Kick,
> With Brawney Back, and Leggs, and potent Prick.
> Who more substantially will cure thy Wife,
> And on her half-dead Womb, bestowe new life.[83]

The reading 'backs' thus continues the central feature of the 'Cods' / 'purse' / 'Bags' cluster, that of the male gaze focussed on the potency of other men. It also continues the contrast implied by the 'container' cluster between the potency of Cloris's lovers and the inferred impotence of the wine-sodden narrator[84].

Tonson's substitution of 'Veins' for 'Bags' in the cancelled text at first seems a vague abstraction of the vivid synonyms of potency put forward by previous readings. It does, however, provide a witty parallel between the alcohol-fired blood of the narrator and the lust-enflamed veins of Cloris's lovers . The image of their 'full' veins also suggests the vasodilation of the blood-engorged erect penis: Tonson's substitution is much more phallic than the ruder vessels of 'Cods', 'Bags' and 'purse'. It is ironic that Tonson should remove a reference to the testicles from the text of the poem, only to substitute a reference to the phallus. This irony is compounded by the fact that 'castration' was a contemporary term for textual censorship[85]. Tonson's removal of the word 'Bags' castrates both the text of the poem and Cloris's lovers in the same operation; his choice of substitution dilutes the comparison between sperm and drink to almost homeopathic quantities, but introduces an explicitly phallic image absent from the uncancelled text of the poem.

Chapter 4. SELF-CENSORSHIP AND COPYRIGHT: TONSON'S TEXT OF 'FAIR CLORIS IN A PIGGSTY LAY'.

The alterations to 'Love a Woman!' and *To A Lady, in A Letter* took place in the print-shop, during the final stages of the production process. Transformation of the text of 'Fair Cloris in a Piggsty lay' was carried out at a much earlier stage in the production of the book: in this respect the poem is more typical of the processes of textual transformation that took place in the 1691 edition as a whole. Removal of 'ev'ry Block of Offence' from the poem was accomplished as part of the normal editorial procedure involved in preparing the text for publication. Locating the changes wrought on the text of 'Fair Cloris' not in the print-shop but in the more elegant surroundings of the Kit-Cat club-room, it becomes possible to consider the re-readings prompted by Tonson's text of the poem about rape within the context of contemporary constructions of copyright and press-control[1]. These constructions can be seen as a set of transactions and negotiations between men: male power set the limits of possible discourses in print[2]. At the centre of 'Fair Cloris', the locus of Tonson's self-censorship is a representation of female sexuality. The Kit-Cat club-room, that exclusively male domain in which Tonson helped negotiate the terms of copyright legislation, provided a space in which power could be transacted between men through the 'sociable' toasting of absent women. Sited within this space, the readings negotiated in the transformed text of 'Fair Cloris' provide a vivid, local example of what can happen to women under a regime of self-censorship closely related to the inauguration of copyright legislation.

Unlike 'Love a Woman!' and *To A Lady, in A Letter*, the 1691 text of 'Fair Cloris' is derived directly from the '1680' group without introducing readings from manuscript sources. Tonson's compositor has punctuated the poem differently: parenthetical phrases such as 'it seems' at line 26 ('This Plot, it ſeems, the luſtful Slave...') are marked off more clearly, and the disruptive profusion of commas in the '1680' group editions has been tamed to shape more smoothly the sentence-structure of the poem. Alteration

of accidentals only emphasize how closely Tonson follows the '1680' source. The transformation of the text that took place during the preparations for its publication in 1691 was motivated by Tonson's regime of self-censorship rather than by any concern for textual improvement.

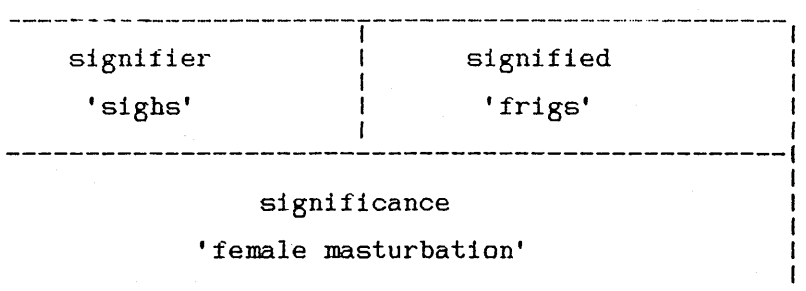
Tonson's intervention in the text of 'Fair Cloris' was precipitated by the word 'Friggs' at line 36:

> Frighted ſhe wakes, and waking Friggs...

When Thorncome had printed the poem six years earlier in his 1685 edition, he had substituted 'Friggs' with 'ſighs'[3]; the offending word's position at the end of the line, however, creates such a violent disjunction of the rhyme that Thorncome's interference in the text is foregrounded rather than concealed. The rhyme with '*Pigs*' two lines later makes it fairly clear that some kind of disruption has taken place, and the rest of the stanza helps to spell out the hidden significance that lurks behind the signifier 'ſighs':

> Frighted ſhe wakes, and waking ſighs,
> Nature thus kindly eas'd,
> In dreams rais'd by her murm'ring *Pigs*,
> And her own Thumb between her Legs,
> She's innocently pleas'd.

A Barthian diagram of Thorncome's operation on the text might look something like this:



What is actually printed on the page of A-1685 is the apparently innocent signifier 'sighs', but the absent word is signified by the rhyme with 'pigs'. The field of 'significance' (in the second-level sense that Barthes uses the word) is mapped out by the context of the last stanza and the reference to Cloris's 'own Thumb between her Legs'[4].

Tonson's response to the problematic word is much more drastic: he deletes the entire stanza. This is the only alteration he makes to the text of 'Fair Cloris'. But because the mechanism of the poem turns on the trick ending --to an even greater extent than in 'Love a Woman!' and *To A Lady, in A Letter*-- Tonson's deletion of the last stanza has a disproportionate effect that reaches back to the very beginning of the poem.

At a narrative level, suppression of the final stanza has the consequence that Cloris falls asleep at the beginning of the poem (lines 3-6) and never wakes up. The dream structure of the A-series text, whereby Cloris's adventure is framed by the first and last stanzas, is strangely altered. It's not just that the poem becomes an account of a fantasy dreamt by a sleeping swineherdess, with her waking masturbation omitted. What is at stake is the status of Cloris's experience --rape or masturbation, fantasy or fact. And not just for Cloris, not just in terms of the poem's plot: the reader too is lulled asleep and never wakes up, is never released by the final stanza from the dream that grips with the conviction of actuality. In the '1680' text, both Cloris and the reader are 'frighted' at line 36 as they realise the rape was 'only' a dream; in Tonson's text this realisation for both reader and nymph is withheld. Anne Righter has provided a useful commentary on the hermeneutics of the poem, drawing attention to 'the opportunity for misreading or at least misintonation in the second stanza':

> It is a mistake which it is almost impossible not to make every time, no matter how well you know the poem... Verse rhythm, position in the line and sense all persuade the reader to take 'she dreamt' as part of a construction syntactically parallel with that introduced by 'She slept' in the preceding stanza. But the suggestion of symmetry is indeed the trick. Because of it, the brutal rape of poor Cloris... looks like a real incident in a waking world...[5]

Without the final stanza, the elision of the entry of the reader, and Cloris, into the dream-state at the beginning of the poem is not countered by the suddenness with which consciousness returns at the end. Both are left stranded in a dream they take for reality.

The 1691 text of 'Fair Cloris' locates the poem in a brutal 'waking world' of rape and domination, rather than the pleasant pastoral of masturbating swineherdesses to which the reader is returned at the end of the '1680' version.

Take away the final stanza, and the poem ends on an invocation of the widespread late seventeenth-century literary commonplace, the 'happy minute':

> Now pierced is her Virgin Zone,
> She feels the Foe within it;
> She hears a broken amorous Groan,
> The panting Lover's fainting moan,
> Juſt in the happy minute. (B-1691, lines 31-35)

As well as carrying an indirect reference to the moment of orgasm itself, the 'happy minute' (or the 'lucky minute', or the 'Shepherd's Hour') connotes a situation of unexpected sexual opportunity, in which the woman, previously scornful, suddenly proves kind and unresisting to the fortunate man's advances. The idea is that any woman is available if only she is approached at the right moment. Another Rochester pastoral succinctly formulates the convention. 'As Chloris full of harmless thought' appeared on the previous opening to 'Fair Cloris' in the '1680' editions, and even after Tonson's re-ordering of the songs for B-1691 the two poems are printed only 4 pages apart[6]. The poem ends:

> Thus ſhe whom Princes had deny'd,
> With all their Pomp and Train;
> Was, in the lucky Minute, try'd,
> And yielded to a Swain. (B-1691, lines 21-24)

Jeremy Treglown has located sites of the 'happy minute' trope in texts by John Glanvill, Dryden and Etherege[7]. Further examples -- two happy minutes and a lucky one-- are to be found in Aphra Behn's 1679 comedy **The Feigned Courtesans**[8]. The convention was familiar enough to allow a considerable degree of manipulation. Gender expectations --it was usually a man who made the most of the happy minute-- are playfully exploited by Behn in **The Feigned Courtesans**. Laura describes how, disguised as a man, she managed to trick the man she loves into embracing 'her':

> -- Ah Silvio, when he took me in his arms,
> Pressing my willing bosom to his breast,
> Kissing my cheek, calling me lovely youth,
> And wondering how such beauty, and such bravery,

> Met in a man so young! Ah, then, my boy!
> Then in that happy minute,
> How near I was to telling all my soul.[9]

Behn's female opportunist exploits the 'happy minute' --brought about by her deception and drag-- in which the man is made available to the woman's desires.

In the A-series texts of 'Fair Cloris', the 'happy minute' trope participates in the poem's jokes about the gender expectations of pastoral. What appears to be the swain's happy minute at line 35 --remember the syntactic trap that has lured the reader into taking the dream for a 'real' event-- turns out to be Cloris's happy minute in the next line, when she 'waking Friggs'. The masturbatory moment of the last stanza is the Swineherdess's Hour, not the Shepherd's Hour. It's not just that, in her 'happy minute', Cloris is alone with her pigs, with no man there to make the most of the opportunity: Cloris exploits her own opportunity. As Sarah Wintle points out, Cloris 'doesn't need a man, only the idea of one'[10]. Even the latent connotation of the male orgasm inherent in the 'happy minute' convention (made explicit in the swain's 'broken Am'rous groan, | The panting *Lovers* fainting moan') is subverted in the last stanza, as Cloris reclaims the lustful slave's orgasm for herself, ending the poem with her own orgasm with which she's 'innocent and pleas'd'[11].

As a connective unit linking the last line of the penultimate stanza with the first line of the next, the 'happy minute' trope triggers a series of jokes about expectations of genre and gender. As the final phrase in Tonson's truncated version of the poem, the trope has a very different effect. Returned to the domain of male sexual opportunism, it reinforces those expectations that had been subverted in the jokes of the missing 'Friggs' stanza. This is accomplished partly through the phrase's privileged position at the moment of closure in Tonson's version, partly through the very familiarity of the trope that had enabled the manipulation of conventional expectation in the deleted last stanza. The 'happy minute' situation was usually located in the

pastoral poem --even Behn's and Etherege's dramatic references to the convention invoke, to a greater or lesser extent of self-consciousness, its source in pastoral song[12]. Cloris's rape --a real event in Tonson's revised ontology-- is framed within the pastoral mode as an unexceptional incident in the lives of swains and swineherdesses. But this generic closure comes at the end of what Righter calls the 'deprecating, brutal, matter of fact' description of the rape: the piercing of Cloris's hymen (the 'Virgin Zone'[13]), the swain's phallus as 'the Foe' within her. Cloris is not seduced by the 'lustful slave', he 'throws himself upon her'. The unequivocal construction of the event as rape clashes with the central premise of the 'happy minute' situation: the degree of willingness on the part of the woman that makes the sexual opportunity of the happy minute possible.

An inevitable effect of Tonson's deletion of the last stanza is that it empties Cloris of desire. In Tonson's version, Cloris experiences only the effects of the swain's desire. In the new ending, the rude active verb of her masturbation is replaced by verbs of passive sensation ('she feels... she hears...') which suggest a degree of detachment from her experience. But having expurgated the text of all the visible signs of Cloris as a desiring subject, Tonson closes his version of the poem with the 'happy minute' trope, with all its assumptions about the intensity --and unpredictability-- of female desire. Cloris's desire re-enters the text, as it were, through the back door. In a particularly sneaky and subliminal way, the conventional associations of the 'happy minute' trope amplify the signal that was already latent in the A-series text: what Sarah Wintle describes as 'the male fantasy that women long to be raped'[14].

The notion that the swain's rape completes Cloris's (unstated, assumed) desire is reinforced by the reader's experience of the other 'happy minute' pastoral Tonson printed a few pages earlier. 'As Chloris full of harmless thought' shares the same name for the heroine (common enough in the genre), describes a similar situation (she lies 'beneath a Willow' rather than in a pig-sty), and ends, like Tonson's version of 'Fair Cloris', with the 'amorous

Swain' enjoying his 'lucky Minute'. It's a much more cheery poem than Tonson's 'Fair Cloris'; the woman's desire is vividly foregrounded, though in a literary, metaphorical code rather than the rude monosyllable of the other poem's deleted stanza. But it also includes a casual re-statement of the frightening and pervasive commonplace that a woman's resistance indicates acceptance, that her 'no' means 'yes':

A ſudden paſſion ſeiz'd her Heart
In ſpight of her diſdain;
She found a Pulſe in every part,
And Love in every Vein.

Ah! Youth (ſaid ſhe) what Charms are theſe,
That conquer and ſurpriſe?
Ah let me----for unleſs you pleaſe,
I have no pow'r to riſe.

She fainting ſpoke, and trembling lay,
For fear he ſhould comply:
Her lovely Eyes her Heart betray,
And give her Tongue the lye. (B-1691, lines 9-20)

Reading the 'lucky minute' of 'As Chloris full of harmless thought' across the 'happy minute' of Tonson's 'Fair Cloris' text, this endearing depiction of maidenly modesty struggling with desire becomes a restatement of the age-old male rationale for rape.

In some respects, Tonson's suppression of the last stanza of 'Fair Cloris' simplifies the A-series version of the poem. Most of the jokes about genre, gender and sexuality are simply lost. The double climax structure of the last two stanzas is reduced to a single climax: the swain's orgasm. The complex, shifting sightlines of the poem (male reader/narrator watch a woman in a pig-sty, watch a woman being raped, watch a woman *dreaming* about being raped, watch a woman masturbating while dreaming of rape...), these depths of voyeuristic perspective are flattened to the spectacle of a woman being raped[15]. But in the 7 stanzas remaining after Tonson's expurgation, the mechanisms that generated these jokes, antitheses and complications continue to operate --though towards different ends, from their effects in the 8-stanza text. I have argued at some length that a trope mentioned in passing (as part of a joke) in the sixth-last line creates a different set of effects

when read as the final phrase of the poem. Remnants of antithetical structures that had taken part in the double-climax ending have a different meaning when shorn of the complementary terms of the suppressed stanza. In the A-series texts, Cloris's powerlessness when penetrated by the alien, invading phallus 'the *Foe*' is turned around by the empowering gesture of 'her own Thumb between her *Legs*'; take away the second term of the 'Foe'/'Thumb' antithesis, and the militaristic, aggressive and invasive aspects of the rape are heightened even further. The swain's orgasm, with which Cloris is uninvolved ('She feels... She hears...') is immediately followed in the A-series ending by the swineherdess's climax, from which the swain is absent and the reader is distanced, an observer; Cloris's passivity and helplessness, her status as victim of imposed sensation, are reinforced in the single-climax structure of Tonson's text.

The absence of the last stanza from Tonson's text doesn't merely lessen, reduce, simplify the A-series poem: quite complex, new effects are brought about through its absence. All these effects, however, serve to intensify the poem's hostility to women. Two contradictory positions are maintained simultaneously in the last stanza of the A-series text: that women don't need men (they can masturbate), and that women want to be raped (women masturbate thinking of rape). One position empowers women, the other disempowers them. No resolution between these positions is attempted in the poem --the poem operates in the oscillation between these two polarities. Sarah Wintle's reading of the poem tries to fix this oscillatory movement, only to end up replicating it in her own sentences:

> Chloris doesn't need a man, only the idea of one. The point might be said to be undercut by the fact that the poem turns on the male fantasy that women long to be raped, but this is presented as a fantasy within the poem itself. Self-administered pleasure is the final reality the poem leaves us with...'[16]

Tonson's text, of course, leaves us with a very different 'final reality'. Instead of closing on the image of Cloris in control of her body, responsible for her own pleasure, the 1691 text ends with

the brutality of the broken hymen (the 'Virgin Zone') and the domination of rape. Tonson's text erases both terms of the last stanza's dizzying oscillation, only to re-inscribe one of them --the disempowering term-- through the associations of the 'happy minute' trope. The suggestion that women don't need men for their sexual pleasure is lost in the deletion of the last stanza; the invidious notion that Cloris wanted to be raped is the idea on which the Tonson poem closes.

A rude word, an unacceptable image may have been the starting points for Tonson's transformation of the text, but the changes instituted by the 1691 re-editing go well beyond the suppression of the signs of Cloris's sexuality. A radical, empowering construction of women's sexuality, in which women can do without men, is censored out --and the effect is to locate Cloris within a construction that defines her as a passive, powerless victim of sexual violence. Female desire is translated into an excuse for rape. Tonson's censorship is not merely repressive: it heightens and intensifies the violence with which Cloris is subjected to patriarchal power. The 'Block of Offence' in 'Fair Cloris' is the spectacle of a woman in control of her own body, obtaining her own sexual pleasure for herself. Its removal not only closes off the possibility of active, independent female sexuality; it restricts women to the role of passive victim of the most aggressive extreme of male sexuality, the act of rape.

*

Cloris's rape can be re-located from the pastoral pig-sty to the Kit-Cat club-room through the re-readings made necessary by Tonson's regime of voluntary self-censorship of the text. The violence enacted upon the women represented in Tonson's edition of Rochester --carried out in the name of women-- is the result of the apparatus of self-regulation under which these representations have been placed. Rude words, unacceptable images, offensive 'Blocks' may be the provocation for Tonson's erasures and re-writings, but the effect of these textual transformations is to inscribe further acts of violence against Aurelia in 'Love a Woman!' and the two

Clorises of *To A Lady, in A Letter* and 'Fair Cloris'. It is Tonson's self-discipline in policing his own texts that brings about these transformations that victimise women. His voluntary self-regulation prefigures the conditions under which printed texts are produced under the legislation of copyright-control. Over the two decades following the production of B-1691, the emphasis of press-control shifted from a system of censorship enforced through pre-publication inspection of the text to a regime of self-censorship instituted through fear of post-publication prosecution. B-1691 did not carry a license --Tonson seldom subjected his books to the scrutiny of the licenser[17]. Tonson's own examination of the texts, rather than the government censor's, brings about the alterations that escalate the levels of violence against women in Rochester's poems.

The conditions under which the self-censored texts of the Tonson edition were produced bear striking similarities to the conditions instituted by the Copyright Act of 1710[18]. Abolition of the licensing system, under which freedom from prosecution had been guaranteed by the presence of the censor's license of approval on the title-page, was the most immediate implication of this 'Act for the Encouragement of Learning': the licensing system had already been allowed to lapse between 1679 and 1685 and from 1695 until its final dismantling in 1710[19]. Ownership of copyright was guaranteed under the 1710 act, providing the publishing trades with the necessary legal structure for the commodification of printed discourses; but there could be no guarantee of freedom from prosecution equivalent to the censor's license. The catch in ownership of copyright, then, was that the owner of the copyright was liable to prosecution[20]. Theoretically, the author owned the copyright to his work under the 1710 Act; in practice, the publisher bought the copyright from the author and thus became liable to any government reprisals the text might attract.

Where the licensing system's powers of search and seizure had provoked resentment, copyright encouraged the habit of obedience by implicitly connecting the ownership of copy --on which the publisher depended for his livelihood-- with the expanding

machinery of press-control. Hitherto, the agencies of press-control had only impinged on the lives of marginal figures in the book-trades, pirates and seditious printers; the threat of reprisal against such villains was explicit in the Licensing Acts. Under copyright, no publisher or bookseller could afford not to ask himself, Is this book offensive, seditious, blasphemous, obscene? By postponing reprisal until after publication, the apparatus of press-control under copyright law was able to coerce publishers into policing their own texts themselves: fewer risks were taken; the circle of enforcement was effortlessly widened[21].

This obedient, self-censoring subject instituted by copyright control recalls the construction of authorship presented by the most famous government censor in the most famous treatise on censorship: **Areopagitica**. When Milton's author 'writes to the world', 'he ſearches, meditats, is industrious, and likely conſults and conferrs with his judicious friends', carefully considering the implications of his discourse[22]. Milton's attack on licensing --it is not an attack on censorship-- is grounded on a dissatisfaction with the explicit nature of the system's threats and punishments. His argument that licensing takes away the individual citizen's responsibility for his own discourses evokes a figure prophetic of the subject that will be constituted under copyright control:

> If every action which is good, or evill in man at ripe years, were to be under pittance, and preſcrition, and compulſion, what were virtue but a name, what praiſe could be then due to well-doing, what grammercy to be ſober, juſt or continent?[23]

Licensing, Milton argues, assumes the population of its domain to be 'a giddy, vitious and ungrounded people', 'an unprincipl'd, unedify'd, and laick rabble'[24] --an apposite description of those marginal pirates and seditious printers who were the primary targets of licensing legislation. Copyright control assumes a sober, just and continent discursive subject, responsible for his actions through his ownership of the commodified text. In his study of late seventeenth century subjectivity **The Tremulous Private Body**, Francis Barker provides a useful commentary on the mode of censorship proposed in **Areopagitica**:

> The decisive moment of control is now not so clearly the sanction of punishment, as the inner discipline,

> the unwritten law, of the new subjection... The state succeeds in penetrating to the very heart of the subject as one which is already internally disciplined, censored, and thus an effective support of the emergent pattern of domination.[25]

That this description of the self-disciplined, self-censoring subject should be equally applicable to the publisher that policed his texts of Rochester's poems is hardly a coincidence. Tonson made more money out of Milton than from any other author, even Dryden; moreover, one of the issues in which Tonson exploited the network of his Kit-Cat Club connections was the dismantling of the licensing system and the construction of copyright legislation. Tonson's contribution to the 1710 Copyright Act was shadowy but decisive.

Tonson's initial intervention in the development of copyright was not in the legislative arena but through his membership of the publishers' cartel known as the Wholesaling Conger[26]. This group, the first of the congers that were to become a distinctive feature of early eighteenth-century publishing, seems to have been active throughout the 1690s. There were usually around 15 members in the Wholesaling Conger; each of the members would guarantee to buy (at a favourably low price) a certain number of copies of whatever book was being proposed by the member-publisher undertaking the project. The very least the conger promised its members, therefore, was a guaranteed return for each publisher's investment in printing off a book. If each member agreed to take 50 copies of a book whose print-run was 1500, the undertaker of the project knew for certain at least half the edition would be sold, and only had to worry about distributing the other half of the edition through the wider, less predictable outlets of the bookselling trades. Guaranteed sales also meant that the Conger member knew for certain that there would be money coming in to pay printers' and paper-suppliers' bills as they arrived.

Besides guaranteed sales and wholesale prices, the conger also offered its members a degree of protection from what seem to have been the two most pervasive problems of the late seventeenth-century book-trade: piracy and price-undercutting. Strength of numbers afforded this protection. If a rogue bookseller discounted a Conger book below the minimum price agreed by the members, he brought down upon himself reprisals from 15 men angry at being undercut, rather than just one, and would be excluded from the Conger's distribution network. But the most important advantage offered by the Conger was the protection it conferred on its members' copyrights.

The Wholesaling Conger emerged just at the point when copyright law was in its greatest state of uncertainty and flux. The Licensing Act, which had been revived after a six-year gap in the early 1680s, was allowed to lapse again in 1695, due to widespread dissatisfaction with its provisions. Division and uncertainty as to the best way to control the press, however, meant that it was 15 years before protection of copy was legislated in the 1710 Copyright Act[27]. During this time, the only protection afforded copyright was that afforded by the ordinances of the Stationers' Company, but their provisions seem to have lacked the power to discourage piracy[28]. The threat of refusal to supply or buy from anyone who infringed Conger copyrights was an effective discouragement from piracy[29]. Pirate a Conger book and you enraged 15 publishers, not just one; 15 publishers, moreover, with the collective power to wield considerable economic sanction in retaliation. By the turn of the century, the turnover of the Wholesaling Conger rivalled the principal business interest of the Stationers' Company, the English Stock, and was integral to the London trade[30]. In the absence of legislated protection of copyright, the Wholesaling Conger enabled its members to police the trade through commercial pressure.

The earliest surviving record of Tonson's dealings as part of the Conger dates from 1699; but the recurring presence of Conger members in Tonson's imprints throughout the 1690s suggests that his participation in the Conger's projects had begun some time

before[31]. By 1711 Tonson had achieved a position of dominance in the Conger 'more complete than any of the others' who had previously led the group[32]. Tonson never ran for promotion or for office in the Company: his pursuit of power through the structure of the Conger, rather than through the hierarchy of the Stationers' Company, was highly unusual. Because the Stationers held access to the trade monopolies, this had been the only way (besides obtaining the Bible patent through royal patronage) for a publisher to get ahead in the book-trade[33]. Tonson was the first publisher to achieve success and power in the trade independent of the Stationers' Company and the crown. In this Tonson's career typified one of the most striking transitions in the book trade of this period, what Hodgson and Blagden describe as the 'passing of power from the hands of "the ancients" to the hands of the capitalist booksellers'[34].

This change had been gathering momentum for some time. Power in the London book trade had always been concentrated in the publishers, in the hands of those with money to invest in copyrights, paper and labour. (Only at the very inception of the Company had the printers enjoyed a brief period of ascendancy; attempts to form a breakaway 'Company of Printers' in the 1670s had been part of a government ploy to achieve leverage over the Stationers.[35]) The power that enabled this small group of publishers to dominate the London trade was the guild structure of the Stationers' Company: the higher up the hierarchy you were, the greater your access to shares in the trade monopolies. Promotion in the Company was at the discretion of the 'ancients' on the Court of Assistants. The 'ancients' of the Company, that is, enjoyed almost unlimited powers of patronage to manipulate their fellow tradesmen, as well positions of privilege from which to further their own businesses. But their power was derived from the deal struck with the crown in the guild's charter: legislated protection of copyright in exchange for the Company's role as the police-force of press-control[36]. With the break-up of the licensing system brought about by the lapse of the Licensing Act between 1679 and 1685 and again in 1695, the power-base of the publishers running the Stationers' Company began to fragment. The shift of power in

the book trade from the Stationers' medieval guild to the conger's investment group was inevitably part of the realignment in the relations between institutions and the crown brought about by the inauguration of constitutional monarchy in the Revolutionary Settlement. It should be noted, moreover, that this shift took place parallel to what a classic Marxist analysis would describe, with breathtaking generalisation, as the transition from feudalism to capitalism.

With stakes as high as control of the London book trade, the Stationers' campaign to persuade Parliament to revive licensing legislation was intense. Throughout the 1690s, the Stationers repeatedly earmarked money for parliamentary lobbying; but they were not the only pressure-group from within the trade[37]. While the Stationers' Company were clamouring for a return to the pre-lapsarian status quo, Jacob Tonson, Awnsham Churchill and other members of the Wholesaling Conger were petitioning Parliament for copyright law without the Stationers' controlling role in the trade[38]. Their intervention tapped into a widespread dissatisfaction with the Company's record in enforcing press-control as well as a distrust of the monopolies the Stationers had built up within the trade[39]. The Tonson petitions served to make the Stationers' Company's position seem even more isolated in the eyes of a Parliament determined to resist a return to the status quo of licensing, though still vague as to possible alternatives. When, after several attempts at legislation had failed, a new copyright law was finally passed in 1710, protection of copies was its almost exclusive concern and the role it proposed for the Stationers was a peripheral one. The Copyright Act was everything that Tonson and his Conger friends could have hoped for.

Tonson's petitions to Parliament are only the most visible signs of his efforts to bring the Copyright Act into being. Tonson's achievement of dominance in the Conger group around 1711, immediately after the Copyright Act was passed, can be seen as a mark of recognition from his fellow members, as both a reward for his success in helping to obtain terms favourable to the Conger and a canny realisation that such a powerfully-connected publisher

would be a useful person to lead the Conger. Another possible route for Tonson's influence on copyright legislation was John Locke, whose agitations against the Stationers' monopolies contributed to the formation of an alternative to licensing: the publisher to whom Locke had been sent to find out about the iniquities of the licensing system was Tonson's fellow-petitioner and Conger member, Awnsham Churchill[40]. But the clearest indication of Tonson's role in the formation of copyright legislation is provided by the names of Kit-Cat Club members who participated in the Parliamentary debates on press-control in the 20 years before 1710. Wharton, Somers and Montagu effectively mobilised opposition to the Stationers' attempts to revive licensing legislation in the mid-1690s; Spencer Compton, whose name appears on a Kit-Cat Club list of 1702, was the first member to be appointed to the committee charged with bringing in the copyright bill[41].

Tonson helped to institute a regime of press-control that depended on distinctly terroristic tactics. For the cost of a trial or two --an exemplary prison-sentence, a fine-- the state could frighten everyone in the book trade into cowed, paranoid obedience. The efficiency of press-control under copyright is that it locates the censor inside the head of the publishing, bookselling, writing subject[42]. Caught between fear of taking risks and doubt as to what actually *is* risky, the subject habitually errs on the side of caution: a regime of self-censorship is instituted. In the celebrated moment of liberation from the tyranny of licensing, a much more insidious form of press-control was introduced through the terrorised, self-restraining subject[43].

It is such a subject that is invoked in the figure of the self-censoring publisher proclaimed in the preface to Tonson's 1691 edition of Rochester, the publisher who '*aſſures us, he has been diligent out of Meaſure, and has taken exceeding Care that every Block of Offence ſhou'd be removed*'. As we have seen, Tonson made good his promise by removing lines, changing words, excising entire stanzas --even to the extent of carrying out last-minute alteration of the text by cancelling two leaves. And indeed, the book never did get into trouble. Tonson's 1696 and 1705 reprints of the book

were allowed to circulate unharassed, at a time when Rochester's poems were featuring conspicuously in the escalation of legal action against obscenity[44]. The 'Severeſt Matron', whose Cabinet the poems would 'not unbecome' turns out to be, not a woman at all, but the censor in drag.

The production of Tonson's 1691 Rochester edition, a local incident in the textual history of a now obscure poet, turns out to be connected with important large-scale events in late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century England. Transformations in the texts of the poems are caught up in a major shift in the nature of press-control, in the sweeping changes brought about by the limited constitutional monarchy of the Glorious Revolution, in the transition of the London book-trades from feudal guild to capitalist cartel. At the level of the texts of individual poems, the alterations brought about by self-censorship map out the changing features that constitute 'Blocks of Offence' from one historical moment to the next. But at the centre of these different strata of historical change there lies a set of specific alterations to representations of women. The Cabinet of the Severest Matron is invoked to sanction violence inflicted not only on the texts, but on Aurelia, Cloris and the other women who suffer in the poems' transformations. Distrust of sweeping generalisation arrests formulation of the hypothesis 'All censorship inevitably oppresses women'; but in the limited, local context of the 1691 edition of Rochester's poems, it is certainly women who are victimised under Tonson's regime of self-censorship.

Chapter 5. THE CABINET OF LOVE: 'CURLICISM', COPYRIGHT AND THE C-SERIES OF ROCHESTER'S POEMS.

In 1809, Edward Rich was pilloried and imprisoned for selling books that would 'incite and encourage... indecent practices and the commission of crimes against nature and particularly the crime of bestiality''. As well as **Manon la Fouetteuse: or, The Quintessence of Birch Discipline,** the indictment included a pamphlet poem entitled *The Delights of Venus*, attributed to Meursius, translator of the frequently-prosecuted **Satyra Sotadica**[2]. Less than a decade earlier, *The Delights of Venus* had landed John Cole in court; **Fanny Hill** was also among the books he was found guilty of publishing[3]. But prior to these prosecutions, the poem had circulated freely for over 80 years, tucked away at the back of Edmund Curll's popular 'C-series' of Rochester editions, inside an appendix entitled 'The Cabinet of Love'.

The contents of Curll's cabinet would certainly unbecome the cabinet of Tonson's 'Severest Matron'. As well as *The Delights of Venus*, 'The Cabinet of Love' contained *The Discovery*, a tale of male voyeurism and female masturbation, and *Dildoides*, '*occafion'd by the Burning a Hogshead of thofe Commodities at* Stocks-market, *in the Year* 1672, *purfuant to an Act of Parliament then made for the prohibiting of* French *Goods*'[4]. This appendix is quite short, typically occupying the last 16 pages of the second volume of **The Works of the Earls of Rochester, Roscommon and Dorset.** But it is provided with its own title-page, and opens with a fold-out engraved illustration to *The Discovery*: the head of a man peeps out from under a dressing table, intently watching a naked woman who sits on the edge of her bed, fondling herself[5].

The title Curll chose for this select enclosure of provocative poems should alert us to the presence of complex strategies of concealment and display in his editions of Rochester. We have seen the cabinet function as a metaphor for defining an appropriate readership of Rochester's poems[6]. A lineage for Curll's

'Cabinet of Love' can be traced back to early-sixteenth-century France, to Clément Marot's response to government search and seizure of his books and papers:

> O sacrilegious judge, who gave you the legal right or privilege to go tampering and wrecking in the cabinet of the sacred Muses? It is true they found forbidden books there; but that is no offence in a poet...[7]

Marot's protest was written in exile, after Francis I had banished him and other suspected Lutherans, closed down the bookshops, and made the act of printing a capital offence. In her account of the hermeneutics of censorship in seventeenth-century writing, Annabel Patterson connects Marot's violated 'cabinet des sainctes Muses sacres' with the 'little Cabinet' which resolves the convoluted plot of Barclay's Latin romance **Argenis**:

> There was in the Letter a little key: the same indeed which was to open the Cabinet.[8]

In Barclay's text, Patterson argues, the cabinet functions as more than a symbol of privacy: it has a 'metaliterary force' as a metaphor for the hermeneutics of the text, announcing the reader's need of a 'key' to interpret the political parallels of the story, to unlock the closed cabinet of the text[9]. Such a key had been provided at the end of the 1628 translation, establishing identities for the allegorical characters in the romance[10]. Patterson sees this translation as a coded Royalist intervention in debates on taxation provoked by Charles I's struggle with Parliament over the Petition of Right, and speculates on the intervention offered in Jonson's lost translation of **Argenis**, commissioned by James I in 1623.

In 1645, the publication of the private letters of Charles I to Henrietta Maria produced a revolutionary pamphlet whose title drew on the associations of the cabinet metaphor: **The King's Cabinet Opened**[11]. A Royalist poem written in reply to this pamphlet, asserting the inviolability of the sovereign's correspondence, evoked the division between private and public space in terms of property and land:

> Our Thoughts no Commons, but Inclosures are:
> What bold Intruders then are they, who assail
> To cut their Prince's Hedge, and break his Pale?[12]

Francis I's violation of the 'sacred' space of Marot's cabinet finds an ironic inversion in the eventual transformation of Charles' purloined letters into evidence against him at the trial that sentenced him to death.

Letters printed without permission, keys to unlock the political implications of the encoded 'innocent' text, search and seizure, punishment for the transgressive text: these are central features of the conditions of writing in early eighteenth-century England in general, and of Curll's career in particular. With the expansion of print media at the turn of the century, the unease exhibited by writers towards the modes of distribution intensified to a paranoid hysteria over the implications of publication. Denial of authorship, secret publication, false attributions, ambiguously encoded texts, keys offering possible decodings of these texts, authorial rejection of these keys: the writing associated with Swift, Defoe and Pope displays these features in a disturbed and contradictory array of attitudes towards the act of writing and its distribution, simultaneously conveying concealment and self-advertisement, self-promotion and self-contempt[13]. In this violent torsion of contradictory attitudes towards authorship and distribution, Curll was deeply implicated. By entitling the appendix to one of his best-selling books 'The Cabinet of Love', an engagement with issues of transgression and censorship is announced.

Curll's title may also refer back to a volume containing **La Puttana Errante** and **L'Ecole des Filles**, two works with which Samuel Pepys had been familiar: around 1690, the two infamously transgressive texts had been published together in French, with a 'Cologne' imprint, under the title **Cabinet d'Amour et de Venus**[14]. Given that the few obscene works that existed at this period were as mutually-referential in their titles as they were interdependent in their texts, it's likely that Curll's 'Cabinet of Love' plays on the associations of the earlier volume. As a publisher with a specialist reputation for scandalous books, Curll is likely to have been familiar with the **Cabinet d'Amour et de Venus**; the close connections between the French and English booktrades in the sale

of such material --several of the most frequently-prosecuted works were first read by the English in French-- suggest the possibility of a complementary familiarity among Curll's potential purchasers.

'The Cabinet of Love' advertises the obscenity of its contents not only through an appeal to an earlier transgressive publication, but also through the metaphorical associations of its title with the female sexual organs. Jacques Duval's **Traité des Hermaphrodits** first appeared in 1612[15]. Among Duval's deeply misogynistic disinformation on virginity and defloration, the following observation is offered:

> The maid who in full health had rejoiced in her maidenhead, when agitated by the efforts of her cabinet being unlocked, will exhibit some disdain for meats and is even caught unawares by nausea and vomitings.'[16]

The title of Curll's appendix, then, invites a male reader to view it as if it were the female private parts displayed for examination: the cabinet as simultaneously a book and a vagina. The engraved illustration to 'The Cabinet of Love', which has to be opened, unfolded to reveal the image, thus depicts a diagram of the hermeneutics of the appendix: a man in hiding watches a woman display her genitals. The final twist in Curll's complex moves of concealment and display is provided by the dash that suffices as signifier of the word 'cunt' throughout the appendix. Having transformed the book into a vagina, and prefixed it with an image of the male gaze fixed on the dominant metaphor for the text, the sign for 'cunt' itself is absent'[17].

The 'Cabinet of Love' is therefore simultaneously a private space, a signal for an engagement with issues of censorship and transgression, an advert for a 'lewd and lascivious' text, a book and a vagina. The double enclosure of *The Delights of Venus* within the cabinet appendix and within the covers of the Rochester edition protected the poem from prosecution until the very end of the eighteenth century. The poem was reprinted in editions of Rochester no less than 19 times between 1714 and 1800, without harassment; only when it was published separately as a pamphlet, outside this enclosure, did it attract prosecution for obscenity. But the

prosecutions of Rich and Cole also mark the point at which editions of Rochester simply ceased to be manufactured. In different ways, Rich, Cole and Rochester's poems were casualties of conditions of publishing that Curll's editions of Rochester had helped bring about. To examine the process by which Curll's editions brought about Rochester's nineteenth-century oblivion, we need to look back at the origins of the C-series, before the book was expanded with the addition of 'The Cabinet of Love' and other material, at the year 1707.

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9 years after the flight of 'Hill' had left unresolved the first attempt to obtain a prosecution for obscenity from the Court of the King's Bench, the prosecutors tried again. In 1707, two King's Bench prosecutions took place: clearly the agents of press-control were determined to have a useful precedent to wield against such publications. The prosecution of John Marshall involved the two books for which Streater and Crayle had been fined in the lower courts, **Sodom** and **Tullia & Octava**[18]. That these books should now be thought to merit a Queen's Bench prosecution is a further indication of the change in attitude that had taken place in a comparatively short time. Angell Carter and James Read were charged with publishing a small pamphlet of mildly bawdy poems entitled **The Fifteen Plagues of a Maidenhead**, a text which seems tame compared to the two books in the Marshall prosecution: it would seem that what is being prosecuted is the book's subversion of ideals of chastity rather than an unacceptable vocabulary[19]. All 3 publishers were found guilty on the fact of publishing the books --presumably the Messengers of the Press had presented their evidence of copies bought from the defendants. But then the campaign against 'diabolical and cupidinous' books seems to have gone wrong.

The lawyers of James Read questioned the power of the court to deal with obscenity in the first place, and moved for an arrest of judgement. When the case was put before Justice Holt the following year, Holt, surprisingly, agreed, arguing that 'matters of bawdry' could only be tried by the ecclesiastical courts: 'there

are ecclesiastical courts: why may not this be punished there?'[20] There is no evidence that such cases ever were tried by remnants of the 'bawdy courts' still operating in 1707[21]. Holt readily admitted that **The Fifteen Plagues of a Maidenhead** 'tends to bawdry', but believed there was no precedent for trying such a case in the temporal courts: 'If we have no precedent we cannot punish. Shew me any precedent.'[22] The lower court precedents of Streater, Crayle and Latham from the previous century were not produced; Hill's King's Bench indictment seems to have been forgotten[23]. Read's case was adjourned 'sine die'. This had the immediate effect of causing the prosecutions against Angell Carter and John Marshall to collapse: the agencies of press-control had failed spectacularly in their attempts to obtain a precedent of obscene libel in the Queen's Bench.

While James Read, Angell Carter and John Marshall were being prosecuted for obscenity by the King's Bench, Edmund Curll was just beginning the publishing career that would brand him as 'unspeakable' in future discourses of literary history. Shortly after completing his apprenticeship, he had opened up his own shop at the sign of the Peacock in the Strand at the beginning of 1706 --probably with the bankrupt stock of his former master, the bookseller and auctioneer Richard Smith-- and had begun running his own coffee-house book-auctions[24]. Curll had already initiated the first major confrontation of his career, with none other than Tonson; he was about to embark on another confrontation with a spiteful clap-doctor called John Spinke; and the dubious dealings around his acquisition of the stock of his former master would lead to Smith bringing a complaint in Chancery against him the following year[25]. A full account of the complexities of Curll's career would be at least a book-length study, and remains to be written[26]. To open up an analysis of his importance to the publication history of Rochester's poems, I shall confine myself to Curll's confrontations with 3 early eighteenth-century literary figures: Swift, Pope and Tonson. These confrontations provide a useful context for the development of the C-series, and illustrate the set of problems around authorship and copyright Curll was forced to represent and symbolise.

At an early stage in the process that metamorphosed Curll from just another unscrupulous publisher into a monstrous embodiment of all the abuses of the early eighteenth-century press, the unspeakable found himself transformed from a person to a thing, from a proper name into a noun: 'Curlicism'. It was Defoe who first coined the term for this phenomenon, and provided the following definition of it:

> 'Tis writing beastly Stories, and then propagating them by Print, and filling the Families and the Studies of our Youth with Books which no Christian Government that I have read of, ever permitted.[27]

Condemnations of 'Curlicism', however, went well beyond criticism of the bawdiness of the publisher's book-lists. With endless accounts of the misery endured by the hack writers he supposedly kept imprisoned in his attic on starvation diets, churning out a continuous production-line of text, Curll was made to stand for an extremely pessimistic view of author-publisher relations and was held responsible for the voracious demands of the press and the print audience[28]. Widespread concern for the supposedly low quality of the writing that flooded the expanded market of the early-eighteenth-century became focused on the output of Curll's presses, typified as representative of the worst of Grub Street's excesses. Constructions such as the hack writer, the indiscriminate reader, and the mercenary publisher were employed in an attempt to hollow out a space in which writers could valorise their texts as different and superior to the system of distribution through which they circulated. In this project, 'Curlicism' was a key component, an essential myth for the writers who used this monstrous, unspeakable antithesis to define the worth of their own writing. John Gay sneered at Curll's parasitic relation to the authors who reviled him:

> Were Prior, Congreve, Swift and Pope unknown,
> Poor slander-selling Curll would be undone.[29]

But the dependence was mutual: these authors needed the mythology of 'Curlicism' to create the conditions in which they could write for a market they affected to despise. That Edmund Curll already existed did not stop them from continuing to re-invent him.

Curll's first confrontation with Swift was over authorship, attribution and the key to a text. In June 1710, Swift was in the process of preparing for the press an expanded fifth edition of **A Tale of a Tub** when Curll published **A Complete Key to the Tale of a Tub**, a short commentary on Swift's text that sought to exploit interest raised by the forthcoming edition[30]. Curll's **A Complete Key** opened with an explicit attribution of **A Tale of a Tub** to Swift and his cousin Thomas Swift, and gave the following account of its composition:

> The tone of 'em [footnoted '*Thomas Swift*'] began a *Defence of Sir William* [Temple] under the Title of *A Tale of a Tub...* But when he had not yet gone half way, his *Companion [footnoted 'Dr. *Jonathan Swift*'] borrowing the *Manuscript* to peruse, carried it with him to *Ireland*, and having kept it seven Years, at last publish'd it imperfect; for indeed he was not able to carry it on after the intended Method; because *Divinity* (tho' it chanc'd to be his Profession) had been the least of his Study.[31]

Swift's anger at Curll was provoked, not by the unauthorised expoitation of his work, but by the act of attribution. At the end of the 'Apology' Swift had prepared for the fifth edition of the Tale, 'a little contemptuous notice' was inserted as a 'Postscript':

> *Since the writing of this* [the 'Apology'] *which was about a Year ago; a Prostitute Bookseller hath publish'd a foolish Paper, under the Name of Notes on the* Tale of a Tub, *and with some Account of the Author, and with an Insolence which I suppose is punishable by Law, hath presumed to assign certain Names. It will be enough for the Author to assure the World, that the Writer of that Paper is utterly wrong in all his Conjectures upon that Affair. The Author farther asserts that the whole Work is entirely of one Hand, which every Reader of Judgement will easily discover.*[32]

That Swift's anger at having his identity as author revealed was equalled by his irritation at having to share the credit of authorship with his cousin Thomas is made clear in his letter to his publisher Benjamin Tooke:

> I have just now your last, with the complete Key. I believe it is so perfect a Grub-street-piece, it will be forgotten in a week. But it is strange that there can be no satisfaction against a Bookseller for publishing names in so bold a manner. I wish

> some lawyer could advise you how I might have satisfaction: For, at this rate, there is no book, however so vile, which may not be fastened on me. I cannot but think that little Parson-cousin of mine [Thomas] is at the bottom of this; for, having lent him a copy of some part of *&c.* and he shewing it, after I was gone for Ireland, and the thing abroad, he affected to talk suspiciously, as if he had some share in it.[33]

Swift's position is contradictory: he simultaneously resents Curll's identification of himself as author of the **Tale** and the accusation of joint authorship. His pride in his work, piqued by Thomas receiving credit for it, fights against his desire to conceal his identity as author through anonymous publication. In both the 'Postcript' and the letter to Tooke, Swift appeals to the recourse of law to protect him from Curll's 'Insolence'; yet, under the terms of the Copyright Act that had been enacted only a few months earlier, Swift had denied himself the protection of law through his tactics of anonymous publication.

The centrality of authorship to the Copyright Act --its most startling innovation-- is announced in the disingenuous title to the legislation:

> An Act for the Encouragement of Learning, by vesting the Copies of Printed Books in the Authors or Purchasers of such Copies, during the Times therein mentioned.[34]

That the author was to be the source of all rights and responsibilities pertaining to the book is set out in the very first provision of the Act. The wording of the legislation is careful to leave open the possibility of acquisition of copyright by publishers ('Purchasers of such Copies') which ensured that, practically speaking, nothing really changed for the writer: the publisher paid a pittance for the copyright in much the same way as he had previously paid a fee to the writer. This continuation of the status quo is ensured by phrases such 'Authors or Purchasers of such Copies', 'Authors or Proprietors', and 'the Author of any Book or Books... and his Assignee or Assigns'; but through this careful formulation of the proprietorial relation between text and copyright-owner, a chain of responsibility is established that leads back, however ultimately, to the author[35]. The price of

receiving money for writing was to become traceable for any reprisals the text might provoke.

This was not a theoretical legal abstraction, but a distinctly dangerous possibility in the daily life of the writer. The 1710 Copyright Act was accompanied by a conspicuous expansion of the machinery that enforced the state's control of writing. Trials of all kinds of transgressive texts increased in frequency around the time of the Act's implementation; government spy networks proliferated --Curll offered his services as an informer on several occasions. Effective exploitation of the periodical press was established through a sophisticated combination of prosecution of opposition printers, propagandising government-controlled newspapers and disinformation spread through 'opposition' double-agent writers such as Defoe[36]. The Act of Anne was only one side of a powerful state apparatus that held the writing, publishing subject in an even tighter grip than the licensing system had been able to establish.

Against this background, Swift's appeal to the protection of law seems as contradictory as his attitudes to accusations of joint authorship to the **Tale**. With his insistence on anonymity he places himself outside the proprietorial relations of copyright, yet in his protests against Curll's act of naming he repeatedly calls on recourse to law for protection of his (illegal) anonymity of authorship. In 1711, Curll threw together another volume of Swift material, containing *Meditation on a Broomstick*, the **Complete Key** and other material[37]. Swift's anger was once again provoked by the act of attribution rather than by unauthorised publication. His **Journal to Stella** records the feelings of frustration and impotence compounded by his failure to persuade powerful friends to take reprisals against Curll on his behalf:

> ...that villain Curl has scraped up some trash, and calls it Dr. Swift's miscellanies, with the name at large: and I can get no satisfaction of him. Nay, Mr. Harley told me he had read it, and only laughed at me before lord-keeper, and the rest.[38]

Swift seem to have gone to some trouble in his attempts to revenge himself on Curll: he refers to his failure several times over the next 20 years. In a letter to Pope of 1716 he snarls:

> I had a long design upon the Ears of that Curl, when I was in credit, but the Rogue would never allow me a fair stroke at them, though my penknife was ready and sharp.[39]

Writing to Charles Ford in 1720, he returns to the subject in similar terms:

> I cannot help the usage which honest Mr Curl give me. I watched for his Ears in the Queens time, and was I think once within an Inch of them.[40]

Beneath Swift's resentment at the limits of his own political influence, there is a painful realisation of the disenfranchisement of anonymous publication: the knowledge that, by withholding his name from his text, he forfeits reprisal against unauthorised attribution, and relinquishes the right to his own name.

Swift was astute enough to realise the potential of Curll's **Complete Key** to increase sales of his own work, adding to his letter to Tooke the comment: 'I dare say it will do you more good than hurt'[41]. That Swift seems to have been conscious of the usefulness of 'Curlicism' is suggested by his comments to Pope in 1716:

> And who are all these enemies you hint at? I can only think of Curl, Gildon, Squire Burnet, Blackmmore, and a few others whose fame I have forgot: Fools in my opinion as necessary for a good writer, as pen, ink, and paper.[42]

But he never forgave Curll or forgot his grudge against him. When he envisaged the events surrounding his own death, Curll featured vividly in his nightmare:

> Now *Curl* his Shop from Rubbish drains;
> Three genuine Tomes of *Swift*'s Remains.
> And then to make the pass the glibber,
> Revis'd by *Tibbalds*, *Moore* and *Cibber*.
> He'll treat me as he does my Betters.
> Publish my Will, my Life, my Letters:
> Revive the Libels born to dye;
> Which Pope must bear, as well as I.[43]

These *Verses On the Death of Dr. Swift* extend the definition of 'Curlicism' beyond unauthorised attribution to include the publisher's stable of hack writers (Tibbalds, Moore and Cibber), the 'rubbish' produced by Curll's presses (the sewage metaphor of the verb 'drains' is a pervasive feature in the discourse of 'Curlicism'), and Curll's notorious exploitation of recently-deceased celebrities and peers by releasing texts, wills and letters as their 'Works' (he was said to have 'added a new Terror to Death' by such publications[44]). And Swift includes comparison between his own envisaged exploitation and the figure of Pope, the writer who elaborated the mythology of 'Curlicism' most fully in his attempts to construct a sanitised space for his own discourse.

The feud between Pope and Curll was to continue for over 20 years. Issues of authorship and attribution were a continuing feature of their confrontations: if Swift was secretive over the dissemination of his texts, Pope took labyrinthine measures in the publication of his work, employing concealment and self-advertisement with dizzying complexity in order to heighten interest in his writing and disclaim responsibility for it at the same time[45]. An accusation of authorship started the feud in March 1716. Curll published a collection called **Court Poems**, made up of items called *The Basset Table*, *The Toilet* and *The Drawing Room*; in the preface to the book were speculations on the authorship of these poems that provoked Pope's lifelong enmity:

> At St. James's Coffee House, the poems were generally attributed to a Lady of Quality. At Button's, however, the *Poetical* Jury brought in a different Verdict; and the *Foreman* strenuously insisted upon it, that Mr. Gay was the *Man*. Whereupon an umpire was called in, a Gentleman of distinguished Merit, who lives not far from *Chelsea*, and he was in no doubt at all. 'Sir,' said he, 'Depend upon it, these Lines could come from no other Hand, than the Judicious Translator of Homer.' And thus, having impartially given the Sentiments of the *Town*, I hope I may deserve Thanks, for the Pains I have taken, in endeavouring to find out the *Author* of these valuable Performances: and everybody is at Liberty to bestow the Laurel as they please.[46]

Pope had published his translation of Homer the previous year; the 'Lady of Quality' was Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, the only female to be admitted to the sanctuary of the Kit-Cat club-room. Curll's attributive hypotheses seem mild enough, but they ensured that the 'Pains' he had taken to identify the author of **Court Poems** would be considerably compounded by the enraged Pope: it was these remarks that led to the infamous incident in which Pope slipped Curll an emetic[47].

Like Swift, Pope repeatedly made it clear that it was not the unauthorised publication of **Court Poems** but their attribution that brought down his revenge on Curll in such a violent manner. In Pope's anonymous **Full and True Account** of the incident, he explains the background to the 'Horrid and Barbarous Revenge':

> Mr. *Edmund Curll*, on Monday the 26th. Instant, publish'd a Satyrical Piece, entituled *Court Poems*, in the Preface whereof they were attributed to a *Lady of Quality*, Mr. *Pope*, or Mr. *Gay*; by which indiscreet Method, though he had escaped one Revenge, there were still two behind in reserve.[48]

Swift's letter to Pope on the affair, gloating over the prospect of Curll's distress, continues the same concerns as his own confrontation over the authorship of the **Tale of a Tub**:

> I never saw the thing you mention as falsely imputed to you; but I think the frolicks of our merry hours, even when we are guilty, should not be left to the mercy of our best friends, until Curl and his resemblers are hanged.[49]

The polite assumption of Pope's innocence of authorship, 'falsely imputed', is immediately contradicted by the phrase 'even when we are guilty'; responsibility for discourse is shrugged off by dismissing it as 'the frolicks of our merry hours'. Swift's letter to Pope summarises the contradictory positions early eighteenth-century writers found themselves adopting in relation to authorship and attribution. Pope returned to the source of the quarrel with Curll again and again. To Caryll he outlined it as follows:

> *Item*, a most ridiculous quarrel with a bookseller, occasioned by his having printed some satirical pieces on the Court under my name.[50]

In the **Full and True Account** Pope depicted Curll, believing himself on his deathbed from the poison, confessing to

> those indirect Methods I have pursued in inventing new Titles to old Books, putting Authors Names to things they never saw, and publishing private Quarrels for publick Entertainment.[51]

As much as anything Curll ever produced, Pope's pamphlet was itself an example of a private quarrel published for public entertainment.

Curll's revenge, however, took the form of an adroit exploitation of Pope's vulnerability on the grounds of attribution. Pope had written an obscene and blasphemous parody of the first psalm, a rare instance of work that he genuinely intended to remain unpublished[52]. Somehow Curll managed to obtain a copy of the text, and published it, with a clear ascription to his enemy, as **Mr. Pope's Version of the First Psalm**. It caused a considerable uproar --Sir Richard Blackmore condemned it as 'godless'-- and served to significantly blacken Pope's reputation. He was forced to insert an advertisement disclaiming authorship of it:

> Whereas there have been publish'd in my name, certain scandalous Libels, which I hope no Persons of Candor would have thought me capable of, I am sorry to find myself obliged to declare, that no Genuine Pieces of mine have been printed by any but Mr. Tonson and Mr. Lintot. And in particular, as to that which is entitul'd, A Version of the first Psalm.[53]

Pope offered a reward for the identity of the publisher, but the damage had already been done: he had discovered, like Swift, the trap of authorship in the impossibility of evading responsibility for his own discourse.

Curll's confrontations with Tonson, predictably enough, were over copyright. The first warning shot came from Tonson in January 1707, in the form of an advertisement in the **Daily Courant**:

> Whereas it is Reported that there is now Printing a Collection of Poems which the Publishers intend to call Mr. Prior's, This is to inform the World, that all the Genuine Copys of what Mr. Prior has hitherto written, do of right belong, and are now in the hands of Jacob Tonson, who intends very speedily to publish a correct Edition of them.[54]

Undeterred, Curll went ahead and published Prior's **Poems on Several Occasions** a week later, though he took the precaution of obscuring his role in the project by providing a continually-changing cast of of publishers in his statements on the book's provenance. R. Burrough and J. Baker appear with him on the title-page; E. Place, Egbert Sanger and Charles Smith appear with Baker and Curll in advertisements for the book[55]. Curll's caution is understandable; indeed his temerity in challenging one of the most successful and powerful publishers in the London trade seems typically foolhardy. Tonson's Kit-Cat Club connections were fully in place by 1707, and constituted a formidable potential for political influence[56]. With an annual output that expanded by a half from 20 to 30 titles a year between 1704 and 1707[57], Tonson's business was already a large one; whereas Curll, 25 years old and only a year out of his apprenticeship, was still a newcomer to the trade. Moreover, Tonson was consolidating his position in the Wholesaling Conger at this point, so that Curll, by challenging his right to the Prior copy, faced the daunting prospect of a boycott of his books from Conger members and the denial of access to Conger stock[58].

Despite Tonson's claim to the Prior copyright, Curll's edition of **Poems on Several Occasions** was not a piracy. The poems had not been previously published by Tonson; nor had his claim to them been entered in the Stationers' Register --though at this time only a handful of titles were being entered each year. Clearly Curll had obtained the manuscript by devious means, without Prior's permission, but authorship was not yet inscribed in press-control legislation: Tonson's petition to Parliament was submitted the following month, and it was three years before a publisher could claim ownership of copy through the assign of the author under the terms of the 1710 Act. Tonson, then, had no claim to the Prior copy under current legislation. The only reprisals he could take against Curll were through the trade cartel of the Conger and the political and literary network of the Kit-Cats --the sort of sanctions that tend to go unrecorded. The argument of Tonson's advertisement expresses the stalemate of his position, in that he could only cast doubt on Prior's authorship of the poems: they cannot be 'Genuine Copys' because they haven't been published by Tonson. Two years

later, however, Tonson published the same collection under the same title --a tardy fulfilment of his advertised intention 'very speedily to publish a correct Edition of them' --but Curll's response was merely to reprint his unauthorised 1707 edition in competition with Tonson's edition[59].

The battle over Prior did not end there. In March 1716, Curll's publication of **A Second Collection of Poems** by Prior drew another advertisement from poet and publisher warning the public against the book[60]. In a responding advert, Curll cleverly cast doubt on the authorship of Tonson and Prior's warning:

> Whereas a nameless Person has taken the Liberty to make use of Prior's name, and pretended that he had his Order for so doing: This is therefore to assure the Publick, that a Book entitul'd **A Second Collection of Poems...** are Genuine, and publish'd from his own correct Copies: the two last Poems in this Collection being Satyres, Mr. Prior has never yet publicly own'd them.[61]

If Tonson could claim that the collection wasn't genuine, Curll could turn the terms of Tonson's aspersions on the integrity of his copy back on him with a counter-claim that the warning advertisement was not the work of Prior: ambiguities of authorship were always vulnerable to manipulation by the machinations of Curlicism.

Curll's second major confrontation with Tonson had much more serious repercussions for him, for this time Tonson's copy had the protection of parliamentary privilege behind it. Within a month of Curll's unauthorised **Second Collection** of Prior appearing, Tonson advertised an account of the House of Lords' trial of the Earl of Winton, who had just been found guilty of treason for his part in the 1715 rebellion. Tonson, presumably through his Kit-Cat Club connections, had obtained from the House of Lords sole privilege to publish the trial. Even the advertisement carried the assurance that the account had been 'ordered by the House of Peers', so sensitive were the agencies of press-control to the reporting of parliamentary proceedings. After John Churchill had been

reprimanded by the House of Lords for publishing reports of their business in 1697, the peers had passed a standing order resolving

> that it is a breach of the Privilege of this House, for any Person whatsoever to print, or publish any thing relating to the Proceedings of this House, without the leave of this House.[62]

But Curll found himself unable to allow even parliamentary privilege to stand between himself and a bestseller: not only did he publish his own account of the trial, he drastically undercut the price of the official competition, offering his pamphlet at twopence to Tonson's shilling. In the midst of his emetic experiences with Pope over the **Court Poems**, Curll found himself imprisoned by order of the House of Lords.

He had taken the precaution of disguising his account of the trial as a translation 'from the French Original published in Amsterdam' and using Sarah Popping as the trade publisher or front-man for the book's publication, but these precautions were not enough. When Mrs. Popping was called before the House, she recited a tale of illness and ignorance to deny culpability for the book and identified Curll and his partner John Pemberton as the publishers. In the event, it was Curll and his printer Daniel Bridge who, after three weeks in custody and a suitably abject petition for mercy to the peers, were given a reprimand by the Lord Chancellor[63]. As in the 1697 Churchill case, Curll was allowed to go free without a fine or further imprisonment. But there can be little doubt that it was Tonson, exploiting the Kit-Cat network of sympathetic peers such as Somers and Dorset, who was responsible for fanning the indignation of the Lords over this breach of their privilege and his copyright. The contrast in seriousness between Tonson's response to Curll over the Prior incident and his recourse to the House of Lords over the Winton trial of the same year indicates the fragility of the 1710 Act. Copyright law could still offer nothing like the protection afforded by parliamentary privilege: a reprimand from the Lord Chancellor was considerably more daunting than a hostile advertisement campaign.

The antagonism between the 'Secretary to the Muses' and the 'unspeakable Curll' was sufficiently well-known for the figure of Tonson to feature in satirical attacks on Curll[64]. Shortly after his brush with the Lords, Curll found himself the object of an even more physical abuse than Pope's emetic: for his unauthorised publication of a Latin funeral oration by the Captain of Westminster School, he was tossed in a blanket, stripped and whipped by the boys of the School. A satirical pamphlet on the event ends with Curll being taunted by facetious hordes asking him for directions to Westminster:

> ...all the Booksellers in Town,
> From *Tonson* down to *Boddington*,
> *Fleet-street* and *Temple-Bar* around,
> The *Strand* and *Holborn* shall sound:
> For ever This shall grate thine Ear:
> Which is the Way to *Westminster*?[65]

Tonson also features in Pope's most famous celebration of Curlicism, the race of the booksellers in Book II of the **Dunciad**. Before losing the race to Pope's publisher Bernard Lintot as a result of an unfortunate accident (he slips in the manure left behind by his delivery-horse, 'Corinna'), Curll seems set to win the prize of the phantom poet:

> Swift as a bard the bailiff leaves behind,
> He left huge Lintot, and out-stript the wind.
> As when a dab-chick waddles thro' the copse,
> On feet and wings, and flies, and wades, and hops;
> So lab'ring on, with shoulders, hands, and head,
> Wide as a windmill all his figure spread,
> With Legs expanded Bernard urg'd the race,
> And seem'd to emulate great Jacob's pace.[66]

But despite their confrontational relationship, Tonson and Curll were sufficiently pragmatic to see the point in joining forces in the occasional publishing venture. When Tonson had published his 1709 **Works of William Shakespear**, Curll had responded with an edition of Shakespeare's poems which claimed to be the seventh volume to Tonson's series of 6, and accused his competitor of including plays for which there was 'not the least Ground' for Shakespeare's authorship in order 'to swell the Volume and the Price'[67]. This squabble did not deter Tonson and Curll from collaborating in the 1714 edition of Shakespeare's plays and poems, diplomatically combining material from both publishers' previous

editions. Between January 1707 and at least May 1716, however, Tonson and Curll were regularly at loggerheads; and this was the crucial period in the formation of Curll's editions of Rochester's poems. His confrontations with Tonson shaped the editions of the C-series in terms of their content, presentation and textual strategies.

*

Curll was the key figure in the formation and development of the C-series, but it was not his name that, in July 1707, first appeared on the title-page of the edition that originated the series[68]. The aptly-named Benjamin Bragge claimed to be the printer and publisher of **The Miscellaneous Works of the Right Honourable the Late Earls of Rochester and Roscommon.** Bragge was notorious as a trade publisher, a bookseller who, for a price, would lend his name to the title-pages of other publishers' books in order to conceal their identity[69]. Bragge's niece Sarah Popping had acted in such a capacity for Curll when he published his account of the Earl of Winton's trial. Throughout his career Curll used a procession of trade publishers whose names appeared instead of his on books for which he was responsible[70]. Though Curll's name appears nowhere in the Bragge edition of Rochester, his involvement in the book's production is strongly suggested by the appearance a few weeks later of the same sheets re-issued with a new title-page that claimed the book was 'Printed for Edmund Curll'.[71]

3 possible scenarios could account for the shadowy origins of the C-series:

1. The book was compiled and produced by Benjamin Bragge, who distributed some copies under his own name (C-1707-a), then sold the remaining sheets to Curll.
2. The book was compiled and produced by Curll, but he used Bragge's name as a precaution against prosecution; once the book had appeared without attracting a hostile reaction, he re-issued it under his own name (C-1707-b).

3. Bragge was acting as trade publisher to an unknown third party, who put the book together, issued it under Bragge's name, then sold the remaining sheets to Curll.

The second scenario seems to me the most useful in terms of what can be established about Curll, Bragge and the publication history of Rochester. Bragge's name appears on the title-pages of over 300 books between 1702 and 1710, with an annual average of 78 for the years 1705-1708 --more than double the annual output at this time of even a large publisher such as Tonson[72]. It is impossible to guess the proportion of books published on his own account to those books for which he was merely a front. His own publishing activities, however, seem to have centred on crime-reporting: accounts of the more sensational trials and confessions gleaned from those waiting to be hanged in Newgate[73]. Rochester's poems do not sit easily among Bragge's known productions, and seem out of place even among the sermons and political tracts for which he was clearly acting in his capacity as a trade publisher; Curll, on the other hand, had established an interest in literary properties from the very beginning of his career.

As for the possibility that Bragge was publishing the Rochester volume on behalf of someone other than Curll, I am aware of no evidence that might point to the identity of such a third party. Henry Hills junior, who pirated Tonson's collection of Rochester in 1710 and who may have been the mysterious 'Hill' that fled the country in 1698 rather than face prosecution for publishing an A-series edition, seems to have confined himself to printing other publishers' copies rather than originating books of his own[74]. Thomas Harrison, Anne Croom and Anne Smith, who pirated a C-series edition in 1709 and were prosecuted for the book, are unlikely to have been Bragge's hidden backers: it seems an unusually tortuous route, even for the shadier end of the eighteenth-century book-trade, to publish a book under a trade publisher's name, sell the sheets to Curll and then pirate the copy two years later[75]. Attributing the originary edition in the C-series to an unidentifiable publisher concealed behind Bragge's title-page doesn't really allow any advance to be made; but the

possibility that the C-series could have been initiated by an unknown third party should be kept in mind during the following discussion of Curll's contribution to the publication history of Rochester's poems, and should discourage the construction of too 'authorial' a relation between Curll and this series of editions.

With two publishers as devious in their dealings as Bragge and Curll, it's hardly surprising that it is difficult to specify the connections between them very precisely: both men expended considerable effort on obscuring such connections. Nonetheless, besides Curll's later collaborations with Bragge's niece Sarah Popping, the trade publisher who refused to conceal Curll's responsibility for the account of the Winton trial from the House of Lords, a handful of imprints point towards joint Curll/Bragge publishing ventures in the years 1706, 1707 and 1708. A pamphlet **Letter to Mr. Prior** of June 1706 bears the imprint 'printed by W.D. for Edmund Curll; and sold by Benj. Bragge'[76]. In the same year Charles Gildon, who was shortly to join the ranks of the hacks Curll supposedly starved in his garret, wrote an anti-Jacobite pamphlet which, though 'printed for the author', was sold by Bragge[77]. John Dunton's **Athenian Sport** was published by Bragge in 1707, but 3 years later it was being advertised by Curll in collaboration with Morphew and Woodward[78].

The most intriguing connection between Curll and Bragge at this time, however, is also the most difficult to specify: their collaboration over translations of Petronius. In March 1707 Curll published a translation of the **Satyricon** 'cum fragmentiis'[79]; the following year Bragge, with Sam Briscoe, produced an edition of **The Satyrical Works of Titus Petronius Arbiter**[80]. The 'Memoiers [*sic.*] of the Life of John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester', which precede the poems in both issues of C-1707, include the following sales-pitch for Petronius

> There are two books in *Latin* that ſeem to be wrote with my Lord's Spirit, the Fragment of *Petronius*, and *Meurcius* a Modern, where the Beauty of the Expreſſion, and the Strength of the Spirit and Fancy, have given a ſort of Merit to Lewdneſs, which no other Writers could ever obtain.[81]

This discreet piece of publisher's hype is reinforced at the end of the 'Memoiers' by an advert for 'A New and Correct edition of *Titi Petronii Arbitri*'. It is unclear whether the book being advertised is Curll's Petronius or Bragge's, but a further connection between the two publishers is suggested in the fake attribution of the Rochester 'Memoiers': 'St. Evremont', whose 'letter to her Grace the Dutchefs of *Mazarine*' forms the fictitious context of the biography, turns up as the supposed author of a 'life and character' of Petronius in Bragge's 1708 **Satyrical Works**[82].

Whatever the nature of the collaboration between Curll and Bragge over the Rochester collection, it was not just a case of jointly financing the project and simultaneously issuing variant title-pages for each publishers' stock. Significant differences between the Bragge and Curll issues indicate a sequential development to the 1707 edition, with the Bragge issue appearing first. These differences cluster round the text of the *Satyr* 'Were I (who to my cost already am)'.

Only the last 51 lines of the *Satyr* (lines 174-225) are printed on the first two leaves of sheet B of C-1707-a, under the title 'An Addition to the Satyr against Man'[83]. When Curll re-issued the book, he had a new sheet (A) printed off, containing the main text of the poem as well as a two-page preface 'To The Reader'[84]. The two gatherings which contained the 'Memoiers [*sic.*] by 'St. Evremont' (gatherings a and b of the original issue) were inserted inside the new gathering A, after the first leaf bearing the short preface; the first leaf of Bragge's sheet B (lines 174-194 of the *Satyr*) was cancelled to remove the title, and discarded. Where C-1707-a opened with the 'Memoiers' and the 'Addition' to the *Satyr*, C-1707-b now contained a new preface (on A1), the 'Memoiers' (on gatherings a and b, inserted inside the new gathering A), lines 1-194 of the *Satyr* (on leaves A2-A7), and the remaining lines of the poem (195-225) on the second leaf of Bragge's original sheet B. When Curll issued the book under his own name, therefore, the entire text of the *Satyr* was presented as an apparently seamless continuity, disguising the fact that different parts of the text were produced at different printings. The type, running-titles and

layout of the new material matches C-1707-a --use of the same print-shop suggests the closeness of the collaboration between Curll and Bragge[85]. Only the slight differences in page-width (the new gathering A is a centimetre wider than the rest of the book) and the interrupted pagination-sequence (the new *Satyr* material is numbered 1 to 12, then the numbering returns to page 3 of the original sequence) reveal the disruption in the text.

These elaborate textual strategies around the printing of the *Satyr* provide not only evidence for the sequence in which the two issues appeared, but also an explanation for the subterfuge and deception that went into the production of the first C-series edition. When Tonson was putting together the texts of his edition of Rochester back in 1691, he seems to have had misgivings about using the '1680' group as a source for the *Satyr* as he had done for half the poems in his edition: he turned to the 1679 broadsheet of the poem for his copy-text, though he altered it in several places to accommodate preferred readings derived from the '1680' text[86]. The broadsheet, however, contained only lines 1-174; Tonson chose not to use the last 51 lines provided by the '1680' group, and to publish the poem in a form he knew was incomplete rather than print a text that he clearly distrusted. (Tonson eventually printed the entire *Satyr* in B-1714, adding the last 51 lines as a separate 'Postscript'[87]). The bibliographical complexities of C-1707 are thus a response to Tonson's claim to copyright of lines 1-174 of the *Satyr*: Bragge and Curll first of all printed only the portion of the poem Tonson had omitted, then Curll, emboldened by the absence of reprisals over the first issue, published the complete text.

Tonson had reprinted his edition of Rochester in 1696 and 1705. Though he had never formalised ownership of the copy by registering it with the Stationers' Company, in 1707 Tonson was the only publisher with any clear claim to Rochester by mere fact of having published 3 editions of the book. Prosecuted printers of '1680' group texts such as Leach, Latham and Hill were hardly in a position to claim copyright to Rochester; Andrew Thorncome had moved to Boston shortly after printing his 1685 edition, and the

publisher of the A-series edition that appeared in 1701 had identified himself merely by the initials 'A.T.' --hardly a convincing claim to ownership of the Rochester copy[88]. Curll's initial diffidence in publishing the *Satyr* reflects the confusion of copyright practices in 1707. The licensing system had lapsed 9 years before; the Stationers' Register had fallen into disuse; the nature of the legislation that would replace the Licensing Act, however, was still under debate. There was yet the possibility that the Stationers would succeed in persuading Parliament to revive the Licensing Act maintaining their control of the trade; meanwhile, Tonson and his powerful colleagues in the Conger were petitioning for an as yet unclearly specified alternative. Under the terms of the Copyright Act, the publisher of any book printed before the 10th. of April 1710 would be guaranteed rights to that copy for a period of 21 years[89]. Whether such terms were imminent at such an early stage in the evolution of the legislation is unclear, but Curll would have wanted to establish an enduring claim to the copy of his Rochester collection, a claim that would not be cancelled by future alterations in copyright practices.

Throughout his career, Curll flouted copyright law and infuriated writers by his flagrantly unauthorised publications, but he was not a pirate: he seldom published copy that had been already printed by another publisher. Indeed, his most outrageous deceptions and controversial stunts were usually necessitated by his reluctance to print popular titles that had already been published, together with his desire to exploit their popularity --without, however, resorting to piracy. Though he would never have accepted the idea of the author's right to a text enshrined in the Copyright Act, he respected the ownership of copy once it had been established through publication --he provoked the anger of authors more often than that of his fellow publishers. Curll's confrontations with Swift and Pope came about not because he published texts that had already been printed, but because he named names of authors. The misleading title-pages, the endless procession of 'keys' to popular texts, the parasitic activities of the hacks in his attic, the dubiously-acquired manuscripts obtained without the authors' knowledge and printed without their consent:

Curll's most infamous tactics can be seen as the result of his scrupulousness in avoiding previously-published copy combined with his hunger for a bestselling title.

This peculiar combination of qualms over copyright and determination to exploit a lucrative copy is evident at every stage in the production of the 1707 Rochester, and is one of the most suggestive indications of Curll's shadowy presence behind both issues of the book. The *Satyr* was Rochester's best-known poem, and Curll was determined to include it; but his reluctance to use copyright material led him to avoid reproducing Tonson's text of the poem, by printing only the 'Addition'. After issuing this version of the poem, Curll lost some of his scruples over Tonson's ownership of the *Satyr* copy, and inserted the main text of the poem on the newly-printed sheet A; he was careful, however, to use an A-series printing of the poem for his copy-text rather than Tonson's text or the broadsheet from which it was derived[90]. The scruples of Curlicism did not prevent the outright lie placed under the new title of the poem: 'Never before Printed Entire'. Tonson may have published the text in its incomplete form, but Curll knew very well that the poem had been 'Printed Entire' in A-series editions because he used one of these editions as the source for part of his text.

Avoidance of Tonson's copyright material formed the underlying strategy that shaped the contents of the 1707 edition. Apart from the *Satyr*, no poem printed in Tonson's editions appears in C-1707. Such scrupulous avoidance brought with it its own problems, however. The '1680' editions presented the largest available source of Rochester material for the 1707 collection. But Tonson's selection of songs suitable for the 'Cabinet of the Severest Matron' had included most of the '1680' poems which could be published without fear of prosecution for obscenity[91]. A substantial number of the remaining poems would have seemed liable for legal action in 1707, particularly in the light of recent prosecutions of Leach, Latham and Hill. Curll's awareness of the dangers of prosecution for obscenity may have been heightened by the Queen's Bench prosecutions of Marshall, Carter and Read in the

same year that the two issues of C-1707 appeared. In compiling material for the 1707 edition, therefore, Curll was doubly constrained in his choice of poems: he had to exclude any '1680' poem that might attract the attention of the agencies of press-control as well as avoiding material previously published by Tonson. Unfortunately for Curll, Tonson had already selected most of the safest poems for his 1691 edition. Curll's compilation of '1680' material was severely restricted by the combined pressures of copyright and prosecution for obscenity.

Only 9 of the 36 poems in the Rochester section of C-1707 had appeared in the '1680' group editions. With the exception of 'Well Sir, 'tis granted, I said Dryden's Rhimes', for which a manuscript provides the C-1707 text, all of these were to some extent textually dependent on the '1680' group, though the degree of dependence ranged from word-for-word reprinting (with only minor substantive variants), to extensive conflation of the '1680' text with manuscript material. The C-1707 texts of 'Madam. If you're deceiv'd it is not by my Cheate' and 'If Rome can pardon Sins, as Romans hold' show only relatively trivial variants, such as contractions or plurals, against their '1680' source texts[92]. A small number of alternative readings were introduced into the C-1707 texts of 'Room, room for a blade of the town' and 'Have you seen the raging, stormy main', though '1680' editions have been used as copy-texts for the poems[93]. For the C-1707 text of 'To rack, and torture thy unmeaning Brain', a manuscript source has been used as copy-text, marked up with emendations 'possibly' derived from a '1680' text[94]; the complex background to the 1707 *Satyr* has already been outlined. Two poems show extensive editorial intervention that does not seem to have been motivated by textual concerns: 21 lines have been deleted from the text of 'Tell me, abandoned miscreant, prithee tell'[95] --apparently in an attempt to dilute the obscenity of the poem's invective-- and the third person address of the '1680' text of 'How farre are they deceiv'd who hope in vaine' has been rather awkwardly converted into the second person[96].

Less than a quarter of the poems published in the Rochester section of C-1707, therefore, were from the '1680' collection: this left a considerable amount of material to be culled from other sources. The **Poems on Affairs of State** anthologies of political verse satire provided the largest number of poems in the 1707 edition. At least 12 of the 36 poems are to some extent derived from one of the 1697 **Poems on Affairs of State** or from one of their many reprints[97]: the compiler of C-1707 seems to have scoured the collection selecting any poem in it attributed, however dubiously, to Rochester. Concerns over copyright ownership did not enter into the use of this material, because the source editions had been anonymously published[98]. Other printed sources were plundered for material for C-1707's Rochester section, but to nothing like the same extent as the **Poems on Affairs of State** anthologies. Bragge's 1705 edition of the **Miscellaneous Works** of Buckingham provided 'Woman was made man's sovereignty to own' and possibly ''Tis the Arabian bird alone')[99]. A substantially different version of 'In all humility [humanity] we crave' had been published in an anthology of political verse back in 1662, and 'Since now my Sylvia is as kind as fair' had appeared in broadsheet form in 1679[100].

Two thirds of the material included in the Rochester section of C-1707 had already been printed several times before, and the texts for most of these poems were derived directly from printed sources: like Tonson's B-series editions of Rochester, the composition of the C-1707 collection was an exercise in making new books out of old[101]. In terms of previously-unpublished material, however, the first edition of the C-series compares quite favourably with Tonson's 1691 edition. 7 of the poems in the Rochester section, and a further 3 short epigrams ascribed to Rochester in the 'Miscellany Poems' section, seem to have appeared in print there for the first time[102], whereas only 6 of the 39 Rochester poems in B-1691 had never been previously published. But Curll, unlike Tonson, felt the need to defend himself from accusations of recycling previously-published material. In the short preface 'To The Reader' that Curll included in the extra

sheet added to the re-issue of C-1707, the following defence of the edition appears:

> If any Gentleman ſhould make it an Objection, that ſeveral Pieces in this Volume, have been already Printed, that will eaſily be anſwer'd, by aſſuring the World how widely different they will appear, by comparing 'em together; what has been Printed before, being only ſpurious, and mangled, and theſe true and perfect Copies.[103]

Curll goes on to specify the textual background to *Tunbridge Wells* ('At Five this Morne, when Phoebus raisd his head') as an example of his improvements on previous printings of the poems:

> As for Inſtance; my Lord *Rochester*'s *Tunbridge Wells*, is Printed in the *State Poems*, which, when compared with the true Copy in this Collection, there will be found above twenty additional Lines and Alterations, which are mark'd with an inverted comma, for diſtinction; and ſo throughout the whole Book, where there are any new Lines; which, 'tis hop'd, will be a full Satiſfaction to thoſe Gentlemen, who ſhall make ſuch Objections.[104]

In fact, the C-1707 text of *Tunbridge Wells* adds only 10 lines to the text printed in **Poems on Affairs of State**, presumably derived from some manuscript material Curll had managed to maintain[105]. Two couplets in 'Must I with patience ever silent sit' and a further couplet in 'To rack, and torture thy unmeaning Brain' are also marked out with inverted commas to signify additional inserted material[106].

Such claims for textual perfection should not be taken too literally: they are typical of the skilful mixture of half-truth, exaggeration and blatant deception that so infuriated Curll's contemporaries throughout his career. But they are significant not only as an indication of Curll's close involvement in both issues of the 1707 edition, but also as the earliest recorded discussion of the textual problems of Rochester's poetry. Recent research on the texts of **Poems on Affairs of State** has confirmed Curll's claims that they are indeed frequently 'ſpurious, and mangled'[107]. Curll's inverted commas represent the first attempt to apply a kind of textual apparatus to the Rochester poems, and his appeal to textual comparison, however dubious, sets out a methodology that is not so far removed from the practices of twentieth-century editors of

Rochester. Moreover, Curll's preface provides a striking contrast with the claims made in Rymer's preface to Tonson's B-series editions[108]. Where Curll sets a value on textual reliability, and appeals to a notion of fullness in his texts, placing the presence of additional material in the poems at the centre of his sales-pitch for the edition, the preface to Tonson's editions emphasizes the incompleteness of the B-series texts, the 'removal of every Block of Offence' in order to admit the poems into the 'vertuous Court' and the 'Cabinet of the Severest Matron'. Both prefaces foreground editorial intervention in the texts of the poems, though the purpose of Curll's editorial project is very different from Tonson's, directed towards an aim of textual reconstruction rather than castration. It is ironic that the appeal to ideals of textual accuracy should feature in the C-series, which has generally been seen as a highly dubious source of texts by early twentieth-century editors of Rochester, while the celebration of the castrated text should preface Tonson's B-series, which has frequently been cited as the most reliable and trustworthy of the early editions of the poems[109].

Concerns with textual accuracy re-emerge in the preface to Curll's 1709 edition of Rochester's poems. Curll begins with some defensive remarks excusing the inclusion of so much previously-printed material in terms similar to those of the preface to C-1707-b:

> Nor had the Reader been troubled with any Thing, either by Way of Apology or Vindication, but for the anſwering an Objection which may be ſtarted by ſome Gentlemen, *viz.* That ſeveral Poems in the Collection have been printed before in others: But all that is neceſſary to be reply'd in this Caſe, is, That whatſoever may have been ſeen under the ſame Titles of ſome of theſe Pieces, are not ſo in reality, being only Mangled and Imperfect Copies, which will plainly be demonſtrated upon the Comparison.'[110]

For the first time in the publication history of Rochester, the 1709 preface makes explicit the connection between textual practices and copyright. Curll's argument is simple, if ingenuous: copyright resides in the specific textual realisation of a poem or a work, so that an 'improved' text of a poem represents a new copy

quite different from a previously-published 'Mangled and Imperfect' text. Both texts 'may have been ſeen' under the same title, but they 'are not so in Reality', for according to this radical view of textuality the poem exists only in the particular editorial version printed on the page --a different text of the same poem is in effect a different poem, a different property, a new copyright. Such arguments retrospectively justified Curll's textual practices around the *Satyr* in the second issue of the 1707 edition. Because he used a different '1680' copy-text from Tonson's broadsheet-derived text of the poem, Curll was not infringing Tonson's copyright to the poem: Curll could claim that his *Satyr* was in effect a different poem from the one Tonson had published.

In the 1709 preface, the example used by Curll to indicate the textual improvement of the edition was Rochester's mountebank pamphlet, 'Alexander Bendo's Bill':

> Tho' this Piece has been printed, yet 'tis ſo imperfect, that beſides ſeveral Words which alter the Senſe, there is one large entire Paragraph omitted.'[11]

On this occasion, the target for Curll's aspersions was not the **Poems on Affairs of State** anthologies, but the B-series text of the 'Bill' published by Tonson. As well as introducing 17 new readings to the text, the 1709 'Bill' includes a section of some 150 words absent from Tonson's printings of the piece'[12]. Like the main text of the *Satyr* in C-1707-b, the 'Bill' is a late addition to the book. The 'Bill', on gathering c, interrupts the catchword sequence between the end of the 'St. Evremont' 'Memoirs' on gathering b and the first sheet of poems on gathering A; in some copies of the edition, gathering c has been bound at the back of the book, after Curll's advertisement on gathering N'[13]. In an advertisement for the book placed in **The Post Boy** of March 15-17 1709, Curll claimed that he had been 'oblig'd to defer Publication' of C-1709 'for a week longer, by reaſon of ſeveral Papers ſent yeſterday, containing a Perfect Copy of my Lord Roche ſter's Mountebank Speech'[14]. It is possible, however, that Curll delayed the typesetting of the 'Bill' out of nervousness over the prospect of poaching Tonson's copy. On the eve of the the 1710 Act of Anne, Curll's qualms over copyright may well have disrupted the manufacturing process of the book. No

reprisals seem to have been forthcoming from Tonson, however, and the text continued to be reprinted in further editions of the C-series.

'Alexander Bendo's Bill' was not the only text in C-1709 that had been printed in B-series editions: Tonson had taken 'My dear Mistris has a heart' from Aphra Behn's 1685 miscellany, and it was one of 7 poems added to the Rochester section of Curll's 1709 edition. Over half of these new poems had already appeared in print within the last 20 years'[115]. The political anthologies plundered by Curll for many of the poems that made up the 1707 Rochester section had published two of these additional poems: 'Pride, lust, ambition and the people's hate' had appeared in one of the 1697 **Poems on Affairs of State**'[116], and 'Clarendon had law and sense' had been printed in the 1689 **Third Collection of... Satyrs, Songs &c. against Popery and Tyranny**'[117]. *A Description of a Maidenhead* ('Have you not in a chimney seen') had appeared in the 1705 edition of Rochester's **Familiar Letters**; the poem had been ascribed to Milton, rather than Rochester, when it had been printed the year before Curll's edition in **Oxford and Cambridge Miscellany Poems**'[118].

As well as inserting extra material in the Rochester section of C-1709, Curll extensively rearranged the order of the poems, putting them into what the preface describes as 'a more exact Method under proper Heads'. He abandoned C-1707's rather arbitrary sub-division of 'Poems, chiefly relating to State Affairs: written by his Lordship, immediately after the Restauration' (G3^{v}-K3^{v}), and moved the three Rochesterian epigrams from the 'Miscellany Poems' section into the main sequence of Rochester's 'Miscellaneous Works'[119]. Curll's rearrangement of C-1709 placed 'How farre are they deceiv'd who hope in vaine' immediately after the poem to which it replies, 'Madam. If you're deceiv'd, it is not by my Cheate' --they had been separated by 6 intervening poems in C-1707. In general, Curll seems to have gone out of his way to print the poems in a totally different sequence from the order in which they first appeared. Assigning the poems of C-1707 with numerals according to their order in that edition (the epigrams from the

'Miscellany' section numbered 37-39), and the extra poems added in 1709 with the letters A-G, the following sequence for C-1709 emerges:-

1, 8, 15, 10, 14, 24, 29, 30, 34 36, 12, 3, A, 5, B, C, 37, D, 39, 19, 7, 2, 4, 6, 9, E, F, 11, 13, 21, 16, 17, 18, 22, 23, 25, 26, G, 27, 28, 31, 32, 35.

It will be noted that the order of poems is closer to C-1707 towards the end of the sequence than it is at the beginning of the book. This suggests that the 1709 rearrangement was carried out with an eye on potential buyers perusing the book, that Curll was using rearrangement of the poems to make C-1709 seem more different from the previous edition than it actually was. Not to dissociate the two editions, as Tonson had ordered B-1691 to distance it from the '1680' editions, but simply to make the material offered in the book seem more new, more desirable'[120].

No sooner had Curll published his 1709 edition of Rochester than the book was pirated by a group of three marginal publishers, Thomas Harrison, Anne Croom and Anne Smith. No publishers' names appeared on the title-page of the piracy (C-1709-P), which simply described the book as 'London printed, and sold by the booksellers of London and Westminster'[121]. For Thomas Harrison, only 3 books bearing his imprint are recorded in ESTC, two theological treatises of 1713, and the intriguingly-titled **The Indian's petition, or, Black Jack's pawawing to Don Pluto, Lord of the dark regions** of 1710[122]. Anne Croom may have been the widow of George Croom, who published a clutch of religious writings around the turn of the century[123]; I have come across no clear evidence to point to the publishing activities of the ubiquitously-named Mistress Smith.

The production-standards of C-1709-P make even the grubby editions of the '1680' group seem luxury editions by comparison. Every effort has been made to pare production-costs to a minimum: the book gives the impression that the pirates were desperately short of capital for their project. To cut down paper-costs, the same quantity of text that occupied 14 octavo sheets in Curll's 1709 edition has been compressed into 4 octavo sheets in the pirate edition[124]. Throughout the book, the lines of type are very closely

set, with no leading; poems are squeezed together, separated by single rules, without any space between them; section titles and poem titles are all set in the same type as the text, saving the extra space that would have been taken up by the larger type commonly used for titles. The page-openings are noticeably wide in relation to the dimensions of the cut leaf in the unique surviving copy, leaving very narrow margins around the text[125]: the width of the printed page allows many long lines of poem text that were broken in Curll's 1709 edition (with the last few words dropped onto the line below) to be continuous in the pirate edition, saving a considerable amount of space, paper and labour. The book is printed in a jumble of different typefaces: changes of type bear no relation to the text and occur sometimes in the middle of a poem (for example halfway through the *Satyr* on A8^{r}), sometimes in the middle of a page (on A5^{v} and D7^{v})[126]. Some of these unexpected transitions in type were almost certainly necessitated by type-shortages --for example, the use of italic for the three poems on C2^{v}-C3^{r})-- but frequently the compositor seems to have resorted to smaller typefaces in order to compress more text into a limited space. The result of these drastic economies in the manufacture of C-1709-P is that the book is by far the most abysmally produced of all the early editions of Rochester's poems.

Within months of the publication of the piracy, Harrison, Smith and Croom found themselves on trial for obscenity before the Queen's Bench[127]. It's tempting to detect the hand of Curll behind their prosecution, engaging in the only form of reprisal for piracy available to him in the absence of copyright legislation: it is known that Curll acted as an informer for the agencies of press-control in the 1710s and 1720s, and it's possible that he may have been utilising such informations in order to punish and deter piratical competition as early as 1709[128]. It's certainly peculiar that, of the two editions of the book published in 1709, it was the anonymously-printed pirate edition, rather than the one bearing Curll's name clearly on the title-page, that was prosecuted for obscenity. Whatever the background to the prosecution, it was Harrison, Smith and Croom, not Curll, who were charged with publishing 'a profane, lascivious and pernicious lampoon called

"The Works of the Right Honourable the Earle of Rochester and Roscommon with some Memoirs of the Earle of Rochester's Life by Monsieur St. Evremont"'.

From the evidence of the excerpts from the book quoted in the trial record the prosecutors seem to have seen lascivious perniciousness in the poems' ridicule of contemporary constructions of chastity and marriage rather than in any unauthorised vocabulary. The record quotes the following lines from *A Satyr against Marriage*:

> *Marriage!* O Hell and Furies, name it not,
> Hence, hence, ye holy Cheats, a Plot a Plot!
> *Marriage*! 'Tis but a Licenc'd Way to Sin,
> A Nooſe to catch Religious Woodcocks in:
> Or the Nick-Name of Love's malicious Fiend,
> Begot in Hell to perſecute Mankind...
> With Whores thou can'ſt but venture; what thou loſt;
> May be redeem'd again with Care and Coſt;
> But a Damn'd Wife, by inevitable Fate,
> Deſtroys Soul, Body, Credit, and Eſtate.[129]

This misogynistic libertine joke against marriage has become, in the reading of the Queen's Bench prosecutors, a serious subversion of men's classification of women. The 1709 prosecution of Rochester's **Works** continues the concerns of the case against **The Fifteen Plagues of a Maidenhead** of 1707, which had located obscenity in the debunking of ideals of chastity, rather than the concerns of the case against **Sodom** of the same year, which had prosecuted a rude vocabulary of taboo words. The trial record of the Read and Carter case had quoted from *The Sixth Plague*:

> Pox take the thing Folks call a Maiden-Head,
> For soon as e'er I'm sleeping in my Bed,
> I dream I'm mingling with some Man my thighs
> Till something more than ord'nary does rise;
> But when I wake and find my Dream's in vain,
> I turn to Sleep only to dream again,
> For dreams as yet are only kind to me,
> And at the present quench my Lechery.[130]

David Foxon has identified the primary target of these Queen's Bench prosecutions as the ridicule of virginity: 'sexual immorality in general may be written about, but virginity must be preserved'[131]. The prosecutions seem to be punishing --in an arbitrary fashion-- producers of texts which challenge the binary

oppositions of maid and bawd, wife and whore. The preservation of virginity in printed discourse was part of a strategy of resistance against attacks on the commodity value of women in the commercial transaction of marriage.

The concern with virginity as the integrity of the goods exchanged in the marriage-contract certainly surfaces in another Queen's Bench prosecution of 1709, the first trial of a medical book for obscenity. A barber-surgeon called John Marten had been publishing a series of treatises on venereal disease over the past 5 years, drumming up business for his practice as a clap-doctor. None of these books had attracted the attention of the prosecutors. (Edmund Curll had published a few of them, and Marten's radical rejection of mercury treatments had embroiled Curll in the first of his many public controversies.[32]) But in 1709 Marten produced a sequel to his series of treatises, a book that was more a sex manual, a sort of **Joy of Sex**, than a guide to cures for clap. Although no less than 7 publishers' names were on the title-page (Curll's was not among them), it was John Marten who was hauled before the Queen's Bench as the author of the 'diabolical and cupidinous' **Gonosologium Novum**[33].

The longest quotation in Marten's indictment is taken from the section of the book entitled 'Of the Hymen in Maids, call'd the Virgin Zone, or Token of Virginity, Anatomically deſcrib'd, with the Opinions of Authors concerning it; and many Obſervations and uſeful Conſiderations thereof.' After providing a definition of virginity in language that would suit the most discreet medical or legal testimony, Marten provides a catalogue of tricks whereby damaged goods may be sold as quality merchandise, a list of methods of fraudulent transaction presented as a warning for unwary buyers in the marriage-market:

> ...yet an artificial maidenhead mimicking the true, may be obtained, and is what numbers of harlots have acquir'd, and thereby imposed upon men, by only conſtringing the genitals, and bringing them to their almost former straitneſs and this they do by baths and fomentations prepar'd of astringent ingredients, by using which to the privy parts, as also to the breasts (which latter upon lying with

> men, and conceiving grow, especially some, great soft and flagging), contracts both the parts and them so effectually as scarcely to be discovered even by the most understanding midwife and when they come to be brides, the better to deceive their husbands, have either blooded their shifts beforehand, or placed a little flesh or fish-bladder of blood so as to be broke in the Encounter or have appointed the day of marriage to be at the declension of their courses, complaining at the time of embrace a little of pain to colour the matter, and make the bridegroom believe it was the very first Bout.[134]

Marten ends the catalogue of counterfeits with a discreet refusal to specify 'the prescriptions of the medicines to ſtraiten', 'lest those that are yet chaste should take the hint, as some giddy girls may', but his tact was not appreciated by the prosecutors of the Queen's Bench. **Gonosologium Novum** represented a threat to contemporary constructions of women's sexuality in the institution of marriage, and it was in this threat that the obscenity of the book was seen as an indictable offence.

The obscenity of both books prosecuted in 1709 was unquestioned, was indeed presented as self-evident from the passages quoted from them. That Harrison, Croom, Smith and Marten were held responsible for their production was expressed in the verdicts of guilty on the fact of publication. But the Queen's Bench prosecutors still had to contend with the precedent of the Read case of 1707, in which Justice Holt had ruled that obscenity lay within the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical, not the temporal, courts'[135]. The prosecution in both cases failed to overturn this decision, and both cases were adjourned 'sine die': the category of obscene remained unrecognised as a punishable offence at the Queen's Bench. It was to be 17 years before the prosecutors tried again'[136]. In the meantime, the failure of the 1709 prosecutions was to have an enormous effect on Curll's career, on the C-series of Rochester's poems, and on the development of the law of obscene libel.

Chapter 6. OBSCENE LIBEL AND THE LANGUAGE OF ROCHESTER'S POEMS.

When Curll brought out his next edition of the Rochester collection, the book had undergone a process of considerable transformation and expansion. For the 1714 edition, Curll divided the collection into two volumes, following the two-part division of his previous editions: poems attributed to Rochester occupied volume one, while the selection of pieces by Roscommon, Dorset and others formed a separate volume with its own title-page and an independent signature-sequence[1]. At the end of the second volume, the 'Cabinet of Love' appendix appeared for the first time. As well as the 'Memoirs' by 'St. Evremont', Curll provided additional biographical material cannibalised from other books, short extracts culled from Wolseley's preface to **Valentinian**, Parson's funeral sermon, Burnet's hagiographic account of Rochester, and Anthony à Wood's literary lives of Oxford old-boys **Atheniae Oxonienses**[2]. The new preliminary matter of C-1714 also included elegies on the death of Rochester by Behn, Flatman and Waller, and a sketch of Charles II by Mulgrave[3]. Rochester's poetry is thus set into an elaborate biographical and historical frame that places the poems firmly within the context of his life: the reader encounters the first poem in the Rochester sequence only after some 70 pages of commentary on the life and work from a variety of widely-differing points of view. The 1714 edition also featured the first illustrations of the Rochester poems, a sequence of engravings by the Dutch artist Willem van der Gucht)[4].

Well over a third of the 72 poems in the C-1714 Rochester volume represent new additions to the C-series. Of the 29 new poems, only one, 'Oh, that I could by some chymic art', appears to be derived from a manuscript source; the remainder are derived from printed sources[5]. Poetical miscellanies supplied Curll's texts for 5 of these poems: 3 poems ascribed by Vieth to Edward Radclyffe were taken from an edition of **The Annual Miscellany**, 2 poems were taken from an edition of Tonson's miscellany **Examen Poeticum**[6]. But by far the largest number of new poems came from one of the '1680' editions[7]. For the most part, Curll avoided the '1680'

poems that Tonson had included in his editions of Rochester: only one of the 21 new poems in C-1714, *Upon Nothing*, had appeared in the B-series. Several of the '1680'-derived additions were poems that Curll had considered too obscene to publish in 1707 and 1709: he seems to have interpreted the failure of the 1709 prosecution as a sign that he could publish any of Rochester's poems without fear of prosecution. 'For standing tarses we kind nature thank', the series of letters between 'Mr. B' and 'Mr. E', and the *Mock Song* ('I swive [love] as well as others do'), *The Imperfect Enjoyment* and *A Ramble in Saint James's Parke* were all printed here for the first time outside the A-series[8].

Although Curll's 1714 *Imperfect Enjoyment* was, like Thorncome's version, derived from one of the '1680' group editions, the textual tactics involved in its production were very different[9]. Rather than re-write the text, Curll replaced certain words with lacunae, dashes typically between 3 and 5 letters long: a kind of printing under erasure. But the cleverness of Curll's deletions is in their transparency: the rhyme reveals what isn't actually printed. 'Her very Look's a -----', and it rhymes with 'don't' (line 18); the 'tingling ----' (line 64) rhymes with 'grunt'. Sometimes, for those readers devoid of any aptitude for rhyme, Curll helpfully provides a clue by supplying the first letter of the word. Thus 'ſ--' (line 69) rhymes with 'attend' and 'depend', and Curll's reader is dissuaded from rhyming 'drive' with 'ſtrive', like Thorncome, by the provision of the initial 'ſ' of the absent 'swive' at line 27. Note that the same sign ('ſ--') signifies two different words (spend or swive) depending on context: the technique relies heavily on rhyme-prompted reader response. That is, the *reader*, not the printer or the publisher, completes the rhyme. The word doesn't hide behind the dash, it simply isn't there. It exists only in the mind of the reader, who then becomes responsible --accountable-- for the meaning produced: it is the reader's voice that violates tact and discretion in the enunciation of these words. If it is crime to utter these words, then it is the reader, not the publisher or printer, who is the criminal.

With deleted words that are internal to the line, Curll is careful to reinforce contextual clues with supplied letters. The first and last letters of the word 'sperm' are supplied, with a 5-letter-long dash between the 's' and the 'm' (line 16). This contextual prompt is supplemented by the provision of the initial letter in the next deletion two words later, 'ſ----' for 'spend':

Melt into S-----m, and ſ---- at ev'ry Pore.

The first of 3 occurrences --or rather absences-- of the word 'Cunt' is a rhyme at the end of line 18; the rhyme-prompted reading of the word then substantiates local contextual clues and the supplied initial letter when the sign 'C---' appears internally at lines 40 and 43. The dash-deletions suggest a shortlist of possible readings. Using clues like rhyme and supplied letters, a vocabulary is delineated: the cryptic sign of the dash *can only refer* to one of a limited subset of words, a restricted range of meanings.

Curll continues these policies of intervention in his text of *A Ramble in Saint James's Parke*[10]. The vocabulary suppressed is much the same: in both poems, the words 'swive', 'cunt', 'spend', 'sperm', 'fuck' and 'prick' are reduced to dashes; the *Ramble* extends this vocabulary to include 'frigg', 'seed' 'ballocks' and 'arse'. Where the poems differ in their tactics of dash-for-word substitution, however, is in the practice of supplying initial letters in the deleted word. Throughout the text of *The Imperfect Enjoyment*, 7 of the 10 suppressed words have supplied letters (lines 16, 27, 69, 40, and 43); the *Ramble*, at more than twice the length of *The Imperfect Enjoyment*, has only one instance of supplied letters in its 19 dash-deletions, 'a--e' for 'arse' at line 91. Dash-deletions cluster in the first and third sections of the *Ramble*, in the description of St. James's Park (lines 1-32) and the narrator's curse against his mistress Corinna (lines 79-168). The central section of the poem (lines 33-78), which describes Corinna's behaviour and the fops who pursue her, is relatively free of dash-deletion: the only instance is the word 'cunt' in the last line of this section. These clusters of dash-deletions at the beginning and end of the poem are congruent --but not exactly contiguous with-- Thorncome's alterations to the 1685 text of the *Ramble*[11].

It's hardly surprising that, in a poem so saturated with antifeminist invective, the word most frequently deleted is the noun 'cunt'. 3 of the 8 deletions of the word occur at the end of a line, rhymed variously with 'on't' (line 10), 'hunt' (line 86) and 'upon't' (line 142). Most of the deletions of the word occur during the male narrator's hysterical diatribe against Corinna. Felicity Nussbaum has pointed out the obvious parallel between the final section of the *Ramble* and 'the narrator's curse on his useless penis in *The Imperfect Enjoyment*'[12]. It should be noted, however, that where the object of the curse is for the most part metaphorically expressed in *The Imperfect Enjoyment* (the penis is a 'deserter', a 'Hector', a 'Recreant', a 'Post' --only once, at line 69, is the word 'prick' used and reduced to '*P*--' by Curll), the curse that focuses so obsessively on Corinna's 'cunt' repeats the blunt word hypnotically, invoking the noun like a spell. Even when addressed in impotent anger, the male member inspires flights of metaphorical fancy, a rhapsodic game of naming that recalls the endless phallic synonyms and nicknames with which men achieve male bonding through language. In cursing Corinna, however, the narrator reduces her a to single, repeated pejorative. Only twice is Corinna's vagina presented metaphorically, and on these occasions the image retains a functional literalness --it is a 'passive pot' at line 101, a 'Grace-Cup' at line 122-- rather than the fanciful chains of imagery which the male member engenders. The impotent fear behind the narrator's curses is made transparent in the adjective that accompanies the word at line 119, where Corinna is portrayed as a 'devouring *Cunt*'. Alone in the park after Corinna's departure with the fops, all that is left to the narrator is name-calling --as Nussbaum says, 'the only power left to him is that of the pen'[13]. But even the pen betrays the fact that Corinna's 'Cunt', so frequently invoked, is the source of his anxiety as well as his anger.

The language of the narrator's terror of the vagina kept Curll's compositor busy with the task of setting dashes for the rude repeated word: in the course of setting the 1714 text of the *Ramble*, the figure of Corinna is downgraded from a goddess 'dropt from Heav'n', to a 'Cunt', to a cryptic horizontal line of type, a

gap. Into this gap the male reader is invited to insert the absent word, guided by contextual clues and rhyme. The paradigm of reading the dash-deletions of the word 'cunt' in the *Ramble* is the sex act itself: in this penetrative hermeneutic, the male reader is called to join the band of men --clowns, parsons, fools, porters, grooms, the narrator, the three fops, 'half the town'-- who are united in the bond of sharing Corinna's vagina. Curll's dash-deletions reinforce the complicity between reader and narrator by reproducing the bond of the shared woman in the model of the reading process itself.

Where the dash-deletion of female sexuality in the 1714 *Ramble* concentrates exclusively on the word 'cunt', the suppression of words associated with male sexuality show a wider range of vocabulary. 'Prick' (paired with 'cunt') is reduced to a dash at line 10, and in the adjectival form 'stiff-prick'd' at line 92 provokes the only instance where Curll re-writes the text of the poem, changing the 'stiff-prick'd Clown' to a 'lusty Clown' --Thorncome had engaged in quite extensive re-writing to remove these words in the 1685 text of the poem'[4]. 'Seed' (line 114) and 'Sperme' (line 115) are replaced by dashes (in A-1685 they had been translated into 'the Juice of half the Town' and 'my Dram of Love' respectively). Curll prints the phrase 'my *Ballock* full' as 'my ------- full' at line 122. 'Frigg', in the *Ramble* used only in the sense of male masturbation, is deleted twice, at line 18 ('wou'd ------- upon his Mother's Face') and line 146 ('*School Boys* to -------'). All the deletions of words associated with male sexuality are internal to the line, so that their interpretation relies on reading contextual clues without the assistance of rhyme.

Curll allows two references to buggery to remain intact: Thorncome had transformed the '*Bugg'ries*, *Rapes*, and *Incefts*' at line 24 into 'Amorous charming Dittyes', and altering the Jesuit's 'uſe of *Buggery*' to their 'uſe of Cruelty' at line 148. No

alteration has been carried out to line 6, where Thorncome had completely replaced the line

Drunkenneſs reliev'd by *Lechery*

to

How ſquares were carry'd, and how things agree.

As in *The Imperfect Enjoyment*, the verb 'swive' is suppressed in the 1714 text of the *Ramble*, though in both instances the signified meaning is clearly flagged by rhymes with 'arrive' (line 32) and 'thrive' (line 168). The dashes with which Curll replaces the verb 'fuck' are much more ambiguous and difficult to read, due to their internal positions in lines that provide them with little contextual support:

Much Wine had paſt, with grave Diſcourſe,
Of who ---- who, and who does worſe

and

Whence Rowes of Mandrakes tall did riſe,
Whoſe lewd Tops -------- the very Skies.

In these instances, however, the dash acts to alert the reader to the sexual impropriety of the missing verb, and the restricted range of deleted vocabulary provides a useful shortlist of possible readings.

Through such tactics of textual production we can see a vocabulary of the unprintable in the process of formation. Not a repertoire of unprintable texts --Curll interpreted the 1707 and 1709 verdicts as dispensations that allowed him to publish poems omitted from previous C-series editions-- but a lexicon of specific unprintable words. Yes, Curll's dashes do point towards these words in a clear and obvious way, proclaiming their absence rather than erasing the evidence of textual difference as Thorncome's 1685 re-writes had done. But the words themselves are not there on the page. In the moment that these words in this poem are 'read' in print for the first time in nearly 20 years, in that moment those words construct a lexicon of impropriety, participating in what Foucault describes as an 'expurgation --and a very rigorous one-- of the authorized vocabulary'[15].

Curll's 1714 edition of Rochester provoked a response from Tonson in the form of the first B-series reprint to be published by

him since the C-series editions had appeared in 1707[16]. Although Tonson presented the same poems in the same order as they had appeared in 1691, 1696 and 1705, the B-series underwent a process of transformation and expansion in 1714 that paralleled the alterations that took place in the C-series in the same year. Tonson's additional material took the form of Rochester's letters, which had first been published by Sam Briscoe back in 1697, and Wolseley's preface to **Valentinian**, which had been omitted from previous B-series editions[17]. For B-1714, the letters were divided into two sections, the correspondence with Savile entitled 'Familiar Letters', and a sequence of 'Love-Letters. to Mrs. ---', Mrs. Barry. Both the competing editions of 1714 thus put into practice the same operation of framing Rochester's poems within the context of the Earl's life: Curll's through the new biographical excerpts that begin his edition, Tonson's through the addition of the letters and the critical biography to **Valentinian**. A greater degree of care and expense has been put into the presentation of material in B-1714 than in previous reprints. Where the editions of 1696 and 1705 followed the late-seventeenth century printing-style of B-1691, the 1714 edition represents an attempt to adapt the book to early eighteenth-century standards of presentation, with decorative woodblock devices at the beginning and end of each poem, and a change of format from octavo to duodecimo[18]. For the first time since 1691, the title-page is printed in red and black; the title of the book, too, has been changed, subordinating the **Poems on Several Occasions** formula to a sub-title and adopting the C-series rubric of 'The Works' as the main title[19]. Like the additional biographical material of B-1714, these changes represent Tonson's response to the challenge of Curll's competing series of editions

Where C-1714 was reprinted in 1718, 1721, 1735, 1739, and right through to the end of the eighteenth century at approximately 10-year intervals[20], Tonson reprinted his competing **Works** of Rochester only once, in 1732[21]. In spite of the initial success of the B-series editions, it was Curll, not Tonson, who was identified as the publisher of Rochester in the early eighteenth century. When Pope set out to describe the effects of his emetic

revenge on the body of Curll in 1716, he included a reference to the C-series editions of Rochester: Curll, believing himself to be on his deathbed as a result of the 'poison' administered to him by Pope, briefs his partner Pemberton on outstanding matters of the business and warns him

> Dear Mr. *Pemberton*, I beg you to beware of the Indictment at *Hick's-Hall*, for publiſhing *Rocheſter*'s bawdy Poems; that Copy will, otherwiſe, be my beſt Legacy to my dear Wife, and helpleſs Child.[22]

No proceedings for obscenity against Curll's 1714 edition are known to have taken place at Hick's Hall or any other court; but Pope's joke attests to the infamy of the C-series editions, as well as to their lucrative sales. The connection between 'Curlicism' and the indecencies of Rochester's poems was made even more forcefully, two years after Pope's jibe, by Daniel Defoe

By 1718, Curll's assumption that the Queen's Bench precedents of 1707 and 1709 gave him immunity from prosecution for obscene libel had led him to publish, not only several Rochester poems he had been reluctant to print before, but a whole host of books that could easily be described as lascivious, scandalous, flagrant and vicious. These ranged from a lurid account of a famous French impotence trial to an account of the early seveneenth-century scandal around the Earl of Castlehaven dredged up to coincide with recent controversy over London's sodomites'. His publications of 1718 included **Onanism Display'd** and **A Treatise on the Use of Flogging in Venereal Affairs**[23]. But it was Curll's editions of Rochester that were singled out by Defoe as an example of the kind of publishing that had to be stopped by 'Christian Government' in order to protect the youth of the country.

Defoe had been writing for Mist's **Weekly Journal** for the past year, working on the pro-Jacobite newspaper as a government agent: his job was to suppress stories unfavourable to the government and to disseminate disinformation[24]. By the middle of 1718 he had established a controlling influence over the paper's management and was responsible for much of its content[25]. In an anonymous leader article in the April 5th issue Defoe launched the

campaign that was to establish his victim's reputation as the 'unspeakable Curll' for the next 200 years. Curll's previous confrontations had been over attribution, authorship, and unauthorised publication; but it was the obscenity of his publications that was targeted in Defoe's attack. Defoe doesn't use the word, but employs a colourful display of metaphor for Curll's 'lewd abominable pieces of bawdry': 'Mines' designed 'to blow up morality', 'printed Beſtiality' and 'sodomy of the Pen'[26]. Of all the 'lewd writers and and lewder booksellers', Curll is pre-eminent as a 'manufacturer of Sodomy'[27]. (Defoe's obsession with Sodom is not just gutter-press hysteria but an opportunistic exploitation of current scandals and topical anxieties: regular raids of London 'Molly-houses' and sodomy trials had been taking place periodically over the past 10 years or so[28]). Finally, Defoe resorts to venomous personal insult, describing Curll as 'mark'd by Nature' with 'a bawdy Countenance, and a debauched Mein'; Curll's 'Tongue is an Ecchoe of all the beaſtly Language his Shop is fill'd with, and Filthineſs drivels in the very Tone of his Voice'[29].

But Defoe opens his attack on Curll with an interesting critique of Rochester's poetry and its relation to obscenity:

> We have, with much Juſtice, long ago exploded the latin bawdy Authors, Tibrillus, Propertius and others, as not fit to be ſeen among Chriſtians. Rocheſter's Poems, however caſtrated and ſtript of odious Nudities in which they at firſt appear'd, have not been valued: the inimitable Brightneſs of his Wit has not been able to preſerve them from being thought worthy by wiſe Men to be loſt, rather than be remember'd, being blacken'd and eclips'd by the Lewdneſs of their Stile, so as not to be made fit for Modeſty to read or hear.[30]

In his vivid antithesis of 'the inimitable Brightneſs' of the poems' wit 'blacken'd and eclips'd by the Lewdneſs of their Stile', Defoe recalls the anguished paradox of Pepys who found the poems 'so bad in one sense... so good in another'[31]. His intriguing reference to Rochester's poems 'castrated and ſtript of odious Nudities' suggests that Defoe may be making a side-swipe at Tonson's B-series editions --a piracy of Tonson's collection appeared in the same year as the attack on Curll[32]. In the next

paragraph, the pantheon of perpetrators of 'verbal Lewdneſs' is completed by the addition of Chaucer, who is 'forgotten upon the ſame Account':

> ... tho that Author is excuſ'd by the unpoliteneſs of the Age he liv'd in, yet his Works are diligently buried by moſt Readers on that very Principle, that they are not fit for modeſt Perſons to read[33].

Rochester and Chaucer are the only authors targeted by Defoe before he goes on give his definition of 'Curlicism'. Curll had published a version of **The Miller's Tale** in 1712, and in 1718 he had just reprinted his expanded edition of Rochester's **Works**[34]. Ignoring the racy accounts of impotence and sodomy, eunuchs and hermaphrodites, Defoe chooses Rochester and Chaucer as specific examples of Curll's publishing, as illustrations of the 'printed Beſtiality' he condemns.

Defoe's condemnation of the 'lewd Books and beaſtly Writings' published by Curll is not just another lament for the immodesty of the press: it is a call for legal action to be taken against such publications. ''Tis writing beaſtly Stories, and then propagating them by Print, and filling the Families and the Studies of our Youth with Books which no Chriſtian Government, that I ever heard of, ever permitted.'[35] A call for punishment, for 'public opinion' to demand government action against Curll. Given Defoe's payroll from the Secretaries of State, however, it seems likely that this is another example of government inciting public opinion to demand exactly those actions government wants to take[36]. Defoe is, after all, arguing for an extension of the powers of press-control to include obscene publications such as Curll's:

> What is the meaning that this Manufacturer of Sodomy is permitted in a civiliz'd Nation to go unpuniſhed, and that the abominable Catalogue is unſuppreſs'd, in a Country... where Justice may, if duly prompted, take hold of him: ...what can be the Reaſon ſuch a Criminal goes unpuniſh'd?[37]

The 'Reaſon', of course, was that awkward precedent of the Read case. Defoe is demanding exactly what the Queen's Bench trials of 1707 and 1709 had failed to do: the successful prosecution of a bookseller for obscenity. His attack on Curll can be seen as part

of a wider strategy of the Secretaries of State to establish jurisdiction over a broader category of published writing.

Curll didn't take Defoe's crusade against him very seriously, but simply saw it as a chance for another publicity exercise, as free advertisement for his books. The defence he published in response to Defoe, **Curlicism Display'd**, is a spirited, self-confident bid to exploit his enhanced notoriety, a *catalogue raisonné* of his most outrageous books[38]. It included sales-pitches for **Eunichism Display'd**, **Onanism Display'd**, the **Treatise on Flogging**, the impotency trials, and the account of the early seventeenth-century sodomy trial of the Earl of Castlehaven. It did not include any mention of his editions of Rochester or Chaucer. No doubt the Defoe episode did increase Curll's sales as well as his notoriety --an important part of his talent as a publisher was his ability to turn the attacks of his enemies to his own advantage. From the evidence of his surviving published output, the books bearing his name on the title-page certainly increased both in number and in lasciviousness[39]. But in the longer term, the campaign initiated by Defoe was to have a catastrophic effect on Curll's life, and a lasting influence on the law of obscene libel.

Early in 1725, 4 years after two further reprints of Rochester's **Works** (C-1721-a and C-1721-b) had appeared, complaint was made to the Secretary of State concerning 6 books published by Curll: the **Treatise on Flogging**, a treatise on hermaphrodites, **In Praise of Drunkenness**, **Of the Secrets of Wives**, two poems by Chaucer, and a translation of a French dialogue **Venus in the Cloister, or the Nun in her Smock**[40]. Curll still didn't take these attacks seriously, but continued to see them as opportunities for self-advertisement and increased sales. Again his response was an outspoken defence prefacing a catalogue of his raciest publications, **The Humble Defence of Edmund Curll, Bookseller and Stationer of London**[41]. This time, however, Curll was unable to shrug off criticism of his book-list quite so easily: in March 1725 he was arrested for publishing 'several lewd & obscene books tending to corrupt the morals of his Majesty's Subjects'[42].

At first Curll seems to have been able to purchase his freedom by providing information on publishing projects hostile to the government[43]. But it soon became clear to him that his friends in high places had reneged on the deal when, in October, he was arrested and formally charged before the King's Bench. The charge of obscene libel now refered to only one book, **Venus in the Cloister**, but this time Curll was imprisoned[44]. Dropped by his friends and business associates, isolated in prison unable to raise bail, Curll's self-confident resilience crumbled[45]. He was to spend the greater part of the next 3 years in prison as the case against him dragged on and on. With no one to look after his interests during his imprisonment (his wife had just died, his son and 'partner' seems to have been a wastrel[46]), his publishing and bookselling business collapsed. Finally, in 1728, he was found guilty of publishing an obscene libel and fined 25 marks, about £16[47].

The disproportion between Curll's fine and the amount of time he spent in prison before his trial is, to some extent, illustrative of the old press-control trick of neutralising a producer of troublesome books by bankrupting him; Curll had increased the government's determination to ruin him by publishing during one of his brief spells of freedom **The Memoirs of John Ker of Kersland**, the **Spycatcher** of the 1720s[48] (It was the political offence in publishing Ker, not his publication of **Venus in the Cloister**, that earned him the stocks and a fine of 20 marks.) But Curll's 3 years in and out of prison being ground down by the slow machinery of justice also suggest the time it took to reverse the Queen's Bench rulings of 1707 and 1709. Curll's lawyer moved in arrest of ſudgement on the basis of the 1707 Read precedent that only the ecclesiastical courts could judge a case of obscenity:

> In the reign of King *Charles* the Second there was a filthy run of obſcene writings, for which we meet with no proſecution in the temporal courts; and ſince theſe were things not fit to go unpuniſhed, it is to be ſuppoſed that my Lords the Biſhops animadverted upon them in their courts.[49]

The Attorney General, of course, opposed this argument. He defined the case against obscene publication on 3 counts: that it was

'an act against the constitution or civil government', that it was against religion 'that great basis of civil government and liberty', and that it was 'against morality'[50]. The first two counts were solid enough --sedition and blasphemy had been the bread and butter of press-control for centuries-- although it is significant that the Attorney General defined sedition in terms of the case against Hilkaiah Bedford's repudiation of the right of succession of the House of Orange which 'was held to be a libel, though it contained no reflection upon any part of the then government'[51]. It was around the radical extension of the powers of press-control to include 'morality' that the protracted legal wrangle revolved.

Eventually the case came to be judged by Chief Justice Raymond and Justices Fortescue, Reynolds and Probyn, but even in the last stages of the case the Bench was divided. Fortescue was alone in the opinion that, although 'this is a great offence, I know of no law by which we can punish it', observing that other offences against morality such as 'drunkenness, or cursing and swearing' were not punishable under common law. Unanimity was reached by replacing Fortescue with a judge who eschewed such profound reflections, Justice Page[52]. Page, Probyn and Reynolds followed the interesting distinction made by Chief Justice Raymond between the spoken and the written word:

> I think this is a case of very great conſequence; though if it was not for the caſe of *The Queen* v. *Read*, I ſhould make no great difficulty of it. Certainly the ſpiritual court has nothing to do with it, if in writing: and if it reflects on religion, virtue, or morality, if it tends to diſturb the civil order of ſociety, I think it is a temporal offenſe.[53]

The final contention of the Bench was that 'if Read's case was to be adjudged, they should rule it otherwise' and, 30 years after Hill had fled the country rather than face trial, the first successful King's Bench prosecution of obscenity was achieved.

Of much greater importance than the 25 mark fine or even the devastating effect the case had on the career of the most flamboyant publisher of the early eighteenth century was the effect

of the Curll verdict on the law of obscene libel. After the random prosecutions of the lower courts in the late seventeenth century, and the failed attempts to establish obscene libel as an indictable offence bfore the King's Bench in 1707 and 1709, the Curll case provided a legal basis for state intervention on the grounds of 'morality' as well as blasphemy and sedition. The precedent of Curll continues to form the foundation of obscenity legislation; it has enabled intervention over texts by Byron, Zola, Joyce, Lawrence... the list is a long one, and it continues to lengthen[54].

By a strange twist of both coincidence and logic, the precedent used to convict Curll and inaugurate modern obscenity legislation was not a successful conviction from the end of the seventeenth century, but the precedent of Rochester's friend Sedley disturbing the King's peace by throwing piss-filled bottles down on a 'hostile ' crowd.

> Sir Charles Sedley was indicted at common law for several misdemeanors against the king's peace, and which were to the great scandal of Christianity; and the cause was, for that he showed his naked body in a balcony in Covent Garden to a great multitude of people, and there did such things, and spoke such words, &c... as throwing down bottles (pissed in) *vi et armis* among the people.[55]

In a bizarre example of justice-through-the-looking-glass Fortescue's argument that 'in sir *Charles Sedley*'s caſe there was a force in throwing out bottles upon the people's heads' was overruled by the later decision that Curll's offence was greater than that of Sedley, 'who only expoſed himself to the people then preſent, who might chuse to look upon him or not; whereas this book goes all over the kingdom'[56]. Such was the reasoning behind the decision that was to determine the range of possible utterances in print in England for nearly two hundred and fifty years.

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By the third decade of the eighteenth century, Rochester's poems had become closely associated with the 'unspeakable' Curll. When the **Grub Street Journal** launched their campaign on Curll in 1732, it was illustrated by a series of engraved caricatures. In

one of these, Curll is depicted in his print-shop as a hideous demon, hanging up sheets of his infamous **Cases of Impotency** on the racks to dry; already hanging on the drying-rack is a sheet clearly entitled 'Rochester's Poems'[57]. The association of Rochester with Curll contributed to the process through which Rochester fell into oblivion at the end of the century, forgotten except as a moral example for fundamentalist Christians or as a hero in Victorian pornographic novels, his poems unpublished except for a few carefully-selected songs included in literary anthologies[58]. Curll achieved a temporary popularity for Rochester's work through his frequently-reprinted C-series editions, but the ultimate effect of the association between Curll and Rochester was to deepen the disfavour with which the poems were regarded. Through the construction of 'Curlicism', Rochester's writing was defined as transgressive, unacceptable, 'unfit'. Classed in the same category as Curll's impotence trials, treatises on flogging and tracts on masturbation, Rochester's poems could not be contained within the increasingly-policed enclosure of the library or bookshop. Their literary merits no longer excused the obscenity of their vocabulary: it was inevitable, given the nature of the project that constructed 'Curlicism' in order to banish a range of discourses from the territory of 'polite literature', that Rochester should eventually be excluded from the category of literature entirely.

Curll and Tonson can be considered as performing opposing but complimentary functions in the formation of the boundaries of 'polite literature' that ultimately consigned Rochester to oblivion. If 'literature' was to be defined as all the sort of material Tonson published (Shakespeare, Milton, Dryden), the products of Curll's presses could be conveniently categorised as beyond the pale of literary boundaries. Through such binary definitions of what is and what is not literature, an ideological formation of literary possibilities was constructed: what can be published, what can be read, what can be written. Both Curll and Tonson contributed --in very different ways-- to the legislative permissions that specified the proper subject-matter and vocabulary of literary discourse. Tonson's carefully-censored editions of Rochester did not succeed in ensuring the poems a lasting place

within the library or bookshop, within the category of acceptable literature. Curll's C-series editions, despite their popularity throughout the eighteenth century, helped place the poems outside the category of what could acceptably be read by women, gentlemen, children. By being so closely associated with what was constructed as 'not literature', Curll initiated the process of forgetting Rochester that guaranteed the obscurity from which he has only recently been recovered. This was achieved, not just through the evolution of obscenity law, but through the subtler legislation of literary judgement: Rochester's poems fell victim to the censorship of taste.

The effects on Rochester's poetry were not immediate. Editions of the C-series **Works** continued to proliferate without prosecution until the end of the eighteenth century. Rochester's poetry somehow remained immune from the pressures of press-control that it had helped to create. But between 1680 and 1728 Rochester's poems had gone from being texts that were shaped and edited by changing conditions of press-control to become one of an exclusive group of texts which decisively influenced the legislation of censorship. Rochester's poetry participated in the formation of a far-reaching apparatus to police vocabularies and statements in print.

After the Curll prosecution, no printer, publisher, bookseller or writer could afford *not* to ask the question 'Is this sentence "against morality", "obscene", indictable?' Because the vexed question of what was or was not obscene had never been addressed by the King's Bench, the producer of the most innocent of statements could be stricken with self-doubt. Under the new regime of post-publication censorship recently instituted by the Copyright Act, the extension of press-control legislation to include obscenity intensified the uncertainty and paranoia of the subject. The risks of blasphemy and sedition had been relatively easy to identify; but the vagueness of the boundaries of 'morality' meant each printer, publisher, bookseller or writer had to police carefully the sentences he or she produced.[59] The quiet voice inside the head asks 'Can I get away with this in print?'. The

answer from the agencies of press-control is menacing and ambiguous: 'Try it and see'. Finally, after fifty years of effort, the 'unprintable' was legally constituted in the successful prosecution of the 'unspeakable' Curll.

NOTES TO CHAPTERS 1-6.

Chapter 1. License and Licentiousness.

1. Treglown 1980, pp. 35-37.
2. Quoted in Thorpe 1950, p. ix.
3. Letter to William Hewer November 2nd. 1680, in Howarth 1933, pp. 104-105. See below, Chapter 2, pp. 20-24, and Volume II, pp. 4-11.
4. Gaskell 1979, p. 177.
5. Much of the bibliographical information I provide on the '1680' group, particularly on copies outside Britain, is derived from the introduction to James Thorpe's facsimile of the Huntington edition (Thorpe 1950). See below, Volume II, pp. 4-31.
6. Thorpe 1950, pp. xxi-xxvii.
7. For the changing conditions of licensing legislation, see Astbury 1978, Blagden 1960, Hanson 1936, Ransom 1956, Patterson 1968, and Siebert 1952.
8. Siebert 1952, pp. 22-24.
9. Blagden 1960, pp. 117-125; Siebert 1952, pp. 134, 142-144.
10. Blagden, 1950, pp. 92-101.
11. Mason 1974.
12 Quoted in Thorpe 1950, p. x.
13. Vieth 1963, p.60; Gray 1939, p. 187; Treglown 1980, pp. 74 and 140.
14. Straus 1927, pp. 92-93.
15. Foxon 1965, pp. 8-9.
16. Foxon 1965, p. 9.
17. Thompson 1977, p. 45.
18. Foxon 1965, p. 9.
19. Thompson 1977, pp. 47-48.
20. Transcript 1914, III, pp. 219 and 229.
21. Thorpe 1950, p. xxiv.
22. Plomer 1922, p. 288.
23. Dunton 1818 pp. 97-98.
24. Vieth 1963, p. 10.
25. Thorpe 1950, pp. 156-159; see below, Volume II, p. 32.

Notes to Chapters 1-6.

26. For a detailed account of the revival of licensing legislation, see Astbury 1978, pp. 296-298.
27. Vieth 1963, p. 10.
28. 'Quoth the Dutchess of Cleavland to Councillor Knight', Walker 1984, p. 61.
29. In 1684 'Now curses on ye all, ye virtuous fools' and 'My part is done, and you'll, I hope, excuse' had appeared in **The Works of John Oldham, Together with his Remains** (Vieth 1963, pp. 460-462).
30. Quaintance 1963, O'Neill 1977.
31. A-1680-HU, F6^{v}-G1^{r}; A-1685, F1^{v}-F4^{r}.
32. See below, Volume II, pp. 165-173. For the C-series version of this poem, see below, Chapter 6, pp. 130-131.
33. 'To **SWIVE** [of schweben, Teut. to agitate] to copulate with a Woman' (Bailey 1721).
34. An even more extreme disassembling of the body takes place at the end of *Signior Dildo*, where the animated dildo is chased by a 'Rabble of Pricks' and escapes only because the pursuers are slowed down by the weight of the 'Ballocks' that 'came wobbling after' (Walker 1984, p.78).
35. Foucault 1981, pp. 17-18.
36. Thorpe places the 1685 edition at the end of an independent line of descent in his stemma of the '1680' group, with only 3 intervening editions between it and the Huntington edition (Thorpe 1950, p. xxiii; see below, Volume II, p. 8). Following this line of descent, the negative is introduced in 1685 (Thorpe 1950, p. 162).
37. Foucault 1981, p. 18.
38. Accounts of the Messengers of the Press are give in Foxon (1965, pp. 7-8), and Siebert (1952, pp. 252-254).
39. The Licensing Act of 1662, as quoted in Hanson 1936, p. 29.
40. Foxon 1965, pp. 10-11.
41. Reproduced in Foxon 1965, plate I. See below, pp. 18-19 and Volume II, pp. 68-69.
42. Foxon 1965, pp. 11, 39-41; Thomas 1969A, pp. 51-53.
43. See above, p. 7.
44. Foxon 1965, p. 11.

Notes to Chapters 1-6.

45. Thomas 1969B, p. 24. 'Tell me, abandoned miscreant, prithee tell' appears in A-1680-HU on $I1^{r}$-$I2^{r}$ and in A-1685 on $G5^{r}$-$G5^{v}$.

46. For Robert Stephens, see Rostenberg 1965, II, pp. 343-367.

47. Blagden 1960, p. 162.

48. Treadwell 1987, pp. 143, 147-148, 151-152.

49. Thomas 1969A, p. 54.

50. Astbury 1978, pp. 298-322.

51. Hanson 1936, p. 30.

52. Foxon 1965, p. 8; Hanson 1936 p. 30; Blagden 1960, pp. 175-177; Siebert 1952, pp. 261-262.

53. Foxon 1965, pp. 11-12.

54. Strange 1755, II, p. 790; Thomas 1969A, pp. 51-52.

55. Long before this trial had come to light, Thorpe had considered Henry Hills junior as a possible printer of some of the '1680' group editions 'in that he was a notorious pirate, he regularly produced poor work on cheap paper, and he was apparently at loose ends in London in 1680 having recently returned from his unsuccessful venture in India' (Thorpe 1950, p. xxvi). For Hills' piracy of Tonson's collection of Rochester (B-1710-P), see below, Volume II, pp. 64-70.

56.. Strange 1755, II, p. 790. The Hill case was used as a precedent in the 1728 prosecution of Edmund Curll: see below, Chapter 6, pp. 139-142.

57. Thorpe 1950, p. xxi; see below, Volume II, pp. 8-9. The only recorded copy of the 'Fisher' edition was bought by Nicholas Fisher at the Sotheby's sale of the library of Graham Pollard in July 1978 (Fisher and Robinson 1981). Pollard had refused requests for access to the copy from David Vieth since the early 1950s: 'applications to the reputed owner of the book have proved ineffectual' (Vieth 1963, p. 61).

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Chapter 2. The Cabinet of the Severest Matron.

1. B-1691, $A6^{v}$. See below, Volume II, pp. 48-53.

2. November 2nd. 1680 (Howarth 1933, pp. 104-105).

Notes to Chapters 1-6.

3. Pepys' relationship with Hewer is discussed in Latham and Matthews 1983, X, pp. 182-184.
4. January 13th. 1667 (Latham and Matthews 1983, IX, pp. 21-22).
5. February 8th. 1667 (Latham and Matthews 1983, IX, pp. 57-58).
6. February 9th. 1667 (Latham and Matthews 1983, IX, pp. 58-59). Barker (1984, pp. 3-14) provides an interesting and extended analysis of this passage.
7. Latham and Matthews 1983, VIII, p. 244 note.
8. Latham and Matthews 1983, IX, p. 183.
9. Dale 1940, pp. 105-106.
10. Howarth 1933, p. 104.
11. Pepys stayed in Hewer's house from 1679 to 1688 (Latham and Matthews 1983, X, p. 183).
12. Fisher and Robinson 1981, p. 314.
13. Robinson 1981, pp. 3-4, lines 32-39.
14. Robinson 1981, pp. 2-3.
15. See below, Volume II, p. 10.
16. Spender 1986, p. 102.
17. Robinson 1981, p. 4, lines 42-47.
18. Robinson 1981, p. 4, lines 60-61.
19. In the *Essay upon Poetry* (1682), Mulgrave pontificates:

    > Here, as in all things, is most unfit
    > Bawdry barefac'd, that poor pretence to Wit,--
    > Such nauseous Songs as the late Convert made
    > Which justly call this censure on his Shade.

    (Spingarn 1909, II, p. 288.) A text of Wolseley's preface to Valentinian is available in Spingarn 1909, III, pp. 1-31.
20. Spingarn 1909, III, p. 19.
21. Spingarn 1909, III, p. 25.
22. Robinson 1981, p. 4, lines 54-59.
23. Walker 1984, pp. 96-97, lines 191-215.
24. Spingarn 1909, III, p. 19.
25. Johnson 1987, p. 124.
26. Spingarn 1909, III, p. 1.
27. B-1691, A6^{r}-A6^{v}.
28. Nussbaum 1984, Chapter 2; Hobby 1988, pp. 2-3, 85-88.
29. Spender 1986, pp. 92, 96.

30. Hobby 1988, Chapter 7.
31. Hobby, 1988, pp. 165-172, 174.
32. Lynch 1971, pp. 85-86, 91-92.
33. Geduld 1969, pp. 160-168; Lynch 1971, pp. 22-46.
34. Geduld 1969, pp. 160-162; Lynch 1971, pp. 42, 177.
35. Geduld 1969, pp. 158-159; Lynch 1971, pp. 49-52.
36. Geduld 1969, pp. 159-160; Lynch 1971, pp. 38-41.
37. Hodges 1941, p. 97.
38. Geduld 1969, pp. 15-16; Lynch 1971, pp. 60-61, 63-64, 108-110.
39. Lynch 1971, p. 68.
40. Geduld p. 74; Lynch 1971, pp. 33, 121, plate V.
41. Lynch 1971, pp. 157-160. Estimates of Tonson's estate on his death in 1736 range from £40,000 (Lynch 1971, p. 174) to £80,000 (Geduld 1969, p. 24).
42. Geduld 1969, p. 19.
43. Geduld 1969, Chapter 5; Lynch 1971, pp. 126-128.
44. Geduld (1969, Chapter 3) and Lynch (1971, Chapter 2) discuss Tonson's relationship with Dryden at some length.
45. The pamphlets of the Societies for the Reformation of Manners are explicit in making a connection between constitutional reform and moral reform: see Bahlman 1957, Chapter 2.
46. An overview of late seventeenth-century criticism of Rochester is provided in Farley-Hills (1972, pp. 45-180).
47. Mulgrave's attacks on Rochester's work are discussed in Vieth (1963, pp. 189-191). Lord provides a text of Mulgrave's *Essay on Satire* (1975, I, pp. 401-413); Spingarn provides a text of the *Essay on Satire* (1909, II, pp. 286-296). See above, note 19.
48. See above, Chapter 1, pp. 14-15.
49. For example, Derrida 1982, p. 19.
50. See above, Chapter 1, p. 9, and below, Volume II, pp. 32-36.
51. See above, Chapter 1, pp. 2-3, and below, Volume II, pp. 4-47.
52. See below, Volume II, p. 49.
53. See below, Volume II, p. 53..
54. See below, Volume II, p. 48.

55 See below, Volume II, p. 48; Gaskell 1979, pp. 137-138.

56. The following analysis of the textual composition of B-1691 draws on the list of substantive variants within the '1680' group editions in Thorpe (1950, pp. 160-168), the lists of early texts and ascription in Vieth (1963, pp. 365-477), and above all the textual notes in Walker (1984, pp. 145-223). To save space, poems that appear in the '1680' group are identified by the numbers assigned to them in Vieth's table of the contents of the Yale MS and 1680 editions (Vieth 1963, pp. 93-100). 'Were I (who to my cost already am)' would thus be denoted 'Vieth No. 2'. The evidence of '1680' group variants against the texts of B-1691 is unfortunately far too contradictory to enable identification of which particular '1680' edition Tonson was using as copy-text; all that can be said with any certainty is that Tonson did not use A-1680-BMa, A-1680-BMb or A-1680-BOD as copy-text for B 1691. The statistics given for B-1691's composition include only those poems attributed to Rochester in the main sequence (gatherings B-K), not the prefatory poems, the poems in **Valentinian**, or the Latin texts of poems translated by Rochester. Where variants between the '1680' group and B-1691 are specified, the '1680' reading is followed (after a sloped stroke) by the B-1691 reading.

57. Vieth Nos. 26, 29, 32, 37.

58. Vieth Nos. 1, 15, 18, 23, 24, 27, 33. Vieth No. 23 ('Fair Cloris in a Piggsty lay') presents a special difficulty. Tonson's reading 'snowy' at line 7 could be a manuscript-derived variant, or a compositorial correction of an obvious misprint, or it could be derived from the '1680' copy-text, depending on which edition was used to set B-1691: 6 of the surviving '1680' editions read 'snow', 7 read 'snowy'. This is the only variant between the A-1680 and B-1691 texts of the poem.

59. Leeds MS Brotherton Lt. 54, Nottingham MS Portland PwV, Gyldenstolpe MS. (Walker 1984, p. 152).

60. Vieth Nos. 5, 8, 14, 16, 19, 22, 25, 28, 31.

61. See Walker 1984, pp. 190-195.

62. 6 B-1691 readings do not appear in the manuscripts surveyed by Walker: line 28, 'woe'/'woo'; line 56, 'oh!'/'our'; line 138, 'ey'd'/'ty'd'; line 164, 'a'/omitted; line 215, 'now'/'still'; line 260, 'dullness'/'what dullest'.

63. Nottingham MS Portland PwV, Edinburgh MS DC, Harvard 636F, Yale MS Osborn b. 113 (Walker 1984, p. 167).

64. Darbishire 1931, pp. xi-xv; Lynch 1971, pp. 143-144.

65. See below, Volume II, pp. 5-6.

66. Vieth Nos. 12, 13, 17, 20, 21, 34. The first two poems are satires, the remainder were probably considered obscene.

67. See above, note 56.

68. Vieth No. 19 had appeared in **The Wits Academy**; Vieth Nos. 15, 16 and 31 had appeared in **Poems by Several Hands.**

69. Vieth Nos. 8, 16, 18, 19, 24, 25, 26, 28, 31, 32 and 37 had appeared in **Female Poems**. The difficulties surrounding this publication are examined in Hobby 1988, pp. 146-152. Vieth Nos. 16, 18, 19, 24, 25, 26, 27, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 37 and a short excerpt of Vieth No. 5 had appeared in **The Triumph of Wit.**

70. Tonson's 1684 text of 'O Love! how, cold, and slow to take my part' was itself derived in part from a '1680' group edition, though it introduces 6 radically new readings from a manuscript source (Vieth 1963, p. 383; Walker 1984, pp. 168-169). Tonson's text of 'Vertues triumphant Shrine! who do'st engage' was derived from **Britannia Rediviva**; the 1691 texts of 'Respite great Queen your just and hasty fears' and 'Impia blasphemi sileant convitia vulgi' are derived from **Epicedia Academiae Oxoniensis.**

71. Of the differences between Tonson's and Hobart Kemp's texts of *The Discovery*, Walker notes: 'the two texts differ in title, the placing of two couplets, and some 19 variant readings' (Walker 1984, p. 150). Tonson's text of *The Advice* prints 8 lines absent from Kemp's 1672 text, as well as rearranging the position of 2 lines and introducing some 18 new readings.

72. 'Wit has of late took up a Trick t'appear' is printed from the prologue to **The Empress of Morocco** by Elkanah Settle (1673), 'As Charms are Nonsence, Nonsence seems a Charm' is

from the epilogue to Francis Fane's **Love in the Dark** ((1675), 'Some few from Wit have this true **Maxime** got' is from the epilogue to Charles D'Avenant's **Circe** (1677).

73. Tonson's 'There sighs not on the Plain' is printed from **A Pastoral Dialogue between Alexis and Strephon** ('for Benj. Billingsley', 1683). The 1679 broadsheet of the *Satyr* provided the copy-text for the B-1691 printing.

74. Vieth 1963, p. 373. For the effect of Tonson's pragmatic approach to the text of the *Satyr* on Edmund Curll's C-series text of the poem, see below, Chapter 5, pp. 114-117.

75. These 6 new poems are: 'Prithee now, fond Fool, give o're', 'An Age in her Embraces past', 'Absent from thee I languish still', 'Ancient Person, for whom I', and 'The Gods, by right of Nature, must possess'.

76. John Hayward, for example, relies heavily B-1691 even where it is obvious that Tonson has deleted entire stanzas (1926, pp. 15-16, 18-19, 24-25). That the Nonesuch Press took the risk of publishing the 1926 collection of Rochester only because of its expensive production-standards and limited-edition status is made clear in Hayward's comments to Graham Greene:

> The Nonesuch edition could not have been published except as a limited edition, and would indeed have been issued 'to subscribers only' if the whole issue had not been taken up by the booksellers before publication. Even so the American copies were 'destroyed' by the New York customs.

(Greene 1974, p.9.) Similar tactics of employing texts from heavily-censored early editions to avoid present-day prosecution are employed in the editions of Quilter Johns (1933) and Ronald Duncan (1959).

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Chapter 3. Cancellation and Castration.

1. See below, Volume II, pp. 48-53, 174-175.

2. Proof-reading in the handpress period is discussed in Simpson (1970) and and Gaskell (1979, pp. 110-116).

Notes to Chapters 1-6.

3. The question of edition quantities in the handpress period, see is explored in Gaskell 1979, pp. 117 and 161-163.
4. Both methods of cancellation are described in Chapman (1930) and Gaskell (1979, pp. 134-136).
5. See below, Volume II, p. 48.
6. Gaskell 1979, pp. 52, 108.
7. See above, Chapter 2, p. 20.
8. Chapman 1930, pp. 11-12; Gaskell 1979, p. 147.
9. Of Rochester's death and the publication of A-1680-HU, Anthony á Wood remarks: 'yet no ſooner was his Breath out of his Body, but ſome Perſon, or Perſons, who had made a Collection of Poetry in Manuſcript, did, meerly for Lucre ſake (as 'twas conceiv'd), publiſh them under this title, Poems on ſeveral Occaſions.' (Wood ~~1732~~ 1813, II, col. 656).
10. Call number 132762. This copy is refered to in Vieth 1961, p. 131. The Huntington Library generously provided me with reproductions of the uncancelled leaves; I am grateful to Thomas V. Lange, assistant curator of the Huntington Library, for providing further details of this copy.
11. Walker 1984, pp. 156-157. See below, p. 62 and note 60.
12. A-1680, C1ᵛ, lines 37-40. All the manuscript witnesses for this poem read 'fuck'd' at line 40, with the exception of the Yale MS (Walker 1984, p. 204).
13. 'Love' replaced 'Cunt' in A-1685 (C7ᵛ). The Gyldenstolpe manuscript and Nottingham MS Portland PwV read 'Phill:' and 'fill' respectively (Walker 1984, p. 164).
14. B-1691 **Valentinian**, p. 400, act II, scene i. Rochester's version of this passage expands only slightly on the Fletcher text:

    Eun. Long life to *Caesar.*
    Emp. I must use you *Lycias*:
    Come let's walk in, and then Ile shew ye all:
    If women may be fraile, this wench shall fall.
    [Exuent]

    (Bowers 1979, IV, pp. 296-297.)
15. B-1691 **Valentinian**, p. 454, act V, scene v; there is no equivalent scene in Fletcher's play.
16. B-1691 **Valentinian** version of the text, lines 6-8.
17. See Walker 1984, p. 153.

Notes to Chapters 1-6.

18. In C-1721, an annotation to Oldham's poem on **Sodom**, 'Tell me, abandon'd miscreant, prithee tell' attributes the play to '*One* Fishbourn, *a wretched Scribbler*' (See below, Volume II, p. 141). For a survey of speculations on the authorship of **Sodom**, see Johnson 1987.

19. See above, Chapter 1, pp. 14-16.

20. 'Henry Spencer Ashbee (Pisanus Fraxi) reported that executors of the Richard Heber estate destroyed a copy [of the 1684 **Sodom**] in the 1830s, and Edmund Gosse told Montague Summers he had seen a 'simulacrum' of the edition' (Johnson 1987, pp. 22-123).

21. Lord 1975, V, p. 41, lines 37-40. An account of Gray's sentence is provided in Lord 1975, V, pp. 39-40.

22. Lord 1975, V, p. 41 note. A *Satire on Bent[in]g* of March 1689 refers to Bentinck in similar terms:

> Bent[in]g, that topping favorite at Court
> (The King, though, has some private reasons
> for't),
> To whom all for preferment now resort...

(Wilson 1976, p. 218, lines 15-17.)

23. Lord 1975, V, p. 60, lines 1-2. 'The persistence with which the satirists accuse William of homosexuality may very well result from xenophobia. When confronted with William's baffling refusal to trust any but a few chosen men with his political or private opinions, and by his statesmanlike care to see that young men of promise were preferred rather than old men rewarded, poets and poetasters joined themselves to the common opinion.' (Lord 1975, V, p. 38).

24. Lord 1975, V, pp. 121-122, lines 78-82.

25. Accusations of sodomy were a useful device for emphasizing the foreignness of William and the new court: xenophobia and homophobia have been closely intertwined in western culture

for some time. A manuscript satire on William plays on the 'proverbial' association between Italy and sodomy:

> For the Case is Such
> The People think much,
> That your Love is Italian, & your Governmt Dutch.
> Ah who would have thought that a low Country Stallion,
> And a Protestant Prince shou'd prove an Italian.

(Quoted in O'Neill, 1975, p. 17.)

26. Lord 1975, V, p. 38, lines 10-13. Gossipy speculation on sodomitical court circles is offered in Rubini 1989, pp. 358-370. The question of the truth or falsehood of these allegations of sodomy is of course irrelevant to the present discussion, which is concerned with discourses rather than 'real life'.

27. Quoted in O'Neill, 1975, p. 17.

28. Quoted in O'Neill, 1975, p. 17.

29. Quoted in O'Neill, 1975, p. 19

30. Bahlman 1957, p. 8. The Societies for the Reformation of Manners did not turn their attentions to sodomy until the late 1710 (Bray 1982, Chapter 4).

31. See above, Chapter 1, pp. 15-16. The indictment in the Crayle case of 1689 quotes the opening lines of **Sodom**, spoken by the Emperor Bolloximian (Thomas 1969A, pp. 52-53). The authorities may have seen a parallel between the Emperor of Sodom and William: Crayle's stiff sentence could be a punishment for subversion as well as obscenity.

32. See above, Chapter 2, p. 32.

33. Hobby 1988, pp. 188-189.

34. Nussbaum (1984), p. 11.

35. Walker 1984, pp. 75-78.

36. See below, Volume II, pp. 184-207, and Walker 1984, pp. 17-18.

37. Patterson (1981) discusses the relation between drink and sex in Rochester's poems.

38. See above, p. 45.

39. Walker 1984, pp. 98-99, lines 19, 31, 38, 41.

40. Vieth (1968, p. xii), Griffin (1973, pp. 122-123), and Patterson (1981, p. 10) all discuss Rochester's 'homosexuality' in wildy!

anachronisic terms: the homosexual was not invented by medical discourse until the mid-nineteenth century (Foucault 1981, pp. 43, 101).

41. 'I rise at eleven, I dine about two', Walker 1984, p. 130, lines 11-12. Walker locates this poem in the 'Poem Possibly By Rochester' section of his edition. Vieth assigns to it the attribution 'probably Charles Sackville, Earl of Dorset' (1968, p. 228).

42. See above, p. 27.

43. *Ramble*, A-1680, lines 120, 92.

44. The A-series editions read '{weet {oft' at line 15; leaf D7 in the uncancelled state of B-1691 reads '{oft young'. See below, note 60.

45. Walker 1984, p. 61.

46. Foucault 1985, Part 4; Saslow 1986, pp 155-156.

47. Saslow 1986, p. 158, figure 4.8.

48. Boswell 1980, p. 79 note.

49. Carew (1969), p. 219; see Saslow 1986, pp. 194-196.

50. 'He had made himself Master of Ancient and Modern Wit, and of the Modern *French* and *Italian* as well as the *English*.' Gilbert Burnet, **Some Passages of the Life and Death of John Earl of Rochester** (1680), quoted from Farley-Hills 1972, p. 42. For the Ganymede figure in alchemy, see Saslow 1986, pp. 92-96, 124-125.

51. Wilcoxon 1979, p. 138; see also Nussbaum 1984, p. 59.

52. Boswell 1981, p. 260, 381-389; Saslow 1986, pp. 116, 121; **Dido, Queen of Carthage** (*circa* 1590), act I scene i (Steane 1969, pp. 45-46).

53. Saslow 1986, p. 118, figure 3.19.

54. 'Nothing is more characteristic of Rochester than the way a single word, particularly in the final stanza of the poem, will suddenly move into focus and reveal its possession of a variety of warring meanings... A single line, a whole stanza, which had one apparent meaning when first encountered will alter in retrospect: from the vantage point of the end of the poem, or even of the next stanza' (Righter 1967, p. 62). See below, p. 66, and Chapter 4, pp. 78-79.

Notes to Chapters 1-6.

55. 'Here, the dependence of the second line [of the stanza] is relatively straightforward --although in the context of the third ('Drudge in fair Aurelia's Womb') the seemingly innocent phrase 'design'd for' shifts meaning and direction, attacking Aurelia herself and not simply her ignominious lovers' (Righter 1967, p. 64).

56. The following account of the textual production of *To A Lady, in A Letter* is derived from Vieth (1960 and 1961). See below, Volume II, pp. 176-179, and Walker 1984, pp. 39-42, 164-165.

57. A-1685, D6r. The only other substantive variant between A-1680 and A-1685 is the probable misreading 'former' for 'formal' at line 3.

58. Vieth 1960, pp. 148, 152-156.

59. Vieth 1960, p. 152.

60. Of the relation between Harvard MS Eng. 636F. and the B-1691 text of the poem, Vieth remarks: '[Tonson's text] is probably not derived from [Harvard], however, for there is no other indication that the edition of 1691 depends upon Harvard MS Eng 636F' (1960, p. 155). This is incorrect: two sets of variant readings in 'Love a Woman!' are related to Harvard MS Eng. 636F (see above, p. 44).

61. Vieth 1060, pp. 150-152; Walker 1984, pp. 40-41. For a description of the Portland Manuscript, see Pinto 1952, p. xlv.

62. Vieth 1960, p. 151 note; Walker 1984, p. 165.

63. Portland MS transcriptions are derived from Vieth 1960, pp. 151-152.

64. For the relationships between these components, see the stemmatic diagrams in Vieth 1961, p. 132.

65. The version of the text printed in **Choicest Songs** and **Best Songs** reads 'we'd ne'er disagree' at line 26 and 'no mate' at line 28 (Vieth 1960, p. 154; Walker 1984, p. 165).

66. Walker 1984, p. 165. See below, pp. 73-74.

67. Righter 1967, p. 62; see above, note 54.

68. Walker 1984, p. 165.

69. See above, p. 52.

70. Griffin 1973, pp. 127-128.

Notes to Chapters 1-6.

71. Vieth 1960, p. 154.
72. For example, B-1691 C3^{r}, C7^{r}, D8^{v}.
73. Nussbaum (1984, pp. 29, 37, 41) discusses these themes in late seventeenth-century antifeminist satire.
74. Vieth 1960, p. 154.
75. Geduld 1969, pp. 180-183; Lynch 1971, pp. 101-102.
76. Clapp 1948, pp. 10-12.
77. Clapp 1948, p. 12; Geduld 1969, pp. 179-180; Lynch 1971, pp. 100-101.
78. Clapp 1948, p. 12; Geduld 1969, pp. 176-180; Lynch 1971, p. 152.
79. A-1680, E6^{v}-E7^{r}, lines 1-2, 13-14, 5-6. Vieth provides the poem with the attribution 'probably by Charles Sackville, Earl of Dorset' (Vieth 1968, p. 226).
80. 'Purse n. The Scrotum: coll: C17-18... Hence, *to have no money in* (one's) *purse*, to be impotent.' Partridge 1984, p. 936.
81. Moehlmann 1979, p. 22.
82. Walker 1984, p. 73, lines 145-148.
83. Walker 1984, p. 73, lines 155-158.
84. Patterson (1981, pp. 10-12) makes this point.
85. '**Castration 4**. The removal of objectionable parts from a literary work: expurgation.' (**Oxford English Dictionary**.)

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Chapter 4. Self-Censorship and Copyright.

1. For the Kit-Cat Club, see above, Chapter 2, pp. 31-33. For parallel texts of A- and B-series versions of 'Fair Cloris', see below, Volume II, pp. 180-183. A transcription of the D-series printing of the last stanza is provided in Volume II, p. 163.
2. An invigorating analysis of transactions between men is conducted in Sedgwick (1985).
3. A-1685, D1^{v}.
4. Barthes 1972, pp. 112-117.
5. Righter 1967, p. 62.

Notes to Chapters 1-6.

6. 'As Chloris full of harmless thought' is printed on D5^{v} in A-1680-HU; 'Fair Cloris in a Piggsty lay' is on D7^{r}-D7^{v}. In B-1691, 'As Chloris full of harmless thought' is printed on E3^{r}-E3^{v}; 'Fair Cloris in a Piggsty lay' is on E6^{r}-E7^{r}. See below, Volume II, pp. 5 and 50.

7. Treglown 1982, pp. 86-88.

8. 'Now by this breaking day-light I could rave, I knew she mistook me last night which made me so eager to improve my lucky minutes...' (act V, scene iii, p. 91); 'Just in the happy minute' (act V, scene iv, p. 96); and act III, scene i, p. 40, quoted below. There is a more oblique reference to the convention at act III scene i, where Galliard, asked by Cornelia 'What good use would you make of so obliging an opportunity?' replies: 'That which the happy night was first ordained for' (p. 43). Page references are to the text of this play in Lyons and Morgan (1991).

9. Lyons and Morgan, act III, scene i p. 40.

10.. Wintle 1982, p. 154.

11. A-1685 reads 'innocently pleas'd' (D1^{v}).

12. For example, Dorimant's injunction to Harriet 'Let us make use of the happy minute then' immediately follows the pastoral song 'As Amoret with Phyllis sat' (**The Man of Mode**, act V scene i, Lawrence 1976, p. 515). Dorimant was widely recognised as a portrait of Rochester (Greene 1974, p. 119).

13. 'Of the Hymen in Maids, call'd the Virgin Zone, or Token of Virginity...' (Marten 1709, p. 74). Walker glosses 'Zone' as '"region", also "girdle" and "belt"', citing Quarles 'The sacred Zone of thy virginitie' (1984, p. 243).

14. Wintle 1982, p. 154.

15. Nussbaum 1984, p. 62-63.

16. Wintle 1982, p. 154. Felicity Nussbaum in her analysis of the falls into similar movement, oscillating between these same polarities: 'Rochester suggests that Chloris's innocence is not legitimate, and that she shares the mindless morality of her pigs. But she still retains the appearance of power, for the poet seems resentful that a woman can satisfy herself without a man and still remain innocent' (1984, p. 63).

17. The Licensing Act was inoperative during much of the earlier part of Ponson's career: see above, Chapter 1, pp. 4-5).
18. The full text of the 1710 Copyright Act is reproduced in Ransom 1956, pp. 109-117.
19. See above, Chapter 1, pp. 4-5, 17-18. That the licenser was held responsible for trouble caused by a book to which he had given a license is made apparent in Astbury 1978, p. 299.
20. Press prosecutions for seditious libel and other offences increased in frequency and in the severity of sentences imposed around the time of the Copyright Act's implementation: see below, Chapter 5, pp. 101-102.
21. See below, Chapter 6, pp. 144-145.
22. Milton 1968, p. 21.
23. Milton 1968, p. 17.
24. Milton 1968, pp. 23, 24.
25. Barker 1984, p. 47.
26. An account of the practices of the Wholesaling Conger is given by Hodgson and Blagden (1953, pp. 67-85).
27. Astbury 1978, pp. 301-303, 310-315.
28. See above, Chapter 1, pp. 4-6.
29. Hodgson and Blagden 1953, p. 84.
30. Hodgson and Blagden 1953, pp. 76-77.
31. Hodgson and Blagden 1953, p. 184.
32. Hodgson and Blagden 1953, p. 81.
33. Blagden 1960, pp. 94-96; Siebert 1952, pp. 128-129.
34. Hodgson and Blagden 1953, p. 80.
35. Blagden 1960, pp. 150-152.
36. See above, Chapter 1, p. 4.
37. Blagden 1960, pp. 174, 176; Siebert 1952, p. 261.
38. Ransom 1956, pp. 90-92; Astbury 1978, pp. 300-301.
39. Patterson 1968, pp 139-140; Astbury 1978, pp. 300-315.
40. Astbury 1978, p. 304.
41. Ransom 1956, p. 91; Lynch 1971, p. 41.
42. See below, Chapter 5, pp. 101-102.
43. Macaulay's famous interpretation of the lapse of the Licensing Act, for example, now seems premature, to say the very least: 'English literature was emancipated, and

emancipated forever, from the control of government' (Macaulay (1861), V, p. 2483).

44. See above, Chapter 1, pp. 14-17, and below, Volume II, pp. 54-63.

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Chapter 5. The Cabinet of Love

1. Thomas 1969B, p. 194.
2. Foxon 1965, p. 38.
3. Thomas 1969B, p. 120.
4. See Volume II, pp. 129-130, 145, 157-158.
5. See Volume II, p 130, 146, 158.
6. See above, Chapter 2, pp. 20-30.
7. Marot (1532), quoted and translated by Patterson 1984, pp. 4-5.
8. Quoted in Patterson 1984, p. 183.
9. Patterson 1984, p. 183.
10. Patterson 1984, p. 180.
11. Patterson 1984, p. 209-10.
12. Quoted in Patterson 1984, p. 209.
13. Swift's concealment of his known authorship in relation to the **Drapier's Letters** is discussed at length in Davis 1968, X, pp. xix-xxiv. The consequences of Defoe's ironic authorial position in **The Shortest Way with the Dissenters** are related to the larger issue of Defoe's modes of narration in Preston 1970, pp. 9-10. The dizzying complexities of alternating self-promotion and concealment manifest in Pope's publication of his letters, real and invented, are outlined in Straus 1927, Chapter 9. Transgressive aspects of authorship in relation to Swift and Pope are discussed in Stallybrass and White 1986, pp. 104-118.
14. Foxon 1965, p. 30. See above, Chapter 2, pp. 21-23.
15. Darmon 1985, p. 150.
16. Quoted in Darmon 1985, p. 150.
17. See below, Chapter 6, pp. 132-133.

18. Foxon 1965, p. 13; Thomas 1969B, p. 77. See above, Chapter 1, pp. 14-16.
19. Foxon 1965, pp 12-13; Thomas 1969B, pp. 77-78, 337. See below, pp. 126-128.
20. Cobbett 1813, col. 157.
21. Some information on the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts in this period can be gleaned from Bristow (1977, pp. 11-12) and Hill (1969, pp. 291-293, 331-332).
22. Cobbett 1813, col. 157.
23. See above, Chapter 1, pp. 14-19.
24. Curll set up his shop in January 1706 (Straus 1927, p. 15). He seems to have been appointed to value Richard Smith's stock by Smith's creditor's Hues (or Hughes) and Brookhouse, and to have given it a low valuation in order to buy the stock back from the creditors (Haig 1960, pp. 222-223). Curll's first auction was at the Temple Coffee-House on February 28th. 1706 (Straus 1927, p. 19).
25. For Curll's confrontation with Tonson, see below, pp. 106-110. The clap-doctor John Marten, who was Curll's ally in the confrontation with Spinke, was tried for obscenity in 1709: see below, p. 127-128. 'On 3 June 1708, Richard Smith, bookseller, of the parish of St. Paul's, Covent Garden, exhibited in Chancery a Bill of Complaint against Thomas Brookhouse, chandler, Thomas Hues (or Hughes), bookbinder, and Edmund Curle [*sic*], bookseller, in which he accused the defendants of conspiracy to defraud him.' (Haig 1960, p. 221.)
26. Ralph Straus' entertaining biography of Curll, with its useful handlist of Curll publications (Straus 1927), is the most extensive work on Curll to date, but it leaves many important questions about Curll's career unasked, never mind unanswered.
27. Mist's Journal April 5th. 1718. For Curll's controversy with Defoe, see below, pp. 136-139.
28. Straus interprets Richard Savage's **An Author to Let** as a formulation of Curll's contribution to the myth of the starving hack writer (Straus 1927, p. 43-44).

Notes to Chapters 1-6.

29. Quoted in Straus 1927, p. 50. Curll had peeved Gay by publishing Francis Chute's **The Petticoat** as the work of 'J. Gay'; on closer inspection of the book, 'J. Gay' turns out to be the pseudonym 'Joseph Gay', not John Gay (Straus 1927, p. 78). Pope refered to the incident in the **Dunciad**:

> Curl stretches after Gay, but Gay is gone,
> He grasps an empty Joseph for a John!

(1728 **Dunciad**, II, lines 119-120 (Sutherland 1943, p. 111).)

30. Guthkelch and Smith 1920, pp ix-xxi; Straus 1927, pp. 34-36; Davis 1968, I, p. xxx.

31. Guthkelch and Smith 1920, pp. 327-328. The footnotes identifying Thomas and Jonathan Swift are in Curll's original text.

32. Guthkelch and Smith 1920, pp. 20-21.

33. Swift to Benjamin Tooke, June 29th. 1710 (Williams 1965, I, pp. 165-166). Although Swift's letters to Tooke make it clear that Tooke was the publisher of the **Tale**, the name that appeared on the cover of the first few editions was that of John Nutt: Nutt was acting as a trade publisher for Tooke (Treadwell 1982, p. 118). For a trade publisher's participation in the publication of Rochester's poems, see below, p. 111.

34. Ransom 1956, p. 109.

35. Ransom 1956, p. 110.

36. See below, Chapter 6, pp. 136-139.

37. Straus 1927, pp. 36 and 215.

38. **Journal to Stella** May 12th. 1711 (Williams 1948, I, p. 269).

39. Swift to Pope, 30th. August 1716 (Williams 1965, II, p. 214).

40. Swift to Charles Ford, April 4th. 1720 (Williams 1965, II, p. 343).

41. Swift to Benjamin Tooke, June 29th. 1710 (Williams 1965, I, p. 166).

42. Swift to Pope, 30th. August 1716 (Williams 1965, II, p. 214).

43. Williams 1978, II, pp. 560-561, lines 197-204.

44. Straus 1927, p. 40.

45. Pope's methods in publishing the **Dunciad** and his letters provide the most extreme examples of these features; these are summarised in Straus 1927, Chapters 7 and 9.
46. Pope 1716A, p. i.
47. Pope's own account of the emetic incident is given in Pope 1716B; a less partisan view of the affair is to be found in Straus 1927, Chapter 3.
48. Pope 1716B, p. 2.
49. Swift to Pope, August 30th. 1716 (Williams 1965, II, p. 214).
50. Pope to Caryll, April 20th. 1716 (Sherburn 1956, I, p. 339).
51. Quoted in Straus 1927, p. 56.
52. Straus 1927, p. 63.
53. **The Post-Man** July 31st. 1716 (quoted in Straus 1927, pp. 63-64).
54. **Daily Courant** January 24th. 1707 (quoted in Straus 1927, p. 21).
55. Lynch 1971, p. 79.
56. See above, Chapter 2, pp. 31-32.
57. These estimates are based on an online search through ESTC. Papali (1968) provides a handlist of Tonson publications.
58. See above, Chapter 4, pp. 87-89.
59. Straus 1927, pp. 25-26; Lynch 1971, p. 81.
60. Straus 1927, p. 25; Lynch 1971, p. 81.
61. Quoted in Straus 1927, pp. 25-26.
62. Quoted in Siebert 1952, p. 280 note.
63. Straus 1927, pp. 66-67. For the connection between Sarah Popping and Benjamin Bragge, whose name appears on the first issue in the C-series Rochester, see below, pp. 108-109.
64. In his account of the emetic episode, Pope has Curll blame Tonson for the 'barbarous revenge' he has undergone: 'Mr. *Curll* rav'd aloud in this manner, *If I survive this, I will be reveng'd on* Tonson, *it was he first detected me as the Printer of these Poems*, and *I will reprint these very Poems in his Name*' (quoted in Straus 1927, p. 56).
65. Quoted in Straus 1927, p. 76.

66. 1728 **Dunciad**, II, lines 57-64 (Sutherland 1943, V, p. 105). These lines have been altered for the 1742 **Dunciad** (II, lines 67-68):

> With arms expanded Bernard vows his state,
> And left-legg'd Jacob seems to emulate.

(Sutherland 1943, V, p. 299.)

67. Lynch 1971, pp. 131-132.

68. See below, Volume II, p. 84.

69. Treadwell 1982, p. 103; Treadwell 1989, pp. 34.

70. Straus 1927, pp. 20-21.

71. See below, Volume II, pp. 92-94.

72. These estimates of the output of Tonson and Bragge have been by full searches of the online ESTC in December 1985.

73. Harris 1982, p. 5.

74. Plomer 1922, p. 155. See above, Chapter 1, pp. 14-15, and note 55.

75. See below, pp. 124-126.

76. Straus 1927, p. 205.

77. ESTC t120874.

78. ESTC t093435.

79. Straus 1927, p. 205; ESTC t118803.

80. ESTC t105571.

81. C-1707, b7^{r}.

82. 'The Satyrical works of Titus Petronius Arbiter, in prose and verse... Together with his life and character, written by Mons. St. Evremont' (ESTC t105571).

83. C-1707-a, 2B1^{r}-2B2^{v}.

84. See below, Volume II, p. 92.

85. See below, Volume II, pp. 85-86, 92-93.

86. See above, Chapter 2, p. 40.

87. See below, Volume II, p. 74.

88. For Leach, Latham, Hill, and Thorncome, see above, Chapter 1, pp. 8-10, 17-19; for the edition bearing the imprint 'A.T.', see below, Volume II, pp. 37-41.

89. Ransom 1956, p. 110.

90. Vieth 1963, p. 373-374.

91. See above, Chapter 2, pp. 36-39.

92. Where variants between the '1680' group and C-1707 are specified, the '1680' reading is followed (after a sloped stroke) by the C-1707 reading. The C-1707 text of 'Madam. If you're deceiv'd, it is not by my Cheate' shows 4 minor departures from the '1680' text: 'it is'/''tis' (line 1); 'inconstant'/'unconstant' (line 5); 'Women, Beggar-like'/'Women Beggar's-like' (line 30); 'Slave'/'Slaves' (line 36). There is only one minor variant in 'If Rome can pardon Sins, as Romans hold', 't'adore'/'to adore' (line 3).

93. 'Room, room for a blade of the town': 'and daily'/'who all day long' (line 3); 'Feats'/'Cheats' (line 11). 'Have you seen the raging, stormy main': 'keep'/'make' (line 11).

94. Vieth 1963, p. 395.

95. Lines 22-38 and 50-51 have been deleted from the C-1707 text of the poem.

96. Vieth 1963, p. 466.

97. The following poems are derived from the **Poems on Affairs of State** anthologies: 'At Five this Morne, when Phoebus raisd his head'; ''Tis the Arabian bird alone'; 'Gentle reproofs have long been tried in vain'; 'Husband, thou dull, unpitied miscreant'; 'Chaste, pious, prudent Charles the Second'; 'Betwixt Father Patrick and His Highness of late'; 'Must I with patience ever silent sit'; 'Not Rome, in all its splendor, could compare'; 'Methinks I see our mighty monarch stand'; 'Let ancients boast no more'; 'Methinks I see you newly risen'; 'I' th' Isle of Britain long since famous growne [known]'; 'Tired with the noisome follies [Folly] of the age'. 'Gentle reproofs have long been tried in vain' had been printed in Tonson's 1702 **Miscellany**: the printing of such Tonson material in C-1707 seems to have been inadvertent on Curll's part.

98. Case 1949, Nos. 191, 211, 215.

99. Vieth 1968, pp. 234 and 236. 'Tis the Arabian Bird alone' may be derived from one of the **Poems on Affairs of State** anthologies.

100. Vieth 1968, p. 228. For the textual background to 'Since now my Silvia', see Danielson and Vieth 1967, p. 348.

101. See above, Chapter 2, pp. 40-41.

Notes to Chapters 1-6.

102. To my knowledge, the following C-1707 poems had not appeared in print before: 'Thou mighty princess, lovely queen of holes'; 'At the sight of my Phyllis, form every part'; 'Of a great heroine I mean to tell'; 'Farewell, false woman! Know, I'll ever be'; 'Why dost thou shade thy lovely face? O, why'; 'Ye sacred nymphs of Lebethra, be by'. The epigrams that seem to have been printed for the first time in C-1707 are the following: 'By heavens! 'twas bravely done'; 'Here lies a fruitful, loving wife'; 'A knight delights in deeds of arms'.

103. C-1707-b, A1ʳ.

104. C-1707-b, A1ᵛ.

105. These extra lines are equivalent to lines 19-22, 80-81, 184-187 in Walker's text of the poem (1984, pp. 69-74).

106. Danielsson and Vieth 1967, pp. 371-372, Lord 1975, II, pp 205-208. The extra couplet in 'To rack, and torture thy unmeaning Brain' is at lines 6-7 (Walker 1984, p. 114).

107. Lord 1975, I, p. 441.

108. See above, Chapter 2, pp. 20, 28-29.

109. See above, Chapter 2, note 76.

110. C-1709, π2ᵛ.

111. C-1709, π2ᵛ.

112. The passage beginning 'which I have made Uſe of for many years with great Succeſs' and ending 'the other Half when ſhe is brought to Bed' is absent from Tonson's text of 'Alexander Bendo's Bill'.

113. See below, Volume II, pp. 95-104.

114. See below, Volume II, pp. 101-102.

115. The following poems appear to have been printed in C-1709 for the first time: 'Sternhold and Hopkins had great Qualms'; 'Have you not in a chimney seen'; ''Twas when the sable mantle of the night'.

116. Case 1949, 211 (I) (A). For a text of this poem, see Lord 1975, II, pp. 157-158.

117. Case 1949, 189 (4). For a text of this poem, see Lord 1975, II, pp. 339-341.

118. Vieth 1968, p. 227.

119. See below, Volume II, pp. 87-89, 97-100.

120. See above, Chapter 2, pp. 38-39, 41.

121. See below, Volume II, p. 105.

122. ESTC t000809. The two theological works published by Harrison are: **Man's Destruction, Prov'd to be of himself**, by William Day (ESTC t110261), and **The Presbyterians not guilty of the murder of Charles I** (ESTC n012466).

123. Plomer 1922, p. 87. In 1707 George Croom collaborated with Benjamin Bragge in the publication of **Oxford's City remembrancer for the year 1707** (ESTC n007893).

124. See below, Volume II, pp. 112-114.

125. See below, Volume II, p. 106.

126. See below, Volume II, p. 113.

127. Public Record Office KB 28/32/9; Thomas 1969B, p. 78.

128. Public Record Office SP 35/58/75.

129. C-1709-P, B4^{v}, lines 21-26. The trial record in all these quotations transcribe the printed text accurately but without line-divisions.

130. Public Record Office KB 28/21/18, 19. The text provided here is from the transcription in Thomas 1969B, p. 337.

131. Foxon 1965, p. 12 note.

132. See above, p. 98.

133. Public Record Office KB 28/31/20; Foxon 1965, p. 13 and plate IV; Thomas 1969, p. 78.

134. Marten 1709, pp. 74-75.

135. See above, pp. 97-98.

136. See below, Chapter 6, pp. 139-142.

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Chapter 6. Obscene Libel and the Language of Rochester's Poems.

1. This information is inferred from the first reprint of C-1714, C-1718 (See below, Volume II, pp. 119-133), and from Prinz's description of the edition (1927, pp. 360-363). See below, note 5.

2. Wolseley's preface had appeared in Godwin's 1685 edition of **Valentinian**; Parson's funeral sermon was first published by Richard Davis in 1680, and reprinted in 1683 and 1709; see above, Chapter 2, p. 1. Burnet's **Some Passages of the Life**

and Death of the Right Honourable Earl of Rochester appeared in 1680, and was reprinted under the title **A Mirror for Atheists** in 1681 and 1700; the text is reproduced in Farley-Hills 1972, pp. 47-92. Wood's **Atheniae Oxonienses** first appeared in 1692; the entry on Rochester is excerpted in Farley-Hills 1972, pp. 170-173.

3. Texts of Aphra Behn's 'Mourn, Mourn ye Muses, all your loss deplore' and Flatman's 'As on his death-bed gasping *Strephon* lay' are provided in Farley-Hills 1972, pp. 107-108 and 115. Both poems had appeared in the prefatory matter of Tonson's B-series editions.

4. Van der Gucht's engraving illustrated 'Alexander Bendo's Bill', the *Satyr*, *Tunbridge Wells*, and *The Imperfect Enjoyment*. See below, Volume II, pp. 124-125, 130.

5. Two other new poems in the collection may be manuscript-derived. I have come across no record of previous publication of the song 'In a dark, silent, shady grove', and cannot identify the poem entitled *Ad Phyllida* in Prinz's list of contents of the edition (1927, p. 363) Because of the dispersal of copies of C-1714 across Europe and America, it has not been possible to inspect a copy of this particular edition; my reconstruction of the contents of the book builds on Prinz's list of contents (1927, pp. 361-363).

6. Curll's texts of 'My goddess Lydia, heavenly fair', 'Sweet Hyacinth, my life, my joy', and 'Where is he gone, whom I adore' are probably derived from the 1708 edition **The Annual Miscellany** (Vieth 1957, p. 615). Of 'Too late , alas! I must confess' and 'Insulting Beauty you mispend', Vieth remarks: 'Curll's source was probably the [**Examen Poeticum**] edition of 1706... since he does not reprint the 4 poems which are ascribed to "My Ld. R." in the 2 issues of the 1st edition, 1693' (Vieth 1957, p. 615).

7. The following '1680' poems were introduced to the C-series in C-1714: 'Nothing thou Elder Brother even to Shade'; 'When Shakes. Johns. Fletcher, rul'd the Stage'; 'Much wine had past with grave discourse'; 'Say, heaven-born muse, for only thou canst tell'; 'Naked she lay, claspt in my longing Arms'; 'One day the amorous Lysander'; 'Whilst happy I

triumphant stood'; 'What doleful cries are these that fright my sense'; 'What Timon does old Age begin t'approach'; 'Since the Sons of the Muses, grow num'rous and lowd'; 'I Rise at Eleven, I dine about Two'; 'For standing tarses we kind nature thank'; 'Dreaming last night on Mistress Farley'; 'As crafty harlots use to shrink'; 'If I can guess the Devil choke me'; 'So soft and amorously you write'; 'Come on ye critics! find one fault who dare'; 'Thou damned antipodes to common sense'; 'Crusht by that just contempt his Follys bring'; 'Bursting with Pride, the loath'd Impostume swells'; 'I swive [love] as well as others do'. With two exceptions, the C-1714 texts of all these poems follow the '1680' copy-texts closely (Vieth, 1963); the two exceptions are 'Come on ye critics! find one fault who dare' and 'Thou damned antipodes to common sense', which introduce readings derived from **The Annual Miscellany** of 1694 (Vieth 1963, pp. 443, 447).

8. The verse correspondence between 'Mr. B' and 'Mr. E', ascribed by Vieth to Buckhurst) and Etherege (1963, Chapter 9), comprises the following poems: 'Dreaming last night on Mistress Farley'; 'As crafty harlots use to shrink'; 'If I can guess the Devil choke me'; 'So soft and amorously you write'.

9. See above, Chapter 1, pp. 10-14, and below, Volume II, pp. 165-173. In Curll's C-series editions, 'Naked she lay, claspt in my longing Arms' is entitled 'The Disappointment'; 'The Imperfect Enjoyment' is used as the title for another poem in the Rochester volume, 'Fruition was the question in debate'. A 3-way interchange of titles has taken place: Aphra Behn's poem 'One Day the Am'rous *Lysander*,' had been entitled 'The Disappointment' when it appeared in the '1680' group editions, but now becomes 'The Insensible' in Curll's 1714 edition, where it is printed in the Rochester volume.

10. See below, Volume II, pp. 184-207.

11. For example, Thorncome re-writes line 6 to 'How squares were carry'd, and how things agree' and line 24 to 'Are Amorous charming Dittyes made' (A7^{v}), and deletes lines 101-102 (B1^{r}). C-1714 performs no alteration to these lines.

Notes to Chapters 1-6.

12. Nussbaum 1984, p. 60.
13. Nussbaum 1984, p. 61.
14. In A-1685, line 92 becomes 'Some well-hung Clown or Greaſy Boaſon' (A8ᵛ)
15. Foucault 1981, p. 17.
16. See below, Volume II, pp. 71-78.
17. Prinz 1927, pp. 400-404, 388-389. Larry Carver (1989) attempts to unravel the complex textual problems of **Valentinian**.
18. See below, Volume II, pp. 71, 76-77.
19. See below, Volume II, p. 71.
20. Prinz 1927, pp. 364-382; Vieth 1963 pp. 504-506.
21. Prinz 1927, p. 369.
22. Pope 1716B, p. 5.
23. Straus 1927, pp. 248-254; Bray 1982, pp. 29-30.
24. Hanson 1936 pp. 101-103.
25. In June 1718 Defoe reported to Charles Delafaye (one of the Under-Secretaries of State): 'I believe the time is come when the Journal, instead of affronting and offending the Government, may many ways be made serviceable to the Government; and I have Mr. M[ist] so absolutely resigned to proper measures for it, that I am perswaded that I may answer for it.' (Quoted in Hanson 1936, p. 103.)
26. **Mist's Journal** April 5th. 1718, p. 407.
27. **Mist's Journal** 1718, p. 407.
28. Pogroms had taken place in 1699, 1707 and in 1717: see Bray 1982, p. 91. Defoe's obsession with sodomy could well have been provoked by Curll's recent publication of a reprint of **The Arraignment and Conviction of Mervin, Lord Audley Earl of Castlehaven**, an account of a well-known sodomy trial from the 1640s.
29. **Mist's Journal** 1718, p. 407.
30. **Mist's Journal** 1718, p. 407.
31. See above, Chapter 2, pp. 20-21.
32. See below, Volume II, pp. 79-83.
33. **Mist's Journal** (1718), p. 407.
34. For C-1718, see below Volume II, pp. 119-133.
35. **Mist's Journal** 1718, p. 407.

Notes to Chapters 1-6.

36. Hanson 1936, p. 102.

37 **Mist's Journal** 1718, p. 407.

38. Curll 1718; Straus 1927, pp. 80-82.

39. Online ESTC search, December 1985.

40. Straus 1927, pp. 100-101. For C-1721-a and C-1721-b, see below, Volume II, pp. 134-158.

41. Curll 1725; Straus 1927, p. 275.

42. Public Record Office S.P. 35/55/102; Straus 1927, pp. 101-102.

43. Curll's correspondance with Charles Delafaye, the Secretary of State who had been running Defoe as a government agent, is in the Public Record Office S.P. 35/58/75.

44. Foxon 1965, p. 14; Thomas 1969B, p. 79.

45. Public Record Office S.P. 35/61/9; Straus 1927, pp. 108-111.

46. Curll to Delafaye, January 25th. 1726: 'For God's Sake, consider my Case and be my Advocate & Deliverer. Nine Days have I been now in Custody, no one comes near me, and if I cannot have my Liberty to procure Bail my ſelf, I am ruined. My Wife is lately Dead, my Prentice out of his Time & I have only my Self and a Servant to carry on my Buſineſs.' (Public Record Office S.P. 35/61/14.)

47. Straus 1927, p. 120; Thomas 1969B, p. 83.

48. Straus 1927, pp. 111-113; Foxon 1965 pp. 14-15; Thomas 1969B, p. 78. A very detailed correspondence concerning the Ker case survives in the Public Record Office (S.P. 35, volumes 62, 63 and 64).

49. Strange 1755, II, p. 789.

50. Cobbett 1813, col. 154.

51. Strange 1755, II, p. 789.

52. Thomas 1969B, pp. 82-83.

53. Strange 1755, II, p. 790.

54. Thomas (1969B) and Kendrick (1988) provide surveys of nineteenth and twentieth-century obscenity cases. A noteworthy feature of the development of censorship since the Curll case has been the expansion of obscenity from the written word to include the visual image.

55. Cobbett 1813, col. 155. Cobbett also quotes Anthony à Wood's more colourful account of the Sedley incident: 'In the month

of June, 1663, this our author, sir Charles Sedley, Charles lord Buckhurst (afterwards earl of Middlesex), sir Thomas Ogle &c. were at a cook's house at the sign of the Cock in Bow-street, near Covent Garden, within the liberty of Westminster, and being inflamed with strong liquors, they went into the balcony belonging to that house, and putting down their breeches they excrementized in the street: which being done, Sedley stripped himself naked, and with eloquence preached blasphemy to the people; whereupon a riot ensued, the people became very clamorous, and would have forced the door next the street open; but being hindered, the preacher and his company were pelted into their room, and the windows belonging thereunto were broken.' (Cobbett 1813, cols. 155-156.)

56. Strange 1755, II, p. 791.

57. Reproduced in Straus 1927, facing page 144.

58. Prinz 1927, pp. 436-439.

59. Eve Sedgwick sees a similar tactic at work in legal formations around sodomy at this time: 'I would emphasize the specifically terroristic or exemplary workings of this structure: because a given homosexual man could not know whether or not to expect to be an object of legal violence, the legal enforcement had a disproportionately wide effect.' (Eve Sedgwick, 'The Beast in the Closet: James and the Writing of Homosexual Panic' in **Sex, Politics & Science in the Nineteenth-century Novel** (Baltimore 1986), pp. 150-151). The contiguity of these outbursts of 'legal violence' against the sodomites of London and against the publisher of obscene books is quite precise. On the 9th. of May 1726, while Curll was languishing in prison, another of Charles Delafaye's cases was making an 'impact of theatrical enforcement' at Tyburn: Gabriel Lawrence, George Kedger and George Whitle were hanged for sodomy (Bray 1982, p. 90).