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# Out of the Closet and into the Classroom: Teaching Anne Finch's **Plays**

Diana Solomon Simon Fraser University, dks5@sfu.ca

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## Out of the Closet and into the Classroom: Teaching Anne Finch's Plays

#### Abstract

The publication of the *Cambridge Edition of the Works of Anne Finch, Countess of Winchilsea* makes it possible to teach not only a much wider assorted of her edited poetry, but also Finch's two dramas: the tragicomedy *The Triumphs of Love and Innocence*, and the tragedy *Aristomenes*. This essay proposes integrating Finch's plays into a course on Restoration and eighteenth-century drama by proposing a class, "Genre Trouble," which sets them in dialogue with frequently-taught plays of the era. Included herein are a syllabus of primary and secondary sources, suggestions for discussing Finch's plays and dramatic paratexts in comparison to works by Behn, Centlivre, Dryden, Otway, Rowe, and Wycherley, and a lesson plan that enables students to investigate differences between "closet" and professionally staged drama and understand how a playwright's gender figures into this divide.

### Keywords

closet drama, prologue, paratext, performance, Restoration and eighteenth-century drama

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### **Cover Page Footnote**

The author wishes to thank Marta Kvande for her comments on a draft of this paper.

For years most instructors teaching the works of Anne Finch have done so using the same small handful of her anthologized poems. But the recent publication of the two-volume Cambridge Edition of Anne Finch, Countess of Winchilsea (CEAF) now makes it possible to teach a vastly greater range of soundly edited texts.<sup>2</sup> The edition includes Finch's two plays: the tragicomedy *The Triumphs of* Love and Innocence (composed c. 1689–1702), and the tragedy Aristomenes or the Royal Shepheard (composed c. 1690–1702). Within a course on Restoration and eighteenth-century English drama, Finch's closet dramas enable a rich teaching experience. Given that they were written shortly after the "Glorious Revolution" and bear likenesses to performed Restoration dramas, including Finch's plays in Restoration and eighteenth-century drama courses engenders fruitful comparisons to contemporary plays. This article proposes methods of integrating The Triumphs of Love and Innocence and Aristomenes into a course on Restoration and early eighteenth-century drama that enhance the study of Finch's plays and the overall course. Besides the introduction to the Cambridge Edition, the three main critical discussions of Finch's plays are Marta Straznicky's chapter in Privacy, Playreading, and Women's Closet Drama (2004), which reframes Finch's request that her plays not be performed within her social setting; my own 2011 article, "Anne Finch, Restoration Dramatist," which locates similarities between Finch's dramatic writing and staged Restoration plays; and Claudia Kairoff's 2014 article, "Anne Finch as Playwright: The Purposes of Manuscript and Print in Her Pro-Stuart Plays," which examines Jacobitism in Finch's plays and traces differences between the manuscript and print versions of Aristomenes. All three articles provide important context for teaching Finch's plays.

The course I propose would suit upper-division English majors and minors at a college or university. At Simon Fraser University, a public research university of approximately 30,500 students of whom 26,000 are undergraduates, most students work part-time and commute by bus to campus, so faculty are conscious of the need to assign reasonable reading loads to accommodate these conditions. Currently we have approximately 475 English majors and 125 minors who make up the majority of our upper-division course enrollments. I have successfully taught Finch's plays to English majors and minors, and I recommend the experience to those who teach undergraduates in many types of colleges and universities across many countries.

## Finch's plays

Since both plays are not well known, brief summaries are offered here. An adaptation of Dominique Bouhours' biography of Pierre d'Aubusson (1423–

1503), which had been translated into English in 1679, The Triumphs of Love and *Innocence* takes place at a moment when Rhodes was governed by Grand Master Pierre d'Aubusson, leader of the Knights-Hospitallers, a religious sect that practices celibacy. Before the start of the play, Cyprus has been overthrown by a Venetian usurper, and Aubusson has offered shelter to the exiled queen. Cyprian general Lauredan travels to Rhodes to bring her home, an action viewed with suspicion. But Lauredan had met the queen long ago, and he acts out of love for her. In this he has a competitor in Aubusson's nephew Blanfort. Blanfort, however, had previously been contracted to wed Marina, who strives to win him back by disguising herself as Carino and serving as Aubusson's page. The only person who knows of her masquerade is also the most dangerous character: Rivalto, leader of a faction that opposes Aubusson. Rivalto aggressively courts Marina, threatening sexual assault (despite his vow of celibacy) should she not yield to him. When granted an audience with the Queen, Lauredan informs her that the usurper has abandoned the Cyprian throne, and proposes to restore her to the throne, with him as king. Blanfort realizes that Carino is Marina and reverts to loving her. Breaking into her bedchamber, Rivalto attempts to stab Marina after she rejects him, but he and his faction are caught and banished from Rhodes. Lauredan and the Queen, Blanfort and Marina are united, and the celibate Aubusson wills his lands to Blanfort.

For her second play, Finch also focused on a ruler: Aristomenes, the legendary King of Messenia, who was renowned for making a miraculous escape from a Spartan prison. Possibly derived from Pausanius's story of the Messenian king,<sup>4</sup> Aristomenes depicts three plots: the king's negotiation of Messenia's war with Sparta, and the courtships of Aristomenes' daughter and son, relationships that test filial ties and that succeed or fail based on Messenia's relationship with the respective lovers' homelands. In the main plot, Aristomenes spars with the Spartan leader, Anaxander, and miraculously escapes from a Spartan prison. Meanwhile Aristomenes' daughter, Herminia, falls for Demagetus, son of the prince of Rhodes, when both are disguised as shepherds. An oracle had prophesied that Rhodes would never find peace until Demagetus married "the beauteous Daughter, of the best of men," so in meeting Herminia, Demagetus first believes he's taken a wrong turn (1 line 35). But since Rhodes and Messenia are allies, the lovers reveal their identities and rejoice. In contrast, the other lovers belong to warring city-states, and their love is thus ill-fated. Aristomenes' son Aristor loves the Spartan leader's daughter, Amalintha. After the Spartans take Aristomenes prisoner, Amalintha frees him without revealing her identity, but when Aristomenes finds out that Aristor loves Amalintha, the king tries to kill his son only to learn the identity of his savior. When the Spartans capture Amalintha, she stabs herself just before Aristor appears to liberate her; he too kills himself.<sup>5</sup>

Victorious over the Spartans, Aristomenes spies the bodies and attempts suicide; his attempt is thwarted, but he remains deeply grieved. Like many Restoration tragedies, the play features some couples that survive happily—Herminia and Demagetus couple off for good in Act 4—but others perish under unfortunate circumstances.

### "Genre trouble": a proposed class that integrates Finch's drama

Given the scope of her dramatic writing—she wrote two plays, prologues and epilogues, and many songs, and also translated selections from an Italian and a French play—Finch should be at home in a class on Restoration and eighteenthcentury theatre. 6 Granted, a number of aspects in her plays accord with earlier seventeenth-century drama, such as their composition in blank verse, and their status as closet dramas. But Finch's plays also contain features frequently found in Restoration plays. 8 The Triumphs of Love and Innocence features crossdressing and attempted rape, while *Aristomenes* includes a provocative prologue and epilogue, stage directions that represent technical theatre innovations, and female characters with agency, all aspects present in earlier seventeenth-century plays but more prevalent in the Restoration. During the years she spent as a Maid of Honor to Mary of Modena, the second wife of James, Duke of York, later James II, Finch would have seen many contemporary plays performed at court. For many reasons, then, Finch's *The Triumphs of Love and Innocence* and Aristomenes can be taught alongside the comedies and tragedies of the Restoration.

One course in which Finch's plays fit well is a course I have taught on "Genre Trouble." Students in this class explore the aspects of genre in Restoration and early eighteenth-century plays labeled comedies and tragedies at a time when these terms don't always align with expectations and when tragicomedies are popular. We begin by discussing how dramatic comedies typically conclude with marriage and tragedies with death, yet select plays staged in Restoration and eighteenth-century England to some degree deviate from these norms. What accounts for this "genre trouble," and how does it compare to our modern-day taste in comedies and tragedies? Upper-division English classes at SFU meet for four hours each week over a 13-week term, so I typically teach ten plays per course. Each week I assign a play and an accompanying secondary source. Primary texts are selected from among Dryden's *Marriage à la Mode* (1671), Etherege's *The Man of Mode* (1676), Wycherley's *The Plain-Dealer* (1677), Behn's *The Rover* (1677) and *The Lucky Chance* (1686), Dryden's *All for Love* (1677), Otway's *Venice Preserv'd* (1682), George Farquhar's *The Beaux'* 

Stratagem (1707), Susanna Centlivre's The Busie Body (1709), Lewis Theobald's Double Falsehood (1728), and George Lillo's The London Merchant (1731). Secondary sources that deal with Restoration and eighteenth-century stage genres include Brian Corman's Genre and Generic Change in English Comedy, 1660-1710; Alex Hernandez's The Making of British Bourgeois Tragedy; and Nancy Klein Maguire's "Tragicomedy." Articles that discuss generic features include Robert Markley's "Still on the Criminal's Side, against the Innocent': Etherege, Wycherley, and the Ironies of Wit"; Anita Pacheco's "Rape and the Female Subject in Behn's *The Rover*"; Derek Hughes's "A New Look at *Venice*" Preserv'd"; and my "The Jolt of Jacobean Tragicomedy: Double Falsehood on the Eighteenth-Century Stage." I like to conclude by teaching Hamlet along with David Bevington's chapter "The Mirror Up to Nature: *Hamlet* in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries" as a way of examining how an earlier tragedy was transformed by later performance conditions. Either of Finch's plays fit in well here. The Triumphs of Love and Innocence could partner with the other tragicomedy, Marriage à la Mode, allowing students to compare and contrast Finch's more cohesive example with Dryden's split-plot play. And since it features the Herminia-Demagetus relationship resolving happily, Aristomenes offers the chance to examine how the progress and placement of love relationships operates within the tragic genre.

## **Teaching Finch's paratexts**

When teaching Finch's plays within a course on Restoration and eighteenthcentury theatre, it is helpful to compare her paratexts to those in other plays. Prefaces, prologues and epilogues, and dramatis personae can help students better understand the plays they accompany, as well as the circumstances of performance or publication. Such paratexts indicate to students the different ways that Restoration and eighteenth-century audiences encountered plays—as readers and/or as viewers—and reflect the ways writers sought to condition favorable responses from these respective audiences. As I have elsewhere argued about prologues and epilogues, examining paratexts alongside their plays offers clues to audience reception, cultural issues of the day, and interpretation (*Prologues* 5–6). Before teaching the plays themselves, it is worthwhile to consider Finch's "Advertisment," where she advocates against her plays being staged. This preamble makes for a great debate in class concerning whether Finch meant what she said. On the one hand, she uses stern words: "a more terrible Injury cannot be offer'd me" than to stage them (1.113 lines 7–8). On the other hand, she prefaces these words by articulating the vulnerability of playwrights to censure. Instructors might provide some background on the conditions that left playwrights open to

criticism, such as the frequent presence of loud spectators in the "pit" of the playhouse, and the accusations of plagiarism leveled at such accomplished playwrights as Behn and Dryden. <sup>10</sup> Another element that should be considered is Kairoff's observation that while Finch includes the Advertisement in a folio manuscript (Folger N.b.3), she does publish *Aristomenes* in the 1713 *Miscellany Poems*, *on Several Occasions* without a disclaimer (24).

Given that Aphra Behn also wrote disclaimers to her plays, it would be an illuminating assignment to compare Finch's preamble to a famous paratext of Behn's that articulates the criticism she faced as a professional woman writer: the preface to *The Lucky Chance*. In the Advertisement, Finch writes that having witnessed the censure of staged plays, she desires not to widely circulate her own. This sentiment can be contrasted to the preface to *The Lucky Chance*, written only four years before *Aristomenes*, where Behn proclaims her wish for fame and fortune. Students might discuss the writers' different social classes and the expected behavior for each. The *Lucky Chance* preface also decries a gendered double standard, with Behn accusing critics of seizing on her play's "Indecencys" while giving similar male-authored plays a pass (215). Other than signing the advertisement with her pen name, Ardelia, Finch does not overtly mention her gender. But how and where might it be present in the Advertisement? Given her experience attending plays and her clear awareness of Behn, who also had connections to the Stuart court, might Finch be practicing self-censorship?

Studying prologues and epilogues also helps students understand the conditions in which the performance took place. Such performances ranged from family and friends gathering to read or act out plays, to enactments on professional or court stages. Even though no evidence points to Finch's plays seeing public performance, they were addressed to an audience. And in the prologue to *Aristomenes*, like so many prologues to staged dramas, Finch conveyed her anxiety over that audience's reception. The first twelve lines of the prologue describe the playwright worried about the opinion not of "the multitude," but of "one true, substantial witt," her husband's nephew, to whom the play is being read (1.195 lines 2, 6). Finch concludes:

These lines, she fears, no passions will begett, But 'twill appear, in spite of all inditing, A woman's way to charm, is not by writing. (1.196 30-2)

It would be worthwhile to compare Finch's strategy to the line in Dryden's epilogue to *All for Love* where "Young Wits and Sparks he to his aid must call" to help counter the dissent of coxcombs in the pit; or to Wycherley's prologue to *The* 

Plain Dealer, where he insults members of the audience ("you who Scrible," "Sparks" in the pit) in an effort to pre-empt criticism (Womersley 428 line 30; 227.3, 17). Students might debate which of these three examples represents the most convincing strategy to win over the audience, or why authors might adopt such tactics in the first place. In addition, as Finch's last line above suggests, prologues and epilogues can reveal gender dynamics at play. Her suggestion that women don't "charm" with their writing hints at the struggles women faced when going public with their work. Students might compare this line to one from the prologue to Centlivre's *The Busie Body:* "Be kind, and bear a Woman's Treat to Night" (Womersley 780.40). What obstacles did eighteenth-century women writers face when sharing their work, and how have conditions today changed or remained similar? In studying prologues and epilogues, students learn about the conditions of play performance, encounter related issues such as gendered constraints, and possess another point of comparison between Finch's and other plays of the time.

### Finch's plays as closet dramas

Another reason that Finch's plays are frequently excluded from courses on Restoration and eighteenth-century drama is because they were not performed publicly. A definition of closet drama, followed by a comparison between Finch's dramas and her contemporaries' staged plays, provides background for a discussion of two interrelated issues: why it is significant to distinguish between closet and stage dramas, and how closet plays are linked to their author's gender.

In her introduction to *Closet Drama: History, Theory, Form,* Catherine Burroughs identifies frequent qualities of closet drama, such as that they often dictate moral behavior, and they combine "narrative (choral), lyric, and dramatic elements in order to 'tell' as much as 'show'" (8). Burroughs also describes the different audience closet dramas anticipate: readers who can trace the development of an idea, as opposed to live audiences spending limited time with each concept (5–6). Some of the characteristics of closet drama may surprise students, such as the frequent abundance of stage directions; why, they may wonder, do such directions even exist if the play was more likely to have been read rather than staged? This question segues into the importance of distinguishing between closet and stage dramas and their respective audiences. What might the expectations of a large public audience be, compared to a small private audience whose members are entirely dictated by the playwright herself? Since stage dramas must generate income for actors and theatre staff, what choices might a playwright need to make in order to put enough bums in seats? Given that Restoration and eighteenth-

century playwrights wrote for specific acting companies, how might this element have resulted in different outcomes? Such questions prompt the students to consider how playwrights writing for the public stage versus writing for readers or audiences of private performances approached their compositions differently, and why as a result scholars often study and teach closet and stage plays separately. It may also be helpful to turn to a page in the Folger manuscript (available online at Perdita Manuscripts) or in her 1713 publication of Aristomenes (available at ECCO) and compare this to a page in a play quarto from the 1680s or 90s (available at EEBO) that the class is reading, such as Venice Preserv'd or The Beaux' Stratagem. 12 Positioning the pages side by side gives the class a chance to debate Marta Straznicky's claim that "Finch's stage directions are in fact so carefully prepared and laid out on the page—in smaller script, underlined, and set apart from the surrounding lines—that they form a virtual counter-text to the spoken dialogue, shifting the reader's attention from spoken to visual content with steady, expert guidance....attesting...to the fact that a play on the page is in no intrinsic way identifiable as a closet drama" (93-5). Alternatively, students might consider which of Jonas Barish's four categories of closet drama best suits Finch's plays: "'plays written against the stage'; 'plays written essentially for reading'; 'plays writ with some hope of performance'; 'plays writ for the closet with enough sense of the stage so that they later become successful stage vehicles" (qtd. Burroughs 15).

Straznicky's description and Barish's categories may lead students to consider some of the implicit assumptions behind women's closet drama. Plays written during the English Civil Wars (when theatres were closed) were by definition closet dramas; but after public performance restarted in London in 1660, women such as Margaret Cavendish and, later, Finch still wrote plays apparently not meant for public performance. Considering how gender is a factor here, it may be helpful to revisit the public versus private distinction from a class perspective; as aristocratic women, Cavendish and Finch were expected not to write for money or to desire a public reception. But are closet dramas considered of lesser significance than publicly staged performed plays, and does their association during the Restoration with female playwrights contribute to their degradation? It may be helpful also to bring up the issue of intentionality, as some recent definitions of closet dramas (although notably, not Burroughs's) say that they are "meant to be read rather than performed" (Pavis 57). Given the ambiguity of her Advertisement, can we be certain of Finch's intentions? Finally, as Alison Findlay, Gweno Williams, and Stephanie Hodgson-Wright point out, plays written by women between 1570-1670 have been considered "unperformed and therefore unperformable," a status that has not adhered to dramas by men (129). By staging several female closet dramas, Findlay, Williams, and Hodgson-Wright

have gone a long way toward refuting this assumption, but the double standard will likely pique students' interest and inspire their participation in assignments like the one described below.<sup>13</sup>

A way of encouraging students to consider the play in terms of its "living poetry" and its performability is to compare it to a performed play of its time. One assignment could have students compare Finch's closet drama to Otway's staged drama in order to ask what differences there are, structurally and stylistically, between the two. To engender such a discussion, this assignment modifies one created by Joel B. Lande, which he describes in "Playing with Genre" (158–61). Lande's exercise, which purports to teach students about drama as a genre, can be expanded to help students describe differences—and similarities—between closet and staged drama. Lande advises the instructor to select an important scene from a play and assign students to rewrite it in a page-long narrative description for homework. In the following class, students act out the scene, then read aloud their writing and discuss the choices they made when translating drama to narrative form. Afterwards, the class discusses what they have realized about those literary genres. I think this is an excellent assignment on its own, one that makes students especially aware of how different genres convey elements like character and tone.

Expanding on Lande's lesson plan, my proposal prompts students to discern similarities and differences between closet and staged drama in the Restoration. For this exercise I suggest comparing Otway's *Venice Preserv'd*, which, like *Aristomenes*, features a love relationship within a political atmosphere governed (in part) by one lover's father. Other plays frequently taught in Restoration and eighteenth-century drama classes that may be useful include Dryden's *All for Love* and two plays by Rowe: *The Tragedy of Jane Shore* and *Tamerlane*, all of which, like *Aristomenes*, feature love relationships in tension with political strife. <sup>14</sup> It is more difficult to find an analogue to *The Triumphs of Love and Innocence*, but one potential comparator is Dryden's *The Spanish Fryar* (1681); both tragicomedies feature queens estranged from their homelands who have rivals vying for their love.

Instructors can direct students to write and bring to class one-page narrative versions of scenes from *Venice Preserv'd* and *Aristomenes*. Possible scene pairings include the scenes early in both plays where one of the lovers is confined against their will: *Venice Preserv'd* (where Jaffeir tells Belvidera they must part and gives her to Renault insinuating that Renault might kill her with Jaffeir's dagger; Broadview 2.3.178–267) and *Aristomenes* (where Amalintha visits Aristor in his confinement; 2.1.1–159). Another possibility is to pair scenes of betrayal: *Venice Preserv'd* (where Jaffeir betrays his compatriots to the senators,

only for Pierre to find out; Broadview 4.2.1–324) and *Aristomenes* (where Aristomenes learns that his son Aristor loves the enemy's daughter, Amalintha, and tries to kill him, only for Aristor to recognize that his father is using Amalintha's dagger; 4.1.179–293). In class, students first act out the scene from *Venice Preserv'd*, and then read their narrativizations either to the full class or in small groups, leaving room in between for discussion of how their versions transmit the action differently than drama. Then both steps can be repeated with *Aristomenes*. Not only will students come to realize differences between portraying action and emotion in drama versus narrative—an important topic in any drama class—but they will also confront the issue of how Otway and Finch portray similar actions and themes, and accordingly, how staged drama compares with closet drama. If they chose to reinforce this lesson, instructors could also ask students to rewrite a page of *Aristomenes* as if it were going to be staged and rewrite a page of *Venice Preserv'd* as if it were written for the closet.

Questions to guide student discussion include: did students note differences in the way *Aristomenes* and *Venice Preserv'd* represented action? If students find *Aristomenes* less dramatic, does that mean the play is better meant for reading rather than performing? Or does Finch's play read as similarly dramatic to Otway's, and if so, might it have thrived on the stage if written by a man, or during a period when a Tory play might have found favor? In short, is Finch's play deemed a closet drama by style or by circumstance?

The publication of *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Anne Finch*, *Countess of Winchilsea* enables far more of Finch's writing to enter the classroom, and this essay endeavors to show how her two plays contribute to classes on Restoration and eighteenth-century drama. Through their study, students can learn about how a writer often considered the best female poet of the eighteenth century engaged with literary modes like the pastoral, with the politics of her time, and with popular dramatic genres.

#### Notes

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> This essay contributes to Part II of the "Concise Collection on Teaching the Works of Anne Finch," guest edited by Jennifer Keith, *Aphra Behn Online*, vol. 14, no. 1, 2024. To read the essays in this part, follow this link <a href="https://digitalcommons.usf.edu/abo/vol14/iss1/">https://digitalcommons.usf.edu/abo/vol14/iss1/</a>. To read essays in Part I, follow this link: <a href="https://digitalcommons.usf.edu/abo/vol13/iss2/">https://digitalcommons.usf.edu/abo/vol13/iss2/</a>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Volume 1, edited by Jennifer Keith with Claudia Thomas Kairoff, associate editor, Jean I. Marsden, contains Finch's plays. Hereafter, that volume will be cited as *CEAF1*.

https://www.google.ca/books/edition/ /gVIJAAAAQAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1 . A few pages from a 1700 printing of Congreve's *The Way of the World* are available here: https://www.bl.uk/collection-items/congreves-the-way-of-the-world .

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Although the expense of the two-volume edition is beyond the reach of most student budgets, the edition is also available online in many university library catalogues; alternatively, librarians may have access to copyright clearance funds to provide student access.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> According to *CEAF1*: cviii, it seems no editions of Pausanias's *Tour of Greece* had been translated into English before 1700, and that none of the other English-language sources published before 1690 included all of the features of the tale that Finch dramatized.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Notably, *CEAF1* includes the version of *Aristomenes* from Finch's late-Restoration manuscript, housed in the Folger library. When Finch published the play in the 1713 *Miscellany Poems, on Several Occasions*, she eliminated the suicides, instead arranging for Spartan captors to kill Amalintha, and for Aristor subsequently to die in combat.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Finch translated Torquato Tasso's *Aminta* (1573) and a scene from Jean Racine's *Athalie* (1691).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> In *CEAF1*: ciii, these are related to Civil War-era closet dramas, which are political and feature "elaborate stage directions."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> For further discussion, see my article, "Anne Finch, Restoration Playwright," pp. 37–56.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> The plays by Behn, Dryden, Etherege, Farquhar, Lillo, and Otway can be found in the first edition of *The Broadview Anthology of Restoration and Early Eighteenth-Century Drama*, edited by J. Douglas Canfield; they can also be found in the forthcoming second edition. Wycherley's *The Plain-Dealer* and Centlivre's *The Busie Body* can be found in *Restoration Drama: An Anthology*, edited by David Womersley (the plays by Etherege and Farquhar, as well as Behn's *The Rover*, are also included here). *Double Falsehood* is published in its own edition, edited by Brean Hammond.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> For a discussion of the pit's noisy inhabitants, see Harold Love, "Who were the Restoration Audience?" pp. 40–3. For accusations of plagiarism leveled against Restoration playwrights, see Paulina Kewes, *Authorship and Appropriation: Writing for the Stage in England, 1660–1710*, chapters 2 and 3. For a discussion of how plagiarism charges were gendered, see Laura Rosenthal, *Playwrights and Plagiarists in Early Modern England*, introduction.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Kairoff also suggests a comparison to Margaret Cavendish, who described the perils of attending the public staging of her own play. See Kairoff, "Anne Finch as Playwright," 33.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Some editions may be available in the public domain. For example, a scanned copy of Finch's 1713 volume, *Miscellany Poems*, on *Several Occasions*, which contains the published version of *Aristomenes*, can be accessed here:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Williams also produced *Margaret Cavendish: Plays in Performance* which make an excellent complement to teaching Finch's plays. Originally available on DVD, they are now accessible at Digital Cavendish: <a href="http://digitalcavendish.org/plays-in-performance/">http://digitalcavendish.org/plays-in-performance/</a>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> CEAF1 points out "a striking resemblance" between Aristomenes and Tamerlane. See CEAF1: cx.

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