

“This Elegant Science”: Satire and Sociability in Mary Evelyn’s *Mundus Muliebris, or the Ladies Dressing-Room Unlock’d* (1690)

by

Deborah Faith Ramkhelawan

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

in English

Department of English and Film Studies
University of Alberta

© Deborah Faith Ramkhelawan, 2016

Abstract

Written by Mary Evelyn and published posthumously by her father John Evelyn, the *Mundus Muliebris, or The Ladies Dressing-Room Unlock'd* (1690) consists of three parts: a preface written by John Evelyn, a poem “A Voyage to Marryland; or, the Ladies Dressing-Room,” and a word list, “The Fop-Dictionary: or, an Alphabetical Catalogue of the Hard and Foreign Names, and Terms of the Art *Cosmetic*.” Recent criticism has glossed the *Mundus Muliebris* (Phillipy, 2006; Chico 2005). Chico’s study in particular finds the poem “limited to particularities”; moreover, she concludes, “[t]here is no narrative...or a change of topic” (105). The *Mundus Muliebris* is indeed a book abounding in material particularities and moments of narrative fallibility; however, what seems to be a fatal limitation is, in fact, the chief strength of the text. This dissertation will argue that the poem and dictionary were written by Mary Evelyn, with the addition of some recognizable passages by John Evelyn. It will also seek to show that there is a discernable narrative structure in the *Mundus Muliebris* featuring subtle but crucial changes in topic, tone, voice, mood, and other figures, both rhetorical (plot) and poetic (structure). These set it apart from dressing-room satires — Pope’s *The Rape of the Lock* (1712); Swift’s *The Lady’s Dressing-Room* (1732) — and suggest its resonances with other generic modes including the didacticism of the conduct manual and the female agency of the *conte de fées*. By examining the book’s content through a close reading and book history approaches, situating the text within Martz’s structure of metaphysical poetry and narrative theory’s discussion of time and space, and attending to its context via new historicist and cultural materialist techniques as well as structuralist approaches, we will see that the *Mundus Muliebris* is productive of a range of topics relating to the narrative and the larger fields of poetics, economics, and science.

Dedication:

to Aunty Lil

Acknowledgements

Thank you to all my family for their unwavering support. Many thanks to my supervisor, Dr. John Considine, for reading through and commenting on my thesis as well as introducing me to the Evelyns in the first place. Thank you to the Department of English and Film Studies as well as the Graduate Students Association at the University of Alberta for support in the form of the GSA Travel Award and the Sarah Nettie Christie Travel Award.

Many thanks to the staff at the University of Alberta Rutherford Library and to the Manuscript Reading Room of the British Library for their invaluable assistance with the Mary Evelyn manuscripts.

Most of all, I thank Jesus for carrying me through this journey.

This research was made possible by a Canada Graduate Scholarship from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada.

Table of Contents

<u>INTRODUCTION</u>	<u>1</u>
<u>CHAPTER ONE: POETICS AND STRUCTURE</u>	<u>5</u>
<u>CHAPTER TWO: PLOT AND ECONOMICS</u>	<u>31</u>
PART ONE: PLOT	33
PART TWO: SATIRE	65
<u>CHAPTER THREE: SCIENCE AND SOCIABILITY</u>	<u>78</u>
PART ONE: FURNISHINGS	79
PART TWO: RECREATION	86
<u>BIBLIOGRAPHY</u>	<u>102</u>

Introduction

I.1 Survey of Subject Matter

The *Mundus Muliebris, or The Ladies Dressing-Room Unlock'd* (1690) is a satire of Restoration females and their taste for foreign fashion. Written by Mary Evelyn and published posthumously by her father John Evelyn, the *Mundus Muliebris* consists of three parts: a preface written by John Evelyn, a poem “A Voyage to Marryland, or the Ladies Dressing-Room,” and a word list, “The Fop-Dictionary: or, an Alphabetical Catalogue of the Hard and Foreign Names, and Terms of the Art Cosmetic.” This dissertation will argue that the poem and dictionary were written by Mary Evelyn, with the addition of some recognizable passages by John Evelyn.

I.2 Problems of Critical Reception

Recent criticism has approached the *Mundus Muliebris* from the perspective of early modern material culture and cosmetics (Chico 2005; Phillippy, 2006). Both surveys provide cursory accounts of the text: Chico’s study in particular finds that the poem is “limited to particularities”; moreover, she concludes, “[t]here is no narrative...or a change of topic” (105). The *Mundus Muliebris* is indeed a book abounding in material particularities and moments of narrative fallibility; however, what seems to be a fatal limitation is, in fact, the chief strength of the text. Chico has written that in the *Mundus* “inventory supplants story” (104). For Mary Evelyn, however, inventory is the story. It is not only the particularity of her inventory (sociability) but also the fallibility of her narration (satire) that generates the poem’s appeal.

I.3 Statement of Purpose

This dissertation will seek to show that there is a discernable narrative structure in the *Mundus Muliebris*; furthermore, that underlying this narrative structure are subtle but crucial changes in topic, tone, voice, mood, and other figures, both rhetorical (plot) and poetic (structure). These set it apart from dressing-room satires — Pope’s *The Rape of the Lock* (1712); Swift’s *The Lady’s Dressing-Room* (1732) — and suggest its resonances with other generic modes including the didacticism of the conduct manual and the female agency of the fairy tale— particularly the *conte de fées* of the French Salon. Ultimately, we will see that Mary Evelyn employs the device of a narrator who borders on forgetfulness, generating much of the poem’s satire and appeal — while herself managing and defining a catalogue of Restoration furniture, fashions, and cosmetics. Thus, the *Mundus* exemplifies Mary Evelyn’s awareness of the world and poetic agency.

I.4 Situation within Fields

By examining the book’s content through a close reading and book history approaches (McKenzie, Adams and Barker, McGann, Chartier), situating the text within Martz’s structure of metaphysical poetry and narrative theory’s discussion of time and space (Bakhtin, Bal, Brooks, Genette, and Ricoeur), and attending to its context via new historicist and cultural materialist techniques (Greenblatt, Fumerton, Said) as well as structuralist approaches (Propp, Zipes, Seifort), we will see that the *Mundus Muliebris* is productive of a range of topics relating to narrative and the larger fields of poetics, economics, and science.

I.5 Overview of Chapters

Chapter One: “Poetics and Structure” begins with a review of the publication history of the *Mundus Muliebris* using archival theory and book history approaches. Here, we consider in further detail the story of the *Mundus*’ production and circulation, taking into account questions of its authorship and readership which have shaped critical reception of the text from its contemporary moment to the present. This is followed by an analysis of narrative and method in the three parts of John Evelyn’s preface to the *Mundus* and their relationship to colonial, pastoral, and intellectual property as well as to Martz’s threefold movement of devotional meditation: scene, understanding, and will.

Chapter Two: “Plot and Economics” is an analysis of Mary Evelyn’s poem “A Voyage to Marryland.” It attempts to solve the problem of the list by showing that the poem fulfils the conditions for narrative in its plot (via a consideration of narrative, theme, and genre) and point of view (via an analysis of satire, irony, and humor). Its consideration of plot takes up the the twin coming-of age plots in the poem manifested in the tension between the young gentleman’s adventure plot and the young lady’s marriage plot. Both end in near disaster, while an emerging money plot takes ascendancy; thus, the narrative solves the problem of misdirected affections through a skillful double pairing of the young lady with her fop and the young man with the borderline forgetful narrator.

Next, through an analysis of point of view and satire, we see resonances with the fairy tale genre and the *conte de fées* of Madame d’Aulnoy and the French Salon — Mary Evelyn’s French contemporaries. We also see the dressing-room satire tradition continue with Pope’s *The Rape of the Lock* and Swift’s *The Lady’s Dressing-Room*. A comparison analysis between Swift,

Pope and Evelyn's mobilization of the figures of the maid and the merchant, however, reveals that Mary Evelyn's Horatian satire displays an expansive and sympathetic view of human nature whereas Swift and, to a lesser degree, Pope, tend to Juvenalian social critique.

Chapter Three: "Science and Sociability" considers the early modern furnishings, fashions, and recreational pursuits central to the *Mundus Muliebris, or the Ladies Dressing Room Unlock'd*. We see furnishings through a discussion of property and permanence that takes into account the form and function of cultural objects that play a key role in the poem and preface: joint stool, table (gaming and tea), and silver tankard. Next, we will consider the social function of certain fashions in the poem and the dictionary through the lens of satire, particularly hair and cosmetics (paint, patches, plumpers, pomatums, etc.). Finally, an exploration of the curious space of the distillery and the pastimes of Restoration females mentioned in the *Mundus* (music, sewing, and horticulture) show the connections between Mary Evelyn's conception of the "elegant Science" and the concerns of the Royal Society.

I.6 Summary

Finally, this dissertation will attempt to disclose contextual and thematic changes in *Mundus Muliebris, or the Ladies' Dressing-Room Unlock'd*. Contextually, we will navigate the intersection between early modern poetics (individual context), economics (global context), and science (national context). Thematically, we will undulate between metaphysical poetry and materiality; poetic productions and material reproductions, private space and public space—Mary Evelyn's *Mundus Muliebris*.

Chapter One: Poetics and Structure

“The alternative is to look not to other places in our own time,
but to other times in our own place.”

- Adrian Johns

“Print,” Adrian Johns informs us a little further up the page, “cannot be as straightforward as it seems” (257). Neither, we might reply, is the *Mundus Muliebris*. The story of the *Mundus Muliebris* is one which begins in the space of the expansive Evelyn family library and continues with the narrative of its publication and circulation, taking up questions of authorship, readership, and critical reception. Evelyn was concerned not only with the purchase of books but also with their presentation and preservation. In addition to securing volumes at the recommendation of Sir Richard Browne, British ambassador from Charles I to the court of Louis XIV, John Evelyn also followed his father-in-law in the practice of beautifying and personalizing many of his acquisitions. Evelyn “commissioned elaborate gold-tooled bindings incorporating their initials and arms” (Mandelbrote 72). According to John Evelyn’s own library catalogue of 1687, the Evelyn library consisted of some 4,800 titles — over 1,000 more than that of Pepys. Among these works were titles by Shakespeare, Milton, Sidney, and Bunyan, as well as Latin classics and many Bibles.

It was to this library that John Evelyn’s daughter Mary would repair. Indeed, after her death in 1685, John Evelyn writes a memorial in his *Diary* that characterizes her as an avid reader. In his entry for 14 March 1685, he writes: “[n]othing was therefore so delightfull to her,

as the permission I ever gave her to go into my Study, where she would have willingly spent whole dayes; for as I sayd, she had read abundance of History, & all the best poets, even to Terence, Plautus, Homer, Vergil, Horace, Ovide, all the best Romances, & modern Poems” (4: 423). Indeed, six lines from Plautus’ *Poenulus* served as Mary’s inspiration for her poem “A Voyage to Marryland” and form its epigraph. She also employs allusions to Sidney’s *Arcadia* and Bunyan’s *Pilgrim’s Progress*, among others.¹

Mary was a keen writer. As W. G. Hiscock quips in *John Evelyn and His Family Circle*, “the Archbishop of Canterbury could not have written more stylistically” (128). Evelyn goes on to state in his *Diary* entry for 14 March 1685, that Mary could “compose very happily, & put in her pretty Symbol, as in that of the *Mundus Muliebris*, wherein is an enumeration of the immense variety of the Modes & ornaments belonging to the Sex” (4: 423-24) It is little surprise that upon her death, her father made it his mission to prepare the *Mundus* for publication as a memorial of his daughter’s literary talents, to give it a place in his own library, and, most likely, to circulate it to an audience of family and close acquaintances.

“The most immediate destination of a book, once it is published,” according to Adams and Barker, “is that intended, the audiences to which the author and publisher addressed it; identifying those audiences is usually our first concern” (57). Evelyn was a man concerned with propriety at all times; in the *Elysium* he interrupts himself during a meditation on “Walkes of Mosse”: “And here {we conceive} it will not be impertinent to speake something concerning *Bowling-Greenes*” (133-4). The question of whether to publish his daughter’s poem after her

¹ The final lines of the *Mundus* — “And Portion e’re the Year goes round, / Does with her Vanity confound”— are reminiscent of the description of Vanity Fair in the *Pilgrim’s Progress*: “a fair wherein should be sold all sorts of vanity, and that it should last all the year long” (Bunyan 98). The specifics and significance of these parallel passages with Sidney and Spenser will be treated in depth in Chapter Two.

death, and, by extension, to circulate it to an intended audience, troubled John Evelyn considerably, despite the fact that “many women writers... flourished during the intensely productive period of the Civil War and its aftermath” (Salzman 3).² By examining *Letterbooks of John Evelyn*, we see that Evelyn’s quandary inspires a letter to at least one potential member of the “intended audience.” Indeed, Evelyn sheds a great deal of ink explaining his motives for publication in a letter to Lord Godolphin, chamberlain to the queen under James II (Adams and Barker 57). Further, within this letter, he spends a considerable amount of effort carrying out what McKenzie would term the “sociology of texts,” that is, positioning his publication of Mary’s work as part of a larger bibliography of texts produced by grieving parents — a body of work in which “transmission... production and reception” is governed by the act of mourning, so that above all else, “forms affects meaning” (37).

In his *Letterbooks*, we see that Evelyn writes to Lord Godolphin on 20 March 1685. Here, he first expounds upon Mary’s virtues, stating that she “had not onely Read, but digested in Writing and material notes, a great-deale of antient and moderne Historie” and “had read all the good Pöets;” furthermore, he attests that she “had also Read, Collected, and retained an incredible Store of Excellent things” (759). After positioning his daughter as well-educated, widely-read, and a writer, Evelyn attempts to persuade Godolphin of the virtues of his publication project and secure his approval:

My Lord you may happily think me extreamely Transported; and that all this would better have become the Report of another, than from her Father: But you will also call to mind

² In *Reading Early Modern Women’s Writing*, Paul Salzman lists “major scholarly editions... of women writing in what we might call conventional literary genres: Aphra Behn, Mary Wroth, Elizabeth Cary, Aemilia Lanyer, Rachel Speght, Lucy Hutchinson, Katherine Philips”; he also mentions “a few exceptions to this, such as Elaine Hobby’s edition of Jane Sharp’s *Midwives Book*, Sara Jayne Steen’s of the letters of Arabella Stuart, or some examples of Margaret Cavendish, such as James Fitzmaurice’s edition of the *Sociable Letters*” (3).

that (though I am far from comparing my selfe to the meanest of them, save in my irreparable Losse) it is but what the Parents of *Cæsarinus*, St. *Augustin* of his son *Deodati*: *Nectarius* to St. *Basile* of old; Julius *Scaliger* of his son *Audectus*, *Monsieur Mauriere* to the Learned *Grotius*, and severall others of Late (not to speake of *Heathens*) Christian, modest, and Indulgent Parents have don, not onely writing to their Private Friends, but publish'd what they writ, without reproach.... (Evelyn, *Letterbooks* 760)

Evelyn is here not only marshalling a series of “[i]llustrious precedents for consolatory rhetoric” but is “probably also invoking his own translation of *The golden book of St John Chrysostom* (London, 1659) written in memory of his son Richard” (Chambers and Galbraith 760). Thus, in putting forward a poem published in memory of his daughter, Evelyn references both literary tradition and his own talent. Further, his correspondence suggests at least one member of Evelyn’s intended audience: Lord Godolphin.

Evelyn’s correspondence also accords with his account in the *Diary*, suggesting that the intended audience for the *Muliebris* may also have been a family audience. He discovered Mary’s manuscripts after her death and, characteristically, made a record of them in his paper titled, “A Note of what books and papers were found written by my late Daughter Mary E. after her decease: 1685.” According to Gillian Wright, “only a few of the manuscript items described in the list are still extant in the Evelyn archives. It is possible, as Frances Harris has suggested, that other papers may have been passed on to later generations of Evelyn women, and thus lost to the family collections” (221). Perhaps John Evelyn also intended the *Mundus Muliebris* to be passed on to later generations as well.

Passing over the possibility of publishing Mary’s devotional manuscripts, or her letters, Evelyn edited the first edition of the *Mundus* in 1690 and a second edition later that year with the

addition of the recipe “To Make Pig, or Puppido, Water for the Face.” Perhaps Evelyn’s decision to publish the *Mundus* was due to the popularity of satires in the early modern literary market and the *Mundus* was stocked and apparently sold well as one, as Nevinson writes: “the appearance of *Mundus Muliebris* in the book-shops must have aroused a good deal of interest, since a reprint and then a second edition...were called for within a year” (13).³ This seems to suggest that the general satire-reading public was indeed a third intended audience beyond Evelyn’s family (future generations of Evelyns) and close friends such as Lord Godolphin.

Beyond the primary distribution of the book through its sale in shops, we see what Adams and Barker term the secondary distribution, that is, the unintended readership: “[l]ibraries,” they write, “are an all-pervasive and continuous element in secondary distribution” (57). Much as he disapproved of the dispersal of collections through modes of secondary distribution, Evelyn made “substantial disposals” of many of his own books during his lifetime, firstly during his move from Sayes Court to Wotton and again after his son John’s death (Mandelbrote 73). Perhaps the most significant occasion of secondary distribution via the breaking up and circulation of the Evelyn library occurred in modern times, however, during the Christie’s sale of 1977-78.⁴ The catalogues of this sale list nearly 850 titles brought to auction and note significant details about the material condition of the books, including which of them had been bound specially by Evelyn. They also make mention of which books feature instances

³ For evidence of the popularity of satires including the “Sophia Pamphlets” and John Oldham’s “A Satyr Upon Women” and see Nussbaum (8, 20-1). She also comments in a footnote that “Robert Calvin Whitford, in ‘Juvenal in England, 1750-1802,’ *Philological Quarterly* 7 (1928):9-16, discusses the continuing popularity of Juvenal in the eighteenth century” (Nussbaum 176, note 9).

⁴ Although there is no record that John Evelyn presented copies of his daughter’s work as gifts, a copy of the *Mundus Muliebris* was, as the catalogues attest, dispersed in the Christie’s sale of 1977.

of Evelyn's marginalia, including annotations, corrections, characteristic complaints, and even occasional pencil drawings.

According to the Christie's catalogues, one copy of the *Mundus Muliebris* was dispersed in the 1977 sale. Also auctioned was one copy of the anonymous *Mundus Foppensis: or, the Fop Display'd: Being the Ladies Vindication, in Answer to a Late Pamphlet, Entitled [sic] Mundus Muliebris: or, the Ladies Dressing-Room Unlock'd*. The catalogues note that this is a "[f]irst edition of the satire in defence of the ladies published in answer to Mary Evelyn's *Mundus Muliebris*, published the previous year" (Christie's 54). It is unlikely that John Evelyn was the author of this text: it is neither representative of his late works, nor in keeping with his political views in 1691; and the compilers of the Christie's catalogues file it as anonymous rather than with the section of works written by John Evelyn. However, as Roger Chartier writes, although reading "rarely leaves traces," and is "scattered into an infinity of singular acts," a consideration of the reader is vital to the consideration of the book; for, "a text does not exist except for a reader who gives it signification" (87). The anonymous writer of the *Mundus Foppensis* was an active, if unintended, reader of the *Mundus Muliebris*; and the *Foppensis* shows that the *Mundus* had an unforeseen life of its own in the public sphere.

In fact, the *Mundus Muliebris* continued to generate interest in literary circles long after its publication. As Charles Davies points out in his article "The Rape of the Lock and Evelyn's *Mundus Muliebris*—A Parallel," the text can be seen as a forerunner to Pope's 1714 *Rape of the Lock* in terms of its satiric effect.⁵ However, Davies' claim that the book is "more satirical than persuasive," and that Evelyn's "eloquence was wasted" begs further consideration (325, 26). In "English 'Femmes Savantes' at the End of the Seventeenth Century," A. H. Upham identifies the

⁵ See discussion of satire in Chapter Two.

Mundus as part of “a group of satires and rejoinders; the former much in the spirit of the comedies, the latter prompt and spirited” (267). Upham also mentions in a footnote that just one year after its publication, the *Mundus* “produced a prompt reply in kind:—‘*Mundus Foppensis etc.; in Burlesque.*’ *With a Supplement to the ‘Fop Dictionary,’ for the use of the Town Beaus*” (268). Addressed directly to an audience of “Ladies,” the anonymous author of the *Mundus Foppensis* critiques the *Mundus Muliebris*, as it “looks much more like an Inventory than a Poem”:

Why then should these Extravagants
 Make such Rhime-doggeril Complaints
 Against the Ladies Dressing-Rooms,
 And closets stor’d with rich Perfumes? (sig. A2r, 15)

Whereas the *Mundus Muliebris* satirizes females for their pursuit of French fashions, the *Mundus Foppensis* asserts that “[t]hey’re Glories not to be deny’d...such a Pride has nothing ill, / But only makes them more genteel” (16). As Tita Chico notes, “the lady’s dressing room was a stock-in-trade for literary representations that celebrated female autonomy and for those that critiqued it” (26). Ultimately however, such satires were gentle (Horatian) rather than scathing (Juvenalian), and “in most cases content to turn the indictments back upon the authors” (Upham 267). But who was the author of the *Mundus*?

The question of who wrote the *Mundus* began with William Bray in 1818 and continued into the twentieth century, the collaborative nature of the text illustrating that “an author is a plural identity” (McGann 69). In his introduction to the *Memoirs of John Evelyn*, Bray takes up the question of the authorial uncertainty and draws his own conclusions: “There is no doubt of his [John Evelyn’s] being the author” (xxvi). Charles Davies also attributes it to Evelyn in his

1934 essay, citing “Evelyn’s almost forgotten verses” (324). A. H. Upham, writing in 1913, however, credits Mary while at the same time acknowledging her father: “At times, the ridicule is extended...to intimate details of dress and language, as in John—or rather, Mary—Evelyn’s *Mundus Muliebris*, with its accompanying *Fop’s Dictionary*” (268). In her 2004 *ODNB* entry for Mary Evelyn, Joan Perkins identifies Mary as “credited with authorship” although she refrains from ascribing “[s]ole attribution of the piece to her,” since “the one reference to her work in her father’s diary may suggest that she contributed to rather than wrote it.” Today, the majority of scholars credit Mary with the authorship of the *Mundus Muliebris* (Ingrassia 2015; Phillippy, 2006; Chico, 2005; Hager, 2005; Stevenson and Davidson, 2001); however, the preface as well as small portions of “A Voyage to Marryland” and the “Fop-Dictionary” are indeed written in John Evelyn’s distinct style.⁶

Moreover, through our consideration of the Evelyn family library, collections and dispersal, rejoinder and authorship, we have been setting forth the “temporal, cultural, and social factors” surrounding the production and circulation of the *Mundus Muliebris* as a material object—the book itself as a commodity (Appadurai 15). By publishing the *Mundus Muliebris*, therefore, Evelyn brings his daughter’s poem out of a private existence and sets it into social exchange as a material object capable of being consumed by the public, as “[c]onsumption is eminently social, relational, and active rather than private, atomic, or passive” (Appadurai 31).

However, the singular practice of meditation was as much a factor in the creation of the *Mundus* as the sociability of publication. The following new historicist introduction to meditative structure as deployed in Mary Evelyn’s poem will consider Martz, firstly through Seelig’s analysis of Donne, and secondly through Gardner’s book review of Martz. In *Generating Texts*:

⁶ An in-depth analysis of these sections, with arguments for their being John Evelyn’s, will appear in Chapter Two.

The Progeny of Seventeenth-Century Prose, Sharon Seelig devotes a chapter to an analysis of the meditative form in metaphysical poet John Donne's *Devotions upon Emergent Occasions*. She applies Louis Martz's threefold structure of meditation from *The Poetry of Meditation* in which there is "a composition of place, drawing on the power of memory in a vivid imagination of the scene or subject of the meditation" (Seelig 13). The composition of place is followed by "an analysis of the scene, depending on the power of the intellect or understanding" (Seelig 13). And, lastly, the meditation employs "a final colloquy, involving a movement of the will" (Seelig 13). In the following section, we will apply Martz's threefold structure to the *Mundus Muliebris*; firstly, to the preface in a microcosm of its three sections (preamble, pastoral, precis); and secondly, to the macrocosm of the remaining two sections of the book: poem and dictionary.

In her review of Martz's book, however, Helen Gardner critiques the meditative method. Although she praises the book — "I cannot believe that any lovers of the religious poetry of the seventeenth century will not be grateful to Mr. Martz"— she identifies two criticisms: its isolation of "religious poetry from secular poetry" and his use of the words "tradition" and "structure" (194-5). She concludes: "what strikes me as I read these poets is their eclecticism, rather than the presence of a common tradition" (Gardner 196). With Gardner's criticism in mind, applying Martz's structure of meditation to the preface, poem, and dictionary of the *Mundus Muliebris*, we could read the macrocosm of its three parts as corresponding to the three movements of the meditation, making the text an eclectic and non-traditional reflection on the changing early-modern world involving place (preface), understanding (poem), and will (dictionary).

The preface to the *Mundus Muliebris* contains its own distinct topic, tone, voice, and mood that resonate with the didacticism of the conduct manual genre. In "Narrative Time," Paul

Ricoeur writes that “[i]t is our preoccupation, not the things of our concern, that determines the sense of time” in a narrative (39). John Evelyn’s preoccupation with the changing world is the topic of the narrative in the preface; indeed, he purposes to show his audience “how the Stile and Method of Wooing is quite changed, as well as the Language,” and, ultimately, “how the World is alter’d among us” (sig. A2v, sig. A4r). The topic of change also governs his use of the prescriptive, poetic, and paternal tone in each of the preface’s three distinct units: preamble (paragraphs 1-3), pastoral (paragraphs 4-8), and precis (paragraph 9). Through an examination of these units in the preface to the *Mundus Muliebris*, we see a microcosm of Martz’s devotional structure of scene, understanding, and will. Thus, John Evelyn roots his daughter’s poem “A Voyage to Marryland” in the narratives of colonial, pastoral, and intellectual property even as he guides his reader through a mediation on the fantastic, ancestral, and literary spaces of Marryland, “Patrimonial Estates,” and the “Catalogue” itself (sig. A3v, A4v).

By employing the techniques of Edward Said’s contrapuntal reading which “must take account of both processes, that of imperialism and that of resistance to it,” we see that far from making “passing references” to “massive appropriations,” the first three paragraphs of the preface form a prescriptive preamble concerned with the topic of change, the fantastic space of “Marryland,” and the narrative of colonial property (66).

This Paper was not to come abroad without a Preface, as well as Comment, for Instruction of our young Master, who...comes to seek Adventures in an Ocean full of Rocks, and Shelves, and wants a Skilful Pilot to Steer him, as much as any Vessel that goes to the *Indies*; and oftentimes returns home Leaky, and as poorly Freighted, as those who have been near Shipwrack’d (sig. A2r)

Just as the preface sets up the poem, “A Voyage to Marryland,” so the speaker didactically proposes to instruct (“for Instruction”), direct (“for direction”), and prepare (“you see...what you are to prepare for”) the “*Beau*” for his journey to the imaginative and symbolic realm of Marryland, which he describes hyperbolically as that “Great and Famous Emporium” (Evelyn sig. A2r, A2v). To the mind of the inexperienced young man, Marryland (a symbol for marriage) offers a future as fantastic as colonial narratives of the New World.

However, far from reinforcing a colonial worldview, Evelyn’s geographic meditation sets up a dramatic contrast between the expectation of fantastic space and its down-to-earth outcome: the young man is liable to return home “Leaky, and as poorly Freighted, as those who have been near Shipwrack’d”; further, he must set out “not as Merchants do for *America*” expecting to trade “Glass-Beads, and Baubles, in exchange for Gold and Pearl; but Gold and Pearl, and all that’s precious, for that which is of less value” (sig. A2r). This situational irony undercuts the New World exploration narrative. Thus we see that Evelyn’s preface is one which does, in its own ironic way, “give resistance to...imperialist practices;” for, rather than a space of fantastic possibility, this “imaginative” realm of Marryland is shown instead to consist of mundane real-world locations such as “the *Play*, the *Park*...the *Musick*,” “the *Raffle*,” and, of course, “*Tunbridge*” (Said 81, Evelyn sig. A2v).

If in the preamble, we have seen a composition of places ranging from the “New World” to the imaginative “Marry-Land,” in the pastoral, we see a narrative of days gone by which draws on the power of Evelyn’s memory to dramatize the scene of an earlier generation — “that Golden Age” and “the days of our Fore-Fathers” (sig. A4r, A2v). These paragraphs evoke a time when material objects were fewer but more cherished and permanent: “Things of Use were Natural, Plain, and Wholesome, nothing was superfluous, nothing necessary wanting,” when the

“Furniture of the House, lasted a whole Century,” and “nothing was moveable save Joynt-Stools, Black Jacks, Silver Tankards, and Bowls” (Evelyn sig. A3v, A3r). Against the tide of French fashions that the “Refined Lady” must be provided with, Evelyn holds up Englishwomen of times past, who “gave Presages of making excellent Wives” (sig. A4r). As Davies notes, “a vivid contrast is drawn between the virtuous, home-loving women of an elder time and the foolish young fashionables of the post-Restoration” (325). John Evelyn “paints a pretty picture” of conjugal life, showing that value lay in a few cherished treasures rather than a copious closet (Davies 325).

Thus, we see the scene of the English country house as a site of exchanges, both social and commercial. This “strange, half-timeless world of the traditional English landed estate” that Sugarman and Warrington describe is the same world that Evelyn remembers and memorializes in a pastoral register in the preface to the *Mundus Muliebris* (111). Evelyn describes this way of life as one of hospitality and charity: “’Twas then Ancient Hospitality was kept up in Town and Country, by which the Tenants were enabled to pay their Landlords at punctual day: the Poor were relieved bountifully, and Charity was as warm as the Kitchin, where the Fire was perpetual” (sig. A3v). In this meditation, Evelyn conjures a community scene, delineating networks of sociability sustained by economic relations rooted in the narrative of pastoral property. According to Sugarman and Warrington, “[l]and was not just the most valuable form of property; both to its owners and to non-owners it was a social-political nexus, a way of life” (111). In such a world, “feudal concepts blissfully lingered long after feudal relations had been eradicated” (Sugarman and Warrington 111). Indeed, Evelyn nostalgically and humorously evokes feudal concepts by mobilizing the figures of the knight and his lady: “[i]n those happy days, Sure-Foot, the Grave and steady Mare, carried the Good Knight and his Courteous Lady

behind him to Church, and to visit the Neighbourhood...with a Grave Livery Servant or two supply'd, who rid before and made way for his Worship" (sig. A3v).

Idyllic narratives of pastoral property, from Arthurian legends to Spenser's *Shepherd's Calendar*, operate through a framework that naturalizes the relationship of people to the land "in a way that [is] both necessary and inevitable" (Sugarman and Warrington 112). Similarly, using kinesthetic imagery that idealizes the past, Evelyn juxtaposes the calm of an earlier age with the encroaching clamor of the present: the Knight and his Lady set out "without so many Hell-Carts," and "Ratling Coaches," and instead of "a crue of Damme *Lacqueys*" there was the "Grave Livery Servant or two" (sig. A3v). By conducting a meditation on the theme of the changing landscape, Evelyn corresponds to the first movement of Martz's devotional structure: he establishes a pastoral scene in the preface which grounds his daughter's poem in property law — an "important narrative discourse, like religion, history, or literature" (Sugarman and Warrington 112).

Moving from the preamble and the pastoral (the first two units of the preface) to the final paragraph of the preface we discover a precis in which Evelyn uses a paternal tone to summarize his argument on the topic of changing fashions and present his daughter's poem.

To shew you then, how the World is alter'd among us, since Foreign Manners, the Luxury (more than *Asiatick*...) has universally obtain'd among us, corrupting ancient simplicity; and in what extravagant Form the young Gallant we describ'd, is to Court...it has been thought good by some Charitable hands, that have contributed to this Catalogue, to present him with an Enumeration of particulars, and Computation of the Charges of the Adventurer, as follows. (sig. A4r-A4v)

Here, Evelyn corresponds to the third movement of Martz's meditation: that of will; he invokes the space of the catalogue and introduces the idea of intellectual property and female agency, since "[f]or a woman writer ownership of one's texts might be one of the few real chances to own property in seventeenth-century England" (Jagodzinski 102).

John Evelyn begins in present tense — "[t]o shew you then...it has been thought good by some Charitable hands" — introducing both the poem and its author, his daughter Mary. (sig. A4v). In the precis, we see a clear transition from John Evelyn's concern with "Foreign Manners" and "the Luxury," to Mary Evelyn's "Charitable hands" which have formulated the "Catalogue" to follow (sig. A4r, A4v). Our discussion of the space of the catalogue includes the space of the prayer closet and diary, as Mary Evelyn most likely wrote the *Mundus* in seclusion during her private devotional time: John Evelyn notes that her papers were discovered by himself and his wife only after Mary's death. Mary's poem is like a metaphysical meditation which moves "from an individual experience or question to a larger religious or philosophical framework" (Seelig 15). By the same token, the male audience that the poem addresses has an individual experience of going through a fashionable education. Through the theme of education, the poem calls into question the social framework surrounding the problem of how best to prepare for marriage via an extensive catalogue which symbolizes the insatiability of the closet and the fashionable lady's material needs which are incrementally expressed in the *Mundus*, "line upon line, precept upon precept" — just as spiritual concepts in Donne's metaphysical meditations are "incremental" as "the elements of discovery [are] expressed rhythmically and syntactically" using "formulation and reformulation, statement and restatement, to drive ever further into the heart of truth" (*KJV*, Is. 28:10; Seelig 15).

Mary Evelyn retired to her closet to pray as well as to write. In his *Diary* entry for 16 October 1672, Evelyn states that Margaret Godolphin is like a daughter to him: “I reckon her as my Child...a rare example of so much piety, & Virtue in so great a Witt” that she was a “Miracle of a young Lady in a licentious Court & so deprav’d an age” (3: 628). In a letter from John Evelyn to Mrs. Boscawen, he comments that like Margaret Godolphin, his own daughter Mary was extremely pious and spent ample time in devotion; furthermore, that the fruit of this private meditation was a near-publishable body of text. Evelyn notes that this isolation was not a course he would have prescribed:

I do not compare my Deare child to that perfect and Consummate Christian [Margaret Godolphin]: But by what I shall shew you under her owne hand (much of it conceal’d from me, whom she knew did not encourage Young Womens toiling themselves with Surcharging, and formal Devotions, to which their tender Spirits dispose them, not without prejudice, and needlesse Scruple) I say, when you shall see what she has left, breathing a sincere Love to God, and taking-up her most serious Thoughts in the midst of all her outward Cherefullness, and other Exercises (which one would believe were enough to take-up a young creatures time) you will see the Effects of an excellent Example. (*Letterbooks* 761-2)

Here, Evelyn himself attests that literary works capable of being circulated were written “under her owne hand,” just as in the *Mundus*, he describes the poem “A Voyage to Marryland” as the work of her “Charitable hands” (*Letterbooks* 761; *Mundus* sig. A4v). From the space of the prayer closet, we continue to the space of the diary, where Effie Botonaki describes the female diary as a “textual closet” for its author (43).

According to “guides to devotion and self-examination,” “believers had to isolate themselves in a room in order to read, meditate, and pray without being distracted” (Botonaki 43).⁷ In *The Art of Divine Meditation*, Bishop Joseph Hall directs his readers: “feede thy soul by meditation; Set thine houres and keepe them, and yeeld not to an easie distraction. There is no hardnesse in this practice, but in the beginning” (34). Thus, the space of the prayer closet was confined and purposefully circumscribing. Mental and moral freedom are seen to be secured at the comparatively light cost of material comfort. This idea of allocating focused time to the prayer closet and willing oneself to stillness corresponds to the movement of will, the third step in Martz’s threefold structure of meditative poetry. For Martz, “[t]he art of meditation...underlies the *ars poetica*: in English religious poetry of the seventeenth century the two arts fuse, inseparably” (70).

The catalogue is linked by Evelyn to female agency through the motif of spiritual discipline. Thus, we see that the literary space of the catalogue is a vehicle for female intellectual endeavor; the prayer closet and the dressing room were both spaces where texts (ranging from poetry to commentaries on the Psalms) could be understood, articulated, and written down. Mary was indeed devout, and her spiritual writings stand in marked contrast to the dressing-room with its luxury and excessive materiality in which material comfort is secured at the expense of mental and moral discipline.

Accordingly, the final paragraph of the preface (the precis) sets forth the purpose for the poem as a catalogue of “the Luxury” which has been “corrupting ancient simplicity” (Evelyn sig. A4r). As a staunch critic of King Charles II’s adoption of the French mode and his installation of fashionable life at the English court, it is no surprise that Evelyn published his daughter’s

⁷ See Anne Douglas, Countess of Morton’s *The Countess of Morton’s Daily Exercise* (1700) and Edward Wettenhall’s *Enter into thy Closet* (1684).

sparkling satire. Indeed, John Evelyn was “continually on guard against the subtle invasion of *modes à la Française*” (Davies 325). He articulates his mistrust of the French mode throughout the *Diary*, expressing concerns which range from music and dress to travel and trade. In her book *The Prose of Things*, Cynthia Wall writes on John Evelyn’s *Diary*, noting that “diaries record and, in some cases, ponder the diurnal world, finding interest in local spaces and surfaces, and making room for them in their pages” (83). We see Evelyn’s meditations of and concerns with the “Luxury” of the French mode taken up in the settings of the coffee house, the church, and the court, and echoed in the *Mundus* in the space of the gambling table and dressing room.

Although not explicitly mentioning coffee as a target for satiric invective—as did the anonymous “Well-willer,” writer of the “Women’s Petition Against Coffee” (1674), and other such articles against coffee and coffee houses—the preface to the *Mundus* does make note of “Foreign Drinks and Mixtures” which “were wantonly introduc’d” to England (Evelyn sig. A4r). The speaker argues that these compounds took the place of a “plain Dyet, and Kitching Physick” which had kept the population healthfully “preserved” from “Scurvy, Spleen, &c” (Evelyn sig. A4r). We see John Evelyn’s concern with coffee drinking also taken up in his *Diary* entry for 29 May 1637, in which he describes Nathaniel Conopios from Greece: “the first I ever saw drink Coffé, which custome came not into England til 30 years after” (2: 18).

Beyond the critique of coffee and other foreign “drugs,” Evelyn also censures the French style of music as aired in an English church building. On 21 December 1662, Evelyn attends a sermon by one of the King’s Chaplains. “[I]nstead of the ancient grave and solemn wind musique accompanying the *Organ* was introduced a Consort of 24 Violins between every pause,” an occurrence, he writes, which was “after the *French* fantastical light way, better suiting a Tavern or Play-house than a Church” (3: 347). This Consort, according to Bessie Gladding, in

her article “Music as Social Force during the English Commonwealth and Restoration (1649-1700),” may just be “Charles’ famous four-and-twenty fiddlers” who were “founded in imitation of Louis XIV,” and who “played for him at meals and, much to the disgust of Evelyn, even in church” (510). Gladding continues that although Evelyn had “some formal knowledge” of music, “though small perfection of hand,” he “procured the best of instructors for his daughter Mary” (515). According to Gladding, her “masters for the voice and harpsichord” were Signors Pietro and Bartholomeo; John Evelyn met the latter during a harpsichord performance at the home of Sir Henry Slingsby, Master of the Mint (Gladding 512, 516).⁸

Perhaps the most fundamental critique of the French mode from Evelyn is his disapproval of Charles II’s taste for French fashion at court. In the oft-quoted entry for 18 October 1666, Evelyn comes across King Charles II at court in “the *Eastern fashion* of Vest...resolving never to alter it, & to leave the French mode,” and the courtiers wagering “that he would not persist in this resolution” (3: 464-65). Evelyn writes that the French mode had been “hitherto obtained to our greate expense & reproch,” and adds, “I had some time before indeede presented an Invectique against that unconstancy, & our so much affecting the french fashion, to his Majestie” (4: 465). This is his *Tyrannus, Or the Mode*, which Evelyn describes in his *Diary* entry for 7 December 1661 as “my little trifle of *Sumptuary Laws*” (3: 306). As Evelyn writes in his Introduction to *Tyrannus*, “I have in this gentle *Satyr* prepared you something to smile, something to frown at; if the Ballance fall even I am satisfied” (1). But, as Davies points out, Evelyn probably penned this satire because he wanted to “regulate the import of continental luxuries” in order to benefit England’s economy, “so that British products be given a fuller market and rich sales enhance the nation’s prosperity” (325). “*Mode* is a Tyrant,” Evelyn writes,

⁸ See Chapter Three for a detailed discussion of Mary Evelyn’s musical talents (both her vocal ability and her mastery of the harpsichord).

“and we may cast of his Government; without impeachment to our Loyalty” (*Tyrannus* 29).

Unfortunately for Evelyn, “nobody took up the cry ‘Buy British’” (Davies 325).

Moving from the microcosm of the preface with its preamble, pastoral, and precis to the poem “A Voyage to Marryland,” the second part of the *Mundus Muliebris*, we see that Mary Evelyn employs allusions which appeal to the authority of other texts and relies on her readers’ textual and cultural literacy as well as familiarity with a shared body of material, emphasizing her intellect and understanding as corresponds to Martz’s second movement of the devotional structure. The poem emphasizes the power of the intellect and understanding of dress, accessories, perfumes, powders, and domestic furnishings, as well as the role these material objects play in the social progression from courtship to marriage. Here, we see lines in the *Mundus* that parallel passages in Sidney, Spenser, and Bunyan, emphasizing the threefold movement of the devotional: the allusion to Sidney’s *Arcadia* introduces the scene of gambling table; and an allusion to Spenser’s *The Faerie Queene* seals the space of Catalogue, concludes the movement of will and cinches Evelyn’s argument on the changing world.

To play at *Ombre*, or *Basset*,
 She a rich *Pulvil* Purse must get,
 With Guineas fill’d, on Cards to lay,
 With which she fancies most to play.... (4)

This “rich *Pulvil* Purse” in Mary Evelyn’s above transition from inventory to gambling scene evokes Pamela’s embroidered purse in Sir Philip Sidney’s *Arcadia*; both reinforce the ideas of virtue and power in their respective narratives (Evelyn 4). From the Christie catalogues, we know that John Evelyn owned a copy of the *Arcadia*; and it is possible that Mary Evelyn makes use of this text to reinforce her argument of the female power in the Rouleau scene. “Men

venture lives to conquer” says Cecropia, “she conquers lives without venturing. She is served and obeyed” (Sidney 267). Much like the fop in Mary Evelyn’s poem, who “returns in Cringe, and Songs, / And languishing to kiss the hand, / That can Perfumed blows command,” Sidney’s Cecropia comments of Pamela’s potential suitors that “their love will bring forth fear, and their fear will fortify their love” (Evelyn 11; Sidney 268). She is upstaged, however, by Pamela, who retorts: “I ever, till now, conceived these conquests you spake of rather to proceed from the weakness of the conquered than from the strength of the conquering power” (Sidney 268). Similarly, Mary’s narrator understands and satirizes the weakness of the fop who becomes an unfortunate dupe to the lady’s unreasonable demands. Beyond reinforcing the ideas of virtue and power, Cecropia’s description of the purse “not as a purse for treasure, but as a treasure itself, worthy to be pursed up in the purse of his own heart” sets her up as a fallible judge. Cecropia’s overdetermined rhetoric stands in contrast to Pamela’s “half-smiling” reply: “I valued it but even as a very purse” (Sidney 267). Like Pamela, Mary’s practicality and good judgement shine through all rhetoric, even that of the speaker of the poem.⁹

By presenting a catalogue of the items of the dressing room, Mary Evelyn takes up a project of making the invisible visible, echoing John Evelyn’s concern with change in words and the world as well as exemplifying Mary Evelyn’s intellect, understanding, and literary abilities. The *Mundus*’ theme of change derives from the calendar; this is reminiscent of Spenser’s *The Faerie Queene* Canto VII Mutability, stanzas 49 and 50, which also echoes the larger theme of the woman’s changefulness, or mutability, over time, and likens it to that of the moon:

Besides, her face and countenance every day

We changéd see, and sundry forms partake,

⁹ For a consideration of narrative levels, including the distinction between Mary Evelyn and her narrator, see Chapter Two.

Now hornd, now round, now bright, now brown and gray:

So that ‘as changefull as the Moone’ men use to say. (Spenser 487-8)

Furthermore, the concluding lines of the *Mundus* with their emphasis on vanity and the passage of time echo Canto VIII of the *Faerie Queene*, the unfinished Canto:

When I bethink me on that speech whyleare

Of Mutability, and well it way:

Me seemes, that though she all unworthy were

Of the Heav’ns Rule; yet very sooth to say,

In all things else she beares the greatest sway.

Which makes me loath this state of life so tickle,

And love of things so vaine to cast away;

Whose flowring pride, so fading and so fickle,

Short Time shall soon cut down with his consuming sickle. (Spenser 490)

Here we see the agency of the woman equated to that of time itself in light of the vicissitudes of fortune and the changing calendar. Spenser’s speaker is at the end of the epic fragment and, like Mary Evelyn’s narrator, is at last ready to “cast away” vanity and “give o’er” (Spenser 490, Evelyn 12).

Indeed, the final lines of the *Mundus* — “And Portion e’re the Year goes round, / Does with her Vanity confound” — are reminiscent of the description of Vanity Fair in the *Pilgrim’s Progress*: “a fair wherein should be sold all sorts of vanity, and that it should last all the year long” (Bunyan 298). In “Reading for the Plot,” Peter Brooks points out that “stories always appear to have a moment of ‘evaluation’: a moment at which the narrator calls attention to the point of what he is telling, and its importance” (34). This is the final couplet of the *Mundus*

Muliebris, with a didactic moral similar to those of Aesop's *Fables*, (of which Evelyn had a volume specially bound): "And Portion e're the year goes round, / Does with her Vanity confound" (Evelyn 12).

Thus far, we have seen how parallel passages between the *Mundus*, Sidney, and Spenser as well as Bunyan correspond to Martz's threefold devotional meditation and shape the scene, structure, and theme of the poem. Next, we will see the theme of language change taken up in the "Fop-Dictionary," corresponding to the third movement of the devotional meditative structure: that of will.

The "Fop-Dictionary" further shows John Evelyn's interest in words and the world outside Wotton, corresponding to the female intellect and understanding, space of the catalogue, and scientific endeavor in the dressing room. After exploring the journey structure with its shipping metaphor and the theme of fashion in the preface and the poem, the speaker of the *Mundus* shifts gears to the dictionary, further supporting John Evelyn's argument made in the preface that "the Stile and Method of Wooing is quite changed, as well as the Language" (sig. A2v). The female world is a foreign one, in part because it now speaks other languages: French and fashion. However, the *Mundus* provides a key to decoding the conversation of the female world via its "Fop-Dictionary," showing that the language of fashion may, with a few pains, be translated back to a native vocabulary. As an "Alphabetical Catalogue" of "Names and Terms of the Art *Cosmetic*," the dictionary is reminiscent of language work being undertaken by Evelyn and his contemporaries at the Royal Society, for instance, John Ray's *Collection of English Words Not Generally Used* (1674).¹⁰ In *English Prose of the Seventeenth Century*, Roger Pooley

¹⁰ For Evelyn's interest in wordlists see his letter of 20 June 1665 to Sir Peter Wyche, chairman of the Royal Society's Language Committee (*Letterbooks* 370-3). Evelyn notes that "[t]here are some elegant Words...worthy to be retained; others it may be, fitter to be abrogated; since there

writes that “[t]he mixture” of “eclectic curiosity” in Evelyn’s *Diary* and his “eye for the social applicability of what he saw, prefigures the interests of the Royal Society quite as precisely as the scientific circles in London and Oxford” (85). Similarly, the eclectic mixture of words in the *Mundus* dialogues with the interest of the Royal Society, particularly in the “Fop-Dictionary” and its attempt to define foreign artifacts of the female toilette.

For instance, not only do curls come in many shapes and sizes, but they may also be subdivided into *Confidants*, *Creve-cours*, *Cruches*, *Favorites*, and *Passageres*: “All which the *Meurtriers* unite, / And *Creve-Coeurs* silly Fops to smite” (7). Further, we see that “[e]very curl and every piece of fabric in the headdress had its special name” (Wilcox 117). Whereas “[t]he French called the bobbing curls over the cheeks ‘English ringlets,’” the English adopted French terms for certain types of curls: “[t]he high curled coiffure with upstanding ribbon loops was the coiffure à la Fontanges” and the bonnet which appeared about 1685 was the ‘bonnet à la Fontanges,’ later simply called the fontange,” or, ludicrously, the “commode or tower cap” (Wilcox 116, 117). Wilcox notes that this “tower” was “often false” but that the cost was stunning: the “tiny cap was built up with pleated bands, first of laced-edged sheer linen or muslin, then of priceless gold and silver laces to which pearls and flowers were added, such a headdress sometimes costing from 1,000 to 2,000 pounds” (117-8). One can easily imagine that “[t]he final disappearance of the fontange was a real hardship to the lace merchants” (Wilcox 118).

ought to be a Law, as well as a liberty in this particular”; he also uses horticultural imagery to describe language flux:

And since there is likewise a manifest rotation and Circling of Words which goe in, and out like the mode and fashion; Bookes would be consulted for the reduction of some of the old layd-aside-words and Expressions...and therefore such places should be new cultivated, and enrich’d....” (*Letterbooks* 372, 373)

As we continue to peruse the “Fop-Dictionary,” we also see that many of the terms employed in the poem “A Voyage to Marryland” are derived from proper nouns, creating a catalogue of persons and places. There is *Colbertine* lace, named for “resembling Net-work of the Fabrick of Monsieur *Colbert*, Superintendent of the *French Kings* Manufacturers” (16); the *Font-Ange* top knot, “so call’d from *Mademoiselle de Fontange*, one of the *French King’s* Mistresses, who first wore it” (18); and *Martial*, “the Name of a famous *French* Perfumer, emulating the *Frangipani* of *Rome*” (18). To top it all off, we find the *Septizonium*. Evelyn defines this as “[a] very high Tower in *Rome*, built by the Emperour *Severus*” (20). This building is so “like the Ladies new Dress for their Heads” that he is reminded of lines from Juvenal: “Such Rows of Curles press’d on each other lye, / She builds her Head so many Stories high” (20-1).

The “Fop-Dictionary” features not only French vocabulary but also, according to the compiler’s definitions, words used in “the Indies” (*Calumbuc*), Portugal (*Polvil*), and Holland (*Sprunking*). The compiler of the dictionary concludes, “besides these, there are a world more” (22). A few of the definitions themselves make an ironic case for simplicity in language as well as dress. For instance, *Ruffles*, “by our Fore-fathers call’d Cuffs” (20); *Mouchoir*, as “it were Rude, Vulgar, and Uncourtly, to call it Handkerchief” (19); and *Rare, le meilleures*, a term “happily rhyming with *Montpellier*”— a metatextual reference to the verses in the poem preceding (20).

Presenting “A new Scene” of “The Dressing-Room,” complete with “Implements” and “*Washes, Unguents, and Cosmeticks*,” the *Mundus*’ catalogue of the toilette table is reminiscent of a laboratory in its description of “Powders, Patches, Waters store, / In silver Flasks, or Bottles, Cups” (9). But there is method to this seeming madness, and we see the emergence of a domestic

science: “When Scent of *Gousset* does rebel,” the speaker advises “Essence *rare*... From *Rome*, from *Florence*, *Montpellier*, / In *Filgran Casset* to repel” (9). An alternative remedy to counteract the scent is also noted: “powder’d *Allom* be as good, / Well strew’d on, and well understood” (9). In the *Diary*, John Evelyn connects cosmetic application to the application of paint on a canvas: on 3 September 1683, he visits the Countess of Monte Feltre, “accompanied with her Sister, exceedingly skild in painting; nor indeede did they seeme to spare for Colour on their owne faces” (4: 336). In this instance, Evelyn links cosmetics to art; however, in the *Mundus*, cosmetics is explicitly linked to science. In the conclusion of the “Fop-Dictionary,” the speaker cinches the case for “this Elegant Science”—a female knowledge that enlightens, or, at least, enlivens our understanding of the material world (22).

Ultimately, we have seen that the “Fop-Dictionary” is both a colloquy in the sense of a collection and a unique movement of the will in which the compiler defines foreign terms, and assembles a small vocabulary of material culture. In her analysis of Martz’s meditative method in Eliot’s cantos and Donne’s metaphysical poetry, Seelig notes that both Eliot and Donne “use a particular place or event as the focus of a search for truth, a process of discovery” (15). The speaker’s search for truth in the *Mundus Muliebris* focuses on the particular place of the ladies’ dressing room as well as the event of attiring oneself; through this lens, we see that the poem itself may be viewed as extended meditation on the contents of the fashionable closet. Bishop Joseph Hall, in 1627, defines meditation in *The Art of Divine Meditation* as “nothing else but a bending of the mind vpon some spirituall object, through diuers forms of discourse, vntill our thoughts come to an issue” (7). The function of the list in the *Mundus Muliebris*, therefore, is similar to that of the meditation, the primary difference being that while the list employs “diuers forms of discourse” and effects a “bending of the mind,” the subject of the meditation is a series

of objects rather than a single object—and those objects are not spiritual but material. Indeed, the spiritual improvement of the meditation has its ends in material improvement; as John Evelyn wrote to Mary, “[r]eading and praying signifies nothing without the improvement of our lives” (“Directions”).

In conclusion, in Chapter One: “Poetics and Structure” we have conducted a review of the publication history of the *Mundus Muliebris* using book history approaches from McKenzie, Adams and Barker, McGann, and Chartier. Here, we have begun our larger consideration of narrative in the text with the story of the *Mundus*’ production and circulation, taking into account questions of its authorship, readership, and use value which have shaped critical reception of the text from its contemporary moment to the present. This was followed by an analysis of the didactic narrative and devotional method in John Evelyn’s preface to the *Mundus* and its relationship to colonial, pastoral, and intellectual property as well as to the threefold movement of meditation: scene, understanding, and will (via an analysis of the spaces of the coffee house, church, and court). This was followed by a consideration of the female intellect as exemplified in parallel passages with Sidney (space of gambling table/ scene); and Spenser (space of catalogue / change) as well as a consideration of the theme of language change and the movement of will in the dictionary.

Chapter Two: Plot and Economics

“Complexion, darling. Paint, paint, paint!”

- William Congreve

A sparkling satire which critiques modes and manners, Mary’s poem “A Voyage to Marryland” has posed two problems: that of an inconsistent narrator and an extensive list form. The problem of the fallible narrator includes inconsistencies in tone, voice, and point of view. These inconsistencies have caused some critics to credit John Evelyn with authorship after recognizing his distinct voice in certain passages of the poem.¹¹ The *Mundus Muliebris* also makes use of an extensive list form which has prompted critics to wonder whether there is any narrative in the poem at all. “There is no narrative in these poems or a change of topic” writes Tita Chico, of both the *Mundus Muliebris* and Defoe’s *The London Ladies Dressing-Room* (105). The following chapter will attend to the problem of the list form with a consideration of plot, illustrating the ways in which Mary Evelyn uses elements from two other genres (the conduct manual and the fairy tale) to achieve her artistic ends.

The first part of Chapter Two will attempt to resolve the problem of the list form through a consideration of plot. One of the most challenging critical problems that “A Voyage to Marryland” poses is its use of the list form. During the 53 lines in which the poem mobilizes the trope of the dressing room, the list may indeed be described as following “the conceptual order

¹¹ See Bray xxvi and Davies 324. Evelyn himself credits Mary in his *Diary* entry for 8 March 1685, stating that she “put in her pretty Symbol, as in that of the *Mundus Muliebris*” (4: 423).

of an inventory” which resists order and stability — a poetic device which obscures the narrative structure (Chico 105). However, even when it seems that “inventory supplants story” or that “when narrative fails, a list takes over,” through an analysis of plot, we will see that those moments when narrative seems to fail altogether in fact function as meaningful turning points in the poem’s twin maturation plots, or hero’s journeys (one of adventure, the other of marriage) as well as in its underlying money plot (Chico 104). Propp’s discussion of the hero’s departure aligns with the young man’s plot; however, rather than encountering a donor, the young man discovers that he is expected to become a provider himself. Rhetorical arguments govern the plot of the poem; we will see the rhetorical arguments of wisdom vs. ignorance in the young man’s plot, numerical superiority in the young lady’s plot, and appearance vs. reality in the money plot.

The second part of Chapter Two will attend to the problem of the inconsistent narrator through an analysis of satire and point of view. We find that there are in fact six focalizing agents in the *Mundus*, three males—the fop, the young man, and John Evelyn—and three females—the lady, the speaker, and Mary Evelyn—each with their own point of view and narrative level. Through an analysis of satire, we will see that the poem is a Horatian satire which tempers social critique with a sympathetic understanding of human nature, using humor to soften irony and rhetorical figures to achieve a heightened effect, both poetic and persuasive. When considered in relation to the work as a whole, we find that the list is a means toward rooting the poem in the genre of satire, effecting irony and humor, and achieving Mary Evelyn’s artistic and political ends.

Part One: Plot

The twin plots of “A Voyage to Marryland” involve the adventures of its two main characters: the young lady and the young man. Both are involved in coming-of-age plots, as revealed in the preface. The young man is on a quest for a wife, whereas the young lady is on a quest for abundance. As Ricoeur writes: “[t]he heroic quest is the privileged medium for...self-presentation. It, more than any other form, is the narrative of preoccupation” (43). The occasion of the poem is a preoccupation with preparation in three senses: that of a ship on a voyage (1, 2, 12); a man into marriage (2, 8, 10); and of a woman into town (2, 10). Furthermore, the poem’s central purpose is to test the hypothesis set out in the epilogue: to find Mary Evelyn creative “Employment” by imaginatively beginning to “Rig” women “out with all their Streamers” (1). However, in a poem titled “A Voyage to Marryland,” we see that the ship never really sails; the “voyage” is deferred and the narrative consumed in prolonged preparation, as both the young man’s adventure plot and the young lady’s marriage plot are dissolved into a money plot charged with urgency and appeal. Mary Evelyn’s money plot involves the economy of the gift as well as the labour of dress (and, by extension, the trope of the dressing room). Thus, the list form intensifies the satiric effect of the poem at the same time as it provides the conflict which drives its dual plot structure between the adventure plot and the marriage plot.

In “Order, Duration and Frequency,” Gérard Genette writes of “opposition” between the “spatial imagination” and the “temporal imagination” (33). We see just such an opposition between spatial and the temporal imagination in the twin plot structure of Mary Evelyn’s poem: whereas the young man’s plot is spatial (concerned with travel and the journey) the young lady’s plot is temporal (concerned with fashion and the season).

Mary Evelyn weaves the fabric of the *Mundus Muliebris* with rhetorical patterns to establish her argument for female intellect. Comparison is at the center of the text, both in its forms (similarity and difference) and types (kind and degree). For instance, of Aristotle's seven criteria for determining degree, we trace three evident in the *Mundus*: wisdom vs. ignorance, numerical superiority, and appearance vs. reality.

The young man whom the speaker of the preface addresses has terminated one phase of education at the University and is now in need of practical wisdom to fit him on his journey to Maryland. This scenario employs Aristotle's fourth principle of degree, which is based on Plato's theory of the one vs. the many. It states that "[w]hat a person of practical wisdom would choose is a greater good than what an ignorant person would choose" (Corbett and Connors 98). Because the young man is ignorant of what to take on his journey, he turns to the speaker who is in possession of such practical wisdom and experience as he lacks (Evelyn 2). Since this principle operates on "the impressiveness of authority," John Evelyn's use of this argument in the preface makes the case for Mary Evelyn's authority in the poem (Corbett and Connors 98).

The principle of numerical superiority is employed in the young lady's plot; it states that a "greater number of things can be considered more desirable than a smaller number of the same things" (Corbett and Connors 97). However, this principle is limited by "the quality of the things involved" — that is, by a measure of the store of worth or value they contain (Corbett and Connors 98). This principle is invoked in the opening quotation from *Poenulus*: "Nor are they ever sufficiently adorned, / Or satisfy'd, that you have done enough to set them forth" (Evelyn 2). The fashionable lady in "A Voyage to Maryland" is in quest of numerical superiority, as her numerous dictates reveal; however, she is also aware of its qualifying factor, and demands quality as well as quantity: "Nor values she cheap things a rush" (Evelyn 4). Here, however, the

speaker of the poem undercuts the fashionable lady's understanding of value at the same time as she articulates her own knowledge of human nature: the syntactic arrangement of the line "Nor values she cheap things a rush" suggest the speaker's judgement that the fashionable lady may be bereft of values; what is cheaper than any item in the inventory is the lady's attitude toward acquisition (Evelyn 4).

The final rhetorical pattern which features throughout the *Mundus* is the principle of appearance vs. reality. This principle, in its comparative form, states that "what people would really like to possess is a greater good than what people would merely like to give the impression of possessing" (Corbett and Connors 99). In *Classical Rhetoric for the Modern Student*, Corbett and Connors relate the principle to Machiavelli's *The Prince*, for whom "power is a greater good than virtue, because power is what the ruler really wants and in order to get it he is ready to assume a mask of virtue" (99). Similarly, the social mobility and status that the fashionable lady and fop in the poem would like to possess, they attempt to attain through an accumulation of material goods which convey the appearance of wealth but are secured at its expense. In "A Voyage to Marryland" Mary Evelyn deconstructs false impressions and argues for the superior power of the female intellect.

Whereas Margaret Cavendish confronts Aristotle— "[d]iscussing generation in *Observations*" she "complains" of him"—Mary Evelyn, however unintentionally, upholds his principles of rhetoric and employs them to satiric effect in the poem (Walters 44).¹² Thus, she comments on the behaviour of the conventional female and positions herself as a critical outsider whose power comes not only from her knowledge of the female world and ability to discern its

¹² Lisa Walters also writes that Cavendish's "scientific treatise, *Philosophical Letters*, debates many philosophers such as Thomas Hobbes, Jean Baptiste van Helmont, Henry More, Descartes and Aristotle" (37).

operations but also from her personal exercise of self-mastery and care of the soul in the midst of a society becoming increasingly preoccupied with material concerns. However, like Cavendish, Mary Evelyn seems to be proposing “that women remain unmarried” (Jagodzinski 95).

Ultimately, Mary Evelyn seeks to instill a fashionable education and vocabulary while imparting an appreciation for material culture, not as a means to an end (marriage or upward social mobility) but rather as an end in itself — an employment both aesthetic and enjoyable.

In *Morphology of the Folktale*, Vladimir Propp discusses the hero’s departure and differentiates between “seeker heroes” and “victim heroes” (39). Whereas seeker heroes “proactively go off in search of something,” victim heroes “are compelled to leave” or “often banished from home” (Garry 249). The young man of the *Mundus Muliebris* is characterized as a seeker hero; the preface describes the young beau “newly launch’d” from the university and setting up in town (Evelyn sig. A2r). It develops his character as a “young Master” who has “lost a year or two” at school, but has “not yet Travell’d;” or, if he has, it has been “*le petit Tour*,” rather than the grand Tour (Evelyn sig. A2r). In the preface, this young man stands in contrast to John Evelyn’s “Hopeful Heir” of an earlier time, who, “if he Travell’d abroad, it was not to count Steeples, and bring home Feather and Ribbon, and the Sins of other Nations; but to gain such Experience, as rendred him useful to his Prince and Country upon occasion, and confirm’d him in the Love of both of ‘em above any other” (sig. A3v).

The argument that travel brings valuable experience accords with Evelyn’s account in the *Diary* of his early years abroad, during which he collects not only material curiosities including a suit of armor (for curiosity and not for use) on 1 September 1641 (“back to the Hague againe to

bespeake a Suit of Armor”), but also a series of sensory experiences (2: 55).¹³ In the early years of the *Diary*, we see Evelyn in Italy during 7 February 1645, peering into Vesuvius, “that most frightfull & terrible Vorago, a stupendious pit” (2: 335). In his entry for 20 August 1641, we see him in Holland, meditating upon the waterways, amazed “to see a whole Navy of Marchands & others environ’d with streetes & houses, every particular mans Barke, or Vessell at anker before his very doore” (2: 46). In his article “John Evelyn and the Political Uses of Curiosity,” Thomas Moisan writes that “John Evelyn has...much to tell about that cultural moment in the mid-seventeenth century when accounts of experience bore the inflections of curiosity and wonder and wrought a ‘curious’ alliance between the artful and natural” (217). Similarly, in the *Mundus*, the young man’s adventure plot with its journey structure invokes the motif of travel.

As a collaborative work by John Evelyn and his daughter Mary, the *Mundus* takes up the discussion on travel through its use of the journey structure and its sustaining metaphor: that of the ship. In establishing the character of the young man to whom the book is addressed, the speaker of the preface introduces the central metaphor of shipping by likening the man to a vessel: he is “newly launch’d” but “not yet Travell’d,” and “comes to seek adventures in an Ocean full of Rocks, and Shelves” (Evelyn sig. A2r). Through this metaphor of the ship, the speaker suggests that the beau, though “Equipp’d” for life in town, is in need of a certain kind of “direction” (Evelyn sig. A2r). His “Instruction,” therefore, must be in real-world society as well as in the intellectual life of the academy (Evelyn sig. A2r). He “wants a Skilful Pilot” not only “to Steer him” through the treacherous seas of courtship but also to teach him “what Cargo he

¹³ Evelyn likely intended to wear the suit; he writes: “I causd [it] to be made to fit me, with the harnasse of a Horse man” (2: 55). As de Beer comments in a footnote: “[a] helmet, said to have been worn by Evelyn, is still preserved at Wotton, and he carries it in one of his portraits there” (2: 55).

must provide,” since preparation for marriage is set up as an “exchange” in which the young man must “Barter” with others to “carry the Fair One” (sig. A2r, A2v).

However, the speaker reveals that the terms of such an exchange will, eventually, wind up short-changing the beau himself. He must not set out “as Merchants do for *America*,” hoping to change “Glass-Beads, and Baubles” for “Gold and Pearl” (Evelyn sig. A2r)! Rather, he is voyaging to Marryland, and must be prepared to trade “all that’s precious, for that which is of less value” (Evelyn sig. A2r). Thus, the metaphor of shipping and exchange introduces the speaker’s argument about a material “Barter” and “Traffick” in foreign trinkets and commodities which preoccupies Restoration females (Evelyn sig. A2v).

The next paragraph puts forward a scene of what the young man, now a “Squire,” must do to meet the expectations of the “Refined Lady” who is versed in the “Conversation of the Town” (Evelyn sig. A2v). With the repetition of the imperative tense (“in order to . . . you must,” and “above all . . . you must”), the speaker couches advice in the style of the conduct manual, implying that if the beau will follow the prescribed conduct, the desired result will, no doubt, be achieved (Evelyn sig. A2v).

The conduct manual traditionally provided instruction to women and men alike for navigating polite society. Conduct manuals were initially written for royal persons, for instance, Juan Luis Vives’ *Instruction of a Christian Woman* was written in 1523 for Mary I, daughter of Henry VIII. However, their audience soon expanded, as we will see in the context of women’s conduct manuals. For instance, in his dedication to *The English Gentlewoman* (1631), which served as a companion to *The English Gentleman* (1630), Richard Brathwaite writes of a woman

[d]iligent . . . in her employments, serious in her advice, temperate in her Discourse, discreet in her answers. Shee bestowes farre more time in eying the glasse of her life to

rectifie her errors, if there bee any, then the glasse of her faceNeate she goes usually in her attire, which she puts on with more *care* then *cost*. (sig. ¶4r)

For easy reference, Brathwaite's comprehensive text features "A Compendious Table; wherein the Principall points contained in this Booke, are with...*Brevity...couched*" (sig. *4r). Direct in tone, the text offers readers practical instructions for "Apparell" and "Behaviour" as well as advice for conduct marked by the virtues of "Gentilitie" and "Honour" (sig. *2v, *3r, *3v). For instance, in the section on clothing we see "[t]he *Necessitie* of *Apparell*; Of the *vse* and *abuse* of *Apparell*" as well as "[t]wo meanes by which the *vse* may be inverted to *abuse*": these are, firstly, a corrupting "*delicacy*, which weakens...the *spirit*," and, secondly, that "*Superfluity*, which euer darkens the beaming of *reason*" (sig. *3r, 13). In the section on "Character," Brathwaite concludes, "*A Gentlewoman*, is her owne *Tyrewoman*; one that weares her owne *face*; and whose *complexion* is her owne" (215).

Thus, conduct books "conjured a vision of...a 'female world'...in which the proper deportment of women was essential. The idea of a female world had first formed in the French courts to describe the salon culture governed by women. Taking root in England, it spawned such publications as the anonymous *Wonders of the Female World* (1683)" (Winterer 107). Like the preface to the *Mundus*, *Wonders* invokes the genre of the medieval romance from the opening lines of its preface:

Since the Loyal Times when Knight Errants asserted the Rights of Injur'd and Abused Ladies...Men have so strangely degenerated, or rather revolted from their allegiance to the Female Sceptre; that did not the natural courage and resolution of the Women maintain the Splendour and Gallantry of their Empire, it might long since have fallen to the ground. (*Wonders* A2r)

Although not a conduct manual per se, like most conduct manuals which didactically instructed by way of examples, the anonymous author of *Wonders* deals with “exemplary historical and mythological female figures from classical antiquity;” we see the Amazons mentioned in a chapter on “Warlike Women” as well as biographies of Joan of Arc, Lady Jane Grey, and Mary the mother of Christ (Winterer 107; *Wonders* 18, 30, 53, 113). Beyond lives of exemplary women, the anonymous author instills morals on conduct all throughout the text. For instance, in the section on “the Love of Daughters to their Parents,” the author writes, “[n]othing has more Blessings attending it than a dutifull respect of Children to their Parents” (85). Similarly, the paragraph on “Humility and its Contrary” begins: “[n]ext unto Modesty and Chastity, Humility is an excellent Ornament for Women. And there are not wanting a variety of instances, wherein women have arrived at the highest pitch thereof” (126). On the other hand, we see Pride, the “Contrary” of humility, characterized as “that great Mother of all other Evils” for, “it cannot be thought but too too many Instances of it may be found...of which I shall onely give two,” a “Rich Merchant’s Daughter at *Antwerp*” and the wife of “*Dominicus Sylvius* Duke of *Venice*” who “was poysoned with her own perfumes” (127-8). Lastly, an “Ingenious Discourse” is added to *Wonders of the Female World*. Titled “Female Pre-eminence,” this 26-page treatise argues for the supreme virtues of women. The speaker concludes, “Society is the life of life, and Women the life of Society” (*Wonders* 185).

Conduct manuals were written for men as well as women, and for sacred life as well as secular. According to the Christie’s catalogues, Evelyn owned a first edition of John Dove’s *The Conversion of Salomon, A Direction to Holinesse of Life*, which, as the title page notes, is a spiritual conduct guide and commentary on the canticles “profitable for yong men which are not yet mortified” as well as “for old men which are decrepit, and haue one foote in the grave.” The

spiritual conduct manual was replete with practical wisdom and instruction for daily living. In one case, Dove writes of the virtues of daily scripture reading: “he that findeth in himselfe no disposition to seeke him to day, will finde himselfe lesse disposed to morrow” (144). Dove not only directs his audience to seek Christ and the wisdom of the scriptures regularly, but also details the way in which the reader is to seek, prescribing a method marked by urgency and unity: “He must be sought in such manner as he may be found; and for example thereof, we have Joseph and Mary” who, firstly, “sought him with diligence, as soone as they did misse him, they laid aside all other businesse,” and also “sought him joyntly” as “there must bee vnite, and not distraction” (Dove 145). Whether spiritual or secular, conduct manuals were based on the idea of self-improvement through dedicated reading and diligent application which would, in time, produce decisive results for adherents.

However, by expanding his to-do list *ad infinitum* in the *Mundus*, John Evelyn shows that the effort a potential beau must put in to win a wife is utterly disproportionate to the reward he can expect to get out of the endeavor: “With this, a little Practice will qualifie you,” the speaker reassures the beau (Evelyn sig. A2v). But added to this is a fresh stipulation: that “if the whole Morning be spent between the Glass and the Comb, that your Perruque fit well, and Cravat-Strings be adjusted as things of importance; with these and the like accomplishments you’ll emerge a consummate *Beau*” (Evelyn sig. A2v). Even after putting in “Practice” and devoting “whole Morning[s]” to preparation for the “Wooing” of the Refined Lady, the beau finds that it “will still be necessary” for him to call upon “the Dancing-Master” for the preservation of “good Meen” to “fit” him for “the Winter-Ball” (Evelyn sig. A2v). Such a multiplication of preparatory tasks implies a never ending cumulation of obstacles to securing conjugal happiness. It also anticipates the collection and multiplication of material objects that will comprise the lady’s

toilette in the poem, where the speaker promises to present an “Enumeration of particulars” as well as a “Computation of the Charges” (Evelyn sig. A4v).

In “Order, Duration, and Frequency,” Genette discusses achronisms, “episodes entirely cut loose from any chronological situation whatsoever” (28). Although the young man’s adventure plot is not entirely an achronism, it is true that in his narrative “[e]vents...follow a geographical rather than a chronological pattern” and that “the sequence of places still depends on a temporal event (the journey...)” (Genette 28). Although the *Mundus* does feature some outdoor locations, such as the Park and the Strand, Marryland, the symbolic space to which the young man is journeying, seems to be an indoor destination (Evelyn 7, 8). For example, we see the interior spaces of the gaming table, the church, the “Apartment” and the Dressing Room (5, 7, 8, 9).

The objects in the poem, however, evoke a world of geographic associations through their place names. There is, for instance, the “Working Apron too from *France*, / With all its trim Apurtenance” (10). Flanders is mentioned three times on the third page of the poem; firstly, as an element in a compound noun (“a broad *Flanders* Lace below”); secondly, as an adverb describing the method of lacing (“Twelve more for night, all *Flanders* lac’d”); and finally, as a proper noun (“Of Point, and *Flanders*, not forget”) (Evelyn 3). Regionalism is important to the poem’s understanding of commodities from a holistic point of view: the speaker is concerned with products as well as the geographic countries of their origin, evoking the trade routes (land and sea) that the objects travel. What makes one region distinct from another is its exports; England, on the other hand, appears not only as the great importer but also as the center of a growing commercial empire — collecting and displaying the exports of the Continent. Indeed, the young man, in providing for the young lady, becomes quite a collector.

“A Voyage to Marryland” is set in the city as opposed to the country, and on land as opposed to the sea; however, it does, as we have seen, mobilize the metaphor of shipping. Travel encompasses both the Continent (“*le petit Tour*”) and the Orient (“Some of *Japan* Stuff, some of *Chine*”; “some rich *Indian* Stuff”) (Evelyn sig. A2r, 2, 3). We see both France and Spain referenced: “*Mouches.../ From Paris the tré-fine procure, / And Spanish Paper*” (Evelyn 6). Roman architecture and the mythology of ancient Greece are also invoked: during John Evelyn’s fourteen-line contribution to the poem he mentions the “*Septizonium* once at *Rome*,” as well as ears with an unfortunate resemblance to those of the “*Satyr*” (Evelyn 7-8). Further, we see Florence, Montpellier, Cyprus, Corduba, and Goa (Evelyn 9-10).

Soon, however, an unpleasant discrepancy arises in the hero’s journey: instead of encountering a “donor” or “provider” figure, the young man discovers that he himself is expected to serve as a “donor” for the young lady (Propp 39). He is told in the imperative that “Besides these Jewels you must get,” and, later, that combs “You must present, and a world more” (4, 10). The narrator further informs him that the young lady’s inventory of provisions is not half over:

But to go on where we left off,
 Though you may think what’s said enough;
 This is not half that does belong
 To the fantastick Female Throng.... (Evelyn 5)

What is at stake in the *Mundus* is precisely this commodification of the female world; and the young man’s adventure plot is entirely overrun by the young lady’s plot of accumulation.¹⁴

¹⁴ For a detailed discussion of the commodification of the heroine in the courtship novel—a genre arising just one generation after Mary Evelyn’s *Mundus Muliebris*—see Katherine Sobba Green’s 1991 study *The Courtship Novel, 1740-1820, A Feminized Genre*.

Whereas the young man's adventure plot is concerned with spatial factors, the young lady's marriage plot is temporal. Bakhtin's theory of the chronotope as an intersection of time and space in the novel may be useful for a consideration of the young lady's marriage plot. Bakhtin describes the chronotope as "a formally constitutive category of literature" in which "[t]ime, as it were, thickens, takes on flesh, becomes artistically visible; likewise, space becomes charged and responsive to movements of time, plot and history" (84). The chronotope of the city sets the tone of this plot: its fast-paced adventure time revolves around the dictates of fashion, a set of ever-changing standards of which the speaker is well aware: "(For Iron's now quite out of date)" (Evelyn 8).

As a type of bildungsroman focusing on the time of courtship and the theme of preparation for marriage, the poem corresponds to Bakhtin's "chronotope of *threshold*" (248). The poem is set in London at the height of the season; we are treated to the familiar backdrops of the "*Park*," the "*Play*," the "*Strand*," the "whole Town" (Evelyn 7, 8, 10). Even the "Exchange" is mentioned in the "Fop-Dictionary" (Evelyn 20). "With theatres, masquerades, cards and gossip, there was plenty to occupy the mind and, with so much social activity, both sexes had to develop a social uniform for their faces, in keeping with the frenetic pace of fashion and intrigue" (McLaughlin 72). However, despite its many diversions, the routine of the town is revealed to be repetitive: "Repeating Clocks" show "When to the Play 'tis time to go" (Evelyn 8). "Day in, day out the same round of activities are repeated" (Bakhtin 248). Thus, the chronotope of the city in the *Mundus* involves a cyclical temporality which is predicated on speed (an accumulation and repetition of moments) as opposed to the grand rhythms of nature.

Unlike the young lady in the poem, Mary Evelyn shows displeasure with pomp and expense all through the *Mundus*, as well as in her letters home from London and Windsor,

revealing that she much preferred a balanced life in the country as opposed to the chaos of the town. Mary had first-hand experience with life in the city: as Gillian Darley writes, she spent the winter and summer of 1683 in London with her mother and sister. For the Evelyns, “[i]t was time to introduce their daughters to society, building on contacts made the previous summer at Tunbridge Wells” (263). Mary Browne Evelyn’s father was ambassador to the French court, and as Darley points out, “[p]resenting her daughters at court” would likely have reminded her “of her own appearances at the Louvre” (Darley 264). There, they “enjoyed the excitement of London,” even on occasion “a dancing till three of the clock in the morning,” as Elizabeth wrote in a letter to her brother’s tutor, Ralph Bohun (Darley 264, 263).

In John Evelyn’s *Diary* entry for 14 March 1685, he recalls that by Christmas of 1684, Mary Evelyn had become “quite tired, as she confessed, with the vaine & empty Conversation of the Towne, the Theatres, the Court, & trifling visites which consum’d so many precious moments, and made her sometimes (unavoidably) misse of that regular Course of piety, which gave her the greatest satisfaction” (4: 428). Indeed, her father writes that he surmised “the Child was starke weary of this life” as she “did not affect the shewing & producing of her-selfe, she knew the Court well, passed one whole Summer at Windsore in it...so as she was not fond of that glittering scene” (4: 428).

It is this same “glittering scene” into which the young lady of the poem enters, determined to appear to advantage at all costs — a determination which puts her at odds with both the young man to whom the poem is addressed as well as with the fop, who is the unfortunate dupe of the satire. Here, the narrative arrives at what Peter Brooks in “Reading for the Plot” identifies as a “kind of minimum satisfactory process that works through the problem of desire gone wrong and brings it to its cure” (9). The narrative works through the problem of

desire gone wrong by pairing the young lady with the fop and the young man with the narrator: whereas the young lady's money plot of accumulation ends in forgetfulness and repetition, the narrator's agential plot of accounting ends in understanding.

While the young man's adventure plot expresses the principle of wisdom vs. ignorance and the young lady's marriage plot is shown to pattern upon the principle of numerical superiority, we see that the money plot expresses an irony between appearance and reality: we expect that the young man and the young lady will end up together; however, the narrative proves otherwise. As Bakhtin writes of the adventure-time of Greek romances in "Forms of Time and Chronotope in the Novel":

The first meeting of hero and heroine and the sudden flareup of their passion for each other is the starting point for plot movement; the end point of plot movement is their successful union in marriage. All action...unfolds between these two points...But it is not around these that the novel is structured; rather, it is around that which lies...*between* them. (89)

Although Bakhtin speaks of the novel, this structure is applicable to the marriage plot of the poem, beginning at the moment that the hero (the young man) meets the antiheroine (the young lady). This is the result of an initial misdirection of affection on his part which the narrative seeks to correct: his true affections are ultimately to be toward the true heroine, the poem's narrator. Just after the Rouleau scene in which the young lady is attended by her foil, the fop, Mary Evelyn effects a strategic moment of meeting.

The point at which the young man "meets" the narrator in a linguistic union affected not by himself but by the narrator, herself, we see in the lines: "But to go on where we left off, /Though you may think what's said enough" (Evelyn 5). By employing the collective pronoun

“we” the narrative forges a common understanding between the narrator and the young man who are now together at a different narrative level than the young lady and the fop; they are both on the journey together and they both take stock of the actions of the young lady and the fop from the same point of view. The narrative, and the understanding between the narrator and the young man, can “go on” smoothly now that the young lady and the fop are paired on a downward money plot from which the young man is ostensibly saved (5).

As opposed to the Mode, we see the contrasting worldview of the gift structure as seen in the preface to the *Mundus Muliebris* as well as in Steele’s “Prospectus” to the *Tatler* and Addison’s “Aims of the *Spectator*.” In the *Mundus Muliebris*, the gift structure is opposed to the structure of accumulation in the young lady’s marriage plot; in the preface, the gift of the objects from the mother at the time of her daughter’s marriage offer a critique of money in the chronotope of the city and of fashion. As Evelyn writes:

The Presents which were made when all was concluded, were a Ring, a Necklace of Pearl, and perhaps another fair Jewel, the *Bona Paraphernalia* of her prudent Mother, whose Nuptial Kirtle, Gown and Petticoat, lasted as many Anniversaries as the happy Couple liv’d together, and were at last bequeathed with a Purse of old Gold, Rose-Nobles, Spur-Royals, and Spankers, as an House-Loom to her Grand-Daughter. (sig. A3r)

In this list of wedding gifts mentioned in the preface, we see that giving is “practiced in domestic arenas such as courtship, friendship, and family dynamics” (Zionkowski and Klekar 3).¹⁵

¹⁵ See Zionkowski and Klekar’s *The Culture of the Gift in Eighteenth Century England*. In their introduction they observe that the gift exchange was “[c]onsidered as part of an alternative economy”; furthermore, giving was “practiced in domestic arenas such as courtship, friendship, and family dynamics as well as in more public arenas, such as the organization of charity and the workings of the marketplace” (Zionkowski and Klekar 4, 5).

This discourse connecting charitable giving to writing is taken up famously in Richard Steele's "Prospectus" to the *Tatler*, written in 1709, nine years after the second reissue of the *Mundus Muliebris* in 1700. Steele opens No.1, Tuesday April 12, 1709, with a quote from Juvenal's First Satire — "'Whate'er men do, or say, or think, or dream, / Our motley paper seizes for its theme'" — and writes: "it is both a Charitable and Necessary Work to offer something, whereby such worthy and well-affected Members of the Commonwealth may be instructed, after their Reading, *what to think*" (15). Thus, Steele's didactic ends are furthered in work that is both "Charitable" and "Necessary" (15).

Although the charitable gift structure put forward by Evelyn is opposed to the young lady's plot of accumulation, it is equally aware of its agency in the world; whereas the young lady quests for material goods alone, the narrator quests for an understanding which takes into account life's material and moral dimensions. Similarly, in No. 10 of the *Spectator*, Joseph Addison writes, "I shall endeavor to enliven Morality with Wit, and to temper Wit with Morality" (44). Indeed, he addresses himself to families, "and would earnestly advise them for their Good to order this Paper to be punctually served up, and to be looked upon as a Part of the Tea Equipage" (45). After positioning his text as a material object, indispensable to the household as "the Tea Equipage," Addison addresses himself to the "female world," discussing their "Employments and Diversions," concluding that "[t]heir Amusements seem contrived for them rather as they are Women, than as they are reasonable Creatures" (46). The speaker of the *Spectator* proclaims that for some women, "[t]he Toilet is their great Scene of Business...[t]he sorting of a Suit of Ribbons, is reckon'd a very good Morning's Work," and jokes that "[t]heir more serious Occupations are [Sewing] and Embroidery" (Addison 46).

However, he is also aware that this is not the case for all: “I know there are Multitudes of those of a more elevated Life and Conversation, that move in an exalted Sphere of Knowledge and Virtue, that join all the Beauties of the Mind to the Ornaments of Dress, and inspire a kind of Awe and Respect, as well as Love, into their Male-Beholders” (Addison 46-7). Here, his description matches closely with John Evelyn’s regard for his daughter Mary in the *Diary*.¹⁶ He concludes: “I hope to encrease the Number of these by publishing this daily Paper” (Addison 49).

Exposing and deconstructing the relationship between material goods and the marriage plot of upward social mobility, the narrative in Mary Evelyn’s *Mundus Muliebris* is less representative of the typical model of courtship put forward in early modern English conduct manuals or romance plots and more closely aligned to the *conte de fées* of the French Salon authored by Madame d’Aulnoy and her circle of female writers which exemplify female agency. Since the *Mundus Muliebris* was published in 1690 while Madame D’Alnoy’s *Les Countes des Feés* was published in 1697, we can say that these ideas were circulating during this time, and if we allow ourselves to speculate for a moment, we will see that there are points of agreement between the discourses of the French Salon *conte de feés* and Evelyn’s *Mundus Muliebris*.¹⁷

The young lady’s marriage plot with its quest for accumulation of material goods, space of the dressing room, and motif of wish fulfilment borrows from the genre of the fairy tale, and is particularly reminiscent of the *conte de fées* of the French Salon. As aristocratic members of the court of Louis XIV during the seventeenth century, the women of the French Salon used the

¹⁶ Evelyn describes his *Diary* entry for 14 March 1685 as “the little History...of my dear Child, whose Piety, Virtue, & incomparable Endowments, deserve a Monument more durable than brasse & Mable” (4: 429).

¹⁷ Both of Mary’s parents lived in France during the seventeenth century; Mary’s mother was the daughter of Charles I’s ambassador to the court of Louis XIV, and was presented at court. Mary herself spoke fluent French and had probably read Moliere (Nevinson 9).

female discourse of the fairy tale genre as a medium for wish fulfilment and subversion to politely protest their exclusion from French academic circles and educational institutions, using their writings to showcase their talents despite the fact that they were “denied direct access to formal education—especially to the classical learning vaunted by the Ancients” (Seifort 928). Their tales expressed courtly love and themes of *tendresse* using the tone of *naïveté* and the discourse of *préciosité*. Madame d’Alnoy and the Salon writers “tried to develop a *précieux* manner of thinking, speaking, and writing to reveal and celebrate their innate talents” (Zipes 35). However, the self-conscious tone of *préciosité* had to be circulated through *negligence or naïveté*, as “according to the Moderns and polite society...women were deemed to incarnate the ‘negligent’ (seemingly effortless and refined) esthetic ideal of *naïveté*” (Seifort 929). Beyond the theme of *tendresse*, the Salon writers expressed themes of freedom of choice in marriage and fidelity, honour and justice (Zipes 36, Seifort 928).

We see all three attitudes in the *Mundus* as well as three types of irony: verbal, dramatic, and situational. *Naïveté* is exemplified in the lady’s negligence; *préciosité* is revealed in the young lady’s exalted self-awareness; and *tendresse* is exaggerated in the figure of the beau — indeed, the beau is instructed in verbal irony of overstatement (*tendresse*); the young lady is critiqued via the verbal irony of understatement (*naïveté*); and the Rouleau scene at the gambling table is set up as a dramatic irony (*préciosité*).

The preface employs hyperbole and overstatement to direct the young man as he attempts to express *tendresse*, as “The Refined Lady expects her Servants and humble Admirers should Court her in the Forms and Decencies of making Love in Fashion” (Evelyn sig. A2v). “In order to this” writes Evelyn,

you must often Treat her at the *Play*, the *Park*, and the *Musick*; present her at the *Raffle*, follow her to *Tunbridge* at the season of drinking of Waters, though you have no need of them your self: You must improve all occasions of celebrating her Shape, and how well the Mode becomes her, though it be never so Fantastical and Ridiculous; that she Sings like an Angel, Dances like a Goddess; and that you are Charm'd with her Wit and Beauty.... (sig. A2v)

Here, the young man is directed to accompany the young lady despite the fact that the journey is not for his benefit: Tunbridge wells must be visited “though you have no need of them your self” (Evelyn sig. A2v). Although this gesture may appear more noble than self-interested, we soon see that the young man is being advised to mask his true reactions and responses and instead to flatter the young lady’s vanity. He is told to exaggerate her accomplishments (“Sings like an Angel, Dances like a Goddess”) and to overstate her charming appearance: “Mode” must be praised “though it be never so Fantastical and Ridiculous” (Evelyn sig. A2v). Thus, the “extravagant Form” of courtly love or *tendresse* that Evelyn condemns is founded on hyperbole, overstatement, and verbal irony (sig. A4v)

On the other hand, we see the speaker of the poem employing the verbal irony of understatement as she justifies the purchase of clothing as necessary provision: “nor can Madam less / Provision have for due undress” (Evelyn 2). Here the speaker says the opposite of what is meant (less can very well be had) in order to express the *naïveté* of the refined lady. Furthermore, the speaker undercuts her demands; indeed, the young lady’s *naïveté* grows as the inventory expands. We soon find that “she despises *Colbertine*,” and “Four Cushion Cloths are scarce enough” (Evelyn 3). Even an extra “*Palatine...of Sables*” is not to be

“reckon[ed]...among the Baubles” — that is, it is to be included in her store, but not explicitly numbered (Evelyn 3).

In her analysis of the nymph’s dressing scene in Ben Jonson’s *Neptune’s Triumph*, Patricia Fumerton writes that Johnson’s lines are “like sequins on a dress reflecting points of light without image: they seem to have no function and to bear upon no recognizable topic” (170). Like Jonson’s masque, in Evelyn’s inventory it appears that “[o]nce more we are in the presence of the fragmentary, peripheral, and ornamental” (Fumerton 170). However, Mary Evelyn’s seemingly fragmented argument exemplifies the discourse of *naïveté*: “pretty things” such as pendants “Must needs be had” and bracelets, “Unless her Heart-strings you will break” (4).

Although it appears that the young lady’s initial appeals to logic and reason (“One black Gown of Rich Silk, which odd is / Without one Colour’d, Embrioder’d *Bodice*”) give way in a series of verbal ironies to an appeal to the emotions and appetites (“Or else she’ll think her self disgrac’d”), Mary Evelyn employs *préciosité*. The clothing that began as provision for “due undress,” is really the prelude to an excessive inventory for the sake of keeping up appearances and outdoing others—“For Oranges bears every Bush, / Nor values she cheap things a rush” (Evelyn 2, 3, 4). In reality we see the subtle logic of *préciosité* behind the lady’s demands. In the preceding couplet, a woman is likened to a “Bush” and a gem to an “Orange”; this horticultural imagery works to naturalize purchases so that a woman’s being adorned with jewels is as natural as a tree bearing fruit. This argument of *préciosité* also operates on Aristotle’s scarcity principle— that what is less common is more precious. Even when “there’s no room” in one quarter, the woman will find a new category of wants to be supplied (Evelyn 4). However, it is

ironically implied that the beau's funds cannot run out first; he is even expected to provide rare Jewels: "Besides these Jewels you must get" (Evelyn 4).

Accordingly, the subject changes and the powerful drama of *préciosité* begins with the lines: "She a rich *Pulvil* Purse must get" (Evelyn 4). As opposed to the young man being addressed in the imperative, the young lady is now the subject of the sentence, and in charge of the purse strings: the "pretty" objects of "Ruby Locket" and "quilted Pocket" are left behind and the bad habit of betting "Guineas" on "Cards" follow (Evelyn 4). "If women were to be responsible for choosing in a new matrimonial game of chance with higher stakes, it followed that they had to be educated about how to weigh the odds, how to play their hands, and how to read the faces opposite theirs. Roles as well as rules had to be redefined" (Green 19).

In redefining roles, the poem switches to a scene of dramatic irony which shows the true character of the "Refined Lady," and introduces the character of the fop:

To play at *Ombre*, or *Basset*,
 She a rich *Pulvil* Purse must get,
 With Guineas fill'd, on Cards to lay,
 With which she fancies most to play:
 Nor is she troubled at ill fortune,
 For should the bank be so importune,
 To rob her of her glittering Store,
 The amorous Fop will furnish more. (Evelyn 4-5)

At the gambling table, the "rich *Pulvil* Purse" is "With Guineas fill'd;" here, the fop hopes to court the "Refined Lady" of London, as mentioned in the preface (4). The lady in the poem not only "fancies most to play" card games such as "*Ombre* or *Basset*," but also goes about

“to lay” her guineas on the “Cards” (Evelyn 5). She is, however, secure in her powers. Like a female Midas, or an alchemist, “Gold is every thing she touches” (Evelyn 12). However, the fop must learn that at the gaming table, her guineas are furnished at his expense: “The amorous Fop will furnish more” (5). The fop himself stands “Pensive and mute, behind her shoulder” (5). The speaker underscores the economic pitfalls of fashionable gambling: “When tedious languishing has fail’d, / *Rouleau* has constantly prevail’d” (Evelyn 5). Looking ahead to the “Fop-Dictionary,” *Rouleau* is defined as “Fourty Nine Guineas, made up in a Paper Roll, which *Monsieur F*— Sir *J*— and Father *B*— lend to losing Gamesters, that are good Men, and have Fifty in Return” (Evelyn 20). The female is economically commanding and powerful, but morally superficial: “nor values she cheap things a rush” (Evelyn 4). Through dramatic irony, we see that the “Refined Lady” views the bank as robbing her when in reality she is the one robbing the fop:

Pensive and mute, behind her shoulder
 He stands, till by her loss grown bolder,
 Into her lap *Rouleau* conveys,
 The softest thing a Lover says:
 She grasps it in her greedy hands,
 Then best his Passion understands;
 When tedious languishing has fail’d,
Rouleau has constantly prevail’d. (Evelyn 5)

Unlike the fop, however, who is “grown bolder” not by the woman’s gains but by her very losses, and is content to “furnish more,” we see that the audience (the young man to whom the poem is addressed) has nearly had “enough.”

But to go on where we left off,
 Though you may think what's said enough;
 This is not half that does belong
 To the fantastic Female Throng.... (Evelyn 4-5)

Here, the speaker pulls back from the depths of the gaming table and the Rouleau exchange (*préciosité*) in a self-referential move of *naïveté*, using humor to temper satire and create sympathy for and understanding of human nature. The poem remembers itself and its purpose: to list what “does belong / To the fantastick Female Throng” (Evelyn 5). In the *Mundus Muliebris*, humor stems from *naïveté* which creates an environment of safety, preventing harm and ensuring laughter; humor also arises from situational irony (appearance vs. reality and expectation vs. outcome); scale (disproportion and incongruity); as well as unfamiliarity and uniqueness.

The speaker creates an environment of safety by contrasting the woman at the gambling table whose innate *préciosité* is risky and unsafe with the *naïveté* of the imaginary “fantastick Female Throng” — showing that she is creating a portrait, not of a real individual, but rather of a fabulous type. Alliteration also adds humor, which tempers the effect of irony and brightens tone. The speaker also creates safety through a dramatic irony which remembers the addressee; “we” implies a relationship between the speaker and the “you” of the audience (5). In a neat verbal irony, she shows that it is not “what’s said enough” but rather what is bought “is not” the “half”; and indeed, “A Voyage to Marryland” is only one-third over (Evelyn 5). The speaker sympathizes with the beau, but does not lose sight of her mission: that of the labour of “rigging.”

The context of safety is once more reinforced with a *naïveté* which induces laughter and lightens tone brought in again with the speaker’s parenthetical aside “(don’t laugh)” (Evelyn 5).

The speaker is distinguished from the young lady in the Rouleau scene, and by now, the understanding (dramatic irony) between the speaker and the audience has grown to a relationship of laughter and farce which introduces the theme of the ridiculous and the absurd. For instance, humor is affected through her “*Chicken skin*” gloves which add a touch of the fantastic (Evelyn 6). The poem’s speaker and the young man can now share a laugh at the lady’s expense. Thus, Mary Evelyn shows masterful control over tone: the poem moves from the “[p]ensive and mute” fop at the mercy of the female’s misuse of power to the speaker and the young man’s shared laughter over the names of various perfumes in a matter of lines (Evelyn 5).

By the time of the apartment furnishing scene, the fop is clearly controlled by the woman’s discourse of *préciosité*: no more arguments or appeals to logic or emotions are necessary. The use of the term “mann’d” is a verbal irony which shows that the “*Beau Fopling*” has lost his identity; he becomes an accessory and mere means for the lady: she is “mann’d” by the fop, but she is truly in charge. However, the lady’s ill treatment of the fop induces the reader’s sympathy:

Nor here omit the Bob of Gold
Which a *Pomander* Ball does hold,
This to her side she does attach
With Gold *Crochet*, or French *Pennache*,
More useful far than *Ferula*,
For any saucy Coxcomb’s Jaw,
A graceful Swing to this belongs,
Which he returns in Cringe, and Songs,
And languishing to kiss the hand,

That can Perfumed blows command. (Evelyn 11)

In this verbal irony, we see that the virtue of the golden bob attached to her side is nothing less than to abuse the fop with a “graceful Swing” (Evelyn 11). Thus, the poem enters into the fop’s perspective such that he is an object of the reader’s pity and pathos.

However, the narrator skillfully follows up with the humor of *naïveté* via scale: “All these trinkets” are inside the interior of “a large Perfum’d *Spanish Skin*” (11). This gives the reader the sense that all along, we’ve been looking into a bag neat enough to be covered and contained by “A large rich Cloth of Gold *Toilet*” (Evelyn 11).¹⁸ Here, the poem suddenly collapses into something movable and containable, mobile and transportable:

All these, and more in order set
 A large rich Cloth of Gold *Toilet*
 Does cover, and to put up Rags,
 Two high Embroider’d Sweet Bags,
 Or a large Perfum’d *Spanish Skin*,
 To wrap up all these Trinkets in. (Evelyn 11)

Immediately after scaling down, the narrative remembers itself with a self-referential move, drawing attention to the narrator’s own forgetfulness and lightening the mood with a catalogue of the delights of food: “But I had almost quite forgot, / A *Tea* and *Chocolate Pot*”:

With *Molionet*, and Caudle Cup,
 Restoring Breakfast to sup up:
Porcelan Saucers, Spoons of Gold,

¹⁸ Defined by the *OED* as “[a] piece of cloth used as a wrapper or covering for clothes” (“toilet”).

Dishes that refin'd Sugars hold....” (Evelyn 11)¹⁹

Perhaps the narrator is compensating for the scene of the fop's abuse by following up with a type of *naïveté* or “candy coating;” the lines of verse are trying to be “sweet,” in form and content, however, by this time the reader is ready for closure.²⁰

The “*Tweeze*” encased in “Box of beaten Gold” is “As Rich and Costly as all these”; here, there is an incongruity between form and function which reflects the lady's repetitive wastefulness: her possessions are not for use value or for show but are the objects of her worship. Like idols, “Gold is her Toothpick, Gold her Watch is, / And Gold is every thing she touches” (Evelyn 11, 12).

From this ominous refrain, the speaker pulls back yet again, referencing her own fatigue and the paradox of accumulation:

But tir'd with numbers I give o're
 Arithmetick can add no more,
 Thus Rigg'd the Vessel, and Equipp'd,
 She is for all Adventures Shipp'd,
 And Portion e're the year goes round,
 Does with her Vanity confound. (Evelyn 12)

¹⁹ In Congreve's *The Way of the World*, the Wit is directed to “bring two Dishes of Chocolate and a Glass of Cinnamon-water” (11).

²⁰ Similar to Hotspur's lines in Shakespeare's *The First Part of King Henry the Fourth*:
 Why, what a candy-deal of courtesy
 This fawning greyhound then did proffer me!
 ‘Look when his infant fortune came to age,’
 And ‘gentle Harry Percy,’ and ‘kind cousin’ —
 Oh, the devil take such cozeners.... (1.3.249-53)

Genette discusses repetitive anachronisms which function either as prospective “announcements” (prolepsis) or retrospective “recalls” (analepsis); proleptic announcements “alert the reader to the meaning of a certain event that will only later be fully revealed;” on the other hand, analeptic recalls “serve to give a subsequent meaning to an event first reported as without particular significance” (Genette 27). By applying Genette’s discussion of the anachronisms (prolepsis and analepsis) to the *Mundus Muliebris*, we see understanding and intellect in the final plot movement; whereas the young lady and the fop’s money plot ends in forgetfulness, the narrator and the young man’s plot ends in moral awareness and agency.

The narrator in the *Mundus* borders on forgetfulness: the narrative repeats the term *forget* or *forgot* — a prospective announcement framed as a retrospective recall. It is as if the narrator is trying to remember or recall a prior list of the material items the beau will need at the very moment she is instructing him. Here, we see that the crisis of the list is in the seeming loss, incoherence, and breakdown of the narrative in which plot is lost in itemization. The speaker’s meditation on the quantity of finery the lady is to be provided with culminates in the threefold repetition of *gold* in the lines: “Gold is her Toothpick, Gold her Watch is, / And Gold is every thing she touches” (Evelyn 12). This anachronism is completive as it references the earlier ellipses of “Gold and Pearl” in the preface (Evelyn sig. A2r). In a commoditized world, the female actant is signified by a possessive pronoun (“her”) and dependent clause (“she touches”) while *gold* becomes the subject of the sentence governing and mediating the relationship of the female to the objects of the material world (*toothpick*, *watch*, and indeed, *every thing*). For, in addition to *forget*, the speaker repeats the term *all*—a total of twelve times. In an attempt at an all-encompassing accrument of commodities, the female is herself consumed with counting.

However, the labor of the list itself as it *works* upon the speaker (and, by extension, the reader) produces a different set of meanings altogether: to count the cost of clothing is to understand. Mental and moral value is demonstrated not by the quantity or quality of the wedding gifts but by the trial the female speaker undergoes in attempting to catalogue them. “A Voyage to Marryland” sets up high social use-value of clothing as signifier of wealth, status, and female power only to invert this structure, resulting in a substitution of pounds for plate, petticoats, and apartment furnishings so that the early modern lady is metaphorically attired with numbers. For the speaker, the ritual of getting dressed increasingly induces fatigue and frustration, testing the limits of patience and pocketbook.

Whereas the young lady’s plot ends in forgetfulness, the narrator achieves understanding. We see the narrator’s understanding play out only in hindsight as we walk through the poem from the start and produce our own narrative retrospective in the following paragraphs, thus fulfilling Genette’s analepsis which gives “subsequent meaning to an event first reported as without particular significance” (27). As we recall, “A Voyage to Marryland” begins with the epigraph from Plautus’ *Poenulus*:

Whoever has a mind to an abundance of Trouble,
 Let him furnish himself with a Ship and a Woman,
 For no two things will find you more Employment,
 If once you begin to Rig them out with all their Streamers.
 Nor are they ever sufficiently adorned,
 Or satisfy’d, that you have done enough to set them forth. (1-2)

The epigraph appears in Latin, followed by an English translation.²¹ Here, we read that Mary sets out to write a reply or rejoinder to her quotation from Plautus' *Poenulus*, expanding its argument via multiple examples. Mary Evelyn has been engaging in the literary process of “rigging out” the young lady for the duration of the poem, revealing in hindsight that she has had a “mind to an abundance of trouble” (1). She begins with a logical argument for supplying the female’s closet: one is odd without another, and balance, proportion and parallelism are the means by which the early section of the poem is structured. The egalitarian appeal of the opening (addressed to “Whoever”) is qualified by the rational faculty (“has a mind”), and further, a numeric qualifier (“to an abundance”) (Evelyn 2).

Thus, Mary Evelyn addresses the theme of abundance invoked in the first line of the epigraph. One of the arguments of the poem is that an abundance of goods, or perhaps, abundance itself, leads to trouble. In order to support this argument, Mary must show the various troubles that come about in the quest for abundance. The argument that the epigraph makes is that the most troubles for a man (“Let him furnish himself”) come about from preparing for a sea-voyage and preparing for marriage, that is from the moment he sets out to secure “a Ship” and “a Woman” (Evelyn 1). The epigraph supports this argument by detailing the trouble of “Employment”— not the good sort of employment that one finds for themselves, but rather the troubling type that others find for him.

The speaker of the epigraph goes on to qualify the argument still further— “If once you begin to Rig them out with all their Streamers” (Evelyn 1). Here, naval terminology (“Rig” and “Streamers”) is used to support the claim that a woman is like a ship. However, the logic of this metaphor does not hold in the last two lines of the epigraph: a ship is an inanimate object and

²¹ This translation is possibly by John Evelyn.

cannot be “satisfy’d” — however, the owner of a ship could feel anxious or dissatisfied that he has done enough to prepare for a voyage. Thus, rather than merely likening a Woman to a Ship, the epigraph truly finds common ground in linking the man’s feeling of dissatisfaction to the woman’s dissatisfaction: just as any man may think that his ship is never “sufficiently adorned” and ready for a long voyage, so the woman fears that she is not sufficiently prepared to meet the world. It is as though Mary Evelyn has understood, unpacked, and perceived a challenge in Plautus’ lines; he has thrown down the gauntlet by likening the Woman to a Ship in a negative sense: both are sources of troubles for a man. However, from Mary Evelyn’s point of view, this metaphor is harnessed in a positive sense in the poem and framed as a doorway into shared experience and mutual understanding.

This indirect metaphor brings the man who was addressed, “Whosoever has a mind to an abundance of Trouble,” into sympathy with the experience of the woman and her “abundance of Trouble” (Evelyn 1). Similarly, the speaker of the poem addresses an audience of males about stereotypically dismissed female concerns in such a way as to make them not only understandable and relatable (via sustaining the metaphor of the ship which is introduced by Plautus in his epigraph) but also relevant economically and socially. The speaker is capable of instructing a male audience and bringing them into understanding: the force of the speaker’s insistence that the male audience “must understand” equals her ability to bring them into the state of understanding by supplying a “need,” making value judgements, and being aware of “Trade:” the economic and social patterns at work around her (Evelyn 2, 6).

Whereas the money plot of accumulation ended in forgetfulness and repetition, the speaker understands how to effect order in the midst of chaos; Mary Evelyn balances her poetic lines at the same time as she satirizes the imbalanced appetites of the female in the poem. Unlike

the young lady's forgetful repetition, Mary Evelyn's repetition builds a pattern of balance, such as in the lines "Wind and Weather, wear and tare," "Some of *Japan* Stuff, some of *Chine*," "A dozen lac'd, a dozen plain," and "Well strew'd on, and well understood" (2,3,9). Evelyn also balances opposite and parallel concepts from the beginning of the poem such as one and another: "[One] With Knee-high Galoon bottomed, / Another quilted White and Red;" day and night: "Twice twelve day Smocks of *Holland* fine...Twelve more for night;" and, lastly, sameness and difference: "The same her Night-Gown must adorn" (Evelyn 3). She continues to effect balance with agreement ("And that the Cheeks may both agree, / *Plumpers* to fill the Cavity"), unity ("All which with *Meurtriers* unite"), opposites ("White and Black" and "whole, and half") and wholeness ("Hoods by whole dozens) (Evelyn 6, 7, 10, 5, 10).²² The speaker does allow for the possibility that space may run out: "Till to hang more on there's no room" (Evelyn 4). This line is a prime example of the narrator wholly entering the focalization of the beau: from his point of view, there's no more room; yet, from the lady's perspective, there's always room for more stuff.

Such diligent balance built up is confounded in the 34-line dressing-room scene, where the most examples of imbalance can be found in the entire text. Here, the speaker moves from laboriously specific detail to sweeping generalizations: she mentions "several other things of Cost," and "other waters rich, and sweet" (Evelyn 9). Indeed, the particularity of the "pair of

²² In the "Fop-Dictionary," Evelyn defines *Plumpers* as "[c]ertain very thin, round, and light Balls, to plump out, and fill up the Cavities of the Cheeks, much us'd by old Court-Countises" (19). We also see a possible reference to plumpers in Shakespeare's *Much Ado About Nothing*, as Claudio and Don Pedro joke of Benedick:

CLAUDIO. If he be not in love with some woman, there is no believing the old signs. 'A brushes his hat o' mornings. What should that bode?

DON PEDRO. Hath any man seen him at the barber's?

CLAUDIO. No, but the barber's man hath been seen with him, and the old ornament of his cheek hath already stuffed tennis balls. (3.2.38-44)

Silver Candlesticks” in this section of the inventory stands out in marked contrast against the “*Washes, Unguents, and Cosmeticks*” which precede it as well as the items of the catalogue to follow (Evelyn 9). In the rhyming couplet “Table *Miroir*, one Glue Pot, / One for *Pomatum*, and what not?” we see that Mary Evelyn’s carefree “and what not?” breaks up the “one...one” doubling and introduces an interrogative element of suspense and uncertainty (9). The use of the conjunctive *or* in this section throws the line out of balance but also suggests choice: “In silver Flasks, or Bottles, Cups / Cover’d, or open to wash Chaps” (Evelyn 9). Even the terms in this section are in opposition: “repel” and “rebel” stand in contrast to “good,” “Well” and “understood” (Evelyn 6). Just as the poem’s content seems to rebel against its structure, the speaker maintains control, reigning in both rhythm and the order of the scene with a solution:

In *Filgran Casset* to repel,
 When Scent of *Gousset* does rebel
 Though powder’d *Allom* be as good,
 Well strew’d on, and well understood;
 For Vapours that offend the Lass,
 Of *Sal Armoniack* a Glass.... (9-10)

Here, at the end of our retrospective, we see that the speaker is the master of the dressing room’s disorder through her home remedies and recipes, exemplifying restraint, understanding of human nature, and providing a sympathetic solution.

Part Two: Satire

Thus far, we have considered the problem of the list with a consideration of plot and irony, including verbal irony (understatement and overstatement), dramatic irony, and situational irony in the *Mundus* as evidence of the influence of the genre of the fairy tale, particularly the *conte de fées* of the French Salon with their discourses of *naïveté*, *préciosité*, and *tendresse*. Hence, satire, irony and humor work together to reveal Mary Evelyn's tone toward her material and show her sympathetic understanding of human nature. Next, the problem of the fallible narrator will be treated with a consideration of the links between John Evelyn's contributions to the *Mundus* and Junvenal's Sixth Satire and the connections between Swift, Pope, and Mary Evelyn's dressing-room satires. When considered in relation to the work as a whole, we see that the list form and the inconsistent narration are a means toward rooting the poem in the genre of satire, effecting irony and humor, and achieving Mary Evelyn's artistic ends.

Mary Evelyn's *Mundus Muliebris* (1690, 1700), Pope's *The Rape of the Lock* (1714), and Swift's "The Lady's dressing-room" (1732) were written by a group of dressing-room satirists. Whereas Juvenalian satire is scathing in tone, Horatian satire offers a milder social critique often tempered with humor. The satire in the *Mundus Muliebris* is Horatian, although a passage from Juvenal's famous Sixth Satire is quoted on the title page: "Such care for a becoming Dress they take, / As if their Life and Honour were at Stake." More incisive in their critique are the series of dressing-room satires which derive from Juvenal and take inspiration in part from the *Mundus*: Daniel Defoe's "The London Ladies Dressing Room" (1705); Alexander Pope's *The Rape of the*

Lock (1714); and Jonathan Swift's "The Lady's Dressing-Room" (1732).²³ However, the lady's dressing room provides only one of many scenes in the *Mundus Muliebris*, which ambitiously attempts to take into its purview all that belongs to the woman, including but not limited to her dressing-room. This section will compare John Evelyn's contributions to the *Mundus* with Juvenal's Sixth Satire; then, Pope's *The Rape of the Lock* and Swift's *The Lady's Dressing-Room* with Mary Evelyn's *Mundus Muliebris*.

In our discussion of John Evelyn's contributions to the *Mundus*, we turn to the rhetorical figure of mood and the idea of the narrative informer. As narrative theorist Mieke Bal writes in her consideration of Genette's theory of narrative distance that "belongs with the figures of mood," "the criterion on which this typology is based is the quantity of information and, in inverse ratio, the quantity of the informer (or, to put it differently, the quantity of traces of the informer). For this criterion to be operational, we need to know exactly what is *information* and what is *informer*" (267).

There are six informers, or narrative focalizers in the poem "A Voyage to Marryland," each matched at their own narrative level: the young lady and the fop; the young man and the narrator; John Evelyn and Mary Evelyn. The fop and the young lady are stereotypical characters who conform to convention and provide foils for each other. On the other hand, the young man is a dynamic character who undergoes change over the course of the poem; he provides a foil for the female narrator who instructs and advises him through his journey while ridiculing the foibles of the fop and the young lady. However, the first-person narrator is also cast as a dynamic character who guides readers through the inventory and undergoes change over the course of the poem (as she herself becomes fatigued). The final two focalizers are not characters or actants in

²³ For discussion of dressing-room satires inspired from or influenced by the *Mundus* see Chico 103, Davies 324, and Nevinson 14.

the poem itself but are in fact its authors: Mary Evelyn, and John Evelyn, whose authorial intervention of a fourteen-line comment displays the sensibility of a more mature informer than nineteen-year-old Mary and contrasts with the Horatian tone of the rest of the poem (though ultimately complementing its Juvenalian plot.)

I suggest that lines 131-144 of “A Voyage to Marryland” were written by John Evelyn.

Thus Face that *E’rst* near head was plac’d
 Imagine now about the Wast,
 For *Tour* on *Tour*, and *Tire* on *Tire*,
 Like Steeple *Bow*, or *Grantham* Spire,
 Or *Septizonium* once at *Rome*,
 (But does not half so well become
 Fair Ladies Head) you here behold
 Beauty by Tyrant Mode controll’d.
 The graceful *Oval*, and the *Round*,
 This *Horse* Tire does quite confound,
 And Ears like *Satyr*, Large and Raw,
 And bony Face, and hollow Jaw;
 This monstrous Dress does now reveal
 Which well-plac’d Curls did once conceal. (7-8)

In his introduction to the Costume Society’s edition of the *Mundus Muliebris*, Nevinson agrees that the reference to the Septizonium is “surely John Evelyn’s addition, which led him to add a learned note to the Fop Dictionary” (10). The mood in these lines is more mature: the nature of the “information” the narrative conveys in these fourteen lines reflects the age and

experience of the “informer” (Bal 267). The informer in this case is John Evelyn and not Mary, just as “the Preface is undoubtedly his” (Nevinson 9). The meter is broken up “But does not half so well become / Fair Ladies head”; further, the mention of “Beauty by Tyrant Mode controll’d” references Evelyn’s earlier publication *Tyrannus, Or the Mode*. As in his preface, John Evelyn here goes into the meditative mode and reminisces on styles of days gone by: the “graceful *Oval*, and the *Round*, / This *Horse* Tire does quite confound” (7). He also makes an allusion to classical Greek mythology: “And Ears like *Satyr*, Large and Raw, / And bony Face, and hollow Jaw” (Evelyn 8). His observations begin: “Thus Face that E’rst near head was plac’d / Imagine now about the Wast” (7). This new imperative to “Imagine” introduces an architectural system of metaphor as opposed to the metaphor of the ship with its sweeping nautical theme, which commences again at line 145. The architectural system employs a simile, “Like Steeple *Bow*, or *Grantham* Spire” as opposed to the rest of the poem, which employs the figure of the metaphor (Evelyn 7). Thus, Evelyn’s lines are Juvenalian in that he has effectively invoked a “monstrous” spectre.

In this fourteen-line contribution to the poem, as well as in the preface, John Evelyn takes up the argument of appearance vs. reality: he argues that the fashion for wigs “does not half so well become / Fair Ladies Head,” and in his narrative of England’s Golden Age he makes the case for a “wholesome plain Dyet” — emphasizing that good health is more to be desired than that which conveys its impression (ie. cosmetics) (Evelyn 7, sig. A4r). Swift, Pope, and Evelyn all mention pomatums in their dressing room scenes; Edith Snook writes that pomatums were “sometimes derided in the same terms as face paint and even identified as paints themselves. Mary Evelyn and Margaret Cavendish both mock pomatum as expensive and deceptive, as if it

were paint” (23-4). Evelyn takes up the question of appearance vs. reality through hair and paint itself.

“During the 1680s the front hair was gradually piled higher and higher” (Asser 70). Thus, John Evelyn comically writes that hair is piled “*Tour on Tour, and Tire on Tire, / Like Steeple Bow, or Grantham Spire*” (Evelyn 7). A style “peculiar to women” and “inspired by Italy” was “to acquire by plucking a high dome-like forehead, and to decorate it with thin, wispy curls” (Woodforde 25). Many of the curls were artificial: “[a]nd when this Grace Nature denies / An Artificial *Tour* supplies” (Evelyn 7). However, Woodforde notes that “[f]ull wigs for women were unusual except with riding clothes” (25). John Evelyn’s mention of “*Horse Tire*” may just be the Cavalier wig (7). Woodforde does describe the riding wig of “Cavaliers’ wives and daughters” as having “long dark curls and ringlets which covered the shoulders,” and cites the account of Lady Grisell Baillie, who, in 1690, paid “the large sum” of 28 pounds for her “long riding wig” (25-6). John Evelyn comments the style is unbecoming: “[b]ut does not half so well become / Fair Ladies Head” and concludes that “This *Horse Tire* does quite confound” (7). The use of the word *confound* emphasizes the discrepancy between appearance and reality; and we see that “false hair disrupts the stability of hair’s signifying power” (Snook 118).

During John Evelyn’s section of the poem, we see both types of situational irony in the discrepancy between appearance vs. reality and expectation vs. outcome. After a catalogue of curls, the speaker comments: “And when this Grace Nature denies, / An Artificial *Tour* supplies” (Evelyn 7). However, the artificial hair “does not half so well become / Fair Ladies Head” (Evelyn 7). Indeed, the poem makes use of situational irony to show that the false hair is not only unbecoming but also monstrous: “And Ears like *Satyr*, Large and Raw, / And bony Face, and hollow Jaw; / This monstrous Dress does now reveal / Which well plac’d Curls did once

conceal” (Evelyn 8). Thus, Evelyn dramatizes the discrepancy between expectation and outcome. This section also creates humor stemming from disproportion and incongruity: “Thus Face that E’rst near head was plac’d / Imagine now about the Wast” (Evelyn 7). This overblown scale of the wig in comparison to the woman’s frame creates a laughable aesthetic incongruity.

Both Juvenal and John Evelyn harness the discourse of beauty to express underlying concerns about language change. In his Sixth Satire, Juvenal bemoans the adoption of Greek customs in Rome:

For what can be more sickening than the fact that no one woman considers herself beautiful, unless instead of Tuscan she has become a little Greek—metamorphosed from a maid of Sulmo to a ‘maid of Athens.’ Every thing is in Greek. (While surely it is more disgraceful for our countrywomen not to know their mother tongue.) In this language they give vent to their fears, their anger, their joys and cares, and all the inmost workings of their soul....” (45-6)

Like Juvenal’s critique of the “Greek” mode, John Evelyn is concerned with language change and rhetorically uses the vocabulary in his daughter’s poem as a platform for his critique of the French mode.

In addition to ornamenting “A Voyage to Marryland” with fourteen lines, Evelyn also pens the conclusion to the “Fop-Dictionary” and contributes an entry, one in which he quotes from Juvenal:

Such Rows of Curles press’d on each other lye,
She builds her Head so many Stories high,
That look on her before, and you would swear
Hector’s tall Wife Andromache she were,

Behind a Pigmy— (Evelyn 21)

As opposed to the metaphor of the ship deployed in the poem, Evelyn creates a metaphor which likens hairdressing to architectural engineering. Hair was a theme that resonated with John Evelyn's earlier writings, including his notes on his own 1659 translation of *The golden book of St. John Chrysostom, concerning the education of children translated out of the Greek*. In these notes, we see comments on the ancient Greek custom of shaving the hair (they were "wont to shave the crowns of their Children, and to have their locks to hang down"); on the Romans, he writes that they admired the Carthaginians' "monstrous heads of hair" which "were in great esteem amongst the luxurious" (Evelyn, *Chrysostom* 91, 92). After quoting from Juvenal's Eighth Satire, John Evelyn comments: "[w]hich I add in reproof of some old men in our days, who to the reproach of gravity, and that reverend blessing, being now descending to the Sepulcher, do yet *mentiri juvenem*, and would be thought boyes. But of these customes, let the *Readers* consult *Papinius*....I pass them over" (Evelyn, *Chrysostom* 92).

The architectural metaphor is not limited to Evelyn, but is also employed by Congreve in *The Way of the World*: Foible observes, "Your Ladyship has frown'd a little too rashly, indeed Madam. There are some Cracks discernable in the white Vernish," to which Lady Wishfort replies, "Let me see the Glass—Cracks, say'st thou? Why I am arrantly flea'd—I look like an old peel'd wall. Thou must repair me *Foible*, before Sir *Rowland* comes; or I shall never keep up to my Picture" (Congreve 36). Thus, the metaphor of architecture extends from hair to paint. McLaughlin notes that the "most important material for painting was white lead," which, because of its "covering power" was also used in "house-painting" (74).

The precis (the final paragraph of the preface) further reveals the connection between the concerns of John Evelyn in his additions to the *Mundus* and those of Juvenal in his Sixth Satire:

both Evelyn and Juvenal deal with the overarching theme of marriage and use satire as a vehicle for communicating their underlying concerns about change. Although the tone of the *Mundus Muliebris* is Horatian, the plot is Juvenalian and revolves around the themes of marriage, language change, and luxury. As Nussbaum comments, the Sixth Satire “served as an important source for all subsequent dressing-room scenes,” and even “Dryden acknowledges that the original has become ‘a Common-place’” (104). Juvenal’s Sixth Satire is set up as a marriage plot: the man “is now going to insert his idiot head in the nuptial halter; nay, and more than this, is looking out for a wife possessed of the virtues of ancient days!” (Juvenal 41). Like Juvenal, Evelyn uses the discourse of marriage to express his concerns about a changing society — one that seems to be disintegrating in virtue. By comparing Evelyn’s concerns in the *Mundus* with Juvenal’s themes in the Sixth Satire, we have seen that Evelyn mirrors Juvenal in using the genre of satire as a vehicle for narrating and dramatizing his concerns; as Juvenal writes: “All this is our invention! and Satire is borrowing the tragic buskin, forsooth; and transgressing the limits prescribed by those who trod the path before us” (64).

In similar fashion, we see that conducting an analysis of *The Rape of the Lock* (1714), “The lady’s dressing-room” (1732), and the *Mundus Muliebris* (1690, 1700) shows Pope, Swift, and Mary Evelyn using the vehicle of satire as an ends to express their competing ideologies of class, gender, and agency. Mary Evelyn’s is a Horatian satire with an expansive understanding of human nature while Swift’s and Pope’s offer a Juvenalian critique. We see this difference through an analysis of the scenes of the toilet and the Exchange as well as the marginalized figures of the servant and the merchant. As Greenblatt writes in his Introduction to *Representing the English Renaissance*: “[a] culture’s diverse social constructions are at once interconnected and differentiated, so that if, for example, a culturally dominant conception of social inequality

shapes artistic representations, those representations have at the same time the power to constrain, shape, alter, and even resist” (viii).

Both Pope and Swift deal in extremes: whereas Pope hyperbolically praises Belinda in his “Heroi-Comical” poem in a comic and light register, Swift exaggerates the disorder of “haughty” Celia’s vacant dressing-room in a scathing Juvenalian manner. Mary Evelyn, meanwhile, strikes a balanced and experienced view of the female and her dressing room, satirizing foibles while showcasing luxurious fashions and furnishings.

On the other hand, in Swift’s *The Lady’s Dressing-Room*, Strephon steals into the vacant space of the dressing-room since Celia has gone out and the maid, Betty, is “otherwise employ’d” (3). Betty’s primary employment is, however, alluded to within the very first lines of the poem: “Five Hours, (and who can do it less in?) / By haughty Cælia spent in Dressing” (3). Although the narrative is silent on the question of whether Betty has indeed labored for five hours to help her “haughty” mistress dress, it is certainly expected that it is her job to clean up afterward. Furthermore, the narrative assumes that she is neglecting that job, either to attend to duties elsewhere in the household, or, in the case that she had been helping Celia to dress, perhaps to snatch a much-needed rest. Strephon, a potential beau, is not obligated to tidy up, but instead of passing by the vacant room, “Stole in, and took a strict survey / Of all the Litter, as it lay”:

Three Night-Gloves made of *Tripsey’s* Hide,
 Bequeath’d by *Tripsey* when she died,
 With Puppy-Water, Beauty’s Help,
 Distilled from *Tripsey’s* darling Whelp. (Swift 3-4)

Strephon also compiles his findings into a report — “Whereof, to make the Matter clear, / An *Inventory* follows here” — a slanderous tale which he shamelessly circulates, as the poem indicates through dramatic irony (“And *Strephon* bids us guess the rest”) and embedded narrative (“But swears how damnably the Men lye / In calling Cælia sweet and cleanly”) (3, 4). Whereas Betty’s dutiful, silent, and wisest labor would be to make all the “Matter clear” by righting the dressing room and restoring order to the chaos left in Celia’s wake, Strephon seizes the maid’s moment of lapse (“otherwise” labour) to sneak into the toilet and smear Celia’s character to the world. Ultimately, however, Strephon’s sensationalist “inventory” of Celia’s dressing room is a miserable catalogue of Betty’s daily “employment” and, quite possibly, a dismal indication of her abilities as a ladies’ maid.

As opposed to the narrative’s implicit condemnation of “otherwise employ’d” Betty in *The Lady’s Dressing-Room*, we see the stolen praise of “Th’inferior Priestess” Betty in the famous toilet scene of Pope’s *The Rape of the Lock*. Belinda, the heroine, is “A heavn’ly Image” in the looking glass and, Betty, her maid, is “Th’inferior Priestess” who resides at her “Altar’s side” and “Trembling, begins the sacred Rites of Pride” (Pope I. 127-8). Unlike “otherwise employ’d” Betty in *The Lady’s Dressing-Room*, Betty’s female labors are here beautifully enumerated:

Unnumber’d Treasures ope at once, and here
 The various Off’rings of the World appear;
 From each she nicely culls with curious Toil,
 And decks the Goddess with the glitt’ring Spoil....” (Pope I. 129-132)

However, Betty’s agency (“curious Toil”) diminishes and dissolves in favor of fantastic anthropomorphism and spiritual activity of Sylphs at the toilet. Material objects — casket (“This

Casket *India's* glowing Gems unlocks”), combs (“The Tortoise here and Elephant unite, / Transform’d to *Combs*, the speckled and the white”), and pins (“Here Files of Pins extend their shining Rows) — replace Betty as grammatical subject and displace her from the narrative for sixteen lines (Pope I. 133-7). Initially, Betty plays a key role in affecting the cosmetic transformation of “Goddess” Belinda, but the narrative divests her of agency as Belinda becomes “awful Beauty” and her self-worship turns to self-help: “The Fair each moment rises in her Charms, / Repairs her Smiles, awakens ev’ry Grace, / And calls forth all the Wonders of her Face” (Pope I. 140-143). Meanwhile, Betty and her “curious Toil” are superseded by the objects of the toilet, her role supplanted by “busy *Sylphs*” who “surround their darling Care”:

These set the Head, and those divide the Hair,
Some fold the Sleeve, whilst others plait the Gown;
And *Betty's* prais’d for Labours not her own.” (Pope I. 146-148)

Thus, the praise that the narrative initially bestowed upon Betty is retracted; power and praise in Pope’s dressing room belong not to “inferior” Betty, but to Caskets, Combs, Pins, Sylphs, “the *Cosmetic Pow’rs*” — and the self-absorbed Belinda (I. 124).

Whereas Pope and Swift marginalize female servants, Mary Evelyn turns the tables of power and puts men in the position of servants. No maids attend the toilet in the *Mundus Muliebris*. Instead, we are told of a Page who accompanies the lady into town, trailing behind her and supporting the enormous weight of her gown: her “Four Petticoats” are expressly “for Page to hold up” (Evelyn 2). However, the Page is never mentioned again; indeed, the lady’s skirts are sweeping “the Mall” within a few lines: “Nor Fringe to sweep the Mall forget” (Evelyn 2). This is because the true servant in the *Mundus* is, possibly, the beau. Indeed, the narrative divests the Page of responsibility for supporting the lady’s dress and transfers this duty to the beau through

verbal irony: “Three *Manteaus*, nor can Madam less / Provision have for due undress” (Evelyn 2). Here, the beau is put in the position of a servant to “Madam” and is, furthermore, expected to furnish provision against “undress” (Evelyn 2). Indeed, the entire catalogue is a hyperbolic shopping list of items which the young lady expects the beau to secure for her. The narrative later presents him scouring the “whole Town” for *Fil’gran* baskets “Or if *Japonian* to be found” (Evelyn 10). Furthermore, he is told that dozens of “*Calembuc* Combs” “You must present, and a world more, / She’s a poor Miss can count her store” (Evelyn 10). In the *Mundus Muliebris*, the beau is at the young lady’s beck and call, subject to the mercy of her whims.

In addition to the marginalized figures of the maid and the page in the scene of the toilet, we see the figure of the male and female merchant in Pope and Evelyn mobilized through the scene of the Exchange. The “Fop-Dictionary” mentions female merchants, or “Exchange Women” in the entry for *Rags*: “A Compendious Name generally us’d for all sorts of Point, Lace &c. whence the Women who bring them to Ladies Chambers are call’d *Ragg-Women*; but whilst in their Shops, Exchange-Women” (Evelyn 20). In *The Rape of the Lock*, we also read of the Merchant in the context of the Exchange:

Mean while declining from the Noon of Day,
 The Sun obliquely shoots his burning Ray;
 The hungry Judges soon the Sentence sign,
 And Wretches hang that Jury-men may Dine;
 The Merchant from th’*Exchange* returns in Peace,
 And the long Labours of the *Toilette* cease --- (Pope III. 19-24)

Evelyn’s Exchange Women are figures of transition and doubling, agential females who are able to occupy the liminal space between the exchange and the dressing room; furthermore,

they are in possession of two names and identities marked by their place of business, either in the public sphere of the marketplace (“whilst in their Shops”) or the private sphere of the domestic interior (“Ladies Chambers”) (Evelyn 20). These women are figures of “Point, Lace &” whose arrival signifies a moment of re-stocking the supply of the dressing-room; on the other hand, we see that the male Merchant in Pope is a figure of “Peace” whose coming signifies the end of the “long Labours of the *Toilette*” (Evelyn 20, Pope III. 23). Pope’s Merchant returning home from the Exchange does not enter the space of the *Toilette*, but his movement away from the marketplace is compared to Belinda’s movement out of the dressing room, underscoring the message that both the Exchange and the dressing room are spaces in which work is done.

The mediator between the *toilette* and the Exchange in Evelyn is the Exchange Woman herself; however, the mediator between the *toilette* and the Exchange in Pope lies in the third space to which they are both likened: the courtroom — “hungry Judges soon the Sentence sign, / And Wretches hang that Jury-men may Dine” (Pope III. 21-22). Here, we see that the marginalized “Wretches” occupy a contingent time; their lives are worth less than those of the judge and jury. On the other hand, in the *Mundus*, the Exchange Woman’s livelihood is sustained and her commercial labor supported by the fashionable appetites and even the foibles of the “Refined Lady” (sig. A2v). Evelyn’s satire dignifies women and displays a surprisingly expansive understanding of human nature: Pope’s unnamed “Wretches” are sentenced to death; but Evelyn’s “Exchange Women” are given a living and “call’d” “A Compendious Name” (20). It is as though nineteen-year-old Mary were able to satirize the foibles of the fashionable lady while also acknowledging her as a vital figure in the lives and careers of the tradeswoman; the audience is amused; commerce carries on.

Chapter Three: Science and Sociability

The *Mundus Muliebris* is a text of multiple narrative registers; indeed, it is both a productive and a reproductive text. As we have seen already, the poetic of the list patterns not only upon the forms of classical rhetoric and satire but also the practice of female creative production. In Chapter Three: “Science and Sociability,” we will see how the processes of property and inheritance are reflected in the textual reproduction of the inventory of the dressing room. Through the lens of material culture, we will observe a few examples of the *Mundus*’ objects from the material world (furniture and fashions) which concern its public spaces — spaces portrayed in the poem as sites of female power, ranging from gambling tables to dressing rooms, parks to churches. In Chapter One we observed the private space of the prayer closet with its poetic productions; in Chapter Two, the public space of the market with its material reproductions; finally, in Chapter Three, we will examine furnishings and pastimes in the space of the early modern domestic interior and, especially, the distillery,—a site of curiosity, convergence, and chemistry—the space of this “Elegant Science” (Evelyn 22).

Part One: Furnishings

“apparel, household furniture, books, pictures, weapons, linen, livestock...”

- Holderness

A significant portion of Mary’s list is an inventory of household furnishings that the beau will be expected to provide for his new wife. In the preface, John Evelyn also includes a description of the household furnishings of generations past and comments on their quality. The furnishings mentioned in the preface are cupboards, chests, beds and bedsteads, shovel-boards, hall and parlour tables, joint-stools, black jacks, silver tankards and bowls. On the other hand, the poem lists tapestry, “Damask Bed,” “*Cofre-fort*,” cabinets, vases, chimney furniture, a tea-table, screens, trunks, a stand, a looking glass, a shelf, and clocks (8). By examining the production and circulation of a few of these furnishings we see their function in early modern culture as markers of memorialization and mobility: whereas furniture for memorialization had commemorative, familial values and a fixed temporality, furnishings for social mobility were attached to values of fashion and commodity, with an ephemeral temporality.

In her study “‘An Arelome To This Hous For Ever’: Monumental Fixtures and Furnishings in the English Domestic Interior, c. 1560-1660” Tara Hamling researches the domestic interior as a “hitherto under-investigated site of remembrance in early modern England” and argues against the “secularization thesis” which posits a divide between the sacred and the secular in early modern culture (59). She views the furnishings of the early modern interior through the lens of commemorative culture as effecting a “migration” of “traditional iconographies and visual forms from places of worship to the context of the home,” focusing on

“the central significance of domestic houses and their furnishings in the construction and articulation of social identity at the gentry and middling levels” (Hamling 59, 61). In the *Mundus Muliebris*, we see that furniture is situated in two different domestic contexts: in the preface, furniture is part of a paternal tradition of commemoration and inheritance, fixed and forever; in the poem, however, furniture is a fashionable commodity and indispensable luxury of the female world; further, it is a precursor to marriage, family, and upward social mobility as the beau must furnish the lady’s apartment before he secures her hand.

The acquisition of household property in the poem is treated as an economic exchange in the marketplace: “Besides all these, ’tis always meant / You furnish her Apartment” (Evelyn 8). In the preface, however, furnishings are described in terms of their age, implying that they have been passed from one generation to the next as heirlooms: the “Furniture of the House, lasted a whole Century” (Evelyn sig. A3r). Evelyn’s chronology describes “Men of Estate” who not only “studied the Publick Good” and “served their Generation with Honour” but also “left their Patrimonial Estates improv’d to an Hopeful Heir” (sig. A3v). As John Bly clarifies in *English Furniture*, “[b]y the end of the sixteenth century, people needed all sorts of hitherto unknown furniture for their homes. As this furniture evolved, new terms to describe it entered the English vocabulary” (14). One such new term was the *cupboard*: “[c]ups were traditionally a sign of wealth and cupboards were literally what they sounded like — surfaces on which cups could be displayed and stored — and only later were they enclosed for security, although the word remained unchanged” (Bly 14). As a matter of fact, Evelyn heads up his list of household furnishings with “Cupboards of Ancient, useful Plate” (sig. A3r). However, cupboards grew increasingly decorative as they took on display functions in the home. Cupboards used to house clothes or food were “known as ‘livery cupboards’ or ‘aumbries’” (Bly 14). On the contrary, the

“buffet or ‘court’ cupboard,” was distinct from the livery cupboard as it was often placed more visibly on a stand (Bly 14). The court cupboard was especially visible, being “typically displayed in a hall or parlour” (Hamling 70). Since it was used to show off plate as well as to store it, the chest “symbolized hospitality as well as inheritance” (Hamling 70).

In the preface, John Evelyn comments that “the Furniture of the House, lasted a whole Century” (sig. A3r). In her analysis of the Crooke Hall dining table, Hamling notes that “once installed, this table was intended as a permanent fixture” (64). This stands in contrast to the portability of trestle tables which “had two or more moveable supports or trestles supporting a main dining board that could be easily turned up and put aside when the space was needed for other purposes” (Hamling 64 n22). Hamling observes that the idea of permanence in the Crooke Hall dining table is “made plain in an inscription on a panel above the left-hand central leg, which states ‘An Arelome To This Hous For Ever’” (65).

As Mark Bridge observes in *An Encyclopedia of Desks*, “[t]hose of noble birth lived in a way that was far from settled until the 17th century,” and “[t]he French word for furniture, *meuble*, is close enough to movable/mobile to remind us of this mode of life. Thus furniture tended to be robust and functional” (Introduction). However, a new desire for stability was felt among the emerging middle class of the seventeenth century: “businessmen and tradesmen who were determined that their families should enjoy the same stable and secure family life that had previously been the prerogative only of the rich” (Bly 13). This concern with stability and security is reflected in inventories of movable possessions as well as in the preface to the *Mundus*. With increased stability came increased fixity of furnishings: rather than items that could be carried away in a hurry, came items that were riveted to the floors and walls. Evelyn writes that “long Tables both in Hall and Parlour were as fixed as the Freehold; nothing was

moveable save Joynt-Stools, Black Jacks, Silver Tankards, and Bowls” (sig. A3r). The method of making the joint-stool was revolutionary and enabled the construction of “furniture far lighter in weight than had been previously possible;” therefore, joining “changed furniture making forever” (Bly 12). Even the term became encoded into the language in the early modern period as “the man responsible for the frame-making was (and still is) known as a ‘joyner,’ or joiner” (Bly 12).

In the preface, John Evelyn opines that in days gone by, ladies “knew not so much as the Names of *Ombre*, *Comet*, and *Basset* (sig. A4r)” However, the poem exhibits an entire scene staged at the card table: “To play at *Ombre* or *Basset*, / She a rich *Pulvil* Purse must get, / With Gunieas fill’d, on Cards to lay, / With which she fancies most to play (Evelyn 4). “At the court of Charles II, gambling had become a fashionable pastime;” therefore, gaming tables “became another obligatory piece of furniture in a rich man’s house” (Bly 27). The gaming table provided “another new challenge to the joiner,” as the table-tops were “hinged to fold over in half, supported when open by one or two legs being made to swing out from the frame” (Bly 26). On the other hand, “[w]hen closed, the table showed a solid wood surface” and could function “as an additional side table” (Bly 27). Tables were centers of sociability, and “[d]uring the last quarter of the seventeenth century, card games of loo, basset, ombre and quadrille (ombre for four) were played for high stakes, as well as chess, backgammon and dicing” (Bly 27).

Besides early modern sociability exemplified in the *Mundus Muliebris* around dining tables and gambling tables, we see the emergence of tea tables:

In 1700, the Joiners’ Company, in a case against the ‘Import of Manufactured Furniture and Cabinet Work,’ complained that, apart from the vast quantities of cabinets, chests, trunks, screens and chairs being unloaded at the Port of London by the East India

merchants, over 6,500 lacquered tea tables had been imported within the previous four years. A tax of 15 per cent was subsequently put on all such merchandise (Bly 36).

Years before the case against the import of manufactured tea tables, the Duchess of Lauderdale hosts the first tea-party. Bly notes:

In 1679 [she] is recorded as having a group of ladies to sample her chaw [tea from China] in the withdrawing room at Ham House where she entertained at what was probably the first ever ‘tea party.’ Here, and at every subsequent upper-class gathering, a great and lavish display of silver and oriental porcelain would have been presented on the tea table, and much protocol accorded to its use (37).

In the *Mundus*, the young lady takes her “Restoring Breakfast,” supplied with “A *Tea* and *Chocolate Pot*” (11). An interesting development in language change is noted by Bly: “by the early 1720s, the specific time spent ‘taking tea’—by now an elaborate excuse for gossip—had adopted the name of the table so that people attended a ‘tea table’ rather than a tea party, thus giving the piece of furniture an even more important position in the household inventory” (37). Ultimately, the tea table became “one of the most produced pieces of English furniture in history” (Bly 37).

Silver was one material which fostered continental sociability. John Evelyn makes special mention of “Silver Tankards” and fondly lists all the brews that they contained: “Nappy Ale, *March Beer*, *Metheglin*, *Malmesey*, and *Old Sherry*” (sig. A3r). Pattern-books (such as Whitney’s *Emblems and Other Devices* of 1586) brought “non-European motifs to the attention of British silversmiths, who were heavily influenced by the designs” and went on to create silverware with “monstrous carbuncles in the form of sea monsters, masks, flowers, and almost anything that could be cast or embossed” (Pearsall 40, 44). Fortunately, however, “[f]unctional

containers and drinking vessels such as tankards and beakers...partly escaped these excesses” (Pearsall 44). Silver is much mentioned in the poem: the young lady’s apartment houses vases “of Silver, *Porcelan*, store / To set, and range about the Floor,” and her dressing-room contains “A pair of Silver Candlesticks” among the “*Washes, Unguents, and Cosmeticks*,” as well as “Waters” stored in “silver Flasks, or Bottles” (8, 9). A “Box of Silver” is listed with a pincushion, brush, and “Oval Salver,” (*silver* perhaps chosen in this case as an approximate rhyme to *salver*) (10). Another mention of silver is the “*Filgran Casset*” which dispenses perfume (9). In the “Fop-Dictionary.” “*Fil-grain’d*” is defined as “Dressing-Boxes, Baskets, or whatever else is made of Silver Wire-work” (18).

When Louis XIV revoked the Edict of Nantes in 1685, French Huguenots “established a thriving silk industry at Spitalfields in London, and brought with them silvermaking abilities of a sophistication unknown in Britain. Working in heavier-gauge silver, they established new standards, introduced novel techniques...and instilled life in an industry stuck in the stylistic doldrums” (Pearsall 47). Thus, in the poem, we read of innovative uses of silver, such as the young lady’s four pairs of *Bas de soy*, stockings which are “shot through / With Silver” (3). In the “Fop-Dictionary” we find that *Bas de soy* are “Silk Stockings with Gold, or Silver thread, wove into the Clock [Cloth]” (15).

From oak to silver, tables to tankards, in the *Mundus Muliebris* we have seen that as signifiers of memorialization and mobility, furnishings in the early modern domestic context act as reflections either of the permanence of family or the ephemerality of fashion. John Evelyn’s preface illustrates a list of furnishings such as hall tables, bedsteads, and silverware passed down through the generations and, therefore, built to last, anticipating the longevity of the family line and anchoring the household in genealogy and tradition through process of inheritance, either at

death or at the time of marriage. On the other hand, Mary Evelyn's poem is an index to the cultural histories of fashionable furnishings such as card tables and tea tables as well as commodities such as porcelain and the "*Tea and Chocolate Pot*" which facilitated conversation and sociability.

Part Two: Recreation

“A Friend, a Booke, and a Garden”

- John Evelyn

Moving from a discussion of early modern sociability as exemplified in production and use of furnishings (cupboards, tables, and silver) in the domestic interior to a discussion of sociability in early modern science, we see that together with the kitchen and garden, the distillery forms a group of three settings in the *Mundus* that dramatize the interplay between interior and exterior space; public and private spheres; and scientific and domestic concerns; engaging fruitfully with the interests of Mary Evelyn as well as with John Evelyn and the world of the Royal Society. The social history of medicine is currently repositioning its cultural histories “to discern the relationships among local knowledges” (Cook 108). Both the private body of knowledge created in the Evelyn home and the public body of knowledge circulated at the Royal Society are generated by localized groups. Further, these groups sought to “improve material life and power” and “to ameliorate human suffering” — two goals which Cook identifies as “a critical part of a re-envisioned landscape” of the study of the cultural history of medicine.²⁴

²⁴ Describing early modern sociability, Cook writes that,

...if science is no longer an autonomous topic of study, then the search for methods to improve material life and power, and to ameliorate human suffering, becomes a critical part of a re-envisioned landscape, affecting not only how we account for change but also what needs to be accounted for. The Galileos and Newtons, Van Helmonts and Harveys, are still there, but a new appreciation of the early modern ecology shows a complex and interdependent environment....(108)

This same theme of material improvement is the one being addressed by men and women in the early modern period—from Royal Society philosophers to women of letters—as well as imagined and creatively articulated in the *Mundus Muliebris*' "Elegant Science" taking place in the domestic spaces of the kitchen and distillery (pharmacology, musicology) as well as the garden and library (horticulture, botany) (Evelyn 22). In his article "Medicine and the Scientific Revolution," Harold J. Cook traces critical approaches to the social history of medicine, commenting "since the mid-1980s, historians of science, too, have undergone many changes, most importantly in often considering their subject to be a set of activities—of practices—rather than a set of concepts" (108). By the same token, this paper will approach music, sewing, and horticultural activity as a series of early modern recreational practices as well as a set of scientific, artistic, and aesthetic concepts.

If the *Mundus Muliebris* begins abroad (or, at least, in transit) with a negative assertion—"This Paper was not to come abroad without a Preface" (Evelyn sig. A2r)—it ends, at home, in the distillery, with a positive direction: "Still all these together in a *Rose Water Still*, either at once or twice; Let it drop slowly into a *Glass-Bottle*, in which let there be a lump of *Loaf Sugar*, and a little *Leaf-gold*" (Evelyn 22). In this, "a most rare and incomparable Receipt, to make *Pig*, or *Puppidog-Water* for the Face," we see the figure of the female chemist in her space of creation, experimenting with rose water, "*Loaf-Sugar*" and "*Leaf-gold*" as a cosmetic preparation (Evelyn 22).

Both enlightening and enlivening is this recipe amended to the "Fop-Dictionary" in the second edition of the *Mundus*: "a most rare and incomparable Receipt, to make *Pig*, or *Puppidog-Water* for the Face." Puppidog-water seems to have been considered a beauty treatment among females in the Restoration period, including Samuel Pepys' wife Elisabeth and

his aunt Mary Wight. In his entry for Tuesday 8 March 1664, Samuel Pepys writes, “Up with some little discontent with my wife upon her saying that she had got and used some puppy-dog water, being put upon it by a desire of my aunt Wight to get some for her; who hath a mind, unknown to her husband [Pepys’ uncle William], to get some for her ugly face” (361). In the tradition of folk lore and cures such as appear in Aubrey’s *Remaines of Gentilisme and Judaisme*, the recipe for Puppido-g-water calls for the blood and guts of a pig or dog “nine days old” to be combined with “two Quarts of old Canary,” “a Quart of *Snails-Shells*,” “*Leaf-Gold*,” and “a *Rose Water Still*” (23). However, the detailed and methodical preparation (“save the Blood, and fling away nothing but the Guts...[l]et it drop slowly into a *Glass-Bottle*”) is also reminiscent of experiments at the Royal Society, particularly the live blood-transfusion experiments carried out on sheep and dogs, as recorded by Pepys on 14 November 1666 (“for the amending of bad blood by borrowing from a better body”) and by Evelyn on 28 February 1667 in their respective diaries (22-3).

“Their Recreations [were] in the Distillatory,” writes Evelyn in the preface, “the knowledge of Plants and their Virtues, for the comfort of their poor Neighbors, and use of the Family, which wholesome plain Dyet, and Kitching Physick preserved in perfect Health” (sig. A4r). Elaine Leong identifies “four distilled waters that were particularly useful to have on hand” from Harvey’s *The Family Physician and the House Apothecary* (1676): these distilled waters were to be used “either as a simple medicine or as an ingredient for compound medicines such as cordial juleps and cordial potions: these are the waters of baume, black-cherry, blessed thistle, and red poppy” (160-1). In *The Curious Distillatory* (1677), Johann Sigismund Elsholtz describes the space of the “Laboratory” and the ease at which ladies may attempt his “Experiments.” In his preface, translator Thomas Sherley attests

That the Experiments here alledged, are so easily practicable, That a great part of them may be performed in a Chamber, (by such common and cheap means, as are constantly to be had, either at the Druggists, or common Chymists) and do not require a Specious Laboratory, (which is expensive,) nor long attendance (as many Chymical *Processes* do) which is tedious.” (sig. A6v)

Further, he argues for the reliability of his distillations, and distinguishes the “certain” experiments in his book from others which may be “*Contingent*.”

“And yet these are not of the Nature of *Contingent* Experiments which sometimes happen, and sometimes fail...But they are certain in their event, and seldom subject to Miscariage. If therefore *Reader* thou art virtuously inclined, and hadst rather spend Thy time innocently, and usefully, than viciously, (not to say Modishly:) Thou maist here be furnished with occasions to do so.” (sig. A6v, A7r)

Thus, the space of the distillery and the kitchen are brought together in the preface and portrayed as virtuous sites of preservation and healing. Female knowledge of the natural world is shown to support and sustain not only the immediate domestic circle but also the community at large (“for the comfort of their poor Neighbors”); consequently, the medicinal and herbal arts are helpful not only to the female practitioners themselves, but also to a local community of patients extending beyond the immediate domestic context (Evelyn sig. A4r).

The poem mentions various ways in which the spaces of creation and initiation for female pharmacologists and herbalists extended beyond their personal kitchens and gardens, to the end that medicinal practice is seen as a medium for social exchange: the collision of science and sociability taking place in the distillery and kitchen enables the entire community to prosper from

female labors.²⁵ The type of labor occurring in the distillery, accordingly, is described by John Evelyn as recreational rather than manual, suggesting a link between domestic science and fashionable activities such as singing and sewing that took place inside and outdoors, at home and abroad, in the county and in the town.

In the *Mundus Muliebris*, we see John Evelyn's list of fashionable songs and dances in the preface ("They danc'd the *Canarys*, *Spanish Pavan*, and *Selengers Round* upon Sippets, with as much Grace and Loveliness, as any *Monsieur*" (sig. A4r). He also positions "the *Musick*" in the setting of Marryland, together with "the *Play*" and "the *Park*," "the *Raffle*" and "the *Tunbridge*" (sig. A2v). Additionally, we see Mary's reference to the "hanging Shelf" on which sit "Romances, Plays, and Amorous Songs" in her description of the young lady's apartment space (8). Our discussion of Mary Evelyn's musical talent expands upon this repeated motif of music in the text and relates to Cook's theory of the social and scientific "transformations" of knowledge that occur in regions of "embodied life"—

The sources of the human spirit remain mysterious, but they deserve to be tracked through the thickets of embodied life rather than treated as if they exist apart from it. If the development of science and medicine (and technology) is not the result of conceptual breakthroughs but a matter of transformations intimately connected to other aspects of humanity, in many places, then these transformations need to be integrated.... (108)

In the "Fop-Dictionary," the speaker refers to an "Elegant Science" which enlightens and enlivens life; we will see that together with sewing and horticulture, music forms part of Mary Evelyn's "embodied life" — integrating her understanding of the natural and material world.

²⁵ As Archer writes, the "stillroom (or 'distillatorie') and the manuscript receipt book were two of the most important sites of female creativity in early modern England" (215).

Mary was known for her musical talent and vocal ability, having been professionally trained. In his *Diary* entry for 7 February 1682, John Evelyn notes that Mary has “began to learne Musick of Signor *Bartholomeo*” (4: 271). On 8 March 1685, upon the news of her death, he devotes a lengthy passage to commemoration of her musical talents:

She had to all this an incomparable sweete Voice, to which she play'd a through-base on the Harpsichord, in both which she ariv'd to that perfection, that of all the Schollars of those Two famous Masters, Signor *Pietro* and *Bartolomeo*: she was esteem'd the best; [for] the sweetenesse of her voice, and management of it, adding such an agreablenesse to her Countenance, without any constraint and concerne. (4: 421-22)

Furthermore, music was a medium of sociability in Mary's life, as she performed not only for the family but also for a wider sphere of friends:

when she sung, it was as charming to the Eye, as to the Eare; this I rather note, because it was a universal remarke, & for which so many noble & judicious persons in Musique, desir'd to heare her; the last, being at my Lord Arundels of Wardours, where was a solemn Meeting of about twenty persons of quality, some of them greate judges & Masters of Musique; where she sung with the famous Mr. *Pordage*, Signor *Joh: Battist* touching the Harpsichord &c: with exceeding applause. (4: 422)

Upon her death, John Evelyn composes lines to commemorate Mary's life and celebrate her role in the family as a vocalist and musician. Through the medium of music in the *Mundus* (both the recreational activity of singing and playing the harpsichord) female knowledge of the material world exemplifies sociability in spaces beyond the sphere of the dressing room and in other areas of the domestic interior including the parlour and communal areas where company could be entertained and hours enlivened by the sociability of conversation and music.

Mary's understanding of the harpsichord indicates her knowledge of music as a science and art form. Musical performance depends not only on interpreting lines on a sheet of composition but also performing to the lasting pleasure of the audience. The *play* of the harpsichord is also a *display* of Mary's ability to creatively interpret time signifiers as encoded on a musical arrangement or score sheet as well as her ability to translate this figural representation of time into a real-time performance; as Feld and Basso comment of music as a place-making practice, "sound is central to making sense, to knowing, to experiential truth," so that "the experience of place" is "grounded in an acoustic dimension" (97). Further, "[m]usic is sound and silence in time" (Henry 1). Thus, music becomes a medium for Mary's creative and critical self-fashioning, encoding meaning for the duration of the performance and long after the moment has passed.

Furthermore, her musical performance, like her literary output, is the work of her "Charitable hands," as her father explains in the preface (Evelyn sig. A4v).²⁶ By adding the labor of her fingers to the craftsmanship of the harpsichord in a manner which exemplifies her mastery of the science and art of music, Mary transforms a fashionable commodity item into a vehicle for social interaction and regenerative memorialization — a monument which itself inspires the creative imaginations and insights of her father in his elegy to her memory: "On my Deare Child: M.E. Elegie To her Harpsichord." Evelyn begins: "Peace mournfull Instrument, let none / 'Ere touch thee more, now she is gon" ("Child").

Through the medium of poetry, Evelyn invests the harpsichord's materiality with affective meaning. It is an object which reflects his own sorrow. He pronounces it a "mournfull Instrument" — mournful, like himself, not only on the occasion of his daughter's passing, but

²⁶ For a consideration of Mary Evelyn's literary output in the context of the prayer closet, see Chapter One; for charitable giving and the public sphere, see Chapter Two.

also on subsequently sighting the silent harpsichord in the home (“Child”). However, the harpsichord is also an object of comfort. It is not only mournful, like Evelyn, but also at peace, like Mary, as Evelyn uses the imperative form “Peace” to open the poem. This term recalls Mary’s condition immediately prior to passing. She is peaceful, takes the sacrament, and, as Evelyn writes: “disposing her selfe to suffer what God should determine to inflict, she bore the remainder of her sicknesse with extraordinary patience, and piety & with more than ordinary resignation, and marks of a sanctified & blessed frame of mind, rendred [up] her soule” (*Diary*, 4: 420). The opening injunction of the poem is reflective of the temporality of death (she is “at peace”); however, it also anticipates the effects of peace and healing that Evelyn hopes to achieve through the process of poetry, using the materiality of the harpsichord as an anchor of memorialization. Ultimately, “arts of remembrance in a domestic setting” convey “the constant sense” of a departed loved one’s “presence through knowledge that they once inhabited, touched and changed these very spaces, leaving their mark as a physical trace on surfaces as well as a record of their lives” (Hamling 80-1).

Thus, the elegy exemplifies the interconnectivity between art and science, music and poetry, material culture and sociability in the *Mundus*, and is a prime example of the “Elegant Science” that the speaker at the end of the dictionary mentions (22). An “Elegant Science” therefore, is one which operates according to a rational method and demonstrates mastery of the natural world. It also moves hearers or readers to various positive affective responses (elegance) including healing (pharmacology and herbalism in the distillery and garden) and memorialization which comforts and eases during times of mourning (music). If “[t]he emergence of modern science over the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries brought with it robust debate about the usefulness of various forms of knowledge” and “the burden of proof lay with the

purveyors of the new forms of scientific knowledge to establish the social utility of their enterprises” — we see in *The Curious Distillatory* (1677) Johann Sisigmund Elsholtz proving the social utility of his text: on the title page he declares that the book contains “many Experiments easy to perform, yet Curious, surprizing, and useful” (Cummins and Burchell 16). Likewise, we see John Evelyn at the end of the “Fop-Dictionary” setting up the social utility of the “Elegant Science” as one that informs through language: “To conclude, Those who have the curiosity, by comparing these Terms with the Ancients” may “inform themselves, how this Elegant Science is improv’d” (22). “This Elegant Science” operates through “Invention,” “Courage,” and “curiosity” (Evelyn 22).

The domestic interiors of the *Mundus* are home to ladies deeply involved in the pastime of sewing. We see that in the preface, to conclude his directions to the beau, John Evelyn reminisces on “the days of our Fore-Fathers” who,

Court and chose their Wives for their Modesty, Frugality, keeping at Home, Good-Housewifery, and other Oeconomical Virtues then in Reputation: and when the young Damsels were taught all these in the Country, and their Parents Houses, the Portion they brought in was more in Virtue than Money, and she was a richer Match than one who could have brought a Million, and nothing else to commend her.” (sig. A2v, A3r)

As we observed in the section on music, the labor of Mary’s hands adds personal meaning to commodity items, transforming the *Spindle* and *Needle* into objects of value that circulated in both the Evelyn family sphere and wider social and cultural networks through the medium of clothing and costume, as the products of the spindle and needle were worn not only at home but also in town. Thus, we see that costume functions as a medium for the display of

female knowledge, signifying a woman's ability not only to fashion herself in the decorative arts but also to produce, circulate, display, and, perhaps, advertise the work of her hands in society.

Furthermore, the spindle and needle function much like the pen. All three are instruments which mediate between the fingers or hands of the early modern woman and the products of her labour, be they thread, embroidery, or poetry. In the preface to the *Mundus*, John Evelyn mentions these instruments when he writes that the young ladies “put their hands to the Spindle, nor disdain'd they the Needle”; in fact, they were “helpful to their Parents; instructed in the Managery of the Family, and gave Presages of making excellent Wives” (sig. A4r). As implements of production which facilitate the transmission of female knowledge from the body onto real-world material forms such as cloth and paper, the spindle, needle, and pen are representative of material objects in the early modern domestic interior that are harnessed by women to display their imaginative potential, intellectual ability, and social agency. As we have seen in previous chapters, these three objects of production together engender a world of objects of dissemination in the *Mundus* — a world of poetic lines and woven threads.

We move away from music and sewing at last to a consideration of horticultural activity. The agency of the Elegant Science as practiced in the spaces of the domestic interior is its ability to skillfully sustain the “outside” world, disrupting temporalities of sickness and loss with an array of material objects generated within the home to the preservation of health and wholeness in the wider community. Through an examination of the space of the garden, we see that the cultivation of the early modern female understanding extends into the natural world.

Daughter of a prolific writer in the field of botanical sciences, Mary Evelyn had access to her father's published books on forestry, estate management, and horticulture. John Evelyn “met and corresponded with Robert Boyle, with the intelligencer Samuel Hartlib, and with Dr. John

Wilkins of Wadham College, all of whom had central roles in the fostering of scientific collaboration and the dissemination of knowledge for the betterment of humankind” (Ingram 3). In addition to these volumes, her observations of her own family’s gardening and estate improvement that took place constantly in and around Sayes Court no doubt contributed to her understanding of the usefulness of herbs and plants as well as to their vital role in the promotion and preservation of health both in the home and in the local community. As Darley writes of John Evelyn’s lists in *Directions for the Gardener at Sayes Court*: “[e]very suitable wall was smothered with fruit trees: apricot, peach and nectarine. In the great court, fountain garden and greenhouse garden were more fruit and nut trees: pear, cherry, quince, walnut and medlar....Evelyn provided long lists of annuals and perennials, shrubs and trees, and of course evergreens” (266). At Sayes Court, Evelyn “devoted his attention and energy to establishing some of the most renowned, cosmopolitan, and ‘modern’ garden landscapes in seventeenth-century England, creating in effect a laboratory for landscape design and plant cultivation” (Ingram 3).

Mary Evelyn may also have read Thomas Langford’s *Plain and Full Instructions to Raise All-Sorts of Fruit-Trees that Prosper in England*— a manual for gardening and land improvement which strove to present directions for farming in plain language. Evelyn owned two first editions (one a presentation copy) of the book, indeed, its preface is followed by a forward from John Evelyn himself, who attests: “I have read the *Treatise of Fruit-trees, &c*, which you lately put into my hand....I know of nothing extant which exceeds it” (Langford A5r). Langford was invested in creating a useful and accessible text:

nothing hath hindered *Planting* more among us than this, That Books are no more curious to acquaint People in every *circumstance* that is needful to a due conduct of this

business...The manner of expression I have used is plain, I have abstained carefully from all hard words, as judging it to much more purpose to be understood by a Plow-man, than commended by a Scholar. (Langford A4r-A4v)

John Evelyn informs Lord Godolphin in his letter of 20 March 1685 that Mary read widely and “cultivated her Understanding” using a horticultural metaphor for the process of self-improvement (*Letterbooks* 760). The cultivation of the female understanding tends to mastery of the natural world in the *Mundus* as exemplified by the young ladies whose “Retirements were Devout and Religious Books, and...the Knowledge of Plants and their Virtues” (Evelyn sig. A4r). Gardening practices exemplify mastery of time from the growing cycle with its seasons of sowing and harvest to care of the soil itself, including alternating periods of tillage and rest. A healthy garden was the space which demonstrated holistic knowledge of the rhythms of the natural world. A successful growing cycle depended upon adherence to calendar patterns of cosmic order governed by processes of classification, so that the early modern female horticulturalist displayed her knowledge of lunar and solar phases inasmuch as she tended to her garden and cultivated her understanding. What is at stake in the *Mundus Muliebris*, therefore, is not only a scholarly network of connections exemplifying early modern sociability but also an argument attentive to the agency of women’s writings and a testament to the ability of female poetry to act as a catalyst of collaboration, creativity, and curiosity.

Afterword

The year is 1689. John Evelyn is four years bereft of his beloved eldest daughter Mary and Elizabeth, Mary's younger sister. Susanna, youngest daughter and up-and-coming amateur painter, is now twenty, and taking the air at Tunbridge Wells with her brother and his wife. She writes home that she is "doeing nothing but dres[s] and santour frome morning til night" and begs for "t[w]o or three lines" from her father (qtd. in Gibson-Wood 238). John Evelyn replies with what Carol Gibson-Wood describes as "his longest recorded letter to his daughter" ending with the following poem of his own composition:

shall Walk, & Talke, & fatal Raffle
 Thyne Ingenuity all baffle?
 Drink, Dresse, & Dice, damed Daunce
 Now we have Warrs with pagan France,
 From Morn to Night take up thy Tim
 So as thou has none to Designe?
 O Wicked Wells, Good Child, come home,
 And fall again to point & Loome,
 If thou forget Cromatick pencil
 And then to worke againe do wincell
 Fear – better thou hads't learn'd to Spin,
 Than ever Tunbridge to have seene. (Gibson-Wood 238-9)²⁷

²⁷ An earlier variation of Evelyn's poem as well as his letter to Susanna is in the *Letterbooks*; the first line reads: "Shall Walk, and Talke, and fatal Rustle, / Thyne Ingenuity all bustle?" (917). Chambers and Galbraith comment in their footnote on "wincell" that it is "probably 'winkle' (also spelled wincle), as in the sense of 'to pick out': if so an unrecorded early use of this word as a verb" (917).

In the correspondence of John, Mary, and Susanna Evelyn as well as in Mary's posthumously published poem, *Mundus Muliebris*, we see that to dress is to labour—costuming becomes a self-conscious consumption of time, money, and energy. The labour of the *dresse* that the ladies describe burdened hours, lightened pocketbooks, and induced physical exhaustion. But *dresse* is not just any kind of labour. Unlike learning to spin or falling “to point & Loome”—activities which take up as much as if not more time and energy as the toilette—*dresse* is a costly affair. Whereas spinning and weaving the cloth for a dress constitutes a credit, purchasing the material for the *dresse* is a debit to the household register. According to the Christie's catalogues, Evelyn owned a copy of John Locke's *Second Treatise*; regarding labour, Locke draws the distinction that “it is labour indeed that puts the difference of value on every thing” (25).

John Evelyn did not appear to mind shelling out for some excusable debits, including Susanna's painting materials, and his wife's account book “records the purchase of several pieces of hair” (Gibson-Wood 238, Snook 118). However, in the poem to Susanna, lighthearted as it may be, he does not appear to consider the labour of “Dresse” as as virtuous “Design.” Whereas spinning, weaving, and needlepoint are ends in themselves, and, therefore, virtues; the labour of dress, for Evelyn is entirely a means to an end. This end is to appear respectable, since for Evelyn, outside appearance is a reflection of interior virtue. Further, he associates dress with the vices of drink, dice, and “Daunce.” As Edith Snook points out, “in early modern England, clothes were assumed to be active in fashioning not just the body and a social identity but inward states as well” (67). Virtuous design is that which adds value, and *dresse* is a vice which represents time, money, and energy better spent elsewhere.

In Mary Evelyn's *Mundus Muliebris*, we have seen a different and more temperate view of dress as a medium through which cultural exchange takes place. Dress—which encompasses hair and cosmetics as well as clothing—maps out a woman's space in the public sphere and the private sphere, making way for the early modern woman in the market (for instance, the rag-women which we see in the "Fop-Dictionary") and assigning her a private room in the house, a seat at the gambling table, and a stroke at the legal system (via the "Royal or Illustrious" lady of "Invention and Courage" who gives "the Law of the *Mode* to her own Country") (Evelyn 22).

In the space of the early modern dressing room, value lies in apparel, both in the quality of one's finery, and, as Mary Evelyn points out in her verses, in the sheer quantity of attire one owns. The artifacts of the dressing room are not only numerous but also costly, and Mary's poem counts clothing to the extent that the speaker announces herself "tir'd with numbers" (12). The plot of "A Voyage to Marryland" initially sets up a parallel relationship between an ever-expanding store of material goods and marriage or upward social mobility. And, much like the "Romances," "Plays," and "Farces" decried in the preface, the poem employs the trope of the dressing room as well as the figures of the fop and the young man, the young lady and the narrator, a polarized cast whose actions are set in binary relation to one another (sig. A4r). Whereas the characters of the fop and the young lady conform to the conventions of the romance plot, the characters of the narrator and the young man transcend it. Beyond this, the conduct of the female beauty practitioner shows her as cognizant of the fashionable world's mores and modes. She is able to navigate herself and others through its turbulent waters. Thus, the poem only observes these tropes early on, adhering to the generic expectations of a romance and setting up a marriage plot only in order to subvert it and foreground the emergence of the agential female.

Indeed, there is no nuptial scene in the *Mundus Muliebris*. Where then is the plot? I suggest that while the marriage plot with its fashionable world is lost in the list, another plot picks up: that of upward social mobility, spiritual awareness, and female agency through the cultivation of the intellect and moral understanding as well as an awareness of the natural world. “Though powder’d *Allom* be as good / well-strew’d on, and well understood”; here, Mary Evelyn counters the dressing room’s disorder with her knowledge of cures and understanding of chemical compounds working together to dispel aromas: “For Vapours that offend the Lass / Of *Sal Armoniack* a Glass” (9, 10). The speaker has left chaos for order and science by ending the dressing room scene with an introduction to the experimentation of the Royal Society, translating into the beginnings of a true domestic science with far-reaching social implications — a real-world in-praxis female science that stood sometimes with, sometimes against, but always in relation to the work of the Royal Society. Thus, the *Mundus Muliebris* is not only an incubator for the existence of “this Elegant Science” but also a vehicle for its emergence (22). Ultimately, we see that though the cost of the list is the loss of the marriage plot and the fashionable world; and the labor of the narrator is a seemingly endless round of fatiguing, impoverishing inventory; the returns of the catalogue are mobility, agency, and scientific endeavor.

Bibliography

- Adams, Thomas R. and Nicolas Barker. "A New Model for the Study of the Book." Finkelstein and McCleery 47-66.
- Addison, Joseph and Richard Steele. *The Spectator*. Vol. 1. Ed. Donald F. Bond. Oxford: Clarendon, 1965. Print.
- Appadurai, Arjun. "Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value." *The Social Life of Things*. Ed. Arjun Appadurai. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1986. Print. 3-63.
- Archer, Jayne Elisabeth. "Women and Chymistry in Early Modern England: The Manuscript Receipt Book (c. 1616) of Sarah Wiggess." *Gender and Scientific Discourse in Early Modern Culture*. Ed. Kathleen Long. New York: Ashgate, 2010. 191-215. Print.
- Asser, Joyce. *Historic Hairdressing*. London: Pittman, 1970. Print.
- Bal, Mieke. "Narration and Focalization." *Narrative Theory: Critical Concepts in Literary and Cultural Studies*. Ed. Mieke Bal. London: Routledge, 2004. 263-96.
- Botonaki, Effie. "Early Modern Women's Diaries and Closets: 'Chambers of Choice Mercies and Beloved Retirement.'" *Recording and Reordering: Essays on the Seventeenth and Eighteenth-Century Journal*. Eds. Dan Doll and Jessica Munns. Lewisburg: Bucknell UP, 2006. 43-64. Print.
- Bly, John. *English Furniture*. Oxford: Shire Publications, 2010. Print.
- Brathwaite, Richard. *The English Gentlewoman*. London, 1631.
- Bray, William. Introduction. *Memoirs of John Evelyn*. London: H. Colburn, 1818. Print.
- Bridge, Mark. *An Encyclopedia of Desks*. London: Burlington, 1988. Print.
- Brooks, Peter. *Reading for the Plot: Design and Intention in Narrative*. New York: Vintage, 1985. Print.

Bunyan, John. *The Pilgrim's Progress*. Westwood: Barbour and Co., 1992. Print.

Chambers, Douglas C. and David Galbraith, eds. *The Letterbooks of John Evelyn*. 2 vols.

Toronto: Toronto UP, 2014. Print.

Chico, Tita. *Designing Women: The Dressing Room in Eighteenth-Century English Literature and Culture*. Lewisburg: Bucknell UP, 2005. Print.

Christie's London. *The Evelyn Library: Parts 1-4: A-C*. Wednesday, June 22, 1977 and Thursday June 23, 1977 – Wednesday July 12, 1978 and Thursday, March 16, 1978. London, 1977. Print.

Congreve, William. *The Way of the World, A Comedy*. London, 1700. EEBO. Web. 8 June 2016.

Cook, Harold J. "The History of Medicine and the Scientific Revolution." *Isis: Journal of the History of Science in Society* 102.1 2011:102-108. JSTOR. Web. 30 January 2016.

Corbett, Edward J. and Robert J. Connors. *Classical Rhetoric for the Modern Student*. 4th ed. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1999. Print.

Cummins, Juliet, and David Burchell, eds. *Science, Literature and Rhetoric in Early Modern England*. Burlington: Ashgate, 2007. Print.

Darley, Gillian. *John Evelyn: Living for Ingenuity*. New Haven: Yale UP, 2006.

Davies, Charles. "The Rape of the Lock and Evelyn's Mundus Muliebris—A Parallel." *The Review of English Studies* 10.39 (July 1934): 324-29. JSTOR. Web. 24 Nov. 2014.

Dove, John. *The Conversion of Salomon, A Direction to Holinesse of Life*. London, 1613. EEBO. Web. 10 June 2016.

Elsholtz, Johann Sigismund. *The Curious Distillatory, or The Art of Distilling Coloured Liquors, Spirits, Oyls, &c. From Vegetables, Animals, Minerals and Metals*. London, 1677. EEBO. Web. 30 Jan. 2016.

“Epicedium, n.” *OED Online*. Oxford UP, March 2016. Web. 5 June 2016.

Evelyn, John. *The Diary of John Evelyn*. Vols. 1-6. Ed. E. S. de Beer. London: Clarendon, 1955.

Print.

----- “Directions for the Employment of Your Time.” *Miscelania or a Book of Several Designs and Thoughts of Mine For the Regulating of my Life upon Many Occasions*. Mary Evelyn. Add MS. 78441. British Library, London.

----- *The golden book of St. John Chrysostom, concerning the education of children. Translated out of the Greek by J.E., Esq.*, London, 1659. EEBO. Web. 25 May 2016.

----- *The Letterbooks of John Evelyn*. 2 vols. Eds. Chambers, Douglas C. and David Galbraith. Toronto: Toronto UP, 2014. Print.

----- *Tyrannus, Or the Mode*. London: G. Bedel, T. Collins, and J. Crook, 1661. EEBO. Web. 11 Dec. 2014.

----- *On my Deare Child: M. E. Elegie To Her Harpsichord*. Add MS. 78357: ff 32 v3. British Library, London.

Evelyn, Mary. *Mundus Muliebris: Or, The Ladies Dressing-Room Unlock'd*. London, 1690. EEBO. Web. 11 Dec. 2014

----- *Mundus Muliebris: Or, The Ladies Dressing-Room Unlock'd*. Ed. J. L. Nevinson. Costume Society Extra Series No. 5. Norfolk: Daedalus Press, 1977. Print.

Feld, Steven and Keith H. Basso, eds. *Senses of Place*. Santa Fe: School of American Research Press, 1996. Print.

Finkelstein, David and Alistair McCleery, eds. *The Book History Reader*. 2nd ed. Oxon: Routledge, 2006. Print.

- Fumerton, Patricia. *Cultural Aesthetics: Renaissance Literature and the Practice of Social Ornament*. Chicago: Chicago UP, 1991. Print
- Gardner, Helen. "The Poetry of Meditation." Rev. of *The Poetry of Meditation*, by Louis Martz. *The Review of English Studies*, 8.30. May 1957: 194-200. JSTOR. Web. 25 May 2016.
- Garry, Jane. "Quest, Motif H1200." *Architypes and Motifs in Folklore and Literature: A Handbook*. Eds. Jane Garry and Hasan El-Shamy. London: Sharpe, 2005. 248-252. Print.
- Genette, Gérard. "Order, Duration, and Frequency." Richardson 25-34.
- Gibson-Wood, Carol. "Susanna and her Elders: John Evelyn's Artistic Daughter." Harris and Hunter 233-254.
- Gladding, Bessie A. "Music as Social Force during the English Commonwealth and Restoration (1649-1700)." *The Musical Quarterly* 15.4 (Oct. 1929): 506-21. JSTOR. Web. 7 Dec. 2014.
- Green, Katherine Sobba. *The Courtship Novel, 1740-1820, A Feminized Genre*. Lexington: Kentuck UP, 1991. EBSCO. Web. 10 June 2016.
- Greenblatt, Stephen, ed. *Representing the English Renaissance*. Berkeley: California UP, 1988. Print.
- Hall, Joseph. *The Art of Divine Meditation*. London, 1609. EEBO. Web. 5 June 2016.
- Hamling, Tara. "'An Arelome To This Hous For Ever': Monumental Fixtures and Furnishings in the English Domestic Interior, c. 1560-1660." *The Arts of Remembrance in Early Modern England: Memorial Cultures of the Post Reformation*. Eds. Gordon, Andrew and Thomas Rist. Surrey: Ashgate, 2013. 59-84. Print.
- Harris, Frances and Michael Hunter, eds. *John Evelyn and His Milieu*. London: The British Library, 2003.

- Henry, Earl. *Fundamentals of Music: Rudiments, Musicianship, and Composition*. 5th ed. Upper Saddle River, New Jersey: Prentice, 2009. Print.
- Hiscock, W. G. *John Evelyn and His Family Circle*. London: Routledge, 1955.
- Holderness, B. A. "The Clergy as Money-Lenders in England, 1550-1700." *Princes and Paupers in the English Church 1500-1800*. Ed. Rosemary O'Day and Felicity Heal. New Jersey: Leicester University Press, 1981. Print. 196-209.
- Ingram, John E. "John Evelyn and His *Elysium Britannicum*." *Elysium Britannicum*. John Evelyn. Philadelphia: Pennsylvania State UP, 2001. Print. 1-9.
- Ingrassia, Catherine, ed. *The Cambridge Companion to Women's Writing in Britain, 1660-1789*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2015. Print.
- Jagodzinski, Cecile M. *Privacy and Print: Reading and Writing in Seventeenth-Century England*. Charlottesville: Virginia UP, 1999. Print.
- Johns, Adrian. "The Book of Nature and the Nature of the Book." Finkelstein and McCleery 255-272.
- Juvenal, Persius, Sulpicia and Lucilius. *The Satires of Juvenal, Persius, Sulpicia and Lucilius*. Trans. William Gifford. London: 1857. Internet Archive. Web. 2 May 2016.
- The King James Bible*. Thompson Chain-Reference, 4th ed. Indianapolis: Kirkbride, 1982.
- Langford, Thomas. *Plain and Full Instructions to Raise All-Sorts of Fruit Trees that Prosper in England*. London, 1681. EEBO. Web. 10 June 2016.
- Leong, Elaine. "Making Medicines in the Early Modern Household." *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 82.1. Spring 2008:145-168. JSTOR. Web. 12 Feb. 2015.
- Locke, John. *Second Treatise of Government* Ed. C.B. Macpherson. Indianapolis: Hackett, 1980. Print.

- Mandelbrote, Giles. "John Evelyn and his Books." Harris and Hunter 71-94.
- Martz, Louis Lohr. *The Poetry of Meditation: A Study in English Religious Literature of the Seventeenth Century*. New Haven: Yale UP, 1954. Print.
- McGann, Jerome. "The Socialization of Texts." Finkelstein and McCleery 66-73.
- McKenzie, D. F. "The Book as an Expressive Form." Finkelstein and McCleery 33-46.
- McLaughlin, Terrence. *The Gilded Lily*. London: Cassell, 1972. Print.
- McLeod, Bruce. *The Geography of Empire in English Literature: 1580-1745*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1999. Print.
- Moisan, Thomas E. "John Evelyn and the Political Uses of Curiosity." *EIRC* 34.2 (Winter 2008): 217-228. Web. 24 Nov. 2014.
- Morton, Anne Douglass, Countess of. *The Countess of Morton's Daily Exercise*. London, 1666. EEBO. Web. 19 June 2016.
- Mundus Foppensis: or, the Fop display'd, Being the ladies vindication, in answer to a late pamphlet, entitled, Mundus Muliebris*. London: John Harris, 1691. EEBO. Web. 11 Dec. 2014.
- Nevinson, J. L. Introduction. *Mundus Muliebris, or the Ladies Dressing-Room Unlock'd*. Mary Evelyn. Costume Society Extra Series No. 5. Norfolk: Daedalus Press, 1977. Print. 5-18.
- Nussbaum, Felicity A. *The Brink of All We Hate: English Satires on Women, 1660-1750*. Lexington: Kentucky UP, 1984. Print.
- Pearsall, Ronald. *A Connoisseur's Guide to Antique Silver*. New York: Todtri, 1997. Print.
- Pepys, Samuel. *The Diary of Samuel Pepys: A Selection*. Ed. Robert Latham. London: Penguin, 2003. Print.
- Perkins, Joan K. "Evelyn, Mary (c.1635-1709)." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

- Online ed. Ed. Lawrence Goldman, Oxford: Oxford UP, 2004. Web. 25 Nov. 2014.
- Phillippy, Patricia. *Painting Women: Cosmetics, Canvases and Early Modern Culture*.
Baltimore: John Hopkins UP, 2006. Print.
- Pooley, Roger. *English Prose of the Seventeenth Century, 1590-1700*. Essex: Longman, 1992.
Print.
- Pope, Alexander. *The Rape of the Lock; An Heroi-Comical Poem*. *The Harbrace Anthology of Literature*. Eds. Stott, Jon C., Jones, Raymond E., and Bowers, Rick. Toronto: Nelson, 2006. Print. 70-93.
- Propp, Vladimir. *Morphology of the Folktale*. Ed. Louis A. Wagner. 2nd ed. Austin: Texas UP, 1968. Print.
- Ricoeur, Paul. "Narrative Time." Richardson 35-46.
- Richardson, Brian, ed. *Narrative Dynamics: Essays on Time, Plot, Closure, and Frames*.
Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2002. Print.
- Said, Edward W. *Culture and Imperialism*. New York: Random House, 1993. Print.
- Salzman, Paul. *Reading Early Modern Women's Writing*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2006.
- Seelig, Sharon Cadman. *Generating Texts: The Progeny of Seventeenth-Century Prose*.
Charlottseville: Virginia University Press, 1996. Print.
- Seifort, Lewis. "The Marvelous in Context: The Place of the *Contes de Feés* in Late Seventeenth Century France." *The Great Fairy Tale Tradition: From Straparola and Basile to the Brothers Grimm*. Ed. Jack Zipes. New York: Norton, 2001. 903-933. Print.
- Shakespeare, William. *The Complete Works of Shakespeare*. 6th ed. Ed. David Bevington. New York: Pearson, 2009. Print.
- Sidney, Sir Philip. *The Major Works*. Katherine Duncan-Jones, ed. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2008.

Print.

Snook, Edith. *Women, Beauty and Power in Early Modern England: A Feminist Literary History*. New York: Palgrave, 2011. Print.

Spenser, Edmund. *Edmund Spenser's Poetry*. Eds. Hugh Maclean and Anne Lake Prescott. New York: Norton, 1993. Print.

Steele, Sir Richard. "No. 1 Tuesday, April 12, 1709." *The Tatler, Vol. 1*. Ed. Donald F. Bond. Web. Oxford Scholarly Editions Online. 5 June 2016.

Stevenson, Jane and Peter Davidson, eds. *Early Modern Women Poets (1520-1700): An Anthology*. Oxford: OUP, 2001. Print.

Sugarman, David and Ronnie Warrington. "Land law, citizenship, and the invention of 'Englishness': The strange world of the equity of redemption." *Early Modern Conceptions of Property*. Eds. John Brewer and Susan Staves. London: Routledge, 1995. Print. 111-143.

Swift, Jonathan. *The Lady's Dressing-Room: A Poem. By D---n S---t*. 3rd ed. Dublin, 1732. Eighteenth Century Collections Online. Web. 11 May 2016.

"toilet, n." OED Online. Oxford UP, June 2016. Web. 19 June 2016.

Upham, A.H. "English 'Femmes Savantes' at the End of the Seventeenth Century." *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 12.2 (April 1913): 262-76. JSTOR. Web. 25 Nov. 2014.

Wall, Cynthia Sundberg. *The Prose of Things: Transformations of Description in the Eighteenth Century*. Chicago: Chicago UP, 2006. Print.

Walters, Lisa. *Margaret Cavendish: Gender, Science and Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2014. Print.

Well-willer. *The Women's Petition Against Coffee*. London, 1674. EEBO. Web. 16 June 2016.

Wettenhall, Edward. *Enter Into Thy Closet, Or A Method and Order for Private Devotion*.

London, 1666. EEBO. Web. 19 June 2016.

Wilcox, R. Turner. *The Mode in Hats and Headdress, Including Hair Styles, Cosmetics and Jewelry*. New York: Scribner, 1959. Print.

Winterer, Caroline. "The Female World of Classical Reading in Eighteenth-Century America."

Reading Women: Literacy, Authorship, and Culture in the Atlantic World, 1500-1800.

Eds. Heidi Brayman Hackel and Catherine E. Kelly. Philadelphia: Pennsylvania UP, 2008. 104-123. Print.

Woodforde, John. *The Strange Story of False Hair*. New York: Drake, 1972. Print.

Wright, Gillian. "Mary Evelyn and Devotional Practice." Harris and Hunter 221-232.

The Wonders of the Female World, or a General History of Women. London, 1683. EEBO. Web. 10 June 2016.

Zionkowski, Linda and Cynthia Klekar. *The Culture of the Gift in Eighteenth Century England*.

New York: Palgrave, 2009. Print.

Zipes, Jack. *When Dreams Came True: Classical Fairy Tales and Their Tradition*. 2nd ed. New York: Routledge, 2007. Print.