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Gender, Politics, and the Utopian Impulse in Late Seventeenth-Century English Literature

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IMPRIMATUR

La Faculté des lettres et sciences humaines de l'Université de Neuchâtel, sur les rapports de Mme Emma Depledge, directrice de thèse, professeure, Université de Neuchâtel ; Mme Nicole Pohl, professor, Oxford Brookes University ; Mme Lara Dodds, professor, Mississippi State University ; Mme Antoinina Bevan Zlatar, Dr PD, University of Zurich autorise l'impression de la thèse présentée par Mme Honor Grace Jackson en laissant à l'autrice la responsabilité des opinions énoncées.

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Le doyen
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Abstract

This thesis examines the genre of utopian fiction in the context of political and historical developments in England between the Restoration of the monarchy in 1660, the Restoration Crisis of 1678-1685, and its immediate aftermath. My thesis uses and outlines the usefulness of the term 'utopian impulse', by which I mean a text which can be seen to consistently turn to and engage with the tropes of the utopian tradition rather than relying on strict and ever-changing genre distinctions of form or content. This allows me to draw on poetic, dramatic and prose texts by canonical and lesser-known male and female writers from across the political spectrum in order to look at how utopian tropes were being negotiated and adapted in response to changing political and social circumstances. I do so in order to address and correct a critical assumption that it is the period up to and surrounding the English Civil Wars and Interregnum which saw the significant bulk of utopian publication, and that the Restoration marks a period of decline. I instead posit that the Restoration period had a significant and profound impact on the utopian tradition, and argue that analysis of the utopian impulse in late seventeenth-century texts provides important insight into relations between the sexes, the position of women in politics and society, the hopes and fears of contemporary authors and citizens, and the development of the genre of utopian literature.

Key words: utopia, gender, politics, Shakespeare, Milton, Dryden, Cavendish.

Résumé

Cette thèse examine le genre de la fiction utopique dans le contexte des développements politiques et historiques en Angleterre entre la restauration de la monarchie en 1660, la crise de la restauration de 1678-1685, et ses conséquences immédiates. Ma thèse utilise et souligne l'utilité du terme "impulsion utopique", par lequel j'entends un texte qui peut être vu comme se tournant constamment vers et s'engageant dans les tropes de la tradition utopique plutôt que de s'appuyer sur des distinctions de genre strictes et en constante évolution de la forme ou du contenu. Cela me permet de m'appuyer sur des textes poétiques, dramatiques et en prose d'auteurs masculins et féminins, canoniques ou moins connus, issus de l'ensemble du spectre politique, afin d'examiner la manière dont les tropes utopiques ont été négociés et adaptés en réponse à l'évolution des circonstances politiques et sociales. Je le fais afin d'aborder et de corriger une hypothèse critique selon laquelle c'est la période précédant et entourant les guerres civiles anglaises et l'Interrègne qui a vu la majeure partie des publications utopiques, et que la Restauration marque une période de déclin. Je postule au contraire que la période de la Restauration a eu un impact significatif et profond sur la tradition utopique, et je démontre que l'analyse de l'impulsion utopique dans les textes de la fin du XVII^e siècle fournit des informations importantes sur les relations entre les sexes, la position des femmes dans la politique et la société, les espoirs et les craintes des auteurs et des citoyens contemporains, et le développement du genre de la littérature utopique.

Mots clés: utopie, genre, politique, Shakespeare, Milton, Dryden, Cavendish.

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Note on Dates and Texts

I quote from the first printed editions of the texts, and I provide Wing numbers for these texts in my Works Cited. I retain Wing numbers in the footnotes for publications which may cause confusion, due to similarities in titles or dates. For earlier printed books which predate Wing (pre-1641), I provide Short Title Catalogue (STC) numbers.

References to quotations from texts are given as page signatures because there is a lack of consistency in pagination in early printed books, and this can cause confusion. Dates are those of first publication, unless otherwise specified. Similarly, unless otherwise stated, the dates of premieres for plays are those given in *The London Stage*.

I have followed the example of other scholars in taking 1st January to be the date on which the calendar year begins rather than retaining Old Style dating. Where paratextual material is printed entirely in italics, I have reversed the italicisation of the early modern publication. I have capitalised titles in line with my style guide, and I have amended typographical irregularities from early printed texts (i.e V used instead of U). I have otherwise retained textual variants from the early printed books in terms of spelling and capitalisation.

Short URLs to reference works are retained in the footnotes, but long URLs to, for example, PhD theses are moved to the works cited for the sake of clarity and concision.

List of Abbreviations

ODNB – *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*

OED – *Oxford English Dictionary*

ELH – *English Literary History* (journal)

F – folio (i.e. F1 the Shakespeare First Folio (1623))

PMLA – *Publications of the Modern Language Association* (journal)

Introduction

This thesis examines the genre of utopian fiction in the context of political and historical developments in England between the Restoration of the monarchy in 1660, the Restoration Crisis of 1678-1685, and its immediate aftermath.¹ It is commonly accepted that the seventeenth century was the period in which utopian literature in English flourished.² However, I aim to address and correct a critical assumption that it is the period up to and surrounding the English Civil Wars and Interregnum which saw the significant bulk of utopian publication, and that the Restoration marks a period of decline. To do so I focus on texts which are informed by what I term a utopian impulse: by which I mean a returning to, and intertextual engagement with, recognisable tropes of utopian literature. I draw on poetic, dramatic and prose texts by canonical and lesser-known authors from across the political spectrum. Chapter One focusses on William Shakespeare's *The Tempest* (1611) and on its Restoration adaptations; my second chapter considers poetry and drama as I analyse John Milton's *Paradise Lost* (1667) and John Dryden's operatic adaptation, *The State of Innocence and Fall of Man* (1676); my third chapter treats predominantly prose texts – Margaret Cavendish's *The Description of a New Blazing World* (1666), Francis Bacon's *New Atlantis* (1627), an adaptation of *New*

¹ The Restoration Crisis is a term used by Jonathan Scott to refer to the Popish Plot (1678-1681), the Exclusion Crisis (1679-1681), and the Rye-House Plot (1683), *Algernon Sidney and The Restoration Crisis 1677-1683* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991). I differ from Scott, though, in that I include the 1685 Monmouth Rebellion within the crisis. For more on these crises, see Chapter Four 207-210, 220-225.

² Though it is widely acknowledged that the publication of Thomas More's *A fruteful, and pleasaunt worke of the beste state of a publyque weale, and of the newe ylse called Vtopia* (London: Abaham Vele, 1551) STC 18094, was the starting point of a more concerted utopian tradition, scholarship has recognised that it is not until the seventeenth century that utopian texts begin to be published in large numbers in English. More's text was first written in Latin for a European audience and published in 1516 on the continent. It was translated into German, Italian and French before being translated into English by Ralph Robynson in the above cited edition, and the first Latin edition which was published and printed in England did not emerge until 1663. The delay of the English translation and Latin publication are indicative of the way the popularity of the utopian text in English grew in relation to political turbulence in the late seventeenth century. For Amy Boesky the tradition 'more properly belongs to the seventeenth century than the sixteenth', *Founding Fictions: Utopias in Early Modern England* (Athens, Ga: University of Georgia Press, 1996), 11; J. C. Davis acknowledges More's text as the point at which republicanism and utopianism begin to emerge, but his third chapter, which focuses on utopias between 1521-1619, deals exclusively with texts produced in continental Europe and not written in English, *Utopia and the Ideal Society: A Study of English Utopian Writing, 1516-1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983); See also Nicole Pohl, *Women, Space and Utopia 1600-1800* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006); Chloë Houston, *The Renaissance Utopia: Dialogue, Travel and the Ideal Society* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2014); Miguel Angel Ramiro Avilés and Davis eds. *Utopian Moments: Reading Utopian Texts* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2012); Pohl, 'Utopianism after More: the Renaissance and Enlightenment', in *The Cambridge Companion to Utopian Literature* ed. Gregory Claeys, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 51.

Atlantis from 1660, and Henry Neville's *The Isle of Pines* (1668) – but includes drama and poetry alongside them; and Chapter Four assesses prose pamphlets, Charles Cotton's *Erötopolis. The Present State of Betty Land* (1684) and Thomas Durfey's burlesque drama *A Commonwealth of Women* (premiered 1685, published 1686). This thesis demonstrates the profound impact of the Restoration period on gender politics and the literary imagination, which is specifically visible in texts which display a utopian impulse. I chart a transition of utopianism from a fantasy of male control of women and reproduction, through a period of intense anxiety about fertility reflected in the politics of the late seventeenth century. I end with analysis of what I argue is a breaking point in the mid-1680s, characterised by the production of pornotopian texts where gender relations cannot be ordered or resolved. Analysis of the utopian impulse in late seventeenth-century texts provides important insight into relations between the sexes, the position of women in politics and society, the hopes and fears of contemporary authors and citizens, and the development of the genre of utopian literature.

Defining Utopia and the Utopian Impulse

The relationship between literature and utopia dates back to antiquity, with Plato's *Republic* (c.375BC) often referred to as the first utopian city state.³ The most famous example of a text in English that purports to represent a Republic's 'best state' is Thomas More's *Libellus vere aureus, nec minus salutaris quam festivus, de optimo rei publicae statu deque nova insula Utopia* (*A Truly Golden Little Book, No Less Beneficial than Entertaining, of a Republic's Best State and of the New Island Utopia* (1516).⁴ Later abbreviated in the sixth single-text English language edition of 1684 to simply *Utopia*, More's title lent its name to 'any imaginary or mythical place (without implication of perfection), imagined

³ Trans. by Robin Waterfield, Oxford World Classics (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008); others have drawn attention to utopian aspects in the dramatic works of Aristophanes (446BC-386BC), predating Plato's *Republic*, but this has frequently been ignored in utopian studies and anthologies due to the alignment of utopian writing with prose, discussed below (6-7); For discussions of Aristophanes' utopian impulse, see the following essays in *The City as Comedy: Society and Representation in Athenian Drama*, ed. Gregory W. Dobrov, (North Carolina: North Carolina University Press, 2017): David Konstan, 'The Greek Polis and Its Negations: Versions of Utopia in Aristophanes' *Birds*', 3-22; Thomas K Hubbard, 'Utopianism and the Sophistic Cit in Aristophanes', 23-40; Dobrov, 'Language, Fiction and Utopia', 95-132. See also Sián Adiseshiah, *Utopian Drama: In Search of a Genre* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2022).

⁴ (Louvain, Thierry Martens, 1516), translation from Mike Ashley, 'Where the Grass is Greener: The Dream of Utopia' (British Library, 2016).

as existing in some remote location on earth' (*OED* 1b - 1549).⁵ Although utopia is often taken to mean a perfect or ideal state today, and often one which is nonsensical, impractical and naive, utopia did not initially imply this.⁶ More's pun of 'Utopia', meaning both *eu*-topos (good place) and *ou*-topos (no place), allows us to read it as both 'good place' and 'no place'. This could imply that *Utopia* is a good place that does not exist, or, more pessimistically, that if good and non-existent are synonymous then there can never be any good place at all. More's text and its inherent irony and contrariness causes readers to reflect on whether *Utopia* is a good place, who it is good for, and whether More himself believed it was good. More's namesake in the text, Morus, certainly does not believe that the governing structure of *Utopia* would be effective in England: his closing remarks emphasise that it would not be possible to implement it.⁷ Ending the text in this way casts doubt on everything that has just been expounded by Hythloday, but we are not sure if Morus is a character we can trust either: Hythloday may mean nonsense peddler in Greek, but Morus means fool in Latin.⁸ This ambiguity and contradiction became characteristic of the genre: Renaissance authors frequently profess to represent an ideal, but self-consciously undermine this idealism in

⁵ The first single edition in English was actually entitled *A Frutefull, and Pleasaunt Worke of the Beste State of a Publyque Weale, and of the Nene Ylse called Utopia* (London: Abraham Vele, 1551); the second English edition was entitled *A Frutefull Pleasaunt, [and] Wittie Worke, of the Beste state of a Publique Weale, and of the Nene Yle, called Utopia* (London: Abraham Vele, 1556), and the title page states that it is 'newlie perused and corrected, and also with divers notes in the margent augmented'; the third English edition was *A Most Pleasant, Fruitfull, and Wittie Worke, of the Best State of a Publique Weale, and of the New Yle called Utopia* (London: Thomas Creede, 1597); in the fourth edition the title changed to forefront the name of the island of Utopia, *Sir Thomas Moore's Utopia: Containing, an Excellent, Learned, Wittie, and Pleasant Discourse of the Best state of a Publike Weale, as it is Found in the Gouvernement of the new Ile called Utopia* (London: Bernard Alsop, 1624); the fifth edition entitles it *The Common-wealth of Utopia: Containing a Learned and Pleasant Discourse of the Best state of a Publike Weale, as it is Found in the Government of a New Ile Called Utopia* (London: B. Alsop & T. Fawcett, 1639). It is not until the sixth edition of 1684 that the title is reduced to simply *Utopia* (London: Richard Chiswell). For more on editions of More's *Utopia*, see Reginald Walter Gibson, *St. Thomas More, a Preliminary Bibliography of his Works and of Moreana to the year 1750* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961), 1-59.

⁶ Ruth Levitas discusses the colloquial use of utopia in terms of being dismissed as naïve and as being related to perfection in *The Concept of Utopia*, (Peter Lang: London, 1990) 2-3. See also Pohl ('Utopianism after More', 51) and Lucian Hölscher, 'Utopie', *Utopian Studies* 7, no.2 (1996): 1-65.

⁷ Morus archly remarks that, amongst other things, 'that which is the principal foundation of all their ordinances, that is to say, in the community of their life and living' is 'founded of no good reason', but declines from giving his reasons for thinking so on the grounds that Hythloday might be offended, and he seems a bit tired. *Utopia*, in *Three Early Modern Utopias: Utopia, New Atlantis and The Isle of Pines*, ed. Susan Bruce, Oxford World Classics (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 123. Subsequent references from this edition.

⁸ Eric Nelson, 'Greek Nonsense in More's *Utopia*', *The Historical Journal* 44, no.4 (February 2002): 889-917.

the same breath.⁹ More's *Utopia* in particular has long been considered an exercise in irony and contraries. For example, in *Utopia* we are told the Utopians 'detest and abhor' war as 'beastly' yet they undertake 'daily practice...in the discipline of war'.¹⁰ Utopians 'never go to battle', except when they do, to colonise lands where indigenous people are resistant to them, to help their 'allies' or colonies, or to exact revenge, and then they become 'the chief authors and makers of war'.¹¹ In accordance with *Utopia*'s slippery and contradictory nature, utopian literature is notoriously difficult to define.

There has historically been some tension between those favouring capacious and malleable definitions and those seeking strict, formal boundaries. Marxist philosopher Ernst Bloch's *The Principle of Hope*, published in three volumes between 1954 and 1959, offered the most far-reaching approach. Bloch posited that utopianism can be identified in every artistic human output because humanity has an internal principle of hope which urges improvement.¹² According to Bloch, the use of the term 'utopia' to refer only to abstract and fictional 'novels of an ideal state' has resulted in the definition being 'unduly restricted', and the association of the genre with 'cloud-cuckoo-

⁹ For a general discussion of the contrary nature of utopia as a genre, see Edward Rothstein who argues that in every utopian project, literary or otherwise, there are the seeds for its own destruction: 'Utopia and Its Discontents' in *Visions of Utopia* eds., Rothstein, Herbert Muschamp and Martin E. Marty (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 1-29. In the same volume, Marty argues that we need to move away from discussions of what is good or bad in utopias and instead 'view them ironically', "'But Even So, Look at That": An Ironic Perspective on Utopias', 54. In terms of More's *Utopia*, see for example: Davis, 'Thomas More's *Utopia*: Sources, Legacy and Interpretation', in *The Cambridge Companion to Utopian Literature*, 28-50; Hanan Yoran, 'More's *Utopia* and Erasmus' No-Place', *English Literary Renaissance* 35, no.3 (2005): 3-30; Davis 'Goodbye to Utopia: Thomas More's Utopian Conclusion' in *Utopian Moments*, 15-20; A.F. Nagel, 'Lies and the Limitable Inane: Contradiction in More's Utopia' *Renaissance Quarterly* 26, no.2 (1973): 173-180; Thomas I. White, 'Festivitas, Utilitas, et Opes: The Concluding Irony and Philosophical Purpose of Thomas More's "Utopia"', *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies* 10, 'Quincentennial Essays on St. Thomas More' (1978): 135-150; Brendan Bradshaw, 'More on Utopia', *The Historical Journal* 24, no.1 (1981): 1-27; Lee Cullen Khanna, 'Utopian Exchanges: Negotiating Difference in Utopia', in *Gender and Utopia in the Eighteenth Century: Essays in English and French Utopian Writing*, eds., Pohl and Brenda Tooley (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 17-19. Irony and contradiction can also be seen to characterise its reception. Philip Sidney, for example, in his early attempt to deal with the text, says that More's 'Way of patterning a Common-wealth, was most absolute' and therefore of great instructional and moral value, but immediately is forced to accept a reversal, saying that More had, in life, 'not so absolutely performed it' and had 'erred' as a man, but not as a poet, *The Defence of Poesie* (London: Thomas Crede, 1595), D2v-D3r. See Scott D. Evans 'A "Divine Consideration": *Utopia* in Sidney's *Defence of Poetry*', *Moreana* 33, no.125 (March 1996): 7-29.

¹⁰ *Utopia*, 97

¹¹ *Utopia*, 97; 63; 97

¹² Trans. Paul Knight, Neville Plaice and Stephen Plaice, vol. 1 (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1995), 14-15.

land', when for him it is a part of the human condition.¹³ Bloch's position that, essentially, everything is utopian of course comes perilously close to suggesting the obverse – that nothing is. It also risks disconnecting the utopian text from its historical context and universalising it. Frank E. Manuel and Fritzie P. Manuel's literary survey of utopian texts aimed to ensure the historical specificity of utopian literature was taken into account, but they remain deliberately unclear in definition, arguing that 'the perimeters of utopia have to be left hazy. From the time of its first discovery, the island of King Utopus has been shrouded in ambiguity, and no latter-day scholars should presume to dispel the fog, polluting utopia's natural environment with an excess of clarity and definition'.¹⁴ They do, however, draw the boundary somewhere, and this boundary is erected against 'utopias so private that they border on schizophrenia', citing Margaret Cavendish's *The Description of a New Blazing World* (1666) as the prime example.¹⁵ Similarly, they suggest that 'eighteenth-century utopias that were intended to divert an increasing number of literate ladies, in which the adventures of heroes and heroines all but drown out the didactic element' are 'not a major concern of serious utopian thought'.¹⁶ This demonstrates precisely the problem of disregarding definition: the Manuels' arbitrary lines are drawn in ways that demonstrate a bias towards texts with didactic, top-down social organisation models, as opposed to romance, adventure or a focus on private concerns, and this is, explicitly, a gendered divide.

On the other hand, there are critics who argue for strict definitions and taxonomies of utopian types but, I would argue that, in doing so, they proffer conceptual frameworks that are consistently undermined. Lyman Tower Sargent expressed distrust of the Manuels' resistance to

¹³ Ibid., 14. The idea of this utopian principle which urges humanity towards perfection is reminiscent, also, of Oscar Wilde's famous assertion that 'A map of the world that does not include Utopia is not even worth glancing at, for it leaves out the one country at which Humanity is always landing. And when Humanity lands there, it looks out, and seeing a better country, sets sail. Progress is the realization of utopias', 'The Soul of Man under Socialism', *In Praise of Disobedience: The Soul of Man Under Socialism and Other Writings*, ed. Mark Martin (London: Verso Books, 2020), 18.

¹⁴ *Utopian Thought in the Western World* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1979), 5.

¹⁵ Ibid., 7. For more on *Blazing World*, see Chapter Three.

¹⁶ *Utopian Thought*, 7

definition.¹⁷ However, Sargent's own definition of utopian writing is also open to challenges of vagueness. He refers to utopianism as:

social dreaming – the dreams and nightmares that concern the ways in which groups of people arrange their lives and which usually involves a radically different society than the one in which the dreamers live. But not all are radical, for some people at any time dream of something basically familiar.¹⁸

Sargent thus returns in some ways to the Blochian perspective that imaginative art is inherently utopian, but even more broadly includes societies which are imagined as bad – the nightmares.¹⁹

Although Sargent is insistent on ensuring that something defines the genre, because 'without boundaries, we do not have a subject', he is forced to consistently admit that it is impossible to do so.²⁰ J. C. Davis' has gone further and argued that 'utopia is but one type of a form, the ideal society', suggesting five ideal society narratives which are: the Land of Cockayne, arcadia, the perfect moral commonwealth, the millennium, and utopia.²¹ Each ideal state narrative, according to Davis, attempts to deal with managing the 'collective problem' of supply and demand.²² The Land of Cockayne is imagined as a world of luxurious gluttony where supply and demand are limitless: the men are ravenous and priapic, the food plentiful, and the women promiscuous; in arcadia desires are moderate, supply is abundant, so nature and humanity are in harmony. The

¹⁷ 'The Three Faces of Utopianism Revisited', *Utopian Studies* 5, no.1 (1994): 2. See also Sargent, 'Utopia – The Problem of Definition', *Extrapolation* 16, no.2 (May 1975): 137-148

¹⁸ 'The Three Faces', 3.

¹⁹ Sargent's work in the field includes an online bibliographical database which lists a huge array of utopian texts, is constantly expanding alongside his definition, and this reflects the capaciousness of his approach, *Utopian Literature in English: An Annotated Bibliography from 1516 to the Present* (University Park, PA: Penn State Libraries Open Publishing, 2016 and continuing), doi:10.18113/P8WC77. Sargent has also worked on colonial narratives 'Colonial and Postcolonial Utopias', in *The Cambridge Companion to Utopian Literature*, 200-222; political utopias, 'Authority and Utopia in Political Thought', *Polity* 14, no.4 (1982): 565-584 and intentional communities, Sargent and Lucy Sargisson, *Living in Utopia: New Zealand's Intentional Communities* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004).

²⁰ 'The Three Faces', 12. He argues that 'the most important boundary' is form, but also, that 'forms of literature change, and there are utopias that do not fit neatly into any non-expository form', that 'intent provides a boundary', but it is not always possible to establish it, that human focus might be one category, but that this eventually amounts to 'no boundary', and that content cannot be a criteria because 'the content constantly changes' and it 'does not give us any mechanism for distinguishing utopias from other phenomena' ('The Three Faces', 12-13).

²¹ *Utopia and the Ideal Society* 19-20. A broader divide has been applied by Richard Saage, who defines utopias with distinct central regulation, such as Davis's perfect moral commonwealth and utopia proper, as 'archistic', whilst those which seem to celebrate freedom such as Cockayne and Arcadia are 'anarchistic', *Utopische Profile: Renaissance und Reformation* vol.1 (Münster: Lit Verlag, 2001), 25-26. Saage applies his readings of archistic and anarchistic utopias to the physical space, suggesting that the archistic utopia's formal principles are illustrated in the architecture, whereas the freedom of the anarchistic tends towards wild island spaces. See also Pohl, 'The Quest for Utopia in the Eighteenth Century', *Literature Compass* 5, no. 4 (2008): 687-688.

²² Davis, *Utopia and the Ideal Society*, 37. For detailed definitions, see 21-37.

perfect moral commonwealth is defined by the moral reformation of every individual citizen. The millennium is the period of salvation caused by divine intervention and thus assumes miraculous changes in nature and man. Davis distinguishes utopia from the other forms because, rather than imagining an increase in supply or a decrease in demands, utopia manages both efficiently, and Davis thus suggests that utopias are ‘more realistic or tough minded’.²³ Whilst these categories can be useful for distinguishing the type of society described, Ruth Levitas has argued that classifying fictional utopias as ‘realistic’ should be treated as suspect.²⁴ Further, like Sargent, Davis is often forced to recognise that these boundaries can be undermined.²⁵

Other scholars have argued more strictly for definitions based on form and suggest that prose is the true vehicle of utopian literature, with a focus on the forms of dialogue or fictional narrative / the novel. Nina Chordas, for example, argues that utopian writing from 1516-1666 is written in the following specific forms: ‘dialogue, ethnography, travel writing, pastoral, and homiletic discourse’, and argues that prose is the form of utopia because it is a genre with a greater degree of verisimilitude and transitions easily between political projections, religious writing, and utopian fiction.²⁶ Indeed, often the ubiquity of prose passes without comment or justification, by making it the sole focus of surveys such as Davis’s *Utopia and the Ideal Society*, or anthologies such as Gregory Claeys’ *Restoration and Augustan British Utopias*.²⁷ Utopian poetry is acknowledged in, for

²³ *Utopia and the Ideal Society*, 37.

²⁴ Levitas, *The Concept of Utopia*, 5.

²⁵ For example, he classified Neville’s *Isle of Pines* as an ‘Arcadia’, where there is a natural surplus, and people’s desires are harmonised with nature, but has to acknowledge that this is ‘undermined by his descendants’ (*Utopia and the Ideal Society* 26); Levitas has also argued that More’s *Utopia*, on which he bases his distinct genre of ‘utopia’, ‘fits Davis’s category of arcadia’ (*The Concept of Utopia*, 89).

²⁶ *Forms in Early Modern Utopia* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2010), 6-8; See also Krishan Kumar’s argument that the utopian genre is intrinsically bound up with the novel form, *Utopia and Anti-Utopia in Modern Times* (Basil Blackwell: Oxford, 1987), 25. Sargent says utopia is ‘primarily prose fiction’, allowing for some exceptions such as the Cockayne tradition, but arguing overall for the narrative aspect of prose utopias to be defining (‘Utopia: The Problem of Definition’: 137-148); Houston argues that the prose form is central to the utopian mode, and her argument is that the style of prose shifts from dialogue to ‘narrative form’ in relation to the popularisation of the travel narrative in the mid-seventeenth century, (*The Renaissance Utopia*, 10).

²⁷ Davis does at one point comment that narrative fiction is perhaps required for the utopian text because of the need for a description of a space in its totality, with incredible detail, but the positioning here is in relation to non-fiction prose as opposed to other genres (*Utopia and the Ideal Society*, 38); Claeys, *Restoration and Augustan British Utopia* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2000). A more far-reaching anthology, however, does include poetry and drama alongside one another, *The Utopia Reader*, eds. Gregory Claeys and Lyman Tower Sargent (New York: New York University Press, 1999). For a discussion of the assumption of prose and the problems this might cause, see Adiseshiah, *Utopian Drama*, 18-26.

example, the tradition of Cockayne, but poetry is normally positioned as a precursor of utopia proper, which generally transitions to prose texts following More.²⁸ More himself attached poetry to his *Utopia*, so it seems arbitrary to erect a distinction between poetic precursors and utopian texts that follow him.²⁹ Scholarship has more recently been challenging the formal boundaries in terms of dramatic works.³⁰ This useful focus on utopian drama, however, still treats the dramatic utopian texts as siloed and separate from other branches of utopian writing in prose and in poetry, whereas in this thesis I intend to read across formal boundaries in order to assess the recurring utopian images, tropes and plots in association with gender and politics in late seventeenth-century poetry, drama and prose.

I by no means claim to offer a solution or the final word in this debate. Indeed, the work done in negotiating these definitions is fruitful and important and each generation of utopian scholars is likely to add to it. What I do wish to propose in this thesis is a new way of approaching texts, not through considering them as strictly utopian in form, style, content, intent, reception or any other aspect, but rather through what I will term their utopian impulse.

I use the term utopian impulse for several reasons. Firstly, the term has been widely used in utopian scholarship to name the identifiable and persistent human interest in or draw towards

²⁸ *The Utopia Reader* includes poetry but only within the first chapter on 'Utopianism before Thomas More' (6-71); it also includes Shakespeare's *The Tempest*, but prints only Gonzalo's speech, suggesting that this is the only utopian notion of the play and ignoring its more far-reaching connections (105-106). Manuel and Manuel similarly place the poetic texts of classical antiquity in a section entitled 'The Ancient and Medieval Wellsprings' preceding a section entitled 'The Birth of Utopia', (*Utopian Thought*, 33-93, 117-181).

²⁹ *Utopia*, 127-128. For more on More's paratextual materials, see Thomas Cave, *Thomas More's 'Utopia' in Early Modern Europe: Paratexts and Contexts* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2008); and for utopian literature more generally, see Maczelka Csaba, 'The Uses of Paratextuality and Dialogicity in Early Modern English Utopias' (PhD Thesis: University of Szeged, 2014). Csaba, however, insists on the dialogue form in his thesis.

³⁰ Adishesiah's *Utopian Drama* has made the case for utopia to be dislocated from its association with the prose tradition, and has traced its dramatic origins from antiquity to the present day. This work draws from Jill Dolan's arguments that theatre and theatrical production is in itself a utopian format, suggesting that theatrical experience can create a utopian response in audiences, *Utopia in Performance: Finding Hope in the Theatre* (Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 2005). Bridget Orr identifies a tradition of dramatic utopias between the Restoration and into the early eighteenth century, but her focus is on representations of Empire rather than utopia, and over a larger time period of 1660-1714, and thus she glosses over some of the political specificity of the period which this thesis focuses on, *Empire on the English Stage 1660-1714* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 188-211.

utopian imagining, and my approach has been greatly influenced by this.³¹ In most cases it has been used to outline a general propensity towards imagining better / different social structures in relation to contemporary historical problems in order to posit a possible solution. It is this impulse, it is suggested, which produces literary utopias and other utopian actions such as the creation of intentional communities. In this sense, the term ‘impulse’ is understood as an ‘incitement or stimulus to action arising from some state of mind or feeling’ (*OED*, 3b). However, my application of the term differs somewhat from these prior uses. As opposed to focusing solely on the personal authorial intent or motivation behind utopian production, I wish also to use the term to locate the impulse within the text and its intertextual network. I retain the term ‘impulse’ because it also refers to the ‘force or influence exerted on the mind by some *external* stimulus; suggestion, incitement, instigation’ (*OED*, 3a, emphasis mine).³² This thesis aims to identify the utopian impulse through traces of intertextuality and adaptive practices and place these in their political and social context. Thus the impact of external stimuli, i.e. the intertextual referents from the utopian tradition, the external impact of politics, and the social developments of gender relations in the period can be read as external stimuli which influence and shape the utopian impulse. I thereby focus on literary works of the late seventeenth century which can be seen to persistently

³¹ Bloch first began discussing the impulses towards utopianism in his 1963 *The Spirit of Utopia*, trans. by Anthony A. Nassar (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000); For Fredrick Jameson, the utopian impulse is an impulse towards social improvement that is ‘detectable in daily life’, *Archaeologies of the Future: The Desire Called Utopia and Other Science Fictions* (New York: Verso, 2005) 1; Michael J. Griffin and Tom Moylan, eds., similarly describe ‘critical yet hopeful impulses that seek to bring about a better world’, ‘Introduction: Exploring Utopia’ in *Exploring the Utopian Impulse: Essay on Utopian Thought and Practice* (Peter Lang: Berlin, 2007), 11; Alessa Johns talks about a ‘feminist utopian impulse’, different from the mainstream, which develops from the middle ages in literary production, ‘Feminism and Utopianism’, *The Cambridge Companion to Utopian Literature*, 193; Keith Thomas argues that the utopian impulse can be found in eight different categories, ranging from literary topias and ideal commonwealth planning to ‘ingenious people with an infinity of schemes for reform’, ‘The Utopian Impulse in Seventeenth-Century England’ in *Between Dream and Nature: Essays on Utopia and Dystopia*, ed. by Dominic Baker-Smith and C. C. Barfoot (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1987), 31.

³² Robert Appelbaum has also investigated the propensity of seventeenth-century writers to return to the utopian tradition, and at one point suggests that the constant here is ‘a disposition [t]o think and write about an ideal society’, *Literature and Utopian Politics in Seventeenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 2. His notion of a disposition in the sense of an attitude or a natural tendency usefully reflects the idea of the utopian impulse which arises from ‘some state of mind and feeling’ (*OED* 3b), but I here prefer impulse as its broader meaning can step away from discussions of intent or human character and towards identifying external influences and connections. Further, Appelbaum himself prefers the term utopian impulse throughout his book, likely because it is the more recognizable term in utopian studies and one which already encapsulates his notion of disposition in the Blochian sense that hope for utopia is part of the human condition / disposition: he states that he reads the ‘documents of an impulse...the documents of hope’, 7.

engage with utopian tropes and traditions: an intertextual feature which betrays a utopian impulse. These multiple references, I contend, form a nexus of interrelated utopian connections that structure the text and, when centred, provide new meaning.

Thus, this thesis engages with canonical utopian texts and texts which have not always been considered utopian, and challenges the assumption that the utopian impulse simply disappeared after 1660 because, as discussed below, the republican style of top-down social organisation was less prominent.³³ I also consider satirical and anti-utopian writing as part of the corpus, because, in spite of their satirical use of tropes, they reveal that same turning to, and engagement with, the utopian genre and its function, and thus demonstrate a clear utopian impulse.³⁴

Revision, Adaptation and Utopia

Implicit in my positioning of the intertextual utopian impulse is an awareness of utopia's propensity to revision and adaptation. Early Modern literary production was invested in the processes of reimagining and transforming existing works to better suit the needs of their

³³ See, 26-28. In this way I aim to respond to Raffaella Baccolini's call to reconsider and break down generic boundaries in utopian studies in light of feminist criticism: she argued that 'genres are cultural constructions; implied in the notion of genre and of boundaries lies a binary opposition between what is "normal" and what is "deviant" - a notion that feminist criticism has attempted to deconstruct since this difference consigns feminine practice to inferiority', 'Breaking the Boundaries: Gender, Genre, and Dystopia' *Minerva* (1992): 139.

³⁴ I would argue for the necessity of including these texts in any definition of utopia, as utopia has rarely been a completely sincere endeavor and has therefore, through its own irony, invited and relished satirical, parodic, or inverted versions of itself. As Marina Leslie puts it, 'from its inception in the Renaissance, the utopian form was Janus-like, for the utopian impulse has always been shadowed by its twin, the anti-utopia or dystopia', *Renaissance utopias and the Problem of History* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998), 118.

audience.³⁵ The genre of utopia, though, can be said to be more adaptive, and more aware of the preceding tradition. As Marina Leslie has argued:

More's *Utopia* inaugurated a novel form that was widely imitated and quoted. Yet, ironically, perhaps the most reliable feature of subsequent utopian texts (or, for that matter, dystopian texts) is an explicit or implicit rejection of the model offered by every other utopia. Each utopian fiction enacts a deliberate revision and reworking of its predecessors to establish a new model commonwealth in a new site, generally declaring all other utopias mere dreams and fancies in the process. By the same token, literary quotations that assimilate previously established utopias almost invariably exempt them of what we might regard as their utopian content.³⁶

Writers in the utopian genre, then, can be seen to deliberately invoke the utopias of the past, acknowledge their participation in the tradition, negate the previous utopian constructions, and replace them with new ones. This new utopia does not need to be considered a sincere offering of improvement, but could instead be a sustained satire on those prior versions, as in texts like Joseph Hall's *Mundus Alter et Idem* (c.1605).³⁷ Even in anti-utopias and satires, though, texts containing the utopian impulse participate actively and directly with the tradition in a way that engages in an acknowledged debate with their more sincere predecessor/s.

³⁵ Laura J. Rosenthal has argued that the process of adapting, borrowing and revising previous work was so widespread in the period that the term 'plagiarism' needs to be defamiliarised in late-seventeenth and early eighteenth-century contexts in order to reflect the way it was used to attack specific authors, often female authors, and degrade their literary output whilst the same accusation was not levied at other authors who adapted or borrowed material from previous work, *Playwrights and Plagiarists in Early Modern England: Gender, Authorship, Literary Property* (Cornell: Cornell University Press, 1996). Shakespeare studies has also been a particularly vibrant field for work on the ways early modern authors adopted sources for their contemporary audience. For identifying Shakespeare's use of sources, see T.W. Baldwin, *Shakespeare's Language*, 2 vols. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1944) and Geoffrey Bullough, ed., *Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare*, 8 vols. (London: Routledge, 1957-75). For work on how Shakespeare adapted sources, see for example Brian Gibbons *Shakespeare and Multiplicity*, Online edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009). For how Shakespeare was adapted, see for example Emma Depledge's, *Shakespeare's Rise to Cultural Prominence: Politics, Print and Alteration 1642-1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018); Michael Dobson's *The Making of the National Poet: Shakespeare, Adaptation and Authorship 1660-1769* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995).

³⁶ *Renaissance Utopias*, 3. Similarly, Alexandra Verini has argued that utopia is an example of what Claude Lévi Strauss termed bricolage in as much as the utopian tradition is made up of a collection or collage of previous utopias, in her words, 'despite its claims of novelty, utopia has a debt to the past', *English Women's Spiritual Utopias, 1400-1700: New Kingdoms of Womanhood* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2022), 13.

³⁷ First published in English as *The Discoverie of a New World or A Description of the South Indies* (1613), followed by a third edition, which is a rather liberal translation from the Latin, entitled *Psittacorum Regio. The Land of Parrots; or, The She-Land?* (1669)

I contend that important insights can be gained by paying attention to adaptations of texts containing the utopian impulse.³⁸ Adaptations are, accordingly, discussed in every chapter of this thesis. Adaptations and adapted texts are by their nature defined in relation to one another, but this relationship is not one which I consider in hierarchical terms.³⁹ I do not engage in what Linda Hutcheon has called ‘fidelity criticism’, by which she means using an adaptation’s level of fidelity to the adapted text as the key criterion for evaluating it.⁴⁰ Rather, I consider the adapted texts as units in and of themselves, and the changes made by adaptors – particularly to the source text’s engagement with the utopian impulse – as creative pieces of authorship which represent and reflect contemporary culture.⁴¹ Further, due to their dual nature and relationship to an adapted text, they offer crucial insight into cultural and historical changes and developments, and my focus in this thesis are the changes that occur across the late seventeenth century to politics and gender, and how these impact the utopian impulse.

Gender, Utopia, and Reproduction

Utopian texts are concerned with the control of resources, and one such resource is the fertility of women.⁴² The use and characterisation of women, their bodies, and processes of reproduction is often a central aspect of a text’s utopian impulse.⁴³ Davis suggests that ideal societies intend to

³⁸ On seventeenth century title pages the term for adaptation would likely be ‘altered’ rather than ‘adapted’, and the term adaptation is a slightly more modern invention (OED – 1709). I use adaptation as it is a generally accepted term in the field, see for example Linda Hutcheon, *A Theory of Adaptation* (New York: Routledge, 2006); Lynne Bradley, *Adapting King Lear for the Stage* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2010); Daniel Fischlin and Mark Fortier, eds., *Adaptations of Shakespeare: A Critical Anthology of Plays from the Seventeenth-Century to the Present* (London: Routledge, 2000); Margaret Jane Kidnie, *Shakespeare and the Problem of Adaptation* (London: Routledge, 2009); and Julie Sanders, *Adaptations and Appropriation* (London: Routledge, 2006).

³⁹ *A Theory of Adaptation*, 6. I use adapted text to refer to what has often been called the ‘source text’ or ‘original’ because, as is the case with some of the texts, the adaptations use multiple sources, some of which are adaptations themselves. For further discussions of why notions of the ‘original’ or ‘source text’ are flawed in adaptation studies, see Hutcheon, *A Theory of Adaptation*, 7, 111.

⁴⁰ *A Theory of Adaptation*, 6.

⁴¹ This same approach is taken by Depledge, *Shakespeare’s Rise to Cultural Prominence*, and Dobson, *The Making of A National Poet*.

⁴² Bettina Roß has also stressed that in utopian writing from the fourteenth- to the twentieth-century femininity and its control has been one of the most important topoi of utopia, *Politische Utopien von Frauen: Von Christine de Pizan bis Karin Boye* (Dortmund: Edition Ebersbach, 1998), 283-293.

⁴³ Sargent, ‘Women in Utopia’, *Comparative Literature Studies* 10, no. 4 (December 1973): 302-316. I wish to stress, here, that when discussing women in this essentialist and embodied category throughout the thesis I am referring purely to the way in which they were imagined as reproductively capable, or incapable, by early modern authors. I do not personally believe reproductive capacity to be indicative of womanhood.

fulfil the ‘wants of the heterogenous group’, arguing that one of the resources for doing so is ‘a given number of beautiful women or men’, and implying that the issue is resolved equally in favour of male and female subjects.⁴⁴ However, the subjects of many utopias are not a heterogenous group but a relatively homogenous one. Although the social and bureaucratic organisations of resources and activities in utopias can be said to aim, at least ostensibly, to make their subjects happy, those subjects are normally a specific social group, and – other than in satirical women-on-top narratives – those groups are predominantly male and white.⁴⁵ We are told about other bodies that exist in these environments but frequently, instead of being subjects, they function as objects and resources exploited for the purpose of maintaining ideal conditions for that dominant group. Indeed, for Emily Fairey, classical utopia ‘came to be a tool for the justification of slavery’, in that utopias discuss the pros and cons of different slave management systems and their necessity.⁴⁶ This can be said to also translate to the early modern utopian text: those who violate the terms of *Utopia* in More’s text, for example, become slaves, and function as economic and labour resources.⁴⁷ I contend that in many utopian texts the resource group that must be controlled also includes women and their reproductive capacity.⁴⁸ Utopias often have a distinctive way of managing production through laws regarding marriage, modesty, and / or female behaviour in order to attempt to minimise domestic disturbance.⁴⁹

⁴⁴ *Utopia and the Ideal Society*, 19.

⁴⁵ For more on women-on-top narratives, see below (16-21), and Chapter Four.

⁴⁶ For Fairey utopia ‘consistently addresses the social interaction of subservience and dominance’, and ‘slavery is the most dramatic example of such a power relation’, and these texts either indicate a wish to apply controls or display those who wish to avoid them, ultimately showing that control is to be desired, ‘Slavery in the Classical Utopia: A Comparative Study’, (PhD Thesis: City University of New York, 2006), 1.

⁴⁷ *Utopia*, 88-89. The category of bondmen also includes prisoners of war, people who were bondmen in other countries, and any non-Christian who might attempt to persuade others with ‘displeasing and seditious words’ (109).

⁴⁸ Jean Baudrillard’s suggestion that ‘it is man, in his naivety, who secretes Utopias, one of them precisely woman. And woman being a living Utopia, has no need to produce any such thing’ is reflective of this traditional positioning of women as objects of utopian desire and control rather than subjects within them, *Cool Memories II, 1987-1990* (London: Verso, 1990), 47.

⁴⁹ Bryce J. Christense has suggested that in most utopian writing ‘recognizable family life disappears’ and utopians perfect ‘the state by destroying the family’, but his understanding of the family is the traditional nuclear family. I instead suggest that even the reconstructed dynamics of producing offspring in these texts serve only to enlarge the dynamics of the traditional family, with patriarchy and the control of women and fertility as their central aims, *Utopia Against the Family: The Problems and Politics of the American Family* (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1990), 2-3.

Classical utopias betray authorial concern with the institutional ways in which they manage the production of their subjects through female bodies. Frequently, the female resource is also represented as a troublesome one. Hesiod's *Works and Days* (c.700BC) presents the loss of the Golden Age – an idyllic but lost period of time in which a society flourished and men and divine beings lived as one – as the fault of Pandora, and treats women with suspicion, advising that 'whoever puts his trust in a woman puts his trust in tricksters'.⁵⁰ However, as Lilah Grace Canavero has noted, women in Hesiod are a 'necessary evil [because] female fertility is an integral part of Hesiod's ideal state'.⁵¹ In Hesiod's depiction of an ideal, or 'just' city, a central feature is that 'wives bear children resembling their fathers', whereas in the unjust city, 'their women do not give birth, and their households are depleted'.⁵² The insistence on children looking like fathers reveals concerns regarding paternity.

The central notion of managing sexual relations and paternity is retained in early modern utopian texts and achieved through increased attention on the figure and dominance of the patriarch. Despite protestations that citizens are equal, and although in More's text women can work and become priests, More still explicitly gives authority to the husband and father, with wives and children who 'fall on their knees...[to] confess every misdeed or failure, and ask forgiveness for their offenses. Thus any cloud of domestic discord is removed'.⁵³ In this sense, although it is possible to argue that More's society is less misogynistic or patriarchal in some of its practices, it retains political patriarchalism and the need for family dynamics and political systems to reflect

⁵⁰ trans. by Gregory Nagy, *The Centre for Hellenic Studies*, accessed 2nd April 2023. 1.375. <https://chs.harvard.edu/primary-source/hesiod-works-and-days-sb/>.

⁵¹ 'The Clash of the Sexes in Hesiod's *Works and Days*, *Greece and Rome* 60, no.2 (2013): 189.

⁵² Ibid., 234; 244. Canavero also suggests this reveals a 'male dilemma' where men struggle to balance sexual activity with economic productivity ('The Clash of the Sexes', 188).

⁵³ Further, men and women who consider entering into marital contracts are given the chance to view each other naked before making the commitment because 'so foul deformity may be hid under those coverings, that it may quite alienate and take away the man's mind from his wife, when it shall not be lawful for their bodies to be separate again' (*Utopia*, 99). Although the custom allegedly gives equal right to the prospective bride to see the groom, the rational is to disclose female deformities to the man so that he can call off the engagement with no reference to the possibility of the woman doing the same (*Utopia* 90-91). Sargent also makes this point ('Women in Utopia', 303). For more on More and marriage, see Chapter One 84-85.

Further, the map of More's *Utopia* has been read as womb-like in shape by Khanna, 'Utopian Exchanges', 19.

and uphold ideals of male authority. Francis Bacon's *New Atlantis* (1627), discussed in more detail in Chapter Three, maintains the same patriarchal social structure with fathers as heads of households.⁵⁴ James Harrington's *The Commonwealth of Oceana* (1656) positions female reproductivity as central to female value, lamenting the use of dowries to make women marketable:

how brutish, and much more than brutish, is that common-wealth which prefers the earth before the fruits of the womb? [...] And yet we see the gifts of God, and the bounties of Heaven in fruitful families, through this wretched custom of marrying for money, become their insupportable grief and poverty.⁵⁵

Contemporary texts in the utopian tradition – including Aldous Huxley's *Brave New World* (1932), Margaret Atwood's *The Handmaid's Tale* (1985) and *The Testaments* (2019), and films such as *Children of Men* (2016) – continue to engage with this central problem of the means of reproducing subjects through women's bodies. This ties in with the idea that women's bodies can be aligned with virgin landscapes, fertile ground ripe for conquest, invasion, and the production of future ideal societies.⁵⁶ These examples, alongside the central texts of this thesis, serve to demonstrate how female bodies in male-authored utopian texts are positioned as the essential means on which patriarchal authority and stable legacy is supposed to be built.

I argue that the seventeenth-century utopian texts analysed in this thesis demonstrate the failure of the utopian, patriarchal control of female resources, and make this function more visible. Scholarship has recognised the central role of sex and reproduction and its use as a means of maintaining patriarchy and controlling women in utopias: Lee Cullen Khanna, for example, has noted that the island of *Utopia* itself is shaped like a womb waiting to be penetrated.⁵⁷ Much has been written about the ways that female authors resist these strategies, especially in eighteenth-

⁵⁴ Chapter Three, 188-189.

⁵⁵ (London: Livewell Chapman), Q2v

⁵⁶ See for example Sara Mills 'Gender and Colonial Space', *A Journal of Feminist Geography* 3, no. 2 (1996): 125-148; Tony Ballantyne and Antoinette Burton, eds. *Bodies in Contact: Rethinking Colonial Encounters in World History* (Duke University Press, 2005); Pamela Cheek, *Sexual Antipodes: Enlightenment, Globalization and the Placing of Sex* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003); Heidi Hutner, *Colonial Women: Race and Culture in Stuart Drama* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001); see also the section below on pornotopias (16-21).

⁵⁷ 'Utopian Exchanges', 18-19.

century utopian writing.⁵⁸ However, there has been little sustained analysis of the function of this repressive formula as it features in the mid-late seventeenth century in writing other than women's.⁵⁹ The prominence of male-authored utopias maintaining the status quo of patriarchal dominance when it comes to gender relations has potentially led to the obscuring of this central concern with fertility. Kate Lilley has thus suggested that 'men's utopias have focused on political systems and laws; utopian writing by women has tended to focus strategically on the possibilities and problems of gendered social life and the weight of custom – micropolitical questions of sexuality, maternity, education, domesticity and self-government – while declining the burden of representing a fully articulated model of a new political order'.⁶⁰ However, as discussed above, these male authored and canonical authors are, in fact, continually engaging with the domestic concerns of marriage, fertility and paternity, but this has perhaps been occluded because their imagining of these systems is relatively in-line with the status quo of political patriarchy even when elsewhere they are socially radical. Similarly, Alexandra Verini has argued that women are generally absent in 'canonical utopias' preceding the eighteenth century because 'women have little status within such worlds', and whilst this is certainly true I wish to focus on precisely how female status is marginalised in the utopian texts of this period, what strategies are used, and how this reflects the political crises of the late seventeenth-century which coalesced around issues of gender and fertility.⁶¹ As Lilley crucially recognises, the trend towards an 'explicitly feminist analysis of woman-

⁵⁸ The essays in *Gender and Utopia*, for example, aim to respond to assumptions that utopia is a male dominated sphere and repositioning women in the utopias of the eighteenth century, with a particular focus on female education and separatist communities (Pohl and Tooley, introduction to *Gender and Utopia*, 3, 10); Pohl elsewhere argues that female utopian authors can be seen to be taking back female space in reaction to male depictions of female spaces 'as either male utopic visions of excessive sexuality and libertinage' (*Women, Space and Utopia*, 3). For seventeenth-century women's utopian writing, see Lilley, in 'Blazing Worlds'; Barbara Kaplan, 'Women and Sexuality in Utopian Fiction' (PhD Thesis: University of New York, 1977), 199.

⁵⁹ Lisa K. Brewer similarly notices that utopian texts frequently depict the sexual control of women and relates it to the politics of the period, but her thesis focuses on the ways that millenarian and spiritual women's writing in the seventeenth century attempted to 'redefine the social definitions of gender in order to loosen' these controls, 'Paradise Negotiated: Early Modern Women Writing Utopia, 1640-1760' (PhD Thesis: West Virginia University, 2005) ii. In this thesis I focus more narrowly on the period of political disturbance that surrounded a crisis of fertility and sexuality, and move beyond female only millenarian texts in order to show the broad social pressure which was placed on the notion of female control in the period.

⁶⁰ 'Blazing Worlds: Seventeenth-Century Women's Utopian Writing', in *Women, Texts and Histories 1575-1760*, eds., Clare Brant and Diane Purkiss (London: Routledge, 1992), 116.

⁶¹ Verini, *English Women's Spiritual Utopias*, 7.

centred or separatist utopian writing' might result in a 'lack of contact which institutionalises separate spheres'.⁶² My approach intends to bridge this gap: focusing in on images of women, the notion of fertility, and patriarchal control in male- and female-authored utopias. I argue that, in a period where patriarchal order was felt to be breaking down and the lines of succession and reproductive control were suspect, this aspect of utopia, the control of reproduction and male authority over female bodies and female behaviour, is of crucial importance. In this thesis, I focus specifically on how the patriarchal control of sexual reproduction in English utopian texts is put under severe pressure throughout the political crises of the late-seventeenth century, and the centrality of issues of fertility and female bodies in the build-up to the Restoration Crisis.⁶³ I suggest that the relationship between gender and politics in this period shapes the utopian impulse. A central genre in which we see that shift is one I term pornotopia, which warrants further explanation.

Pornotopia

This thesis contends that the pornotopian subgenre of utopia appears to flourish in the period of 1660-1686, though it has earlier analogues. I use the term pornotopia to refer to texts that depict fictional commonwealths, kingdoms or lands where sexual relations form the central means by which the society, institution, or physical landscape is organised. Stephen Marcus first coined the term 'pornotopia' as a way of emphasising how closely pornographic fantasy resembles utopian fantasy, but it has since been used by Susan Bruce to describe Henry Neville's *Isle of Pines* (1668).⁶⁴ Marcus' study focused on Victorian pornographic writing and used the label to position pornography outside of normal time, and place, into the no-place of utopia, reflecting the wish-fulfilment aspects of the utopian impulse. In sum, Marcus reads pornography as utopian, but I use the term to read utopia as pornographic. Further, as Sarah Toulalan has argued, in early modern

⁶² Lilley, 'Blazing-Worlds', 102-103.

⁶³ A similar strategy is followed on a smaller scale by Seth Denbo in 'Generating Regenerated Generations: Race, Kinship and Sexuality on Henry Neville's *Isle of Pines* (1668)', in *Gender and Utopia*, 147-163.

⁶⁴ *The Other Victorians: A Study of Sexuality and Pornography in Mid-Nineteenth-Century England*, (New York: Bantam Books, 1967), 270-271. Bruce, introduction to *Three Early Modern Utopias*, xxxvi-xlii.

erotic literature, unlike the Victorian pornography which Marcus investigates, the erotic and sensual had not been uncoupled from the notion of procreating, and so ‘the experience of sexual pleasure was still understood as connected to its procreative purpose’.⁶⁵ As such, pornography, much like utopia, frequently concentrated on fertility and reproduction. My discussions of pornotopia in the early modern period are thus focused on texts where the sexual or erotic aspects of the utopian impulse and its reproductive capacity become the sole focus of the imagined space or community.⁶⁶

As I have explained, sexual relations and the control of reproduction are central to most utopian texts, but in pornotopias, sex and reproduction become the defining feature. Sexual activity frequently featured in Cockayne narratives, but there it is the general luxuriousness and fulfilment of *all* desires, not simply sexual desires, that is of central concern.⁶⁷ More made a concerted effort to control and arrange marriage, and thereby sex, in order to secure paternity and stable nuclear families in his *Utopia*. However, the ‘principal foundation’ of *Utopia* is the stress on communal ownership.⁶⁸ Similarly, and as discussed in Chapter Three, in Bacon’s *New Atlantis* the society goes to great lengths to stress the importance of paternity and reproduction, but ‘the very eye of this kingdom’ is Solyman’s House, and its use of science to cure society’s ills.⁶⁹ Conversely, pornotopian texts unabashedly focus on sexual intercourse and exchange as the primary means of building a utopian society both in terms of producing subjects, and keeping those subjects happy and satisfied

⁶⁵ ‘Pornography, Procreation and Pleasure in Early Modern England’ in *The Cambridge Companion to Erotic Literature*, ed. Bradford K. Mudge (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 107.

⁶⁶ Erotic literature also flourished in the seventeenth century in England with texts such as *Rare Verities: The Cabinet of Venus Unlocked And Her Secrets Laid Open* (1658) or *The School of Venus* (Wing suggests 1684-1700). For a fuller discussion, see Roger Thompson, *Unfit for Modest Ears: A Study of Pornographic, Obscene and Bawdy Works Written or Published in England in the Second Half of the Seventeenth Century* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1979); Ian Frederick Moulton, ‘Erotic Representation, 1500-1750’ in *The Routledge History of Sex and the Body 1500 to the Present* eds. Sarah Toulalan and Kate Fisher; Sarah Toulalan *Imagining Sex: Pornography and Bodies in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

⁶⁷ For Davis its overarching principle is ‘the fullest private satisfaction of men’s appetites’ (*Utopia and the Ideal Society*, 21).

⁶⁸ *Utopia*, 123; see also S.J. Edward L. Surtz, ‘Thomas More and Communism’, *PMLA*, vol. 64., no. 3 (1949): 549-564.

⁶⁹ Francis Bacon, *New Atlantis* in *Sylva Sylvarum: or a Naturall Historie in Ten Centuries*, ed. William Rawley (London: William Lee, John Haviland and Augustine Mathewes, 1627) B4r; see also Judah Bierman, ‘Science and Society in *The New Atlantis* and other Renaissance Utopias’, *PMLA* 78, no. 5 (1963): 492-500; Chapter Three, 188-189.

through sexual pleasure. As I will argue, they are frequently satirical in tone, depicting unrestricted female sexual appetite as resulting in chaos and ruin.

The history of pornotopian texts – which centralise concerns of sexual gratification in their re-imagining of a society or institution – goes back to antiquity and the emergence of the parliament of women genre in Aristophanes’ *The Assembly-Women* (fourth century BC) and Aulus Gellius’s story of Papirus Praetextatus in *Attic Nights* (second century AD).⁷⁰ Parliament of women texts are narratives of female assemblies, governments or parliaments which collectively set down their own laws for a society which fulfils their needs. The focus of their restructuring of society tends to relate, unsurprisingly, to gender relations, sex, marital laws, and domesticity. In *The Assembly-Women* a group of women seize control of the city of Athens, set up a system in which goods and sexual partners are shared, abolish the traditional family, and ensure that male and female sexual needs are met, resulting in a relatively successful gynocracy.⁷¹ Aristophanes’ text thus seems to acknowledge the centrality of satisfying sexual and domestic needs in utopian commonwealth planning and presents a functional management system which acknowledges the desires of both men and women. Aristophanes’ text, however, is relatively unique in this positioning. In Aulus Gellius’s narrative, the women of the city are duped by a young boy,

⁷⁰ Gaby Mahlberg, ‘The Parliament of Women and the Restoration Crisis’ in *Democracy and Anti-Democracy in Early Modern England 1603-1689*, ed. by Cesare Cuttica and Markku Peltonen (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 282-283; Aristophanes, ‘Assembly-Women’, in *Aristophanes, Birds, Lysistrata, Assembly-Women, Wealth*, transl. Stephen Halliwell (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 143-97; Aulus Gellius, *Attic Nights*, trans. John C. Rolfe, 3 vols (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1927), I.23. Aristophanes also wrote other plays featuring female political agency: *Lysistrata* centres around a group of women denying sex to soldiers in order to end the Peloponnesian War and *Thesmophoriazousae*, in which the women are offended by Euripides’ depictions of them in drama, and hold a democratic meeting to discuss what action to take.

⁷¹ Aristophanes’s text is intended as a satire of a republican state in trouble, in which a solution is posited but does not ultimately resolve central issues. As John Zumbrennen has suggested, Aristophanes’s depiction of female political control slides between an idealising fantasy and an ironic, knowing wink at the audience that this would not work, ‘Fantasy, Irony, and Economic Justice in Aristophanes *Assemblywomen* and *Wealth*’, *American Political Science Review* 100, no.3 (2006): 319-333. Laughter is elicited by the men being duped by the women, who steal their clothes and leave them with only their feminine nightwear. However, the concerns raised by the women are not dismissed as absurd simply because they revolve around the domestic and sexual. Indeed, as Jeff Miller has argued, the play reflects broadly on the tensions between the public and private spheres beginning to emerge at the time, and specifically as a means of dramatizing the debates about who represents the *polis*. ‘Gender and the *Polis* in Aristophanes’, in *Engendering Difference: Sexism, Power and Politics*, eds., Michelle Gadpaille, Vesna Kodrić and Victor Kennedy (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2018), 53-72. See also, Suzanna Said, ‘The *Assemblywomen*: Women, Economy, and Politics’, in *Oxford Readings in Aristophanes*, ed. Erich Segal (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 282-313.

Praetextatus, into thinking that the governing men are considering instituting a rule in which men can have two wives. The women of the city then set up their own council to discuss alternative legislature, march to parliament, and petition for themselves to have two husbands. At this point the deception is revealed, the women are laughed at, and Praetextatus is praised for cleverly duping the women. It is Gellius's text which became the foundation for the tradition of parliament of women pamphlets produced in English in the 1640s and 1680s, and it is used to satirise political disorder through gender disorder, as discussed in more detail in Chapter Four.

Another subgenre of pornotopia, the 'somatopia', goes beyond institutional or societal reform and depicts the entire landscape and human existence upon it as a sexual relationship by reimagining the environment as a female body. As Darby Lewes argues, the somatopia (from soma, body and topos, 'place') is 'a pornographic text which presents women's bodies (or more accurately, a generalized female body) as a site of male pleasure: a utopian sexual landscape'.⁷² She places them into six categories: agricultural (women as fields to be ploughed), aristocratic (the private game preserve and the game being hunted troped as female), historic (British explorers vanquishing a female 'New World'), imperial (women as foreign lands in need of conquering and domesticating), architectural (women as buildings), and synecdochic (where women become artefacts or objects associated with landscapes or seascapes: ships, coaches, etc).⁷³ The earliest examples of the genre come from the sixteenth century, with seven texts recorded by Lewes between 1500-1599, but the genre was far more popular in the seventeenth century, with thirty-three texts produced between 1600-1699.⁷⁴ Part One of *Erōtopolis*, discussed in Chapter Four, is an agricultural somatopia.

⁷² 'Utopian Sexual Landscapes: An Annotated Checklist of British Somatopias', *Utopian Studies* 7, no.2 (1996), 167. For more on somatopias in the eighteenth century, see Sharon O'Toole Dubois, 'Merryland: Gender and Power in an Eighteenth-Century Pornotopia', *Utopian Studies* 1, no.2 (2000): 77-87.

⁷³ Ibid., 167-168. In this sense the depiction of female bodies as ships in Thomas Duffett's *The Mock-Tempest* (1675) could be seen as a synecdochic somatopia, see Chapter One 62-67.

⁷⁴ Lewes, 'Utopian Sexual Landscapes', 191-195.

I also trace the development of what I will term pornotopian travel narratives. In these, texts travellers discover new worlds, inhabited or not, and the narrative focuses entirely on the sexual interactions which occur on these islands either between the newly arrived travellers or else between the travellers and existing inhabitants.⁷⁵ In Chapter One, I analyse Hippolito, in Dryden and William Davenant's adaptation of *The Tempest*, who mounts a pornotopian vision which clashes with Prospero's aims. Chapter Three examines Neville's *The Isle of Pines*, which depicts a society on an island whose sole function is to keep on producing more subjects based on a programme of sexual activity and marriage: the society ultimately collapses due to the degeneracy caused by George Pine's emasculation by the island's women.⁷⁶ In Chapter Four, Durfey's *A Commonwealth of Women* can be seen as a pornotopian travel drama in its depictions of the interactions between Amazons and stranded men. Finally, drawing from the imperial and historic somatopias and their association with travel, and from the broader utopian tradition of travel pornotopias, *Erōtopolis* (1684) is uniquely situated as both somotopia and pornotopian travel narrative – the second part being focused on the exploration and discovery of Bettyland's brothels. The increased production of pornotopian texts in this period is, I argue, indicative of the political strife and crisis of gender relations in the England in the late-seventeenth century.

Stories of Amazon communities of women date back to antiquity, where they are depicted as a single sex society of warrior women, and classical narratives stress their prowess in war, battles

⁷⁵ In her bibliography Lewes lists travel narratives such as Sir Walter Raleigh's *The Discoverie of the Large, Rich, and Bewtiful Emphyre of Guiana* (1596), Robert Johnson's *Nova Britannia: Offering Most Excellent fruits by planting in Virginia* (1612), *The New Life of Virginea: Declaring the Former Successe and Present Estate of that Plantation* (1612), and John Smith's *A Description of New England*, (1616) as somatopias for this reason. Further, Mario Klarer has demonstrated that the New World was frequently allegorised as a female landscape, and utopian visions of Arcadia, Amazons and gendered role reversals were a part of the construction of America as an other-worldly myth, 'Women and Arcadia: The Impact of Ancient Utopian Thought on the Early Image of America' *Journal of American Studies* 27, no.1 (1993) 1-17. For a discussion of the connection between travel narratives and utopian narratives, see Chapter One, 48-54; Chapter Two, 102-105; Chapter Three, 176-178; Chapter Four, 257-258; for connections between women and nature as an inert female ready to be conquered, see Chapter Three, 168-171; see also Carolyn Merchant, *The Death of Nature: Women, Ecology, and the Scientific Revolution* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1980); Evelyn Fox Keller, *Reflections on Gender and Science* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985); Nancy Tuana, ed. *Feminism and Science* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989).

⁷⁶ See Chapter Two, 190-194. Neville's is also the first pornotopia which sustains the fiction beyond the depiction of one institution, as in the parliament of women texts, and positions it in relation to more typical utopian narratives such as the utopian travel narrative. See also Bruce, introduction to *Three Early Modern Utopias*, xxxvi-xlii.

they won or lost, their geographical location and their general heroism.⁷⁷ However, later English texts such as John Mandeville's *Travels* (1469) did not focus on their means of living or their warrior society, but specifically on their sex lives, making them pornotopian in aspect. Mandeville's narration, for example, describes only their sexual interactions and reproduction: the Amazons allow men to stay with them for a certain number of nights in order to have sex, and decree that any male offspring would be sent home with the father or killed, and any female offspring kept and raised by the Amazons: they also wield phallic spears and cut off their breasts.⁷⁸ As Kathryn Schwarz puts it, 'Amazons mystify sexual reproduction, undoing patrilineal connections, killing, maiming, or abandoning male children, raising their daughters in what becomes in effect a female parthenogenetic society'.⁷⁹ Durfey's return to an Amazon narrative in his adaptation of John Fletcher and Phillip Massinger's *The Sea Voyage* thus allows him to comment on the issues plaguing gender hierarchies in the late-seventeenth century, but he transforms the earlier narratives' focus on 'Amazonian domestication', into one in which domestication does not seem to be considered possible, and the thrust of the satire is aimed at emasculation rather than at manly women.⁸⁰

Utopia, The Civil Wars, and Interregnum Politics

As previously stated, the late seventeenth-century is the period during which utopian writing in English flourished, and it did so in direct relation to late seventeenth-century crises and gender politics. The period of civil unrest, beginning in the 1640s, led to the use of utopian writing for

⁷⁷ see Lorna Hardwick, 'Ancient Amazons – Heroes, Outsiders or Women?' *Greek and Rome* 37, no.1 (April 1990): 14-36. One notable exception is Herodotus's narrative of a group of warriors known as the Scyths who meet the Amazons and realise the 'eugenic potential' of two warrior tribes *The History of Herodotus*, trans. by G.C. Macaulay, vol. 1 (London: Macmillan, 1890) 4.110-117. The Scyths ask the Amazons to be their wives, but 'the Amazons refuse to accept the traditional roles of women in a patriarchal society and force the young Scyths to found a new community with utopian modes of coexistence' (Klarer, 'Women and Arcadia', 9).

⁷⁸ *Mandeville's Travels*, Early English Text Society, Original Series no. 153 (New York: C. Scribner and Co., 1919) 102-103. See also Klarer, 'Women and Arcadia'; Hardwick, 'Ancient Amazons'; Jo Eldridge Carney, "'Honoured Hippolyta, Most Dreaded Amazonian": The Amazon Queen in the Works of Shakespeare and Fletcher', in *"High and Mighty Queens" of Early Modern England: Realities and Representations*, eds., Carole Levin, Eldridge Carney, Debra Barrett-Graves (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 117-131; Kathryn Schwarz, *Tough Love: Amazon Encounters in the English Renaissance* (London: Duke University Press, 2000).

⁷⁹ *Tough Love*, 5.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 7.

critique of government and blueprints for reform.⁸¹ On the eve of the English Civil Wars, Charles I even used the utopian label when he called Parliament's 'Nineteen Propositions' 'a new Utopia of religion and government into which they endeavour to transform this Kingdom'.⁸² His tone may be dismissive, but it nonetheless highlights how the Parliamentary revolutionaries became associated with utopian thinking. As Lucian Hölscher has noted, it is in the mid-seventeenth century that the term first began to be used to refer to an 'impractical idea' and as 'the polemical description of any constitutional form which fighting parties of the civil war regarded as unacceptable for the country'.⁸³ Most of the accusations that reformists were utopians with facile and unpracticable ideas about new government came from the Royalists and were designed to be satirical. In 1643, for example, a satirical news pamphlet reported that the Parliamentarians were expecting support from 'the puissant King of the large Territories of the invincible and invisible *Utopia*', who was due to provide 'a thousand shippes, gallies, sloopes, and other Vessels' in order to 'aid us against the Rebels that obey the King' – as soon as the 'waters are high enough' to bring the boats to Birmingham – a midland city far from the coast: the geographical equivalent of 'when Hell freezes over'.⁸⁴ Nevertheless, the Royalists were not inventing the connection between the utopian impulse and the revolutionary ideas that emerged in the build-up to civil war. Gabriel

⁸¹ For scholarship on the utopianism of republicans in relation to the Civil Wars and Interregnum, see for example Boesky, *Founding Fictions*, 11; Glen Bowman, 'Justice in a World Turned Upside Down: Utopian Visions in the English Civil War and Revolution' *Contemporary Justice Review* 8, no.4 (2005): 397-408; Alan Simpson, 'Saints in Arms: English Puritanism as Political Utopianism', *Church History* 23, no.2 (June 1954): 119-125; Christoph Ulf Hayduk, 'Hopeful Politics: The Interregnum Utopias' (PhD thesis: University of Sydney, 2005); Rosanna Cox, "'Atlantick and Eutopian Polities': Utopianism, Republicanism and Constitutional Design in the Interregnum' in *New Worlds Reflected: Travel and Utopia in the Early Modern Period*, ed. Houston, (London: Routledge, 2016), 179-202; James R. Holstun's *A Rational Millennium: Puritan Utopias of Seventeenth-Century England and America* (Oxford University Press, 1987); Alice Manuela Martins Guimaraes, 'Utopian Impulses during the English Interregnum: John Eliot and Gerrard Winstanley' *Epiphany: Journal of Transdisciplinary Studies* 6, no.1 (2013): 29-48; J. C. Davis, "'De Te Fabula Narratur': Oceana and James Harrington's Narrative Constitutionalism" in *Utopian Moments: Reading Utopian Texts* ed. by Davis and Miguel Angel Ramiro Avilés (London: Bloomsbury, 2012), 53-59; John Gurney, 'Gerrard Winstanley's *The Law of Freedom*: Context and Continuity' in *Utopian Moments* 47-52; Eugenio Capozzi, 'Republicanism and Representative Democracy: The Heritage of James Harrington' *European Review of History: Revue Européenne d'Histoire* 5, no.2 (1998) 197-204;

⁸² John Rushworth, "'Historical Collections: June 1642'", in *Historical Collections of Private Passages of State: Volume 4, 1640-42* (London: s.n., 1721), 722-51.

⁸³ 'Utopie', 18.

⁸⁴ John Taylor, *A Preter-Phperfect Spicke and Span new Nocturnal* (s.l.:s.n., 1643)

Plattes's *A Description of the Famous Kingdome of Macaria* (1641), a utopian text addressed to Parliament, suggested significant political and religious reform to the then current government.⁸⁵

Utopian writing was thus more politically charged than ever before, and associated with reform and rebellion, but it was also a very popular genre of writing which flourished in England from around 1640. According to data found in Sargent's annotated bibliography of utopian literature in English, between 1516, the publication of More's *Utopia*, and 1639, a period of 129 years, only twenty-six utopian titles were produced in English, with sporadic publication and a maximum of two titles per year. In contrast, in the much shorter timeframe of 1642-1688, a period of forty-nine years, seventy-two new utopian titles were published, with as many as six titles per year published in 1647 and 1675. Between 1688 and 1736, the same timeframe, only forty-eight new utopian titles were published.⁸⁶ As Amy Boesky notes, utopia 'in England belongs more to the seventeenth century than to the sixteenth ... as English self-consciousness intensified prior to and during the Civil Wars, the utopia as a discursive form offered a particularly potent space for representing historical rupture'.⁸⁷ Accordingly, Plattes's *Kingdome of Macaria* was followed by Gerrard Winstanley's *The Law of Freedom in a Platform: Or, True Magistracy Restored* (1652) and Harrington's *Oceana* (1656) after the regicide, and all used the utopian mode of literature to propose genuine options for social change: they were intended to be taken very seriously, with all three addressed directly to government.⁸⁸

Utopian activity in this period exploded far beyond the page. Sects such as the Fifth Monarchists were outwardly anticipating the millennium, and millenarianism was becoming more popular.⁸⁹ Millenarianism is loosely defined as a belief in a 1,000 year period of blessedness after the Second Coming of Christ which would see the rise of a New Jerusalem on earth where Christ,

⁸⁵ (London: Francis Constable, 1641).

⁸⁶ It is worth noting that Sargent does not count new editions or adaptations as additional publications, so *The Tempest's* restoration adaptations are not listed as entries, but nor are subsequent editions of More's *Utopia*, a lacuna which obscures popularity.

⁸⁷ Boesky, *Founding Fictions*, 11.

⁸⁸ *The Law of Freedom*, (London: Gerrard Winstanley, 1652).

⁸⁹ For a comprehensive overview of the activities of the Fifth Monarchists, see Bernard Capp, *The Fifth Monarchy Men: A Study in Seventeenth-Century English Millenarianism* (London: Faber and Faber, 1972).

God, angels and humans would live as one, and these beliefs were widely held by sixteenth- and seventeenth-century English Protestants. Millenarian notions had been present in Europe for some time before the English Civil Wars.⁹⁰ However, the onset of civil war brought with it an explosion of millenarian tracts in the English press (which enjoyed relative freedom from censorship in the 1640s) and these texts linked older millennial ideas with the contemporary political crisis.⁹¹ The revolution, the execution of Charles I, the introduction of the Commonwealth, and the Interregnum period were all thought to herald the millennium.⁹² Proponents of millenarian ideas used biblical exegesis to call for engagement in the Civil Wars. For example, John Spencer published a sermon in which he exhorted the people to engage in the English Civil Wars because it was part of a much larger spiritual warfare and a harbinger of the apocalypse.⁹³ The millennial text by Joseph Mede, *Clavis Apocalyptica*, was first translated and published in English in 1643 as *The Key of the Revelation*, and was the most popular millenarian text of the period.⁹⁴ In more secular terms, Winstanley had led a group of Diggers to establish a utopian society on St George's Hill in Surrey, and had written to parliament to defend their rights to establish such communes.⁹⁵ On the eve of the Restoration, Harrington and the Rota-Club (established in 1659) were busy planning alternative social structures in association with utopian

⁹⁰ For a detailed account of the progress of millenarianism from Luther through the English Civil War, see Bernard Capp, *The Fifth Monarchy Men* 23-49; Christopher Hill, *Antichrist in Seventeenth-Century England*, (London: Verso, 1990) 78-145, and Richard H. Popkin, 'Till the Conversion of the Jews', in *Millenarianism and Messianism in English Literature and Thought, 1650-1800: Clark Library Lectures, 1981-1982*, ed. Richard H. Popkin, (Leiden: Brill, 1988), 12-36. For its relationship to utopia, see Ernest Lee Tuveson, *Millennium and Utopia: A Study in the Background of the Idea of Progress* (New York: Harper and Row, 1964). For a broader overview of millenarianism, see for example Norman Cohn, 'Medieval Millenarianism: Its Bearing on the Comparative Study of Millenarian Movements' in *Millennial Dreams in Action* ed. by Sylvia L. Thrupp (New York: Schocken, 1962), 31-43.

⁹¹ Hill, *Milton and the English Revolution* (La Vergne: Verso, 1978), 279-284.

⁹² See Capp, *The Fifth Monarchy Men*, 45; Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down: Radical Ideas During the English Revolution* (London: Penguin Books, 1991), 34; Paul Christianson, *Reformers and Babylon: English Apocalyptic Visions from the Reformation to the Eve of Civil War* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978).

⁹³ *The Spirituall Warfare* (London: s.n., 1642), B3r.

⁹⁴ This translation was sponsored by Parliament and was widely disseminated. It has been argued that Mede's 'key' was so successful precisely because it 'gave shape and, thereby, meaning to the turbulent events of the Civil War period', Sarah Hutton, 'The Appropriation of Joseph Mede: Millenarianism in the 1640s', in *Millenarianism and Messianism in Early Modern European Culture*, vol. 3, eds. James E. Force and Richard H. Popkin (London: Macmillan, 1969), 5-6.

⁹⁵ One example of Winstanley's many petitions is, *An Appeale to All Englishmen, to Judge between Bondage and Freedome, Sent from Those That Began to Digge upon George Hill in Surrey; but Now Are Carrying on, That Publick Work upon the Little Heath in the Parish of Cobham, Neare unto George Hill, Wherein It Appeares, That the Work of Digging upon the Commons, Is Not Onely Warranted by Scripture, but by the Law of the Common-Wealth of England Likewise* (London, 1650).

literature.⁹⁶ Harrington and others continued to meet even after the Restoration, and the threat – outlined in utopian terms by Charles I – persisted in the reign of his son and heir, Charles II at the Restoration in 1660.⁹⁷

Utopian political radicalism in the Civil War and Interregnum periods was often associated with women, both analogically and literally. The utopian impulse of the 1640s was often satirised as a female parliament disturbing the natural order and exposing England to anarchy and civil war, which is discussed in more detail in Chapter Four. There was also an increased involvement of women in politics during this period,⁹⁸ which in some cases produced radical utopian texts or ideas too. Women such as Elizabeth Poole, Anne Fairfax and Anna Trapnell are just a few who are known to have articulated public political positions during the Civil Wars.⁹⁹ The most public way that women participated in this culture was in writing and publishing pamphlets and petitions.¹⁰⁰ Further, women in this period also authored serious utopian texts regarding the set-up of ideal commonwealths: two examples of which are Mary Pope's *A Treatise of Magistracy* (1647) and Mary Cary's *New and More Exact Mappe or Description of New Jerusalems Glory* (1651). The reaction to this burst of female political and utopian activity in the public sphere was to mock, belittle, and malign public women through association with female sexuality, a tactic picked up again in the 1680s.

Scholarship has frequently suggested that interest in writing and publishing utopian texts plummeted in the wake of the Restoration of 1660, both because of the failure to realise the

⁹⁶ For a recent discussion of the Rota-Club, see Rachel Hammersley, *James Harrington: An Intellectual Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), 249-259. Sargent lists 5 utopian texts published in 1659 (*Utopian Literature in English*).

⁹⁷ Mary Anne Everett Green, ed., *Calendar of State Papers Domestic*, Charles II, 1661-1662 (London: Longman and Co, 1861), 9th September 1661, 86.

⁹⁸ This is not to suggest that women occupied political positions with authority and control over political developments, rather, that women in this period were seen to be publicly engaging in and influencing political discussions.

⁹⁹ Ann Hughes, *Gender and the English Revolution* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2012), 76, 2, 5. See Chapter Four 214n37.

¹⁰⁰ See Marcus Nevitt, *Women and the Pamphlet Culture of Revolutionary England, 1640-1660* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2006); Ann Marie McEntee "'The [Un]Civill-Sisterhood of Oranges and Lemons': Female Petitioners and Demonstrators, 1642-53", in *Pamphlet Wars: Prose in the English Revolution*, Ebook, ed. James Holstun (London: Frank Cass, 1992), 192-229. For accounts of female involvement in the publication of print in the revolutionary period, see, for example, the work of Maureen Bell, 'Hannah Allen and the Development of a Puritan Publishing Business 1646-1651', *Publishing History* 26 (1989): 5-66; 'Mary Westwood, Quaker Publisher', *Publishing History* 23 (1988): 5-66; 'Seditious Sisterhood: Women Publishers of Opposition Literature at the Restoration' in *Voicing Women: Gender and Sexuality in Early Modern Writing*, eds. Kate Chegadozy, Melanie Hanson and Suzanne Trill. (Keele University Press, 1996), 185-195.

republican project, and because associations with utopianism might paint one as a radical or a dissenter. Thus, for Keith Thomas, after 1660, utopianism ‘grew faint. England was no longer a *tabula rasa*, as she had seemed to be in the 1640s, and the prospect of radical construction became remote’.¹⁰¹ For A.L. Morton, ‘The Restoration Utopias are of low quality and contribute little of positive value to the development of the utopian conception’.¹⁰² Manuel and Manuel similarly say that only ‘faint echoes’ of utopianism live on into the Restoration era.¹⁰³ Even whilst making the case for a reconsideration of Restoration and Augustan utopian writing, Claeys argues that:

utopian speculation, however, was much more common in the half century before 1660 than in that which followed it, and indeed much of both the political and literary spirit of the last decades of the century was, if anything, conspicuously anti-utopian. The apparent failure of the Commonwealth discouraged, at least in the short run, conjectures about the ideal state and regimes of greater moral purity. Discouraged too by the revival of censorship, proposals concerning extreme changes of constitutional and social systems diminished sharply until the crises surrounding the Glorious Revolution of 1688.¹⁰⁴

Whilst it is true that in the years 1640-1659 utopian textual production was high, with thirty-six new titles produced over twenty years, according to Sargent, the twenty years following the Restoration still saw the publication of twenty-eight utopian texts, and they were not clustered around the year of 1688, as Claeys implies above.¹⁰⁵ However, these critical assessments rely on assumptions that utopianism was predominantly generated by the republicans, and presented top-down social reform.

¹⁰¹ ‘The Utopian Impulse’, 43.

¹⁰² *The English Utopia* (1952), *The Marxist Internet Archive*, ed. Paul Flowers, ‘Chapter III: Utopia and the Reaction’. <https://www.marxists.org/archive/morton/1952/english-utopia/index.htm>.

¹⁰³ *Utopian Thought*, 335.

¹⁰⁴ *Restoration and Augustan British Utopias*, xi. Similarly, Appelbaum, while charting the development of the utopian impulse throughout this period, suggests that utopian writing in the wake of 1660 loses its political edge, its urgency, its ‘positive’ and ‘revolutionary’ impulses, *Literature and Utopian Politics*, 175-178. Appelbaum calls this a process of ‘aestheticization’, through which the utopian impulse moves away from radical suggestions for practical application and into an internalized and aesthetic approach in which a subject needs to come to terms with the political situation as it currently exists, 198. Appelbaum’s work, along with Claeys’s, crucially invites us to pay more attention to this period and the impact of the Restoration on the utopian impulse but there is a suggestive bias towards considering only radical Republican utopianism which was intended to be practically applied as truly utopian. In this thesis I aim to treat this literary development on its own merit, and, frequently, to suggest that these later texts still enact commentary on the socio-political sphere and potentially contain calls for political or social change – even if those calls are nostalgic.

¹⁰⁵ *Utopian Literature in English*

There is ample evidence to suggest that, during the Civil Wars, the royalists attempted to co-opt utopian rhetoric for their own uses. *The King of Utopia His Letter to the Citizens of Cosmopolis, the Metropolitan City of Utopia* (1647) sheds important light on ways in which royalists attempted to do so. In this pamphlet the king of Utopia writes a letter to his subjects expressing his continued love for them, and his hope that he could return.¹⁰⁶ Both the king and the loyal subjects who respond to this letter cite the fact that More's *Utopia* is monarchic, and use this fact to bolster arguments that monarchic government is the best form of government. The citizens hope they will become 'more Lovers of Moor for his instituts of our Utopian Commonwealth, then cherishers of our owne folly in its dissolution the ordain'd order [...] he in our monarchy drew the Picture of al happy Governments, and our ingrateful bands have disfigured the figures'.¹⁰⁷ This draws attention to the (perceived) irony and hypocrisy of republican utopianism going against More's ideal of a monarchic kingdom. This use of utopianism in relation to More's text was less common, however, than the use of nostalgic utopian modes and ideas of a lost Golden Age.

During the period of the Civil Wars and the Interregnum many royalist writers, particularly poets, had been turning to utopian imagery of the past – ideas of the halcyon days, Golden Age or arcadia – suggesting that the loss of monarchic control was the loss of a utopian or paradisaal state. Ann Coiro argues that this Cavalier poetry truly emerged in the 1640s, 'a decade when challenges to the King's authority initiated an unprecedented explosion of print publication that revolutionized both government and culture'.¹⁰⁸ She therefore suggests that it cannot be considered a courtly retreat into pure nostalgia but instead indicates an active participation in the cultural market and is in dialogue with the 1640s republican utopianism also responding to this crisis.¹⁰⁹ For example, Robert Herrick's collection of cavalier poetry entitled *Hesperides, or, The Works Both*

¹⁰⁶ *The King of Utopia His Letter to the Citizens of Cosmopolis, the Metropolitan City of Utopia* ('Cosmopolis' [i.e. London], s.n., 1647).

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, A3r-A3v.

¹⁰⁸ Ann Coiro, 'The Personal Rule of Poets: Cavalier Poetry and the English Revolution' in *The Oxford Handbook of Literature and the English Revolution*, ed. Laura Knoppers (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 208.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

Humane and Divine was published in 1648 and nostalgically looked back at the association of England with the Hesperides in the days before political upheaval.¹¹⁰ The mythology of the Hesperides and the orchard of golden apples was associated with notions of a blissful, idyllic earthly paradise.

Some of these royalist utopian texts also looked forward to a hoped-for Restoration, and figured it in relation to fertility. The halcyon myth, which is examined further in Chapter One as it informs the sea masque of one of the adaptations of *The Tempest*, was a particularly popular image.¹¹¹ The halcyon story revolves around the attainment of peace, known as the halcyon days, which allows the halcyon birds to lay their eggs. The myth thus centralises a couple and the birth of children. Similarly, '[w]omen are a crucial part of the creation of the Stuart royalist ideology', and Cavalier poetry thus features ideals of fertility and birth as bringing forth this time of peace.¹¹²

For example, Richard Lovelace writes:

As when some glorious *Queen*, whose pregnant wombe
Brings forth a Kingdome, with her first borne Sonne;
Mark but the Subjects joyfull hearts, and eyes [...]
And though their gifts be various, yet their sense
Speaks only this one thought, *Long live the Prince*.¹¹³

Conversely, they depicted the birth of parliamentary republicanism as monstrous, as in *Mistris Parliament Brought to a Bed of a Monstrous Childe of Reformation* (1648).¹¹⁴ The imagery in Lovelace's poem of a Queen's womb being crucial for begetting a Kingdom was to become a troubling one in the post-Restoration years.

¹¹⁰ For a discussion of Herricks' Hesperian framework, see Coiro, 'Herrick's Hesperides: The Name and the Frame' *ELH* 52, no.2 (1985): 311-336; John Milton also references these 'Hesperian fables true' in 1667 in *Paradise Lost*, ed. Barbara Kiefer Lewalski (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2007), 4.250.

¹¹¹ See Chapter One, 59-62.

¹¹² Coiro, 'The Personal Rule of Poets', 218.

¹¹³ *Lucasta, Epodes, Odes, Sonnets, Songs &c.* (London: Thomas Harper, 1649), a2r.

¹¹⁴ For more on political images of women's bodies, see Mary E. Fissell, *Vernacular Bodies: The Politics of Reproduction in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

Patriarchy and The Family Analogy

Royalist propagandists had long used the analogy of the family as a justification of the patriarchal system of monarchy, casting the King as both the father of his subjects who cares for them and as the ultimate patriarchal authority figure.¹¹⁵ In conjunction with notions of the divine right of kings and primogeniture, the familial and the political for royalist supporters already had blurred boundaries. In response to the crisis leading up to, throughout, and after the English Civil Wars, defendants of the King and the Stuart dynasty emphasised the family analogy and deemed rebellion unnatural. The central text of English patriarchalism in the period, Robert Filmer's *Patriarcha*, (first published in 1680, but written and circulated in manuscript form during the Civil Wars), asserted the notion of fatherly sovereignty and, using the bible, argued that God-ordained patriarchal power stemmed from the fatherhood of Adam to the present condition of royal authority: 'indeed not only *Adam*, but the succeeding *Patriarchs* had, by Right of Father-hood, Royal Authority over their Children...In this Dispersion we must certainly find the Establishment of *Regal Power* throughout the Kingdoms of the World'.¹¹⁶ As Mary Lyndon Shanley argues, 'the marriage contract was useful to royalists because it provided an example of a contract which established a relationship of irrevocable hierarchical authority between the parties', as such, 'resistance was forbidden. The notion of justifiable rebellion was as ludicrous as the notion that a wife might be released from the subjection to her husband either by mutual agreement or because of his abuse'.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁵ Susan Staves, *Players' Scepters: Fictions of Authority in the Restoration* (Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1979), 111-190.

¹¹⁶ *Patriarcha; or the Natural Power of Kings* (London: Walter Davis, 1680), B8r-v. The dating of *Patriarcha* is much debated. Glenn Burgess has claimed that manuscript evidence suggest that it was composed before 1631, 'Filmer, Sir Robert (1588?-1653)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 23rd September 2004. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/9424>. See also James Daly, *Sir Robert Filmer and English Political Thought* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979); Margaret J. M. Ezell, *The Patriarch's Wife: Literary Evidence and the History of the Family* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1987); Peter Laslett, 'Sir Robert Filmer: The Man Versus the Whig Myth', *William and Mary Quarterly* 5 (1958): 523-546; Gordon J. Schochet, 'Sir Robert Filmer: Some New Biographical Discoveries', *The Library* 26 (1971): 135-160; and Johann P. Sommerville, *Sir Robert Filmer: Patriarcha and Other Writings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

¹¹⁷ 'Marriage Contract and Social Contract in Seventeenth Century English Political Thought', *Political Research Quarterly* 32.1 (1979): 81.

The image of the early modern family in relation to political structure was unstable, however, and was exploited by both sides as a tool for analysis in debate.¹¹⁸ Republicans seized the construct to discuss the ways in which forms of familial, private authority mapped out on to the government, and aimed to rebuke the royalist view that patriarchal monarchy descends directly from Adam, positing instead that private familial authority stemming from Adam differs from the fallen, tyrannical, kinglike authority which stems from Nimrod.¹¹⁹ In this debate, both royalists and republicans had to re-examine their positions on patriarchal authority, because the analogy placed the Parliament and the people in the position of women. For Susan Staves, these early debates and their disruption of this analogy – and the important changes introduced in the 1652 Civil Marriage Act, which brought the ceremony of marriage under state control, and allowed for divorce in some circumstances – are directly connected to the discussions of contractual government which surrounded the ‘Glorious Revolution’ of 1688 and ultimately ‘won out’.¹²⁰

The biggest threat to patriarchalism in terms of political philosophy was the emergence of social contract theory. The logic of social contract theory allowed for the realisation that gender difference did not imply natural hierarchy. Thomas Hobbes’ *Leviathan, or The Matter, Forme and Power of a Common-wealth Ecclesiastical and Civil* (1651), a text which has been read as utopian in its projection of an ideal state, suggested the radical idea that natural, divine, or innate hierarchy does not exist.¹²¹ Hobbes argued that, ‘nature hath made men so equall, in the faculties of body, and mind’.¹²² This was not a liberal position. Hobbes’s state of natural equality is chaotic and anarchic:

¹¹⁸ Thorough investigation of this can be found in Ng, *Literature and the Politics of Family*.

¹¹⁹ Alan Roper, *Dryden’s Poetic Kingdoms*, (London: Routledge, 1965), 108. Chapter Two, 111-113.

¹²⁰ *Players’ Scepters*, 14, 116-17.

¹²¹ (London: Andrew Crooke). For readings of it as a utopian text, see for example Richard Tuck, ‘The Utopianism of Leviathan’ in *Leviathan After 350 Years* ed. by Tom Sorell and Luc Foisneau (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2004), 136-149; James Montgomery Hughes ‘Form and Imagination in Political Theory: Shakespeare’s “Tempest” More’s “Utopia” and Hobbes’ “Leviathan”’ (PhD thesis: University of California, Berkeley, 1976).

¹²² *Leviathan*, 12r.

a perpetual state of war in which ‘the weakest has strength enough to kill the strongest’.¹²³ Hobbes argued that to have a ‘more contented life’ and avoid this dystopian state of war, men had to enter into a contract of social conduct to be presided over by ‘a common Power ... with right and force sufficient to compell’, and thus for the need to ‘conferre all their power and strength upon one Man, or upon one Assembly of men’.¹²⁴ Nevertheless, this made visible the artificiality of power and authority, even whilst arguing for its necessity for civil society. One particularly problematic aspect of the dystopian natural world which Hobbes suggests the social contract helps us to escape, was:

In the state of meer Nature; where there are supposed no lawes of Matrimony; no lawes for the Education of Children; but the Law of Nature, and the natural inclination of the Sexes, one to another, and to their children...If there be no Contract, the Dominion is in the Mother. For in the condition of meer Nature, where there are no Matrimoniall lawes, it cannot be known who is the Father, unlesse it be delared by the Mother: and therefore the right of Dominion over the Child dependeth on her will, and is consequently hers.¹²⁵

This dystopian view of a chaotic, uncivilised society in which women, their bodies, and their offspring are not subject to masculine-controlled laws and restrictions, reflects the new levels of concern about patriarchal control that were reached in the wake of the Civil Wars. The mechanistic philosophy upon which Hobbes based this political analogy is discussed in more detail in Chapter Three.¹²⁶

The Utopian Impulse after the Restoration: Patriarchal Dissolution

In the immediate aftermath of the Restoration in 1660 there was an outpouring of celebratory, panegyric poetry which relied heavily on utopian imagery to suggest that this re-establishment of patriarchal monarchic order would result in a return to the halcyon days or Golden Age of the pre-

¹²³ Ibid., I2r-I3r; As Jenny Uglow puts it, this dystopian state of nature must have been ‘terrifyingly vivid to those who remembered the civil wars’ and Hobbes’ proposed cure ‘was for the people to submit to the strong ruler who could make them safe, the “Leviathan” sucking power into himself. Although Hobbes allowed for some vague deity to keep this all-powerful leader in check, the state was a man-made construct, based on force’. *A Gambling Man: Charles II and the Restoration* (London: Faber and Faber, 2009), 10.

¹²⁴ *Leviathan*, M2r, K1v, M3r.

¹²⁵ *Leviathan* XX, O2r.

¹²⁶ 183-184.

Civil War period.¹²⁷ Dryden's *Astrea Redux* (justice returned) predicts that the peace achieved by the Restoration will continue for 'soft centuries' and return the land to the Golden Age; a 'happy age! Oh times like those alone, / By fate reserved for great Augustus' throne!'.¹²⁸ Abraham Cowley's *Ode Upon the Blessed Restoration and Returne of His Sacred Majestie, Charls the Second* uses Edenic imagery.¹²⁹ Cowley describes England as having 'a face of *Paradise*' at the return of Charles II.¹³⁰ The return of the king who had been 'fondly sold / For the bright *Fruit* of the *Forbidden Tree*' is likened to a second Eden after the fall.¹³¹

These halcyon days of the Restoration were short-lived and, as disillusionment set in, the stable, monarchic, and patriarchal structure that they had celebrated returning under Charles II soon became suspect. One reason was Charles II's inability to establish a church settlement which appealed to the variety of sects and schisms across the Three Kingdoms in the wake of the Civil Wars and Interregnum.¹³² Another reason was the libertine behaviour of Charles II and his court. As Paul Hammond has argued, the narrative of Restoration, and of an undisturbed return to a nostalgic ideal of divine monarchy, was impossible: Charles I had been executed, the idea of the sacred body of the monarch had been dismembered with him, and Charles II's embodiment of kingship with his publicly promiscuous behaviour 'travestie[d] the principles of the king's sacred person and the hereditary succession'.¹³³ Although Filmer's *Patriarcha* (1680) fiercely defended the supposedly natural situation of patriarchal monarchy, this defensive position was necessitated by its foundering. As Michael McKeon has shown, *Patriarcha* should be seen not as a triumph of patriarchal thought but instead as a recognition that its implicit acceptance as 'tacit knowledge' was

¹²⁷ Larry Carver, 'The Restoration Poets and Their Father King' *Huntington Library Quarterly* 40, no.4 (1977): 332-351. For James D. Garrison, the vision of an ideal world or golden age was 'the demonstrative theme' of the Restoration, *Dryden and the Tradition of Panegyric* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1975) 129. See also Chapter One 59-62.

¹²⁸ Dryden, *Astrea Redux* (London: Henry Herringman, 1660), D2r.

¹²⁹ (London: Henry Herringman, 1660).

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, A3r.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, A3v.

¹³² Tim Harris, *London Crowds in the Reign of Charles II, Propaganda and Politics from the Restoration until the Exclusion Crisis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 62-90; Jenny Uglow, *A Gambling Man*, 177-187.

¹³³ *The Making of Restoration Poetry* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2006), 122.

in demise.¹³⁴ In spite of the Declaration of Breda (1660) and The Indemnity and Oblivion Act (1660), which aimed to dissolve and erase all lasting memory of the past, the language of patriarchy had been broken, Charles II's Kingship was doing very little to restore it, and the social contract theory which had emerged to take its place had far reaching implications for authority and gender.¹³⁵

Tension continued to worsen in the reign of Charles II when women with sexual access to the King were seen to be influencing dynastic politics. Charles II married Catherine of Braganza in May 1662, but his open promiscuity and many illegitimate children meant that just one year into the marriage 'MPs muttered about the court's extravagance, and about Charles's open adultery and bastard children, asserting that neglect of his wife was the reason why she had not conceived'.¹³⁶ By 1666, however, Catherine had allegedly suffered several miscarriages and public opinion shifted to blaming her for the lack of heirs.¹³⁷ Even with this repositioning of blame, Charles's continued promiscuity and procreation with other women was not considered representative of his masculinity, but rather of his effeminacy, in the sense of 'enslavement to women', and with a lack of monarchic control.¹³⁸ In John Wilmot II Earl of Rochester's famous satire 'His sceptre and his prick are of a length; / And she may sway the one who plays with th'other'.¹³⁹ More crucially, the satire goes on to note that, 'Though safety, law, religion, life lay on 't, / 'Twould break through all

¹³⁴ 'Historicizing Patriarchy: The Emergence of Gender Difference in England, 1660-1760', *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 28, no.3 (1995), 296.

¹³⁵ For discussions of the intent and impact of these acts, see David Norbrook, *Writing the English Republic: Poetry, Rhetoric, and Politics 1627-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); and Janet Clare, 'Acts of Oblivion: Reframing Drama, 1649-65' in *From Republic to Restoration: Legacies and Departures* ed. by Clare (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2018), 148-168.

¹³⁶ Uglow, *A Gambling Man*, 251.

¹³⁷ Uglow, *A Gambling Man*, 347-348 on the miscarriage in 1666; David Johnson suggests there were miscarriages in 1663, 1665, 1667 and another in 1669, 'The Life and Times of Catherine of Braganza: Infanta of Portugal and Queen of Great Britain and Ireland', *British Historical Society of Portugal Annual Report* 22, (2013) www.bhspportugal.org; see also Sarah-Beth Watkins, *Catherine of Braganza: Charles II's Restoration Queen* (Winchester: Chronos Books, 2017); On blame shifting to Catherine for example, Michal is described as 'A soil ungrateful to the tiller's care' in *Absalom and Achitophel* in order to justify Absalom's 'Promiscuous use of concubine and bride' (London: Jacob Tonson, 1681) B1r. For discussion, see Susan C. Greenfield. 'Aborting the "Mother Plot": Politics and Generation in "Absalom and Achitophel"' *ELH* 62, no.2 (1995): 267-293. See also Frances E. Dolan, *Whores of Babylon* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999).

¹³⁸ Susan J. Owen, *Restoration Theatre and Crisis* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 9.

¹³⁹ John Wilmot, II Earl of Rochester, 'A Satyr on Charles II' in *The Complete Works of John Wilmot Earl of Rochester*, ed. by David M. Vieth (New Haven : Yale University Press, 1962), l.11-12

to make its way to cunt'.¹⁴⁰ The stress, here, on religion is one of utmost importance. Charles's open effeminacy, coupled with his continued lack of a legitimate Protestant heir, fuelled concerns about the impact the rule of his brother and heir presumptive, James Duke of York, would have on the country's religion and political freedoms.

The 1670s witnessed rising fears of excessive Catholic influence at court, particularly female Catholic influence. The Test Act of 1673 barred Catholics from holding positions of office and effectively outed James II as a Catholic by forcing him to resign the position of Lord High Admiral. Later that same year, James married a Catholic princess, Mary of Modena. Parliamentary reaction was one of outrage and suspicion, and fear that Mary of Modena was a Popish threat to the Protestant religion of England.¹⁴¹ The public responded with Pope Burning pageants and anti-Catholic sentiment. Andrew Marvell's infamous *An Account of the Growth of Popery and Arbitrary Government* was published in 1677, mentioning Mary by name, and marking the beginning the Restoration Crisis.¹⁴² In 1678 the 'Popish Plot', Titus Oates's false account of a Jesuit plot to assassinate Charles II and instal the Catholic James on the throne, broke out in England. Despite

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., 1.18-19. For more on Charles II's effeminacy, see Harold Weber, 'Charles II, George Pines, and MR. Dorimant: The Politics of Sexual Power in Restoration England' *Criticism* 32, no.2 (1990): 193-219; Samuel Fullerton, 'Fatal Adulteries: Sexual Politics in the English Revolution' *Journal of British Studies* 30, no.4 (June 2021): 793-821.

¹⁴¹ See Chapter Two for more details about the depiction of Mary as a Catholic threat, parliamentary reaction, and reaction to her appearance in London (128-154). See also Jennifer L. Airey, *The Politics of Rape: Sexual Atrocity, Propaganda Wars and the Restoration Stage* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2014), 18.

¹⁴² (Amsterdam [i.e London]: s.n., 1677), F4v; for more on pope burning and Mary's arrival, see Odai Johnson, *Rehearsing the Revolution Radical Performance, Radical Politics in the English Restoration* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2000), 64.

its inaccuracy it was widely reported in print and widely believed.¹⁴³ Mary of Modena herself was linked to the fabricated plot via her assistant, Edward Coleman. Coleman was found with incriminating letters which lent weight to Oates' story and was hanged, drawn, and quartered for treason.¹⁴⁴ Though we know that the letters contained only discussion of the vague eventual triumph of Catholicism, damning enough in the context, the rumours that circulated were far more extreme: T. Aslaby wrote from Bridlington on 17th October 1678 that 'Reports are that daily carts are loaded with arms found in Papists' houses and carried to the Tower, and that an absolute change of government was intended, if it had succeeded, and that a model of that intended government was found among Coleman's papers'.¹⁴⁵ The utopian aspect of this feared 'model' and its potential danger is worth stressing, as it reflects those anxieties in the early stages of Civil Wars about the utopian hopes of dissenting revolutionaries, and the ways in which utopianism was still being associated with rebellion and an anti-monarchic underground. At this point, the combination of Charles II's unpopular Catholic wife, Catherine, who had been deemed to fail to produce a Protestant heir, the Catholic James, his Catholic wife, Mary, and Charles II's Catholic mistresses such as Louise de K  rouaille, all fuelled fears that Catholic women in the royal bedchamber

¹⁴³ For the ways in which print publication of Catholic plots not only participated in but became the event, see Dolan, (*Whores of Babylon* 4, 23); Alan Marshall argues that when Oates took the stand in 1678 he spoke to 'an audience already primed to believe', 'Oates, Titus (1649-1705)' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/20437>. For studies of the Popish Plot and its aftermath, see John Gibney, *Ireland and the Popish Plot* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2009); Richard L. Greaves, *Secrets of the Kingdom: British Radicals from the Popish Plot to the Revolution of 1688-1689* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992); Kenneth H. D. Haley, *The First Earl of Shaftesbury* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968); Harris, *London Crowds*; Peter Hinds, 'The Horrid Popish Plot': Roger L'Estrange and the Circulation of Political Discourse in Late Seventeenth-Century London (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010); J.R. Jones, *The First Whigs: The Politics of the Exclusion Crisis, 1678-1683* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1961); John Phillips Kenyon, *The Popish Plot* (London: Heinemann, 1972); Mark Knights, *Politics and Opinion in Crisis, 1678-1681* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Kate Loveman, *Reading Fictions, 1660-1740: Deception in English Literary and Political Culture* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008); Marshall, *The Strange Death of Edmund Godfrey: Plots and Politics in Restoration London* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1999); John Miller, *Papery and Politics in England, 1660-1688* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973); Miller, *Restoration England: The Reign of Charles II* (London: Longman, 1985); David Ogg, *England in the Reign of Charles II*, 2 vols, 2nd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972); John Pollock, *The Popish Plot: A Study in the History of the Reign of Charles II* (London: Duckworth, 1903); Joan Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Francis Spring Ronalds, *The Attempted Whig Revolution of 1678-81* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1937); Scott, *England's Troubles: Seventeenth-Century English Political Instability in European Context* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press); Scott, *Algernon Sidney*; and Scott 'England's Troubles: Exhuming the Popish Plot' in *The Politics of Religion in Restoration England*, ed. by Mark Goldie, Harris, and Paul Seaward (Oxford: Blackwell, 1990), 107-131.

¹⁴⁴ Mark A. Kishlansky, *A Monarchy Transformed: Britain, 1603-1714* (London: Penguin Books, 1997), 254.

¹⁴⁵ *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, March 1st, 1678 to December 31st, 1678*, ed. F. H. Blackburne Daniell (London: His Majesty's Stationary Office, 1913), 462.

controlled the fate of the nation in the dystopian reality where dominion was, in fact, in the mother.¹⁴⁶

‘The Exclusion Crisis’ of 1679-1683 loosely refers to the introduction and debates surrounding a bill intended to exclude the Duke of York from the succession due to fears of Catholicism. Although the anti-Exclusionists continued to rely on the divine right of Kings and Primogeniture, social contract theory helped to bolster Exclusionist claims that any monarch ruling without the consent of the people was ‘no lawful Succession, but downright usurpation’.¹⁴⁷ By 1681, however, the anti-Exclusionists or Tories had managed to steady the ship and were able to launch a counter-propaganda campaign known as the ‘Tory Reaction’.¹⁴⁸ However, factions that rebelled against monarchy and threatened to overthrow it evoked in contemporary memory cries for popular rule and democracy, and therefore generated fears of Civil War and 1642 come again. The Tory counter-propaganda to the Exclusionist position of the Whigs fanned these flames, and drew ‘*a parallel betwixt the reformers of 1677 and those of 1641 in their methods and designs*’.¹⁴⁹ The cyclical way in which these themes were returned to is also reflected in the recycling and revisioning of utopian tropes, and the increased focus and anxiety they betray about women, their bodies, and their fertility.

This thesis aims to show that Restoration texts which display a utopian impulse use utopianism and its association with radicalism in the wake of the Civil Wars and Interregnum to probe and satirise gender relations, sexual relations, monarchy, and social contract theory. By the late seventeenth-century, utopia could no longer be represented as merely a philosophical thought project or a thing of (purely) fantastical creation. People living in the Three Kingdoms already had

¹⁴⁶ Rachel Weil, ‘Sometimes a Sceptre is only a Sceptre: Politics and Pornography in Restoration England’, in *The Invention of Pornography: Obscenity and the Origins of Modernity, 1500-1800*, ed. by Lynn Hunt (New York: Zone Books, 1993), pp. 125-56. See also Hammond, *The Making of Restoration Poetry*, 107-136.

¹⁴⁷ For the anti-exclusionist position, see for example: David Jenkins, who argued that ‘the King is King by inherent Birth-right, by Nature, by Gods Law, and by the Law of the Land’, *The King’s Prerogative, and the Subjects Privileges Asserted According to Law and Reason* (London, 1680), D1r; For exclusionists, see: *Pereat Papa, or Reasons why a Presumptive Heir, or Popish Successor should not inherit the Crown* (London, 1681), A1v.

¹⁴⁸ See Harris, *Restoration: Charles II and his Kingdoms* (London: Penguin, 2005), 211-328.

¹⁴⁹ From the full title of Roger L’Estrange’s *An Account of the Growth of Knavery* (London: Henry Brome, 1678).

first-hand experience of living through what was for some perceived as a new utopian state. In the wake of the English Revolution and regicide, republican utopian thought could arguably be read as a direct threat to the current government and its monarchical and patriarchal order. Further, as disillusionment with the Restored monarchy began to grow, the use of utopian references to celebrate the reinstatement of the Stuart line also transformed in meaning. The uses of utopian tropes in the texts I examine, whilst not suggesting complete images of social reform like their Interregnum predecessors, remain radical in their commentary and critique of the particular political crises of the period and the instability of traditional patriarchy. They are frequently characterised by a disillusionment with the established order and its ability to effectively maintain control.

Gender, Politics and the Utopian Impulse in Late Seventeenth-Century English

Literature

This thesis is divided into four chapters which focus on different types of post-Restoration utopias and their adaptations to demonstrate the development of the utopian impulse, its adaptive capacity, and its representation of the themes of sex, marriage and reproduction as well as contemporary politics in the period of 1660-1686. Chapter One focuses on *Tempest* adaptations 1611-1675, Chapter Two on utopias of paradise 1666-1676, Chapter Three on philosophical utopias 1637-1668, and Chapter Four on pornotopias of the 1680s.

Chapter One analyses a Renaissance play, Shakespeare's *The Tempest*, and adaptations produced in the 1660s and 70s: Davenant and Dryden's adaptation *The Tempest or The Enchanted Island* (premiered 1667, published 1670), an operatic adaptation frequently attributed to Thomas Shadwell (1674), and Thomas Duffett's adaptation of the adaptations entitled *The Mock-Tempest, or, The Enchanted Castle* (1675). In this chapter I trace the transition from the arch irony and philosophical nature of the utopian impulse in Shakespeare's Renaissance play, to the specific and political resonance of it in post-Interregnum England. I argue that each of the adaptors can be seen to transform utopia in line with the political environment in and for which they were written.

I show that the newly charged anxieties about the stability of the new regime and the future of patriarchal control in the 1660s and 70s is coalesced around utopian themes, such as the island space and the seafaring characters, as well as the exchange and representation of women in the plays.

Chapter Two examines the utopian aspects of Milton's epic poem *Paradise Lost* (1667) in comparison with Dryden's semi-operatic adaptation, *The State of Innocence and Fall of Man* (1677). I argue that Milton's use of millenarian utopianism is framed around the figure of Eve, who is positioned in line with the body politic, in accordance with the family analogy. Milton's republican belief in parliamentary capacity results in a depiction of gender relations that suggests the necessary participation of women in politics by figuring Eve as the consenting body politic. This carries a radical suggestion of female political agency, albeit one which is analogical. I read Dryden's adaptation of this, and in particular his transformation of the character of Eve, in line with the growing fears in the 1670s surrounding female influence and the importance of their bodies in the court, with particular emphasis on Mary of Modena, Dryden's dedicatee. I suggest that where Milton's Eve's radical positioning was based on parliamentary metaphor, Dryden's Eve is more firmly associated with the real political threat of female power to the Stuart monarchy.

Chapter Three analyses Margaret Cavendish's *Observations Upon Experimental Philosophy. To which is added The Description of a New Blazing World* (1666) – the latter part of which constitutes the first fictional utopia authored by a woman in English – as a text which deliberately comments on and responds to utopian and philosophical writing of the seventeenth century.¹⁵⁰ I suggest that Cavendish demonstrates an acute awareness of the continued utopianism of her contemporaries, and particularly the utopianism of the natural philosophers of the Royal Society, who based themselves on the fictional House of Solymon from Bacon's famous utopia *New Atlantis* (1627).¹⁵¹

¹⁵⁰ Lara Dodds also positions the text this way in order to focus on Cavendish's serio-comic treatment of utopia, *The Literary Imagination of Margaret Cavendish* (Pennsylvania: Duquesne University Press, 2013), 122.

¹⁵¹ Placing her within these networks also counters Manuel and Manuel's assessment of her text as too private and 'schizophrenic' (*Utopian Thought*, 7).

By paying attention to Cavendish's satire of utopianism, she can be seen to recognise and respond to the fact that the Royal Society and other natural philosophers, such as Hobbes and René Descartes, were participating in the utopian tradition which erased female subjectivity and turned women into objects of study in the same way traditional utopias did. I argue, however, that the text is not anti-utopian. Cavendish's pointed satire is used to argue that the fanciful nature of all speculative and experimental philosophy leaves room for her own fanciful positioning. Her utopia thus creates an environment in which a female monarch, exempt from the issues of childbirth through the introduction of immortality, rules over a stable society in perpetuity, in one fell stroke resolving the issue of succession and the aversion to female authority. In doing so, I argue that Cavendish should also be read in dialogue with contemporary utopian texts which displayed anxiety over female fertility, such as Neville's *The Isle of Pines* (1668) and a continuation of Bacon's *New Atlantis* written by 'R.H' which was published in 1660.

In Chapter Four I assess the pornotopian writing of the 1680s and place this in its context as a revival of the pornotopian literature of the 1640s, which had been inspired by the radical republicanism and increased female political activity discussed above. By focusing on the images of sexual emasculation and unbridled female sexuality in Cotton's *Erōtopolis* (1684) and Duffey's *A Commonwealth of Women* (1686), I suggest that the return to this genre in the 1680s is not only reflective of repeated political issues of the Restoration Crisis 1678-1683 and their relation to gender, but also proto-feminist discourse. In terms of the utopian genre, I argue that these late seventeenth-century pornotopian texts demonstrate the point at which the utopian project seems to recognise its failure to resolve issues of gender and harness the control of reproduction, blaming effeminacy and failed masculinity. Previous utopias had depicted and suggested anxiety about this future failure, with Neville's *Isle of Pines* (1668) demonstrating the results of unbridled effeminacy in his islands' descent into Civil War, and Duffey's *The Mock Tempest* (1675) representing a collapse into unrestrained libertinism and anarchic sexual freedom. However, Cotton and Duffey offer a novel depiction of a somewhat idealised masculine aversion to or abstinence from sexual

engagement with the opposite sex: this suggests that, by the 1680s, utopian gender relations cannot be resolved, and instead must be abandoned. I end my study with a conclusion reflecting that, in the period following Durfey and Cotton's texts and into the eighteenth century, we see the rise, for the first time in English, of utopias of separate spheres based on gendered segregation.

Chapter One: Tempests and the Utopian Impulse: Space, Sea-Faring, Gender

Sebastian: I think he will carry this island home in his
pocket and give it his son for an apple.
Antonio: And sowing the kernels of it in the sea, bring
forth more islands.¹

In Act 2 Scene 1 of William Shakespeare's *The Tempest* (1611), Antonio and Sebastian mock Gonzalo for his utopian view of the island where they have been shipwrecked as a place that offers 'everything advantageous to life' (2.1.42). Antonio's lines are prescient as Shakespeare's play did 'bring forth more islands', in that it inspired several adaptations. First performed in 1611 but not published until 1623 (F1), Shakespeare's play was adapted by John Dryden and William Davenant into *The Tempest or, The Enchanted Island* (premiered 1667; published 1670).² This play-text was then

¹ William Shakespeare, *The Tempest*, eds., Virginia Mason Vaughan and Alden T. Vaughan, The Arden Shakespeare, third series, rev. ed. (London: Bloomsbury, 2011), 2.1.91-94. Subsequent references appear parenthetically.

² William Davenant and John Dryden, *The Tempest, or, The Enchanted Island* (London: Henry Herringman, 1670). Subsequent references appear parenthetically. The first recorded performance took place in front of a full house on 7th November 1667, William Van Lennep, ed. *The London Stage, 1660-1800: A Calendar of Plays, Entertainment and Afterpieces Together with Casts, Box-Receipts and Contemporary Comment*, Part One 1660-1700 (Illinois: Southern Illinois University Press, 1965), 123. The operatic adaptation was popular in both performance and print. Early critical responses disparaged the adaptations as debasements or simplifications of Shakespeare's text: Anne Ferry argues that it transforms Shakespeare's 'pastoral innocence' into 'prurient ignorance', *Milton and the Miltonic Dryden* (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 1968), 91; Eckhard Auberlen states that, 'instead of Shakespeare's deep-searching and painful investigation into man's capacity for good and evil we have ... a comic conflict between social custom and natural impulse', *The Tempest and the Concerns of the Restoration Court: A Study of The Enchanted Island and the Operatic Tempest*, *Studies in English Literary Culture, 1660-1700* 15, no. 2 (1991): 75; John Bishop has argued that 'unlike *The Tempest* it describes a static universe, one in which conflicts are not so much resolved as naturalized before they can take shape as conflicts at all'. "'The Ordinary Course of Nature": Authority in the *Restoration Tempest*', *Restoration and Eighteenth-Century Theatre Research* 13, no.1 (1998): 54-96). On the play's relationship to Thomas Hobbes and sexual desire, see Derek Hughes, *English Drama 1660-1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 52; and Richard W. F. Kroll, *Restoration Drama and 'the Circle of Commerce': Tragicomedy, Politics and Trade in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 200, 12-13. Michael Dobson has suggested that the play's playful gender casting renders it almost a pantomime, "'Remember / First to Possess His Books": The Appropriation of *The Tempest*, 1700-1800', *Shakespeare Survey* 43 (1991): 99-107.

given operatic embellishments in the operatic *Tempest* (premiered and published 1674),³ before being burlesqued by Thomas Duffett in *The Mock-Tempest, or, The Enchanted Castle* (premiered 1674; published 1675).⁴ The lines cited above are omitted from all three adaptations, as are the most overt references to the utopian tradition, but the utopian impulse at work in Shakespeare's *The Tempest* is by no means effaced in the later versions.

As I intend to argue, the utopian impulse in these plays is redacted, relocated, and updated for the contexts in and for which the plays were produced. Further, utopianism took on increased political valence in the wake of the Civil Wars, regicide, and parliamentary rule, and became increasingly focused on the (perceived) need to control female bodies. This chapter explores Shakespeare's play and three versions of *The Tempest* produced between the Restoration of the monarchy and the mid-1670s to demonstrate the impact late-seventeenth-century political turbulence had on the utopian impulse. I analyse representations of seafaring, space and gender – concepts which are central to utopian literature – and place them in the context of political crises, such as the plague (1665-1666), the Great Fire (1666), and the second and third Anglo-Dutch wars (1665-1667, 1672-1674), in order to highlight how the utopian impulse was shaped by instability in the patriarchal Stuart regime in the 1660s and 1670s.

³ Confusingly, the published operatic text appears under the same title as Dryden and Davenant's play; it can be distinguished from its source text in that it contains far more detailed scene descriptions (cf. Wing S2945). Subsequent references appear parenthetically. The operatic *Tempest* adapts not Shakespeare's, but rather the Dryden and Davenant play so it should be called an 'adaptation of an adaptation', as Emma Depledge points out, *Shakespeare's Rise to Cultural Prominence: Politics, Print and Alteration, 1642-1700*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 62. The operatic *Tempest* is usually attributed to Thomas Shadwell. Shadwell's association with the operatic *Tempest* dates back to the attribution made by John Downes in his *Roscius Anglicanus* (London: J.W. Jarvis and Son, 1886), 34-35. Pietro Reggio also attributed a song from the operatic *Tempest* to Shadwell, *Songs Set by Signior Pietro Reggio* (London, s.n., 1680), R2v. For early debates about his authorship, see William J. Lawrence, 'Did Thomas Shadwell Write an Opera on the *Tempest*?', *Anglia* 27 (1904): 205-217; George Thorn-Drury, 'Some Notes on Dryden', *Review of English Studies* 1 (1925): 324-30; D.M. Walmsley, 'Shadwell and the Operatic *Tempest*', *The Review of English Studies* 2, no. 8 (1926): 463-466; and Thorn-Drury 'Shadwell and the Operatic *Tempest*', *Review of English Studies* 3 (1927): 204-208. Charles E. Ward proposed Thomas Betterton, manager of the Dorset Garden theatre, as a likely candidate for the operatic amendments ('*The Tempest*, A Restoration Opera Problem', *ELH* 13 (1946): 119-130). For a detailed overview of the authorship debate, see William M. Milton's 'Tempest in a Teapot', *ELH* 14, no. 3 (1947): 207-18.

⁴ Thomas Duffett, *The Mock-Tempest; or, The Enchanted Castle* (London: William Cademan, 1675). Dryden and Davenant's prologue also alludes to Philip Massinger and John Fletcher's *The Sea Voyage* (1647), a play analysed in Chapter Four of this thesis, suggesting that it was also based on Shakespeare's play, before mocking *The Storm* (1667), the version in performance at the rival theatre. On performances, see Van Lennep, *The London Stage*, 118.

Shakespeare arguably stages contemporary debates about the dual nature of utopia and its inherent contradictions. The utopian impulse in the Renaissance period – and the tradition to which Shakespeare responds in his play – is one of rumination on the human condition, philosophical introspection, and playful experimentation. As Chloë Houston puts it, ‘in the Renaissance period a utopia is a text which portrays an ideal or seemingly ideal society in order to address the question of how to live well’.⁵ Shakespeare’s play draws from Renaissance texts’ engagement with utopian literature in order to represent the utopian genre in its various guises: *The Tempest* is set in the archetypal utopian location of an enchanted island discovered by shipwrecked travellers, it contains arcadian masques (4.1), Cockayne-style banquets (3.3), references to the Golden Age and ‘brave new world[s]’ (2.1.169; 5.1.183), and includes a description of an ideal commonwealth (2.1.144-169).⁶ Shakespeare’s play is thus eclectic and self-reflexive in its engagement with the utopian traditions, it interacts with them in myriad ways, but it does not straightforwardly present utopian visions.

Rather, *The Tempest* seems attuned to the patterns of irony and contradiction that characterised key texts in the utopian genre: notably Thomas More’s *Utopia* (1516).⁷ To take one example, Caliban’s descriptions of the beauty and abundance of the island demonstrate the utopian idealism of the space (2.2.157-171; 3.2.135-143), but this is belied by the fact that the island is also the site of his torture and imprisonment; indeed, the fact of his enslavement in an ideal world reflects on the incongruent presence of slavery in More’s *Utopia*.⁸ Miranda’s exclamation ‘O brave

⁵ *The Renaissance Utopia: Dialogue, Travel and the Ideal Society* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014), 3.

⁶ The utopian impulse in Shakespeare’s text has been analysed by: David Norbrook, “‘What Cares These Roarers for the Name of King?’”: Language and Utopia in *The Tempest*, in *The Politics of Tragicomedy: Shakespeare and After*, eds., Gordon McMullan and Jonathan Hope (London: Routledge, 1992), 21-46; Judith E. Boss, ‘The Golden Age, Cockayne, and Utopia in *The Fairie Queene* and *The Tempest*’, *The Georgia Review* 26, no. 2 (1972): 145-155; Jeffrey Knapp, *An Empire Nowhere: England, America, and Literature from Utopia to The Tempest*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994); Stephen Greenblatt, ‘*The Tempest*: Martial Law in the Land of Cockayne’, in *Shakespeare: The Last Plays*, ed. Kiernan Ryan (London: Longman, 1999), 206-244; and Frank W. Brevik, *The Tempest and New World-Utopian Politics* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016).

⁷ For more on irony in *Utopia* and other utopian texts, see Introduction, 2-4.

⁸ On representations of slavery in More’s text, see *Utopia*, in *Three Early Modern Utopias: Utopia, New Atlantis and The Isle of Pines*, ed. Susan Bruce (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 88-97; and Shlomo Avineri, ‘War and Slavery in More’s *Utopia*’, *International Review of Social History* 7, no.7 (1962): 260-290.

new world / that has such people in't' again offers an ironic inversion because it is usually travellers who are fascinated by natives they meet when exploring new lands (5.1.183-184). In *The Tempest*, Miranda, an inhabitant on the island, marvels at the sight of a courtier from Europe – ironically, a courtier from the place where she was born – as if he is a wonder belonging to a separate category of people (5.1.184). In one of the most self-reflexive moments of the play, Gonzalo acknowledges such contradictions, stating that 'i'th' commonwealth [he] would by *contraries* / Execute all things' (emphasis mine, 2.1.148-9). He starts his speech with him as 'king' and ends without 'sovereignty' (2.1.158-159; 146; 157), prompting Sebastian and Antonio to object that 'the latter end of [Gonzalo's] commonwealth forgets his beginning' (2.1.158-59), but it is they who seem unaware of the tradition,⁹ they who have failed to remember the 'contraries' Gonzalo promised from the outset.¹⁰ I would argue that Shakespeare stages this and similar exchanges to invite reflection on the inherent contradictions contained within the utopian tradition, as discussed in the Introduction to this thesis.¹¹ Read in the wider context of Renaissance utopias, Shakespeare's play can thus be seen to offer microcosmic representation of the genre's central and self-reflexive irony.

The adaptors of *The Tempest* moved away from arch irony and eclecticism towards specific social and political satire, a move which I believe mirrors the shift in contextual understandings of utopianism in the wake of the Civil Wars and Interregnum. Descriptions of any society purporting to be ideal and representing institutions behaving differently to the ones in known societies were,

⁹ Gonzalo's speech of an ideal commonwealth echoes Montaigne's essay 'Of the Cannibals', a utopian text which compares reports of a Brazilian tribe's lifestyle to 'the golden age, and al hir quaint inventions to faire a happie condition of man'. Discussions of the tribe are placed in dialogue with Plato's *Republic* to show that Plato's 'imaginarie common-wealth' is not as ideal as 'this perfection': 'Of the Caniballes', in *Essays*, trans. John Florio (London: Edward Blount and William Barret, 1613), K3r. On the relationship between this speech and Montaigne, see Margaret T. Hodgen, 'Montaigne and Shakespeare Again', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 16.1 (1952): 23-42. For connections with Cockaigne, see Greenblatt, 'The Tempest: Martial Law in the Land of Cockaigne'; on Cockaigne and Hesiod's Golden Age, see Boss, 'The Golden Age, Cockaigne, and Utopia in *The Fairie Queene* and *The Tempest*'; on Ovidian references, see Daniel Carey, 'Travel, Utopia, and Conflict: Patterns of Irony in Early Modern Utopian Narratives', in *Travel and Conflict in the Early Modern World*, eds., Gábor Gelléri and Rachel Willie (London: Routledge, 2021), 226-247.

¹⁰ Further, Ferdinand and Miranda's Arcadian wedding masque celebrates its ability to avoid the intrusion of the unwanted and disruptive presence of Venus and Cupid (4.1.87-101), but it is nonetheless interrupted by the rebellion of Caliban, Trinculo and Stephano (4.1.139-142). This similarly stages the constant undermining of utopian depictions in the play, speaking both to its contradiction and its fragility.

¹¹ Introduction, 2-4.

of course, always politically resonant.¹² I would, however, argue that the association with philosophical dialogue, thought experiment, and irony in earlier iterations of utopian literature allowed for a mystification of the criticism levied at specific institutions.¹³ It is this kind of utopian impulse which is at work in Shakespeare's *The Tempest*, but the adaptations of the Restoration shift instead to specific, localised political commentary and thus towards satire. As Jean Weisgerber puts it, 'satire require[s] a social background' and targets a specific element or person in society, whereas with irony the 'target fades out of sight' and blame is placed on something more 'elusive'.¹⁴ As discussed in the Introduction, the utopian impulse became more directly associated with real social reform: Gabriel Plattes, Gerrard Winstanley, and James Harrington utilised the genre of utopian literature to propose real social change, and addressed their texts to Parliament.¹⁵ As Lucian Hölscher has noted, it is in the mid-seventeenth century that the term first began to be used to refer to an 'impractical idea' and as 'the polemical description of any constitutional form which fighting parties of the Civil war regarded as unacceptable for the country'.¹⁶ In the 1660s, utopia could therefore not be considered an entirely literary or fantastical production, and utopian schema which advocated social or legal reform could be read as threats to the restored monarchy. The mere choice of source text offered a political statement as, by choosing to adapt and produce different versions of *The Tempest* in the Restoration, the altering playwrights were engaging with utopian material that had direct and controversial political referents.

¹² As Lucy Sargisson puts it, utopias 'stems always from discontent with the now and gesture always towards a better life [... they] tell us about people's fears concerning the now and desires for tomorrow', 'The Curious Relationship Between Politics and Utopia', in *Utopia Method Vision: The Use Value of Social Dreaming*, eds., Tom Moylan and Raffaella Baccolini (New York: Peter Lang, 2007), 25-46. For more on utopia as a method of socio-political critique, see Frederic Jameson, 'The Politics of Utopia', *New Left Review* 25, no.25 (2004): 35-54; Daniel Saba, 'Utopia as Critique', *Peace Review* 14, no.2 (2002): 191-197; Michael Gardiner, 'Bakhtin's Carnival: Utopia as Critique', in *Bakhtin Carnival and Other Subjects*, ed. David Shepherd (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1993), 20-47.

¹³ This is not to say that satire of contemporary politics did not exist in earlier Renaissance utopia, just that it was often more veiled and abstract. This is perhaps why Warren W. Wooden was so excited about the new critical understanding of More's *Utopia* as a satirical work over 450 years after it was first published, 'Anti-Scholastic Satire in Sir Thomas More's *Utopia*', *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 8, no.2 (July 1977): 29-45. See also A.R. Heiserman, 'Satire in the *Utopia*', *PMLA* 78, no.3 (1963): 163-174.

¹⁴ 'Satire and Irony as Means of Communication', *Comparative Literature Studies* 10, no.2 (1973): 160, 165

¹⁵ Plattes (London: Francis Constable, 1641); Winstanley, *The Law of Freedom in a Platform: Or, True Magistracy Restored* (London: Winstanley, 1652); Harrington, *The Commonwealth of Oceana* (London: Livewell Chapman, 1656).

¹⁶ 'Utopie', *Utopian Studies* 7, no.2 (1996), 1-65.

Political parody and transgressive female bodies characterise Dryden and Davenant's 1667 text, arguably to reflect contemporary anxieties about the newly restored monarchical regime. The most notable changes are ones of expansion: adding plots, characters and gender symmetry. *The Enchanted Island* supplements the number of female roles, giving Miranda and Caliban sisters – Dorinda and Sycorax respectively – and Ariel gains a wife, Milcha. *The Enchanted Island* also adds another male character, Hippolito, the exiled duke of Mantua, who has been brought up in a cave by Prospero and has never seen a woman, thus offering a male counterpart to Miranda and Dorinda's naivety. The number of drunken sailors in Dryden and Davenant's adaptation is also increased, and the sailors of the adapted play no longer attempt to usurp Prospero's powerful position on the island by stealing his books, but instead attempt to set up their own, rival governments. They squabble amongst themselves for control of the island, as if unaware of Prospero's existence, and link access to power with marriage to Sycorax. The additions all represent the play's continued utopian impulse: the sailors become utopian social dreamers, and the marital arrangements are tied to the control of utopian space. The increased number of couples demonstrates the play's significant interest in the way patriarchal authority was wielded over female characters and their bodies in utopian texts, and I read this in relation to contemporary anxiety about the authority and stability of Charles II's court, and disillusionment over the court's handling of the disastrous events of 1665-1667. Indeed, I argue that the increased roles of the sailors should be read as direct commentary on British naval ineptitude.

Although the operatic *Tempest* retains the bulk of Dryden and Davenant's text, changes are made to songs, spectacle, and scenery, and these arguably serve to relate the utopian impulse to royalist reassertions of power amid increased criticism.¹⁷ By 1674 and the publication and performance of the operatic *Tempest* there had been further naval embarrassment in the third Anglo-Dutch war (1672-1674), and it had become clear that Charles II was likely to be succeeded

¹⁷ One textual change worthy of note is that the operatic *Tempest* removes the use of the term 'commonwealth', said by Trinculo (*The Enchanted Island*, D3r).

by his Catholic brother, James, as Charles did not have any legitimate children. The operatic adaptation is said to have exploited the full functionality of the all-singing, all-dancing Dorset Garden theatre with new scenes, machines and music,¹⁸ and I would argue that these scene descriptions and stage directions significantly change the play's engagement with utopianism. For example, the play concludes with a sea-masque, which I read as a pageant of Prospero's power in naval terms. Gender relations remain a central feature and the treatment of space is modified so that Prospero's home on the island is depicted as beautiful, well-ordered and utopian, in contrast to the location of the characters who create political instability, which is wild and inhospitable.¹⁹ Thus, what might seem like minor textual additions to *The Enchanted Island* in fact radically change the play's engagement with patriarchal authority, particularly in performance.

Duffett's *The Mock Tempest* burlesques both *The Enchanted Island* and the operatic *Tempest* by setting the play in a brothel and Bridewell prison, a space renowned for incarcerating sex workers. Duffett's Prospero is the head-keeper of Bridewell prison, who lost his role as a kennel master because of his brother Antonio. Prospero incites a rebellion at a nearby brothel where Antonio, Alonzo and Gonzalo are patrons, and the opening scene is thus not a shipwreck but instead a riot that results in the arrest and imprisonment of Prospero's enemies, and the prostitutes. The tempest of Shakespeare's play has been read by critics as a metaphor for usurpation and insurrection; this metaphor is therefore literalised via the riot in Duffett's version.²⁰ Prospero's motivation in the play is less noble than that found in previous versions as he now wants to entrap husbands to satisfy his daughters' rapacious sexual appetites rather than seeking for restitution and a marriage

¹⁸ Joseph Roach has outlined how important spectacle was in making the play successful in the long term, suggesting that it 'made available to the English public the glories of baroque stagecraft, sights and sounds otherwise and elsewhere fit for kings', *The Enchanted Island: Vicarious Tourism in Restoration Adaptations of The Tempest*, in *The Tempest and its Travels*, ed. Peter Hulme and William H Sherman (London: Reaktion Books, 2006), 60-70. For more on staging, see Judith Milhouse 'The Multimedia Spectacular on the Restoration Stage', in *British Theatre and Other Arts 1660-1800*, ed. Shirley Strum Kenny, (London: The Folger Shakespeare Library, 1984), 45-47; Cary DiPietro, 'Seeing Places: *The Tempest* and the Baroque Spectacle of the Restoration Theatre', *Shakespeare* 9, no. 2 (2013): 168-186.

¹⁹ Hughes has similarly argued that the shifting scenic divisions emphasise 'its alternation between the polarities of anarchy and ordering power' (*English Drama 1660-1700*, 4).

²⁰ For a discussion of the tempest as a metaphor for usurpation and insurrection against a ship of state, see Elizabeth Fowler, 'The Ship Adrift', in *The Tempest and Its Travels*, eds., Peter Hulme and William H Sherman (London: Reaktion Books, 2006), 37-40; Norbrook, "'What Care These Roarers'", 21-46.

of royal alliance to secure his daughter's future and his restored power back in Italy. Prospero weds Miranda to Alonzo's son, now called Quakero, who is characterised as a stuttering hypocritical Puritan; the play's male characters are portrayed as incompetent and unable to control female sexuality, and female characters are seen as sex obsessed and unruly. Thus, key characters and plot lines are burlesqued and Duffett arguably offers satirical comment on recurrent themes and tropes in utopian fiction in order to diminish them.

Each of the adaptors recognises and modifies the utopian tradition found in their sources in order to comment on the political context in and for which their versions of *The Tempest* were written. In what follows, I analyse each play's treatment of seafaring, space and gender relations in order to demonstrate how the inherent ambiguity of utopia – traditionally a vehicle for irony – was used by seventeenth-century authors to satirise, as is the case of Dryden and Davenant and Duffett's adaptations, or else to offer support for patriarchal order, as in the operatic *Tempest*.²¹

Seafaring, Seventeenth-Century Politics and the Utopian Impulse

Images of the sea, sailing, and seafaring have long been related to the utopian tradition, but in the seventeenth century they gained new political relevance. The sea's link to utopianism comes from utopias association with travel and colonisation: for Houston, utopia 'depends on the idea of travel for its own existence', though frequently the voyages are nigh on impossible, with utopian spaces discovered by accident after difficult journeys involving hardship, storms and shipwreck.²² *The Tempest's* naval themes are a significant part of what makes the text's island space recognisably utopian, but they also carry political resonance. In *The Tempest*, the riotous storm with 'roarers' that care nothing 'for the name of king' has long been read as analogous to political disturbance (1.1.16-

²¹ Misty Kreuger has traced the changes to female characters made by the adaptors in order to assess how the distortion of Miranda's sexuality could be seen to attract audiences: she claims that the plays 'cater to mens scopophilic desires while at the same time feeding paranoia about women's sexuality', 'From Davenant to Duffett: Staging Shakespeare's *The Tempest* during the English Restoration', in *Shakespeare in Performance*, ed. Estelle River and Eric C. Brown (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013), 43-44.

²² Chloë Houston, introduction to *New Worlds Reflected: Travel and Utopia in the Early Modern Period* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2010), 1. For more on utopia and travel narratives, see Introduction, 19-21; Chapter Two, 102-105; Chapter Three 176-178; Chapter Four 254-257.

18).²³ In Shakespeare's play, the storm reflects upon usurpation, but also functions as part of Prospero's plans for retribution: the storm is a deliberate function of his plot to berate his enemies and restore himself to his former position. Indeed, Shakespeare likely used as source material William Strachey's account of the wreck of the *Sea Venture* – their experience of an idyllic island, and the mutiny that followed it – to allude to utopianism and topical mutinies.²⁴ In the later seventeenth century, however, seafaring became highly charged and sailors may have been considered objects of political intrigue. To take one example, Charles I's executioner disguised himself as a sailor on the scaffold.²⁵ Further, as Bernard Capp has argued, the navy became a 'highly politicized force' in the wake of the Civil Wars, and although 'the revolution was the work of the army...its defence would fall to the navy'.²⁶ I thus focus on representations of sailors and seafaring imagery across the Restoration adaptations in relation to utopianism and read them in the context of the instability of Charles II's court and public perceptions of the (mis)management of the Anglo-Dutch wars.²⁷ I intend to argue that the plays stage connections between politics, utopianism, and maritime metaphor.

Seafaring analogies became more specifically tied to the utopian discourse of both republicans and royalists in the seventeenth century. During the Protectorate, Cromwell's alleged

²³ Norbrook, "What Cares These Roarers", 21-46; Fowler, "The Ship Adrift", 37-40; Matthew H. Wikander, "'The Duke My Father's Wrack': The Innocence of the Restoration *Tempest*", *Shakespeare Survey* 43 (1991): 91-98; Paul J.C.M. Frannsen, 'Canute or Neptune?: The Dominion of the Seas and Two Versions of *The Tempest*', *Cahiers Élisabéthains*, 57, no.1 (April 2000): 79-94. Christy Anderson argues that Prospero's creation of the storm should be read in line with scientific work on hydraulic engineering in the early seventeenth century, 'Wild Waters: Hydraulics and the Forces of Nature', in *The Tempest and its Travels*, 41-48.

²⁴ William Strachey, 'A True Reportory', in *The Tempest*, ed. Vaughan and Vaughan, 309-325. For further discussion of rebellious seamen, see Peter Linebaugh and Marcus Rediker, *The Many Headed Hydra: Sailors, Slaves, Commoners, and the Hidden History of the Revolutionary Atlantic* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2000): for Strachey's report in particular, see 8-35; for the utopian aspects of seafaring and the tendency to imagine alternative worlds, see 20-26. See also Greenblatt, 'The *Tempest*: Martial Law in the Land of Cockaigne', 206-244.

²⁵ Jonathan Shanahan, 'The Dryden-Davenant "Tempest", Wonder Production, and the State of Natural Philosophy in 1667', *The Eighteenth Century* 54, no.1 (Spring 2013): 106. See also Graham Edwards, *The Last Days of Charles I* (London: Sutton Publishing, 2001), 17; Amalendu Misra, *On Beheading* (London: Palgrave, 2022), 74-175.

²⁶ *Cromwell's Navy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 2, 42.

²⁷ I here build on Gavin Foster's argument that contemporary responses to the sailor plot in *The Enchanted Island* were influenced by the failures of the second Anglo-Dutch war, 'Ignoring *The Tempest*: Pepys, Dryden, and the Politics of Spectating in 1667', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 63, no. 1/2 (2000): 5-22. George R. Guffey has also read *The Enchanted Island* in relation to the Anglo-Dutch war but predominantly in order to reflect on how these political problems impacted relations with Italy, 'Politics, Weather, and the Contemporary Reception of the Dryden-Davenant *Tempest*', *Restoration: Studies in English Literary Culture, 1600-1700* 8, no.1 (1984): 1-9.

naval prowess became a key feature of panegyrics written about him, and these images are arguably utopian in tone. Having become Lord Protector on 16th December 1653, Cromwell immediately turned his attention to foreign policy, and he had several main naval goals: re-establish the naval power of the Three Kingdoms and assert dominance at sea, attain peace with the Dutch, and begin his ‘Western Design’ against the Spanish in the West Indies.²⁸ He was successful in the first two: the navy expanded its ship building, and the first Anglo-Dutch War (1652-1654) ended with significant victories for the English forces with the signing of the Treaty of Westminster on 15th April 1654.²⁹ His ‘Western Design’ floundered, failing to capture Hispaniola and settling instead for the weakly defended island of Jamaica in 1655.³⁰ Nevertheless, peace with the Dutch and the increased naval power were well-received. There were hopes of it producing a Republican and Protestant Anglo-Dutch alliance that could rule the seas: indeed, rumours began to circulate about Cromwell gaining the title of emperor early in the 1650s.³¹ The poems that celebrated his appointment as Lord Protector thus drew on imagery of the sea and seafaring: most prominently in Andrew Marvell’s *The First Anniversary of the Government under His Highness the Lord Protector* (1655),³² where Marvell’s lines likening him to a ‘fertile storm; / Which to the thirsty Land did plenty bring’ and ‘o’r-took and wet the King’ are suggestive of an Arcadian ideal. Further, Marvell also likens the Republican government under Cromwell to the biblical Ark which was ‘Left by the

²⁸ John Morrill, ‘Cromwell, Oliver’, ODNB, last modified 17th September 2015, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/6765>.

²⁹ The treaty followed the Battle of Scheveningen, a Dutch defeat which resulted in the death of Dutch Lieutenant-Admiral Maarten Tromp, and significant victories for the English forces. Charles R. Low reports that the English captured at least twelve, and up to twenty-seven Dutch warships, lost only two or three English ones, and that there were 500 English dead in comparison to 2,000 Dutch losses. See *The Great Battles of the British Navy* (London Routledge, 1872), 43-44.

³⁰ For more on the ‘Western Design’ and its failure, see David Armitage, ‘The Cromwellian Protectorate and the Languages of Empire’, *The Historical Journal* 35, no.3 (1992): 531-535; Edward Holberton, *Poetry and the Cromwellian Protectorate: Culture, Politics and Institutions* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 119-142; Karen Ordhal Kupperman, ‘Errand to the Indies: Puritan Colonization from Providence Island through the Western Design’, *The William and Mary Quarterly* 45, no.1 (1988): 70-99; Davenant was aware of and receptive to significant naval failures under Cromwell in the Anglo-Spanish War (1654-1669), as his staging decisions were impacted by defeats. Davenant intended to stage *The Cruelty of the Spaniards in Peru* as early as 1656 but instead staged *The Siege of Rhodes* because he did not wish to draw attention to failures of Cromwell’s so-called ‘Western Design’, Judy H. Park, ‘The Limits of Empire in Davenant’s *The Siege of Rhodes*’, *Mediterranean Studies* 24, no.1 (2016): 47-76.

³¹ Armitage, ‘The Cromwellian Protectorate’, 531-535.

³² (London: Thomas Newcomb).

Warrs Flood on the Mountains crest' to rule, an image of God's promise of regeneration after an apocalyptic event.³³ He returns to the Ark imagery when discussing Cromwell's navy and its strength from the point of view of foreign enemies, who describe the ships as not only Arks but even worlds themselves:

Theirs are not Ships, but rather Arks of War,
And beaked Promontories sail'd from farr;
Of floating Islands a new Hatched Nest;
A Fleet of Worlds, of other Worlds in quest.³⁴

Thus, Marvell collapses Cromwell's naval action into ideas of what could be achieved under this new government. His warships are Arks designed to save and rebuild the world, or indeed islands and new worlds themselves. This indicates the proximity between Cromwell's naval strategies and colonial ambition, and the utopian hopes, frequently millenarian, that his rule would be generative of a new age.

The Restoration of 1660 and Charles II's arrival by boat on 25th March 1660 was celebrated in panegyrics that reclaimed naval metaphors for nostalgic, royalist utopianism. Charles II arrived on a boat named *The Royal Charles*, with a statue of Neptune at the helm, on incredibly calm seas after a week of storms, thereby creating an image of Charles as analogous to the king of the sea, an image retained at his coronation.³⁵ Poems and plays of the Restoration frequently contain idealistic visions of a restoration of calm, natural order, and of semi-divine kingly authority over

³³ *The First Anniversary*, C1r.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, C3r.

³⁵ For the journey and the statue, which crucially displaced a statue of Cromwell, see Jenny Uglow, *A Gambling Man: Charles II and the Restoration 1660-1670* (London: Faber and Faber, 2009), 18. John Ogilby designed the arches which featured in Charles II's coronation, including one which presented him as '*Neptuno Britannico, Carlo II*', and he described the rationale behind them in his *The Entertainment of his Most Excellent Majestie Charles II, in his Passage through the City of London to his Coronation* (London: Richard Marriot, 1661). For more on the naval aspects of Charles's coronation, see Frannsen ('Canute or Neptune?' 82-85). Frannsen also suggests that Charles II's naval alignment might explain the change in the line 'what care these roarers for the name of Duke?' (*The Enchanted Island*, B1v), altered from King in Shakespeare's text, because the notion of a sea king being overthrown by the sea had taken on a 'new and seditious meaning' (90). This redaction and its political inference has also been analysed by Wikander ('"The Duke My Father's Wrack"', 91-98).

the elements.³⁶ Dryden's *Astrea Redux* describes England during the Interregnum as a 'rabble' who 'such freedom did enjoy, / As winds at sea, that used it to destroy' with their 'lawless, savage liberty'.³⁷ These winds had 'shipwreck'd' Charles II but, at the Restoration, were becalmed because of their fear of his authority, their joy at his return, and their desire to entertain him:

The winds that never moderation knew,
Afraid to blow too much, too faintly blew;
Or, out of breath with joy, could not enlarge
Their straighten'd lungs, or conscious of their charge.
The British Amphitrite, smooth and clear,
In richer azure never did appear;
Proud her returning prince to entertain.³⁸

Another panegyric, 'A Poem to his Maiestie on his Landing' (1660), casts the returning Charles II as Noah in his 'Ark' bringing the 'Olive Branch' of peace to England, a direct inversion of Marvell's descriptions of Cromwell's Arks.³⁹ Instead of becalming the seas, 'A Poem to his Maiestie' figures Charles II as 'God-like Persius' coming to rescue the nation – Andromeda – from the clutches of 'the cruell Monster' of Cromwell and the Republicans.⁴⁰ As a result of this becalming return and the slaying of the monster, England could enter into a 'happy age! Oh times like those alone, / By fate reserved for great Augustus' throne'.⁴¹ Thus, by the 1660s, republican imagery associating Cromwell with the seas and naval prowess had been reversed and used by royalist writers to celebrate the restored King and to depict Cromwell as a sea monster.

³⁶ See for example Paula R. Backscheider, *Spectacular Politics: Theatrical Power and Mass Culture in Early Modern England* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1993); Ronald Hutton, *The Restoration: A Political and Religious History of England and Wales 1658-1667* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985); James D. Garrison, *Dryden and the Tradition of Panegyric* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996); Gerard Reedy, 'Mystical Politics: The Imagery of Charles II's Coronation', in *Studies in Change and Revolution: Aspects of English Intellectual History, 1640-1800*, ed. Paul J. Jorshin (Menston: Scolar Press, 1972), 19-42; J.R. Jones, *Country and Court* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1979).

³⁷ Dryden, *Astrea Redux* (London: Henry Herringman, 1660), B1v.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, C2v-D1r.

³⁹ H.H.B., 'A Poem to His Maiestie on His Landing', in *The Return of the King: An Anthology of English Poems Commemorating the Restoration of Charles II*, ed. Gerald MacLean (University of Virginia: University of Virginia Library Electronic Text Centre, 1999), lines. 15, 19.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 25-28. For more on Cromwell as a monster, see Sarah Covington, *The Devil from Over the Sea: Remembering and Forgetting Oliver Cromwell in Ireland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022). For broader discussions of Cromwell's image, see Laura Knoppers, *Constructing Cromwell: Ceremony, Portrait, and Print, 1645-1661* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

⁴¹ Dryden, *Astrea Redux*, D2r. For more on Royalist utopian panegyrics, see Introduction, 30-31 and below, 59-62.

Charles' association with a triumphant naval return, however, was undercut by the failures of the Restored monarchy, including the naval defeats of the ill-fated second and third Anglo-Dutch wars.⁴² Alongside the plague of 1665 and fire of 1666, which claimed thousands of lives and livelihoods respectively, the second Dutch war served to 'loosen the tongues of the disenchanted' and unleashed a 'sustained attack on the person of the king'.⁴³ It also led to reflections on the achievements of the Commonwealth governments. In 1667, in the wake of the defeat of the second Anglo-Dutch war, Samuel Pepys noted that 'everyone doth nowadays reflect upon Oliver and commend him, so brave things he did and made all the neighbour princes fear him'.⁴⁴ As Gavin Foster has shown, Pepys also connected the contemporary criticism levied at the navy for 'drunkenness and incompetence during the Dutch invasion of the Medway', and the impeachment of the Duke of Clarendon over this naval failure in 1667, with the Dryden and Davenant's adaptation.⁴⁵ I further argue that the failures of the third Anglo-Dutch war, which generated anxieties around alliance with Catholic France, and in which the English force was embarrassingly halted by the Dutch Navy and forced to sue for peace in 1674, would have been a highly proximate reference for the premier and publication of the operatic *Tempest* (1674) and *The Mock-Tempest* (1675).

This section thus reads the larger role played by sailors and the sea in Restoration versions of *The Tempest* in the context of the Anglo-Dutch Wars, and does so to highlight their relationship to contemporary politics and the utopian impulse. The sailors have frequently been read as political analogues or Hobbesian examples of depravity in a state of disorder; I wish to build on these

⁴² For a general discussion of the impact of the Anglo-Dutch wars in England, see Jonathan Scott, *How the Old World Ended* (London: Yale University Press, 2019), 175-193.

⁴³ Paul Hammond, *The Making of Restoration Poetry* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2006), 117.

⁴⁴ *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, eds., Robert Latham and William Matthews (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 12th July 1667, 8.332. Robert E. Glass has argued that, until well into the eighteenth century, it was perceived that the Restoration of Charles II and his habit of giving naval titles to gentlemen, instead of experienced sea-men, resulted in this impoverishment of naval skill, 'The Image of the Sea Officer in English Literature 1660-1710', *Albion* 26, no.4 (July 2014): 583-599.

⁴⁵ 'Ignoring *The Tempest*', 17.

readings to argue that the sailors ought to be read as failed utopians.⁴⁶ Public concerns surrounding monarchic authority and seafaring rebellion seem to be reflected in Dryden and Davenant's adaptation in the uncertainty of Prospero's patriarchal control and the rebellious sailors' political parodies. The adaptors of the operatic *Tempest* then attempted to smooth over this ambiguity and offer a typically royalist reassertion of patriarchal authority through a vision of the halcyon days in their sea-masque. The adaptors do so, I argue, in the face of increasing distaste for Charles II's libertine court, with satires becoming more pointed about the king and court's dissolute behaviour.⁴⁷ I contend that Duffett's burlesque responds to attempts to paper over cracks in Restoration royalist ideology by debasing the utopian vision of the operatic *Tempest* and *The Enchanted Island*. No longer drawing from halcyon myths or depictions of calm seas and restored order, Duffett's play offers up a different utopian analogue: the seedy, raucous Cockaigne tradition of sexual fulfilment and gluttony.

Sailors and Utopian Failure in *The Enchanted Island*

The comic subplot featuring the failed usurpation attempts of Trinculo, Stephano and Caliban is drastically expanded in *The Enchanted Island* and becomes far more prominent. It is used to satirise the failed utopianism of the republicans but in ways that simultaneously criticise royalist ideology.

⁴⁶ Hughes argues that ultimately the play depicts the collapse of human nature into the monstrous or bestial through the sailor's constant state of war, the uncivil behaviour of Hippolito and Ferdinand, and the eradication of the strangeness of Caliban and Sycorax (*English Drama 1660-1700*, 49-55). Similarly, Candy B. K. Schille reads the sailors as colonisers but argues that Dryden and Davenant break down distinctions between coloniser and ungovernable colonised figure, "Man Hungry": Reconsidering Threats to Colonial and Patriarchal Order in Dryden and Davenant's *The Tempest*, *Texas Studies in Literature and Language* 48, no.4 (Winter 2006): 273. Shanahan argues that the play should be read as a theatrical laboratory in which Dryden experiments with the ideas of human nature and human passions, concluding in Hobbesian terms that one needs to enter society in order to govern them ("The Dryden-Davenant *Tempest*": 91-118). Dobson, has read the sailors as straight political parody, in "Remember / First to Possess His Books" 99-107) and *The Making of the National Poet: Shakespeare, Adaptation and Authorship, 1660-1769* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 38-60. Katharine Eisaman Maus has suggested that these republican figures serve to undermine monarchy and project the idea of a creative and more independent subject, 'Arcadia Lost: Politics and Revision in the Restoration *Tempest*', *Renaissance Drama*, 13 (1982): 189-209. Earl Miner identifies the primitive 'wild man' as the threat to order in *The Enchanted Island* and *The Mock-Tempest*, alongside other texts and plays in 'The Wild Man Through the Looking Glass', *The Wild Man Within: An Image in Western Thought from the Renaissance to Romanticism*, eds., Edward Dudley and Maximilian E. Novak (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1973), 87-114. Franssen has read the sea as political metaphor and outlined that Shakespeare's *The Tempest* may have been subtly reflecting maritime conflict with the Dutch over trade routes and fishing rights ('Canute or Neptune?', 79-94).

⁴⁷ Ibid., 120-121. See also Rachel Weil, 'Sometimes a Scepter is Only a Scepter: Pornography and Politics in Restoration England', in *The Invention of Pornography: Obscenity and the Origins of Modernity, 1500-1800*, ed. Lynn Hunt (New York: Zone Books, 1996), 125-157.

Stephano and Trinculo are joined by Ventoso and Mustacho and upon arrival they attempt to set up their own governments, ignoring Prospero's existence entirely. This of course draws from Shakespeare's text, in which Stephano states to Trinculo that 'the King and all our company else being drowned, we will inherit here' (2.2.171-172), but unlike Shakespeare's sailors the Restoration ones never become aware of Prospero's alternative government and do not attempt to overthrow it. Stephano claims rule through absence of alternate authority figures, and Trinculo – rejecting this – attempts to claim rule through marriage to Sycorax. Their plots dissolve into factions, infighting, and internal warfare, offering clear parodies of the Civil War and Interregnum years. I agree with critics, such as Michael Dobson and Eckhard Auberlen, that the political referents for the sailors' early debates are related to Interregnum politics, but unlike them I do not consider this parodic representation as easy to dismiss or dissolve.⁴⁸ As Katherine Eisaman Maus has argued, the sailors' complete ignorance of Prospero's patriarchal authority portrays 'a more dangerous' version of usurpation by suggesting that 'the patriarchal conception of monarchy is bankrupt'.⁴⁹ I share Maus's view but it is important to add that it is less the sailor's ignorance of Prospero's regime, as Maus points out, and more their inability to depart from this bankrupted ideology of monarchy which results in the failure of their utopian vision and government, a failure which of course does not endorse the new regime.⁵⁰

What Dobson, Auberlen, Maus and others have overlooked are the direct links between the utopian tradition and the discussion of elections found in the play's subplot. The government which the sailors establish is closely related to republican utopian writings. Elections and their

⁴⁸ Dobson has argued that 'harmlessly replayed versions of the Interregnum were common in the Restoration', and he reads *The Enchanted Island* along these lines (*The Making of the National Poet*, 20; 38-60). Auberlen has usefully noted how the sailors' discussions of elections closely resemble Leveller tracts (though he does not link them to the utopian tradition) which demanded that Parliament recognise its responsibility to the whole body of citizens, concluding that the play represents them as 'absurd', and that Dryden and Davenant thus 'confirm...the rightness of the new regime' (*The Tempest and the Concerns of the Restoration Court*, 77; 18; 84).

⁴⁹ Maus, 'Arcadia Lost: Politics and Revision in the Restoration *Tempest*', 204.

⁵⁰ Indeed, Auberlen briefly mentions that Ventoso and Mustacho's viceroy status 'may also allude to a grievous problem of the constitutional reformers during the Civil War and the Commonwealth: old patterns of thinking persisted or continually reestablished themselves', (*The Tempest and the Concerns of the Restoration Court*, 78). Auberlen asserts that this confirms the natural rightness of monarchy in the play, but does not investigate the ways in which the sailors' failure is tied not to utopian goals but instead to monarchic ideology.

organisation were central topics treated in republican utopias such as Harrington's *Oceana* and Winstanley's *The Law of Freedom*. These utopian literary texts suggested fixed terms for parliaments, argued for broader suffrage, and levied criticism at any reliance on monarchic conceptions of authority in order to achieve an ideal state.⁵¹ Winstanley claims that a commonwealth which did not follow these governmental formats would 'establish the Kings old Laws, though they give it a new name'.⁵² Similarly, Harrington argued for rotational government, secret ballots, and free elections in great detail throughout the whole of *Oceana*, and the text itself has been seen as advice against accepting king-like authority in government due to its vision of 'Cromwell as Lord Archon willingly giving up power'.⁵³ *The Enchanted Island's* sailors bring up these notions of elections ironically, by suggesting they have had an election in a 'full Assembly', proposing rotational government by suggesting that Trincalo succeed them once they are 'weary of Governing', and by arguing over who is best placed to speak for the people (D2v-D3r).

The sailors' failed republicanism, however, further reflects the warnings of utopian texts against more traditional monarchical power relations. The sailors are not 'true republican[s]', and they continually, and hypocritically, rely on conceptions of monarchy, thus linking them to Cromwell who was criticised for adopting a quasi-monarchical position.⁵⁴ At heart, they all aim to control rather than to establish a society based on these utopian ideals. Stephano imagines himself violently wielding a sceptre, Trincalo refers to himself as 'King', and Ventoso insists that Trincalo kiss Stephano's hand as his subject (D2v-D3r). Indeed, some of Trincalo's very first lines, having been addressed as a 'Subject' of the other sailor's 'Dominions', declare that 'the King of good fellows can be no subject. / I will be old *Simon* the King' (D3r). It is thus hard not to see the sailors as representatives of those few who Winstanley thought should be excluded from running for

⁵¹ For example, Winstanley states that by following his proposed format of government in which elections are held each year England will become '*Jerusalem ... in the Earth*', in other words a New Jerusalem or millenarian paradise (*The Law of Freedom in a Platform*, D3r; for yearly elections E1v).

⁵² Ibid., D1r. For more on millenarianism, see Introduction 23-24, and Chapter Two, 100-102.

⁵³ Knoppers, *Constructing Cromwell*, 107.

⁵⁴ Auberlen, '*The Tempest* and the Concerns of the Restoration Court', 78.

office in his ideal commonwealth: ‘drunkards, quarrelers, [and] fearful ignorant men’, as well as ‘those who are intressed in the Monarchical Power and Government’ who should not even be allowed to vote.⁵⁵ Indeed, Shakespeare’s Trinculo is similarly depicted as a drunken and incapable political actor. Caliban pledges allegiance to him because of his access to alcohol (2.2.149), and goes on to ironically celebrate his ‘Freedom’ under his ‘new master’ (2.2.149), but the play reflects more broadly on the unworthiness of Trinculo and Stephano to act as authority figures when they are distracted by trumpery, ignoring the substantive source of Prospero’s power and ultimately failing to achieve their ends. However, I would argue that the intertextual connections created by Dryden and Davenant’s reference to the ballad of Old Simon the King, discussed below, coupled with their discussions of elections and civil war, are more particularly political.

The reference to ‘Old Simon the King’ comes from a ballad, the earliest known record of which is from 1652, but which continued to be popular until well into the eighteenth century.⁵⁶ The lyrics of the tune vary, but the consistent ‘burden’, or chorus, indicates that it is a drinking ballad featuring a drunk man who styles himself as king – a fitting tribute for Dryden and Davenant’s Trinculo.⁵⁷ In William Chappel’s reconstruction of the lyrics we hear that Simon was in a good humour and wanted to ‘think of no matters of state’, and instead heads to the pub and thinks only of drink. The ballad goes on to satirically suggest that drink could give one a long and carefree life:

For drinking will make a man quaff,
And quaffing will make a man sing,
And singing will make a man laugh
And laughing long life doth bring,
Says old Simon the King.⁵⁸

The ballad could thus be said to contain hints of the Cockaigne tradition in the sense that access to alcohol is purported to cure all ills and make each man a king of his own drunken imagination.

⁵⁵ Winstanley, *The Law of Freedom in a Platform*, E3r.

⁵⁶ *Musicks Recreation: On the Lyra Viol* (London: John Playford, 1652).

⁵⁷ ‘Old Simon the King’, in *Popular Music of the Olden Time*, ed. William Chappel, vol. 1 (London: Cramer, Beale, and Chappel, 1855), 264-265.

⁵⁸ ‘Old Simon the King’, 264.

The tune of ‘Old Simon the King’ bears further investigation because it reflects, much like the adaptations of *The Tempest* discussed in this chapter, ways in which popular conceptions and attitudes towards utopia and politics, from the Civil Wars to the Restoration and beyond, developed. Chappel records a 1659 version with lyrics that comment directly on Civil War and Interregnum politics, as King Simon is in a ‘doleful’ humour because ‘Not a man stands up for the Rump’, and thus he finds solace in the semi-utopian state of drunkenness.⁵⁹ In the Restoration and after, this song was best used and loved by the royalist supporters.⁶⁰ For example, ‘Rebellion Hath Broken up House, or A General Sale of Rebellious Household-Stuff’ (1685), features an auctioneer selling off the relics of the Interregnum Parliament’s stint in office:

Here’s a couple of Stools for Sale,
The one is square, & t’other is round;
Betwixt them both; the Tail
Of the *RUMP* fell unto the ground;
Will you buy the States Council-Table,
Which was made of the good *Wain-Scot*:
The Frame was a tottering *Babel*,
To uphold the *Independent Plot*?
*Says old Symon the King, &c.*⁶¹

This ballad uses the tune and chorus of ‘Old Simon the King’ and its associations with satirical, low-brow utopian dreaming to mock the failed utopianism of the parliamentarians. It presents republican utopianism as doomed to fail, balanced precariously on rickety furniture, and likened to the apocalyptic tower of Babel.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 265.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 265.

⁶¹ Nathaniel Thompson, ‘Rebellion Hath Broken up House, &c. or A General Sale of Rebellious Household-Stuff’, in *A Choice Collection of 180 Loyal Songs All of Them Written since the Two Late Plots* (London: Richard Butt, 1685) H3r-H4v. Though Guffey has suggested that a version of ‘A general Sale of Rebellious Household-stuff’ would have been known to audiences of Dryden and Davenant’s play in 1667 (‘Politics, Weather’, 4), the version cited by Guffey is found in Samuel Pepys collection of ballads and has been dated to 1688: ‘Rebellion given over housekeeping’, in *The Pepys Ballads, Numbers 164-253: Volume IV 1688-1689*, ed. by Edward Hyder Rollins (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1930), 1-8; Ballads are, of course, notoriously ephemeral. As Patricia Fumerton has noted ‘any one ballad by the same title, a contemporary would notice, might be made up out of differently assembled and movable parts. A new issue of a ballad might be arranged with a different text or a different tune or different woodcuts – or all three at the same time’. ‘Remembering and Dismembering: Databases, Archiving, and the Recollection of Seventeenth-Century Broadside Ballads’, *Ballads and Broad-sides in Britain, 1500-1800* ed. by Fumerton, Anita Guerrini and Kris McAbee (London: Routledge, 2010) 19

Though not strictly a utopian text, I would suggest that ‘Old Simon the King’ and the utopian themes it contained were recognised by contemporaries, as evidenced by the fact that the tune was used later with songs that refer to utopian literature and themes. For example, the song ‘The Golden Age is come, or The New-Market Song’ (1685), set to the tune of Old Simon the King, satirically invokes the utopian Golden Age tradition to comment on the current state of gambling and cheating in the New Market, complete with political satire in its reflections that the people of London are cheated by the ‘*Whiggish*’ ‘Towns-men’ who are ‘but Loyal by fits’.⁶² Similarly, ‘Now the Plotters and Plots are Confounded, or The Whigs Laid Open’ satirises the idea that Whigish politics is idealistic or utopian, claiming that ‘all the Pious Intentions / For *Property, Liberty, Laws*, / Are found to be only Inventions’.⁶³ It is notable that satirical politics and the utopian tradition remain related to this particular ballad in the political turbulence of the 1680s. Dryden and Davenant’s use of the tune is far more ambiguous than the lyrics of these later satires. The butt of the joke is not necessarily republican utopianism, as it is in ‘A general Sale of Rebellious Household-stuff’, nor is it the low-brow utopianism of the tune ‘Old Simon the King’, but instead Trincalo’s pretensions to monarchy and his impotency as a ruler. Of course, an audience can read this as satire of a monarchic pretender and thus liken Trincalo to a Cromwellian figure, but the image of an incompetent, drunken monarch who in this play attempts to fight off parliamentary claims to power has an edge that cuts against the royalist side and the figure of the libertine Charles II.

This is not to say that Dryden and Davenant would have been supporters of the societies described in republican-authored utopias, but rather that the satire was more directly related to the utopian literary tradition than has previously been recognised. *The Enchanted Island* focuses in on the recent events of the Interregnum and satirises their failures. However, Dryden and Davenant are keen to make a distinction, and their satire rests not on the utopian ideals themselves but

⁶² ‘The Golden Age Is Come, &c. or The New-Market Song’, in *A Choice Collection of 180 Loyal Songs*, 152-54.

⁶³ Thompson, *A Choice Collection of 180 Loyal Songs*, 154-156.

instead upon the sailors' inability to establish a truly utopian government, in line with republican literary utopias. In this sense, the sailors are mocked not for having a utopian vision of what the island could be, but rather because their utopian vision is antithetical to some of the principles of republican utopianism, and has more in common with outdated (or even absurdist, as is the case with Old Simon the King) models of kingship.

Sea Masques, and Royalist Nostalgic Utopianism in the Operatic *Tempest*.

The operatic *Tempest* attempts to assuage some of the uncertainty introduced by Dryden and Davenant's political parody through a sea masque which demonstrates Prospero's power. As discussed above, the majority of the dialogue in the operatic *Tempest* remains the same and, rather than redacting political points, the operatic *Tempest* instead increases Prospero's patriarchal authority through the introduction of a sea masque. The operatic *Tempest* presents us with a Prospero who can conjure up gods and goddesses in a spectacular pageant, and who in no way draws attention to their insubstantiality as Shakespeare's Prospero does following his wedding masque, a scene redacted from the Restoration adaptations. The sea masque is performed by Neptune, Amphitrite, Oceanus and Tethys alongside various gods, goddesses, tritons and nereids of the sea whom Prospero conjures in order to calm the seas and because they 'have Princes now to entertain' (L3r). This increased authority is related to a staunchly royalist viewpoint in the masque's obvious representation and celebration of the return of Charles II.

The masque in the operatic *Tempest* is a clear representation of the nostalgic utopianism which characterised royalist panegyrics in the wake of the Restoration, and participates in a reclaiming of utopian concepts from the republican utopianism of the Civil Wars and Interregnum.⁶⁴ The language of the masque relies on seafaring metaphors and relates winds and tempests to wars, and calm weather to peace, promising both a safe voyage and the restoration of peace at home upon their return: Oceanus states 'your Country's soft peace we'll restore' (L4v). It

⁶⁴ For more on Royalist nostalgic utopianism, see Introduction, 30-31. For a discussion on the effects used in the masque, see Milhouse, 'The Multimedia Spectacular', 45-47.

further promises calm days upon which ‘the Heaven’s Smile’ and in which ‘troubles are past’ and ‘intestine jars’ are over (L4r-v). Generically, the royalist masque is connected to utopianism: ‘the masque is the form that most consistently projects a world in which all the laws of nature have been understood and the attacks of mutability defeated by the rational power of the mind’.⁶⁵ This concept is reminiscent of the utopianism expounded by Bacon in *New Atlantis* (published posthumously in 1626) in the sense that it strives for control over the uncontrollable, a place in which ‘Nature can at last be fixed in place’.⁶⁶ Prospero’s ability to control the sea and to use it not only to presage his return but also to entertain is thus reminiscent of panegyric poetry celebrating the Restoration discussed above. The operatic *Tempest* endows Prospero with more power in a clear display of support for patriarchalism, and celebrates the restoration of power and authority after the tumultuous tempest which, metaphorically, represents the political disturbances of the Interregnum.

The sea masque draws on images of the halcyon days to project a utopian vision of the future. The image of a halcyon calming of the sea was popular in royalist poetry about Charles II’s return, and it is referenced twice in the sea masque of the operatic *Tempest* which invites us to ‘celebrate a Halcyon day’ and asks for ‘as calm a peace, / As where the *Halcyon* builds her quiet Nest’.⁶⁷ The halcyon myth refers to the story of Ceyx and Alcyone in Ovid’s *Metamorphosis*. After the death of Ceyx in a tempest, Alcyone attempts suicide but is pitied by the gods. They save her, revive Ceyx, and turn the couple into birds named halcyons. The halcyon birds hatch their young just before the winter solstice during which point Aeolus, Alcyon’s father, becalms the ocean for fourteen days so they can hatch their young in peace. The notion of the halcyon days thus refers not simply to a point of peace but more specifically to a fragile moment of peace between a storm

⁶⁵ Stephen Orgel and Roy Strong, *Inigo Jones: The Theatre of the Stuart Court* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), 13.

⁶⁶ Amy Boesky, *Founding Fiction: Utopias in Early Modern England* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1996), 68. For more on Bacon and controlling the natural world, see Chapter Three, 168-171.

⁶⁷ For example, in Dryden’s *Astrea Redux* he suggests the sea is ‘Secure as when the *Halcyon* breeds’ for Charles II’s return (N3v-N4r).

and death on the one hand, and birth and change on the other. Delores Palomo points out that, despite the popularity of Ovid and the constant references to various Ovidian tales in contemporary literature, the halcyon myth was rarely used or referenced before 1630.⁶⁸ The use of the myth and its focus changed depending on the political context: in the 1630s its use belies an awareness of a brooding, pregnant storm on the horizon and the fragility of current peace, throughout the civil war it looks back nostalgically on the halcyon days of peace which preceded rebellion, and during the Restoration it anticipates a new halcyon age and a utopian future.⁶⁹

The Restoration use of the halcyon days as a prolonged period of peace is, however, in many ways undercut by its awareness of its own fragility, and this is true of its use in the operatic *Tempest*. Abraham Cowley's *Ode upon the Blessed Restoration and Returne of His Sacred Majestie, Charls the Second* (1660) gives a good indication of this:

Will *Peace* her *Halcyon Nest* venture to build
 Upon a *Shore* with *Shipwracks* fill'd?
 And trust that *Sea*, where she can hardly say,
 Sh'has known these twenty years one *calmy day*? ...
 Canst thou in *Albion* still delight?
 Still canst thou think it *White*?⁷⁰

The concern about the status of Albion and its instability after warfare finds keen expression in the repeated questions that characterise this stanza. The sea is becalmed, but temporarily, and uncertainty prevails. This implies that though there is hope, in 1660, for a return to nostalgic paradise and peace, there is also a concern that this will not be possible. The operatic *Tempest* betrays this concern too: Neptune commands Aeolus to calm the winds and he acquiesces to the authority of a monarch's 'dread Trident'; however, the tempests, black storms and blustering winds which he calms are not destroyed but instead sent 'To your Prisons below' where they can keep their 'revs' but not trouble the sea 'till' Aeolus calls them again (L4r). Although the operatic

⁶⁸ 'The Halcyon Moment of Stillness in Royalist Poetry', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 44, no. 3 (1981): 206.

⁶⁹ Palomo also discusses the permutations of the metaphor and goes on to argue that the idea of an exquisite moment of stillness and peace becomes an essential style of Royalist poetry, particularly in carpe diem poems ('The Halcyon Moment', 205-221). See also, Robert Wilcher, *The Writing of Royalism, 1628-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 7-20.

⁷⁰ (London: Henry Herringman), A3r.

Tempest does its best to smooth over uncertainty, the metaphors and language which it draws upon betray an anxiety about the utopian stability they hoped that monarchic control would be able to achieve.

Burlesquing the Ship of State in Duffett's *The Mock-Tempest*.

Duffett's burlesque mocks the masque of calm, halcyon days with a counterpart masque of libidinous, bawdy chaos, more akin to the Cockayne tradition of base appetite fulfilment, and therefore suggests that this ideal of restored order was farcical. The final scene opens to show a group of prisoners labouring before 'a Baud and Pimp' travel over the stage in a cart 'follow'd by a Rabble', and Caliban and Sycorax 'arise' and begin to sing (H2r).⁷¹ Sycorax then demands that Caliban free all of the prisoners, even those 'Condemned', so that they can have 'A play day too' (H2v), inverting Aeolus' imprisonment of tempestuous winds in the operatic *Tempest*. Instead of asking the waves to be calm, Caliban, at Sycorax's request, sings 'Be calme ye great Parents of the Punck, and the Pad, / While each Bully and Lass sing and revel like mad' (H2v). In other words, he asks for sexual freedom for all young men and women, indicated by the sexual terminology used here: 'punk' is an early modern term for a prostitute or someone made use of as a sexual partner (*OED*), and 'pad' should be understood in the sense of either 'Bed' or a 'soft saddle', implying sexual activity (*OED* n2). Later, in alternate lines, Caliban, Sycorax, the Pimp and the Baud promise the freed prisoners and, by extension, the audience that they will be able to have pleasure and enjoy their 'drink' and their 'Drabs' without legal consequence (H3v). The play thus ends with a carnivalesque celebration of overturned justice, sexual pleasure and drunkenness and suggests, in its rebuking of the operatic *Tempest*'s courtly masque of order and calm halcyon seas, an association between the libertine royal court and a raucous brothel run by prostitutes and pimps.

Similarly, *The Mock-Tempest* begins with a burlesque of the tempestuous storm and the ship of state by aligning the tempest with rioters and the sinking ship with a brothel to satirise the

⁷¹ As Caliban and Sycorax have thus far not featured in the play and are not listed in the *dramatis personae* we must assume that they are both recognisably costumed in ways that mimic their representation in the operatic *Tempest* playing at Dorset Garden Theatre.

monarchy. Considering that the ship is generally read as a metaphorical representation of the ship of state sinking due to the crimes of treason and usurpation in all other versions of the play, Duffett's alignment of the ship of state with a beleaguered leaky female body attempting to fight off unwanted penetration is a particularly damning political image for the restored monarchy.⁷² The brothel has a prostitute queen at the helm, Stephania, who directly connects the brothel and the court. Stephano, the drunken master at sea of Shakespeare, and of Dryden and Davenant's play, who attempts to settle a government on the enchanted island becomes the 'Baud' or 'Mother' of a brothel in London, and is also satirically connected with the crown and court in *The Mock-Tempest*. In the opening scene, a scene which is drastically expanded, Stephania acts as a naval captain, blowing her whistle, and shouting commands.⁷³ She marshals the defence of her brothel with surprising and amusing skill. She orders her 'bawdy Amazons' and 'musty Queens' to barricade doors and hurl urine, alcohol, chamber pots, and medical turpentine (a treatment for venereal disease) at the rioters (B1v, B2r-v), and rallies the troops with encouragement, reminding them that they have 'born two times as many men in [their] times' (B1v). This role as a naval commander later turns monarchic when she agrees to call off hostilities and hear the demands of the opposition. The rioters send in their 'plenipotentiary', and Stephania begins the interview by saying 'be not dismaid with the glittering Splendour of our Court, but boldly deliver what thou hast in charge' (B3v). Having heard their conditions, she rejects them, calls for war, and declares, using the royal 'we', that 'we will rather dye at their Feet, then submit to such dishonourable Conditions: - Begon' (B4r). Rather than the weakened and debased Prospero who in this play enacts the role of a wearied pimp (as discussed below), it is Stephania, the 'Mother' of the bordello, who emerges as a monarchic figure.

⁷² Fowler, 'The Ship Adrift', 37-40.

⁷³ Shakespeare's opening scene is 72 lines, Dryden and Davenant's and the Operatic *Tempest* 103, whilst Duffett's is 241: Ronald Eugene Di Lorenzo *Three Burlesque Plays of Thomas Duffett* (Iowa: University of Iowa Press, 1972), xxi, n.25. Extended scenes have previously been shown to cater to audience appeal and broad popularity, for example, for Frank P. Wilson the extended scenes of the B-texts of Christopher Marlowe's *Dr. Faustus* served to 'suit the taste of a vulgar audience', *Marlowe and the Early Shakespeare* (London: Oxford University Press, 1953), 71.

Despite not setting his play at sea, Duffett made much of the naval metaphors of his source material and developed them into misogynistic representations of the court as an uncontrolled and uncontrollable female body. When the rioters elect a plenipotentiary to treat with the women of the brothel, he makes the following requests:

Plen: First, they demand the Dominion of the Straights mouth, and all the Mediterranean Sea – That every Frigot, Fireship, you have, shall strike, furl up their sail, and lye by to the least of their Cock-boats, wherever they meet, and receive a man aboard to search for prohibited Goods, and permit him to romage fore and oft without resistance. –

Stepha: Umph. – My friends, this is very hard.

Plen: Secondly, That all their Vessels shall have and enjoy a free trade into and out of all your Ports without paying any custom. –

Steph: The duties of Importation are my greatest Revenue, and must not be parted with (B3v).

In this exchange, the plenipotentiary metaphorically represents the specific parts of the female bodies to which they wish to gain free sexual access as both boats and ports. Further, the women's multiple 'Ports', i.e multiple entrances, are tied to the idea of women's many holes and general leaky nature: an idea which stems in part from representations of menstruation and notions that the vagina could leak out semen.⁷⁴

The female body as a leaky vessel with multiple holes is comically dramatized as the brothel itself, *The Mock-Tempest's* analogue for a sinking ship. We hear variously that the rioters are breaking in at 'the sellar' (B2r), 'the green Chamber' (B2v), and 'a closet window' of the brothel (B2v). To prevent the entry of the rioters the prostitutes remove false stairs to one entrance and open trap doors which we can only assume are supposed to serve as booby-traps (B2v). To barricade entrances they fill a sweating tub with stones in one room (B1v), clap up a hatch with iron spikes (B2v), block another door with a great chest (B2v), yet another with a 'Led Cistern' (B4v), and bar one last one up with 'the Constables staffe that lay here last night' (C1r). This building full of multiple entranceways is clearly linked clearly to the idea of the leaky female vessel in the image of wenches urinating out of the windows directly on to the rioters faces (B2r).

⁷⁴ Sarah Alison Miller, *Medieval Monstrosity and the Female Body* (New York: Routledge, 2010), 1-9; 55-90.

The depiction of female bodies and the plenipotentiary's use of trade metaphors also offers comment on the Anglo-Dutch wars. Female bodies in this play are places of open trade and commerce which are subject to abuse and force, and trade and control of trade routes was a major factor in the Anglo-Dutch wars. Dutch victory in the second Anglo-Dutch war meant that the Danish exacted terms to amend the Navigation Acts, allowing the Dutch ships to trade into England without being subject to tariffs, and forcing England to give up the right to search Dutch ships, terms which were reiterated after the loss of the third Anglo-Dutch war in 1674 and which seem relevant to the plenipotentiary's demands quoted above.⁷⁵

The likening of a failing ship of state to leaky female bodies arguably takes on additional significance considering the role that Louise de K  rouaille, the Duchess of Portsmouth, was seen to have in the development of the Anglo-French alliance which resulted in England's involvement in the third Anglo-Dutch war. The secret 'Treaty of Dover' which allied the English and the French – requiring that Charles II would leave the 'Triple Alliance' of England, the Netherlands and Sweden, at some point convert to Catholicism, and assist in the French war against the Dutch in return for vast sums of money – was signed in June 1670.⁷⁶ K  rouaille was amongst the parties present at the treaty signing, and, due to reports of Charles II taking an interest in her, Louis XIV of France and his ambassador Colbert de Croissy actively encouraged K  rouaille's relationship with the King to help maintain the Anglo-French alliance.⁷⁷ The contents of the Treaty of Dover were of course not directly announced, but there was no hiding the military alliance of the Anglo-French forces in a war against the Dutch and thus the abandonment of the triple alliance, nor the

⁷⁵ For more on the loss of tariffs and other financial terms, see Gijts Rommelse, 'The Role of Mercantilism in Anglo-Dutch Political Relations, 1650-74', *The Economic History Review* 63, no.3 (August 2010): 605, for more on the stop-and-search laws and for the reiteration of these terms in the 1674 treaty, see Jonathan Israel, *Conflicts of Empires: Spain, the Low Countries and the Struggle for World Supremacy 1585-1713*, (London: The Hambledon Press, 1997), 316-317.

⁷⁶ For more on how the alliance came about, see: Tim Harris, *Restoration: Charles II and his Kingdoms* (London: Penguin, 2005), 253; Ronald Hutton, 'The Making of the Secret Treaty of Dover, 1668-1670', *Historical Journal* 29, no.2 (June 1986): 297-318; Maurice D. Lee Jr., 'The Earl of Arlington and the Treaty of Dover', *Journal of British Studies* 1, no.1 (November 1961): 58-70; Keith Feeling, 'Henrietta Stuart, Duchess of Orleans, and the Origins of the Treaty of Dover', *The English Historical Review* 47, no.188 (October 1932): 642-645.

⁷⁷ Henri Forneron, *Louise de Kerouaille, Duchess of Portsmouth 1649-1734* (London: Swan Sonnenschein, Lowrey and Co., 1888), 56, 60-74.

relationship between K  rouaille and Charles II: at the time of the declaration of war in March 1672, K  rouaille was around six months pregnant with his son.⁷⁸ That these links were made can be seen in a pamphlet, produced in 1680, which accuses K  rouaille of high treason due to her ‘being sent over... by the *French* King... in order to Propagat[e] these her malicious, detestable and destructive Designs against our Religion and Government’, mentioning ‘the breach of the Triple League, (which we of these three Kingdoms have and still groan under)’.⁷⁹ Similarly, satires against the King were becoming more pointed about his (and his court’s) dissolute behaviour, and especially his relations with Catholic mistresses.⁸⁰ As Paul Hammond puts it, ‘Charles’s behaviour had become a travesty of the very idea of a divinely instituted monarchy, a blasphemous parody of its own legitimizing rhetoric’, and as Rachel Weil points out, his aggressive sexuality was often linked to fears of his tendency to absolutism and arbitrary government.⁸¹ It thus seems likely that the debauched female court, represented as a leaky ship of state, participates in these satires of Charles II as an effeminate ruler lacking control, led by women into foolish alliances and naval battles.⁸²

Naval metaphors are thus tied to the utopianism of all three adaptations. In Dryden and Davenant’s play the sailors can be read as utopian dreamers – treating a perceived power vacuum and the island space as a *tabula rasa* upon which they can inscribe their ideal reality – but their attempts debase both monarchic and commonwealth ideologies through drunken farce. The operatic *Tempest* retains these rebellious sailors, but also attempts to assuage some of the instability with a reassertion of nostalgic Restoration utopianism in its masque of restored halcyon days. Duffett can be seen to burlesque the ideals of the Restoration and build on the play’s political

⁷⁸ Forneron, *Louise de Kerouaille*, 74. See also Weil (‘Sometimes a Sceptre’, 140-141). Marvell dissects the events leading up to the declaration of the third Anglo-Dutch war highlighting his understanding of the not-so-secret Treaty of Dover and the surreptitious means by which Charles II justified his declaration of war based on Dutch ships not saluting a small English yacht, *An Account of the Growth of Popery and Arbitrary Government in England* (Amsterdam [i.e. London]: s.n., 1677), C1r-E1r.

⁷⁹ *Articles of High Treason and Other High Crimes and Misdemeanours Against the Duchess of Portsmouth* (London: s.n., 1680), b.s.v.

⁸⁰ Hammond, *The Making of Restoration Poetry*, 120-121.

⁸¹ Ibid., 124, Weil, ‘Sometimes a Sceptre’, 142.

⁸² Ibid., 120-121.

anxieties about restored monarchical order by debasing these naval metaphors and characters. He represents the monarchic ship of state as a brothel, besieged by libertine rioters, and culminating in a chaotic Cockayne-style masque of sexual indulgence and criminality.

Utopian Space

The deliberately underdetermined spatial location of utopia as both good place and no place has resulted in disparate versions of utopian spaces in the literary tradition, but in the wake of the 1650s, and the attempted creation of utopian political space in the Three Kingdoms, the distancing of utopia arguably became harder to achieve.⁸³ In More's *Utopia* and Francis Bacon's *New Atlantis*, among others, the spaces are isolated islands that travellers stumble upon and which possess a fully-functioning state with advanced institutions. Elsewhere, utopian island spaces are untouched paradises, Edenic visions of a return to natural plenty, or paradises inhabited by an indigenous population whose existence is reported by Western travellers to reflect simplicity and an Arcadian harmony with nature. They can also be hypothetical cities and commonwealths, such as in Plato's *Republic* and the commonwealth propositions of Winstanley, Platts and Harrington. They can be lunar voyages, voyages into other worlds, rely on time-travel into a past Arcadia or Golden Age, or into a future millennial paradise.⁸⁴ What the spaces tend to have in common, in Renaissance utopian writing, is that a journey, whether temporal or physical, must be undertaken to reach the utopian space: the utopia 'must always exist at a distance from the author's own society'.⁸⁵ As Fredric Jameson has argued, 'Utopian space is an imaginary enclave within real social space', highlighting how the delicate balance between the utopian text's reflection of and relation to real

⁸³ See Introduction, 21-25; and Lucian Hölscher, 'Utopie', *Utopian Studies* 7, no.2 (1996), 17-19.

⁸⁴ The transition from geographically located utopias to temporally located ones (e/uchronias) is arguably more notable in the eighteenth century. See Nicole Pohl, 'The Quest for Utopia in the Eighteenth Century'. *Literature Compass* 5, no.4 (July 2008): 685-706.

⁸⁵ Houston, *The Renaissance Utopia*, 8.

society and its differentiation must be maintained by the fiction.⁸⁶ After the 1650s, the distinction between utopian space and political reality becomes increasingly hard to maintain, and as I intend to argue, the Restoration adaptations of Shakespeare's *The Tempest* adapt the utopian space in ways that reflect and participate in the political narratives of the mid-seventeenth century.

The utopian space of *The Tempest* is highly transformative and malleable, as Shakespeare situates his play in the 'Nowhere(s)' of utopian worlds.⁸⁷ As Crystal Bartolovich has pointed out, *The Tempest* is singular amongst Shakespeare's plays in its 'insistent spatial ambiguity': it is markedly unmarked, pointedly unplottable.⁸⁸ I would argue that this is directly linked to Shakespeare's deliberate and eclectic interaction with the genre. Though geographically the journey between Africa and Italy should place the Duke's ship within the Mediterranean Sea when it is wrecked, it seems perfectly plausible that Ariel was capable of transporting the ship elsewhere during the magical tempest. As numerous critics have suggested, the play invites links to the Americas, the 'New World', with the island acting as a 'theatrical microcosm of the imperial paradigm', drawing

⁸⁶ *Archeologies of the Future: The Desire Called Utopia and Other Science Fictions* (New York: Verso, 2005), 15. Jason Pearl has looked at the ways in which the increased accessibility of cartography between 1660 and 1740 reconfigured 'the outer limits of what geography could both inspire and restrict in the literary imagination...the possibility – or impossibility – of utopia as a mappable space', and suggested that the work to fill in the edges of the map led to the movement from geographical space to 'utopian interiorities and utopian sociabilities, new practices capable of harboring some of the displaced idealism', *Utopian Geographies and the Early English Novel* (Virginia: University of Virginia Press, 2014), 2-3.

⁸⁷ Knapp argues that this nowhere actually encourages the imagining of anywhere, and a lack of limitation (*An Empire Nowhere*, 7). I agree with Knapp that the multiplicity of nowhere generates a limitless utopian fantasy, but I suggest here that these fantasies are less geographically specific than they are dependent on political positioning.

⁸⁸ "'Baseless Fabric': London as a 'World City'", in *'The Tempest' and Its Travels*, eds., Peter Hulme and William H Sherman (London: Reaktion Books, 2006), 18. Bartolovich does so to point out the impact of globalisation on early modern London rather than the utopianism of the text.

from source material from various 'New World' exploration narratives.⁸⁹ Shakespeare's characters also seem acutely aware of the island's insubstantiality and malleability. For example, Adrian suggests that 'though this island seem to be a desert' it is 'yet' a good climate which is subtle, temperate, and sweet (2.1.37; 42). For Gonzalo it is not covered in sand but in grass which is 'lush and lusty' (2.1.44). For Antonio and Sebastian, the sweet air Adrian compliments comes from 'rotten' lungs, and the grass is not green but 'tawny' (2.1.50; 56). The malleable island thus reflects on the traditions of contradiction ubiquitous to early Renaissance utopianism.

As I intend to demonstrate, the transformative nature of the island of Shakespeare's play is retained in *The Enchanted Island*, restrained in the operatic *Tempest*, and mocked in Duffett's *The Mock-Tempest*. In *The Enchanted Island*, Dryden and Davenant embrace Shakespeare's use of ambiguity and allow it to reflect political uncertainty, whereas the operatic *Tempest* deliberately creates dichotomies of space that are aligned with what can be perceived as good (royalist) and bad (republican) political allegiances. Duffett situates the action of the play in Restoration London between a brothel and Bridewell prison, making clear the theme of imprisonment, grounding in seedy realism the plays' sexual politics, and providing a backdrop against which the utopian dreaming of the other plays is rendered starkly bawdy and salacious.

Dryden and Davenant build on the notion of ambiguous space and the power of perspective and tie it to the political plots of the play. For example, when Ventoso and Mustacho

⁸⁹ Vaughan and Vaughan, introduction to *The Tempest*, 40-41; In terms of the New World, see, for example, Marina Warner "The foul witch" and Her "freckled whelp": Circean Mutations in the New World', in *The Tempest and its Travels*, 97-113; John Gillies, 'The Figure of the New World in *The Tempest*', in *The Tempest and its Travels*, 180-201; Patricia Seed, "'This island's mine': Caliban and Native Sovereignty", in *The Tempest and its Travels*, 202-211; Bridget Orr, *Empire on the English Stage, 1660-1714* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 188-211; Charles Frey, 'The *Tempest* and the New World', *Shakespeare Quarterly* 30, no.1 (Winter, 1979): 29-41; Ronald Takaki, 'The *Tempest* in the Wilderness: The Racialization of Savagery', *The Journal of American History* 79, 3 (December 1992): 892-912; John Wylie, 'New and Old Worlds: The *Tempest* and Early Colonial Discourse', *Social and Cultural Geography* 1, no.1 (2000): 45-63. Others have positioned the text in the context of the Mediterranean, see Andrew C. Hess, 'The Mediterranean and Shakespeare's Geopolitical Imagination', in *The Tempest and its Travels*, 121-131; Jerry Brotton, "'This Tunis, sir, was Carthage': Contesting Colonialism in *The Tempest*", in *Post-Colonial Shakespeares*, eds., Ania Loomba and Martin Orkin (London: Routledge, 1998), 23-42. Barbara Fuchs reads the play in the context of Ireland, 'Conquering Islands: Contextualizing *The Tempest*', *Shakespeare Quarterly* 48, no.1 (Spring 1997): 45-62. Others have argued that *The Tempest* must be read in its English context, see Anne Skura Meredith, 'Discourse and the Individual: The Case of Colonialism in *The Tempest*', *Shakespeare Quarterly* 40 (1989), 42-69; Terrence Hawkes, 'Playhouse-Workhouse', in *That Shakespeperian Rag: Essays on a Critical Process* (London: Methuen, 1986), 1-26; Donna B. Hamilton, *Virgil and "The Tempest": The Politics of Imitation* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1990).

first envision their dominion, they transform their perspectives of the island: it turns from a 'barren' and desolate island on which they might die (D1v), to an 'empty' space upon which they can create their own government (D2r), leading them to celebrate their fortunate situation and proclaim themselves 'all made' (D3r). This crucial transition from barren to empty implies a shift not in the physical makeup of the island, but instead in their relationship to and control over it.

Trincalo is able to maintain some authority through the subjection of Caliban, but this access to island fertility is also, ultimately, insubstantial. The play retains Caliban's speeches about the food stores on the island, but the island's fertile and paradisaical state seems to shift based on the successes or failures of their relative regimes.⁹⁰ Trincalo's access to these aspects of the island is directly linked to his gaining power over the other sailors.⁹¹ However, when the sailors realise that they are not the sole inhabitants of this island and not capable of controlling the utopian space, it reverts to its barren state: Trinculo states that he was almost 'starv'd' in his Dukedom and Mustacho notes that there's 'nothing but wild Sallads' on the island (L4v). This directly contradicts the earlier descriptions of abundance in a way that recalls the contrariness of the descriptions of the island in Shakespeare's play, but which ties it to the sailors' failed machinations. In this sense, the island transforms from barren and useless land to a utopian, fertile island and back again depending on one's political perspective and successes – reflecting perhaps on the illusory and unstable notions of political authority in the seventeenth century.

Although marooned on the same island as the sailors, the experiences of Antonio, Alonzo and their entourage indicate that their crimes transform their perspective of the unknown landscape into a hellish and aggressive environment rather than a blank or 'empty' canvas for social dreaming. Dryden and Davenant retain the banquet scene from Shakespeare's text, but Ariel's

⁹⁰ Caliban tells Trinculo he will show him 'every fertile inch I'th'Isle' where he will find 'the best Springs', 'Berries', 'fish', 'Crabs', 'Pig-nuts', 'Jay's Nest's', 'Marmazets and cluster'd Filberds' (D4r-v)

⁹¹ His assertion of power relies fundamentally on the marriage to Sycorax and the subjection of Caliban, as well as his possession of alcohol, but he also wields access to the island space as a means of gaining the upper hand. When Stephano, Mustacho and Ventoso come to treat with Trinculo to gain peace and access to his liquor, Caliban pointedly advises Trinculo regarding his ability to control the island space: 'let them drink / Brine, for I will not show 'em the quick freshes of the Island' (G1v).

temptation of the courtiers there and his subsequent appearance as a harpy to berate them for their political crimes is done explicitly at Prospero's request, with Prospero as an invisible overseer to the affair who reflects on how well his plot is coming together (3.3.83-91). Unlike Shakespeare's Antonio and Alonso, however, Dryden and Davenant's are aware of and penitent for their crimes in Act 1, and immediately realise that the physical space of the island acts as a punishment for their actions against Prospero and Hippolito.

Antonio: Indeed we first broke truce with Heav'n;
 You to the waves an Infant Prince expos'd,
 And on the waves have lost an only Son;
 I did usurp my Brother's fertile lands, and now
 Am cast upon this desert Isle (C3v).

They perceive the island to be not simply barren but, as Alonso puts it, 'the Region of despair and death', because they recognise it as retribution for their crimes (D1r). The reference to a prince castaway also hints at connections between the men and those who forced Prince Charles into exile in the late 1640s.

The link between their crimes of usurpation and the impact on Charles II is particularly clear in the depiction of the island's trees. Alonso states that he 'pull'd a Tree, and Blood pursu'd my hand' and, later, that 'The shadows of the Trees are poisonous too: / A secret venom slides from every branch' (C4r; D1r). Charles II was heavily associated with the oak tree, as he allegedly hid in one after Royalist defeat at the Battle of Worcester in 1651.⁹² Further, Alonso's description of the bleeding tree is immediately followed by a masque of devils who sing about Antonio and Alonso's crimes of ambition, unjustly won crowns, and attempted murder; thus compounding the

⁹² For detail regarding the account of Charles I's concealment in the tree and its precise location, see Paul Stamper, 'The Tree That Hid a King: The Royal Oak at Boscobel, Shropshire', *Landscapes* 3, no. 1 (2019): 19-24; on the relationship between the restored monarchy and trees, particularly oaks, in the Restoration is John Tatham's poem *The Royal Oake with Other Various and Delightfull Scenes Presented on the Water and the Land* (London: Sarah Griffin and R.B, 1660). Indeed, the poem also broadens out the idea of the Royal Oak which sheltered him from soldiers to also become the ship, originally named *Surprise*, which Charles II rechristened the *Royal Escape* after using it to escape from Parliamentary forces after defeat at Worcester. Tatham writes that 'Twice she [the Oak] receiv'd him in her happy womb / At his conveying hence and coming home' (C2v). In 1664 Charles II also launched a royal ship called the *Royal Oak*. As Dobson has pointed out, this link is already alluded to in the play's prologue. The prologue refers to Shakespeare as a tree who, despite being cut down, 'lives under ground' and generates 'new branches', of which this 'reviving play' is one (A4v), for this argument, see Dobson, *The Making of the National Poet*, 38-39. More broadly, legitimate monarchical succession is also traditionally represented through genealogical trees.

link between the horrors of the island space and crimes against established rulers (C4r). In this way, Dryden and Davenant arguably align Antonio and Alonzo's crimes with usurpation and treachery against the monarchy.

The island and the spirits who are indigenous to it manifest their punishments in ways seemingly out of Prospero's control, undermining his authority.⁹³ As they are already penitent in *The Enchanted Island*, Prospero directs Ariel to produce a feast for the courtiers to 'refresh with needful food their / Famish'd bodies. With shows and cheerful / Musick comfort 'em', but what Ariel provides is highly suspect (F2v). The cornucopias which represent the feast are brought in by 'eight fat Spirits' described as 'a Masque of fatten'd Devils' who promptly disappear, suggesting they are there to 'deride' their hunger (F3r). We are then told that a banquet table has appeared off stage, and the courtiers discuss their anxiety about eating from a feast 'which Fiends provide, perhaps, to poison us' (F3v). When we next meet the band of courtiers they do not seem comforted or refreshed as Prospero had commanded, but instead Alonzo states they have been 'pursu'd by dreadful shapes' (K2r). Thus, it seems Ariel acts with more free-will than his Shakespearean counterpart, undermining Prospero's control of the utopian space and the spirits indigenous to it.⁹⁴ Prospero has not ordered Ariel to punish but instead to replenish the courtiers at this point, and yet they are incapable of accessing the beauty and plenitude of the island – a denial which is orchestrated not by Prospero but by the island and its natural, spiritual inhabitants

The loss of control enacted by the banquet scene is explicitly related to utopian illusion.

⁹³ I am here discussing the actions of spirits indigenous to the island as intrinsically linked to the island space itself. Ariel and the other spirits, the only inhabitants of the island with true access to transformative magical powers, are related to natural elements such as air and earth and their abilities are also naturalistic: they whip up storms, produce or withhold island fertility, and make trees bleed. This is not, however, to say that the spirits are simply representations of the geographical space nor to suggest that they do not have agency, rather that in the context of *The Enchanted Island* their agency and its effects are consistently tied to the spatial experience of the island. For discussions of Prospero's reduced authority, see for example Maus, 'Arcadia Lost', 196; Laura J. Rosenthal, 'Reading Masks: The Actress and the Spectatrix in Restoration Shakespeare', in *Broken Boundaries: Women and Feminism in Restoration Drama*, ed. Katherine M. Quinsey (Lexington, KY: The University Press of Kentucky, 1996), 208.

⁹⁴ In this way I complicate Maus's assertion that Ariel is the text's example of a 'loyal resourceful subject' who acts of his own initiative to save Hippolito at the end of the play ('Arcadia Lost', 206).

Dryden and Davenant's feast constitutes a blatant reference to Cockayne, a type of utopian vision depicting a distant country or world where all men are idle, food and drink appears spontaneously, and the inhabitants can have 'free sex with ever-willing partners'.⁹⁵ James C. Davis characterises it as a land in which there is unlimited desire, and where limits to supply are simply 'wished away'.⁹⁶ Ariel's new song makes the Cockayne nature of the feast clear:

Ariel: While you in this Isle are bideing,
 You shall feast without providing:
 Every dainty you can think of,
 Ev'ry Wine which you would drink of,
 Shall be yours; all want shall shun you,
 Ceres blessing so is on you (F3r).

Dryden and Davenant merge this scene with the language of a more sincere utopian vision in *The Tempest*. The above speech borrows the line 'Ceres blessing so is on you' from the Arcadian wedding masque of Shakespeare's play (4.1.117). This line is thus displaced from an Arcadian illusion of harmony which Prospero conjures to celebrate marital union and political allegiance, and is relocated in an illusory Cockayne used to punish political misdeeds, a punishment which is ironically exacted against the will of the wronged patriarch. This can be seen to reflect on the loss of hope for patriarchal utopia at the Restoration and its degradation to a false Cockayne of libertine luxury.

The courtier's experience of the island also represents the uncertain status of their forgiveness for treachery. Produced in the wake of the Declaration of Breda (April 1660), the play's treatment of this theme arguably has added resonance. In Shakespeare's play forgiveness is offered to all the courtiers in the final scene, but only after Prospero's plots have forced them to repent their own crimes against him. In *The Enchanted Island* the courtiers acknowledge their sins and repent very early on, so Prospero's forgiveness is thus also granted earlier (Act 3, F2r), but the disobedience of the island and its refusal to enact Prospero's wishes means the courtiers are not

⁹⁵ Herman Pleij and Diane Webb, *Dreaming of Cockayne: Medieval Fantasies of the Perfect Life* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), 3.

⁹⁶ James C. Davis, *Utopia and the Ideal Society: A Study of English Utopian Writing, 1516-1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 6; 36-37.

made aware, and they continue to fear retribution. Further, as Derek Hughes has noted, the shifting of the forgiveness to Act 3 means that in Act 5 that forgiveness is suddenly revoked when Ferdinand accidentally nearly kills Hippolito.⁹⁷ Thus, when Alonzo comes across Ferdinand and embraces the son he thought was dead, his joy is incredibly short-lived as Ferdinand informs them that he is condemned to death (K2v). By the end of the scene Prospero has imprisoned the courtiers, using his spirits to drive them into caves (K3r-v). These speedy transitions of the island from site of torture to wonderment and solace, then to prison sum up the transformative nature of the island and its relationship to amnesty. The ambiguity regarding forgiveness reflects the wording of the Declaration of Breda which made it unclear who would officially be pardoned and who would be ‘excepted by parliament’ following Charles II’s return. In the 1660s the uncertainty over who would or would not be forgiven left many unsure of their futures, and audiences of this play in 1667 would likely not have forgotten that feeling. Though the courtiers and the sailors experience the island space differently, they mirror one another in that the island is illusory, insubstantial, and capable of transformation depending upon political success or failure. This uncertainty about forgiveness is retained in the operatic *Tempest*, but the operatic adaptation brackets this uncertainty within more stable and unambiguous space.

The opening scene of the operatic *Tempest* retains the spatial and political ambiguity of both *The Tempest* and *The Enchanted Island*:

The Front of the Stage is open’d, and the Band of 24 Violins, with the Harpsucals etc, While the Overture is playing, the Curtain rises, and discovers a new Frontispiece, joyn’d to the great pylasters, on each side of the Stage. This Frontispiece is a noble Arch, supported by large wreathed Columns of the Corinthian Order; the wreathings of the Columns are beautifi’d with Roses wound round them, and several Cupids flying about them. On the Cornice, just over the Capitals, sits on either side a Figure, with a Trumpet in one hand, and a Palm in the other, representing Fame. A little farther on the Same Cornice, on each side of a Compass-pediment, lie a Lion and a Unicorn, the Supporters of the Royal Arms of England. In the middle of the Arch are several Angels, holding the Kings Arms, as if they were placing them in the midst of that Compass-pediment. Behind this is the Scene, which represents a thick Cloudy Sky, a very Rocky Coast, and a Tempestuous Sea in perpetual Agitation. This Tempest (Suppos’d to be rais’d by Magick) has many dreadful Objects in it, as several Spirits in horrid shapes flying down amongst the Sailors, then rising and crossing in the Air. And when the Ship is

⁹⁷ Hughes argues that this reflects the debased nature of the cast and their sociability in *The Enchanted Island* (*English Drama 1660-1700*, 53-4).

sinking, the whole House is darken'd, and a shower of Fire falls upon 'em. This is accompanied with Lightning, and several Claps of Thunder, to the end of the Storm. (B1r)

Auberlen has argued that the opening scene represents an assertion of Stuart monarchic power by using the Stuart coat of arms, with the traditional lion and unicorn placed on each side of the frontispiece.⁹⁸ The use of angels, instead of the lion and unicorn, to hold the sigil in place, for Auberlen, presents 'the Restoration... as an eschatological event', one providentially designed and desired.⁹⁹ This divine support may well suggest parallels between the king and Prospero who, in the play, is supported by angel-like spirits as opposed to earthly creatures. Maus offers an alternative reading, seeing distinction between the framing frontispiece and the scene behind it as an indication that the revisers wanted to distinguish between Charles II and the play's rather ineffective Prospero. She sees the frontispiece of the coat of arms as an attempt to represent how the political disturbances of the text are contained within the bounds of monarchic control.¹⁰⁰ I would argue, however, that the relation of the scenery and spectacle to the frontispiece creates a link and generates tension between the attempts to restore monarchic rule and the turbulence that threatens it. Within this first scene, these spirits / angels keep the arms in place in front of a backdrop of '*perpetual agitation*' caused by the storm and other flying spirits – suggesting discord and disruption. The multiplicity of flying spirits, with '*several Spirits in horrid shapes*' suspended by machines and flying parallel to one another alongside the '*dreadfull Objects*' painted on the scene add to the sense of chaos and the metaphor of a troubled ship of state (B1r). Angels are seen to be supporting the king's arms, but other winged spirits are causing a perpetual disturbance, and these various staged bodies exist concurrently in this hectic opening scene. At the end of the scene the ship sinks, and the lights of the house are darkened as the audience is showered with fire.

⁹⁸ '*The Tempest and the Concerns of the Restoration Court*', 82.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 83.

¹⁰⁰ '*Arcadia Lost*', 208. Maus acknowledges, however, that this is an extremely marginal piece of the spectacle, which leaves room for a degree of ambivalence as to whether the frame or the spectacle has more importance and that this contradiction might have been a part of the appeal, which I build on here ('*Arcadia Lost*', 208).

However, the operatic adaptors seem keen to erase spatial ambiguity after the first scene. They instead regiment the space into an order which aims to positively reflect patriarchal and monarchic control, and the operatic *Tempest*'s scenery creates clear divisions between the utopian and non-utopian parts of the island in order to smooth over ambiguities about who controls and enjoys the paradisaal aspects of the island. Cary DiPietro has noted how the adaptors' 'new scenic aesthetic reflects early modern sensibilities about spatial and social order', sensibilities which are represented in the baroque scene descriptions.¹⁰¹ DiPietro links this attempt to inscribe order to the play's metafictional awareness of artificiality, but I read this in line with the political implications, as Hughes does, as well as in relation to the utopian island space itself.¹⁰² The turbulent opening scene with its merged messages of stability and discord is blissfully transformed:

In the midst of the Shower of Fire the Scene changes. The Cloudy Sky, Rocks, and Sea vanish; and when the Lights return, discover that Beautiful part of the Island, which was the habitation of Prospero; 'Tis compos'd of three Walks of Cypress-trees, each Side-walk leads to a Cave, in one of which Prospero keeps his Daughters, in the other Hippolito: The Middle-Walk is of a great depth, and leads to an open part of the Island (B3r).

Thus, we leave the disordered space of the Sea for a highly ordered utopian space, 'that Beautiful part', which is thoroughly, it seems, under Prospero's control: the stage direction notes that he 'keeps' his wards in specific, segmented caves. This is an addition peculiar to the operatic *Tempest* – at no point in Shakespeare or in the Dryden and Davenant texts are we led to believe that different scenes of the island yield different levels of beauty – and in the operatic *Tempest* this beauty is explicitly related to order. The other cast members are placed in a very different spatial setting: 'the

¹⁰¹ 'Seeing Places', 169. She recognises that the play includes the disorderly aspects which cannot be assimilated, and argues that the scenes thus represent an attempt to assert order on the malleable theatrical space. However, DiPietro suggests this is true of Dryden and Davenant's play too, arguing that the painted scenes of the operatic *Tempest* were not entirely new as they could have been based upon Dryden and Davenant's scenery for *The Enchanted Island*. However, there is no evidence for this other than an assumption that the operatic *Tempest* was put together quickly and the fact that it is adapted from *The Enchanted Island*, ('Seeing Places', 172-73); Downes, in his description of the operatic *Tempest*, says that there is 'all new in it; as Scenes, Machines; particularly, one scene painted with myriads of Ariel Spirits; and another flying away with a table, furnish out with fruits, sweet-meats, and all sorts of viands, just when Duke Trinculo and his companions were going to dinner,' (*Roscius Anglicanus*, 34-35). Due to the larger theatre at Dorset Garden (larger than Lincoln's Inn Fields, where Dryden and Davenant's play premiered), the scenes would have had to be newly painted: but if they had closely followed the earlier scenes, it would seem strange for Downes to stress their novelty. Certainly, the banquet scene referenced here is a new design, as the disappearing table does not occur on stage in *The Enchanted Island*. Milhouse has also pointed out key moments of departure between the stage directions and scenes ('The Multimedia Spectacular', 45-47).

¹⁰² Hughes, *English Drama 1660-1700*, 4.

wilder part of the Island, 'tis compos'd of divers sorts of Trees, and barren places' (C3v [SD]). It is here where their disruptive and disorderly behaviour must be played out until they can be subsumed into order: an order that is fundamentally royalist as borne out by the operatic *Tempest's* addition of a monarchic masque at the end of the play. Hippolito is an exception, and this transgression will be discussed in more detail below, but in this way the operatic *Tempest*, unlike *The Enchanted Island*, denies the parodic, pseudo-Republican sailors who attempt to set up their government on the island any access to its utopian beauty and fertility. The adaptors instead imply that these utopian aspects of the space are only accessible through submission to a patriarchal political order.

The debased settings of *The Mock-Tempest* demonstrate a disillusionment in both the republican ideal commonwealth, and the royalist dream for a return to halcyon days, a disillusionment only hinted at in the previous adaptations. Duffett understands that much of the magic, beauty, and ambiguity was drawn from the space of the island, and the drastic change of setting is, I would argue, his most effective method of destroying the utopian potential associated with the transformative island space. As Ronald Eugene DiLorenzo suggests, 'Duffett does more than create a debased world that ridicules the pretentiousness of the originals... the Duffettian world, albeit debased, has the effect of being more real'.¹⁰³ Collapsing that distinction and differentiation between the no-place of utopian fiction and the reality of the London in which the play is staged makes the satire of his play obviously legible, and departs from the general utopian tradition of (sometimes thinly) veiled commentary on contemporary society. The imprisoned characters, rather than repenting or learning from their imprisonment, are primarily concerned with the discomfort and lack of food (C3v-C4r). Ariel's skills are limited to being able to 'lye, swear, steal, pick pockets, or crep in at Windows', and the overall result is that the setting and the characters become irreducibly base (C2r).

¹⁰³ DiLorenzo, *Three Burlesque Plays of Thomas Duffett*, xxvi.

The play's prison setting also enables Duffett to burlesques ideas of crimes, punishment, and forgiveness by exposing them as unstable and arbitrary. In Shakespeare's *The Tempest* we know that Prospero enslaves, punishes and torments almost all of the island inhabitants, until he grants forgiveness at the end of the play.¹⁰⁴ As discussed, this somewhat unstable and arbitrary notion of retributive justice, penitence and forgiveness, is rendered even more unstable in Dryden and Davenant's *The Enchanted Island* and the operatic *Tempest*, where Prospero's control over the punishments and their alleviation is far less complete than in Shakespeare. Duffett picks up on the representations of justice and forgiveness as hypocritical, arbitrary and unstable and makes it a central motif through the shift to a literal prison setting. The punishments received by Alonzo, Gonzalo and Antonio in *The Mock-Tempest* are a simple lack of luxury (C3v), and the masque of devils torments only Alonzo and Gonzalo (C4r-D2v), leaving out Prospero's brother, Antonio, who is arguably the key instigator of the plot against him. Having been imprisoned, the sex-workers – Stephania, Moustrappa, Beantossier, Drinkallup and Hectorio – seek to become 'Justice of Whorum' and dole out punishments to one another, thus retaining the idea of usurped illegitimate power but making it even more farcical: sailors establishing a commune on a newly discovered island is far more plausible than prisoners becoming judges (E1v). They do not seem to suffer any kind of incarceration and, though they lament their loss of business, they otherwise spend their entire time in prison drinking and discussing how they would enact justice. This provides a reflection of the hypocrisy and contradictions inherent in a justice system where force must be used to create peace, which reads like a comment on the violence of political shifts in the seventeenth century, and, as I will argue below, to moments of social disruption such as the Bawdy House Riots of 1668 (E1r). Bribes are also rife (E1r), and crimes can be invented or assumed by the justice of the peace based on someone's appearance (E2r). At the end of the play, all of the prisoners at Bridewell are released and are given leave to celebrate that freedom in explicitly illegal

¹⁰⁴ The courtiers, the sailors, Caliban, and Ferdinand are all imprisoned by Prospero, and Ariel is threatened with imprisonment.

ways (H3v). *The Mock-Tempest* thus dramatizes how crime, punishment and forgiveness in the plays which it adapts seem to be arbitrary and inconsistent; it literalises imprisonment in its spatial environment and mocks the utopian attempts to establish order, law, punishment, and forgiveness.

Gender and Utopian Space

As discussed in the Introduction, utopian landscapes, much like ‘New World’ landscapes, were frequently imagined as feminine, and Shakespeare can be seen to draw on this tradition.¹⁰⁵ Shakespeare’s *The Tempest* subtly relates the space of the island to women, with their sexual purity being a relevant factor in deciding whether the island is utopian or not. Ferdinand first appears on stage wondering at the music of the island, performed by an invisible Ariel, and upon seeing Miranda he assumes she is ‘the goddess / On whom these airs attend!’ (1.2.422-23). Thus, he ties his pleasant experiences of the island to a female body, and his first question for Miranda, his ‘prime request’, is whether she ‘be maid or no?’ (1.2.426; 428). He attaches his experience of this enchanted space to Miranda more forcefully by stating that in being able to see Miranda he would happily give up ‘All corners else o’th’ earth’ and have ‘space enough...in such a prison’ (1.2.492-94). In the opposite sense, when Adrian states that the island’s climate is ‘of subtle, tender and delicate temperance’ (2.1.44-45), Antonio and Sebastian have an exchange in which they render the island a ‘wench’ called Temperance who is ‘delicate’ – i.e, given to pleasure – and ‘subtle’ – i.e, crafty (2.1.46-47). Thus, whilst Miranda’s purity engenders the island as utopian for Ferdinand, Antonio and Sebastian use images of active female sexuality to sully the utopian imaginings of Adrian and Gonzalo.

Further, *The Tempest* relates control of the island space to control of female sexuality. *The Tempest*’s obsession with notions of fertility and female sexuality have been noted by Ann Thompson, who suggests that the text portrays an unhealthy obsession with male fecundity myths in which men project a utopian ideal of control over fertility.¹⁰⁶ Prospero controls Miranda’s sexual

¹⁰⁵ Introduction, 18-19.

¹⁰⁶ Ann Thompson, “‘Miranda, Where’s Your Sister?’: Reading Shakespeare’s *The Tempest*”, in *Feminist Criticism: Theory and Practice*, ed. Susan Sellers (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 45-56.

awakening, love interest and marriage, he is obsessive about preserving her virginity, and he is capable of conjuring up goddesses of fertility – Ceres, Iris, and Juno – simply to ‘enact / [his] present fancies’ (4.1.121-22). Indeed, it is this masque of fertility conjured by ‘so rare a wondered father and a wise’ which turns the island into a ‘paradise’ for Ferdinand, who wants to ‘live here ever’ (4.1.123-125). Stephen Greenblatt reads the marriage masque as an ‘aristocrat’s equivalent of the Land of Cockaigne’, and this aristocratic aspect tempers the idea of unlimited sexual fulfilment with well-regimented and ordered marital sexual fulfilment in a patriarchal system.¹⁰⁷ Moreover, Caliban attempts to rape Miranda in order to subvert Prospero’s control and gain it for himself, and Alonso’s decision to marry his daughter for political purposes is the reason the courtiers are on the boat, thereby enabling Prospero’s plan. *The Tempest* thus ties the female body to the utopian space, and male authored exchange of the female body through sex and / or marriage is repeatedly represented as the way to gain control of the island.

In *The Enchanted Island* and the operatic *Tempest* Antonio and Sebastian’s discussion of the island as a ‘wench’ is rewritten as a discussion amongst the sailors and their wish to control it. Stephano laments that he lacks ‘the comfort’ of ‘any old dry Wench’ (D2r). However, Ventoso suggests that instead of the comfort of a woman, they have this island: ‘This Isle’s our own, that’s our *comfort*, for the Duke, the Prince, and all their train are perished’ (D2r, emphasis mine). The reconstitution of the word comfort from meaning sexual pleasure to control of the feminised island space is not accidental, especially considering that, in the end, the sailors’ bids for control come down to an argument over relations with Sycorax.

The character of Sycorax is also more specifically linked to the fertility of the island, but in ways which are politically ambivalent. In addition to retaining Shakespeare’s references to the fertile space, Dryden and Davenant provide an additional one in the description of Sycorax ‘clambering up a hollow Oak, / And plucking thence the dropping Honey-Combs’ (D4v).¹⁰⁸ The

¹⁰⁷ Greenblatt, ‘*The Tempest*: Martial Law in the Land of Cockaigne’, 221.

¹⁰⁸ See 70n91.

image of Sycorax here ‘plucking’ out the honey from a princely trunk suggests her ability to consume or imbibe monarchic / dynastic power from the island: a suggestion which becomes particularly relevant in the schemes of the sailors, as her status as the inheritor of the island and her potential fertility is something which Trincalo intends to exploit through marriage in order to ‘lay claim’ to the island (D4v).¹⁰⁹

Duffett’s burlesque of the utopian locations highlights the way in which the supposedly innocent marriage plots of *The Tempest*, *The Enchanted Island* and the operatic *Tempest* rely on the exchange of women as marketable products by men, the play thus suggests that they are in essence analogous to prostitution. As Misty Krueger has noted, the representation on stage of settings related to prostitution invited connections between bawdy-houses and play-houses that existed in the seventeenth century imagination.¹¹⁰ *The Mock-Tempest* seems to deliberately collapse any distinctions between them, opening and closing with clear links between the world of prostitution and the world of the theatre. In the opening prologue Mr *Hains* comments on how his fellow actor, ‘Betty’, used to be a cheap prostitute and now audience members beg her to sleep with them, offering as much as ‘five Guinnyes’ (A3v). The final scene celebrates bawds, pimps, drabs, and illegal sexual activity. In doing so, the play invites us to read not only those characters explicitly named as bawds, wenches, and pimps, but also those characters supposedly exempt (Prospero, Miranda and Dorinda) and more broadly, the actors and audiences.

The connection between brothels and the court of Charles II, discussed above, is further demonstrated because Duffett’s displacement and debasement of the plays allows him to remind audiences of the Bawdy House Riots of 1668.¹¹¹ The riots occurred over five days, beginning on

¹⁰⁹ For more on the significance of trees, see 71-72n93. Further, in the 1640s and 1650s bees had become associated with commonwealth ideas of ideal governance, and Oliver Cromwell was considered ‘the most important beekeeper in the land’, Adrian Johns, *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 269-271. Sycorax’s rummaging around for honey in a beehive within an oak tree thus could be seen to reflect the way in which Commonwealth politics removed and yet consumed monarchic honey.

¹¹⁰ ‘From Davenant to Duffett’ 42-43.

¹¹¹ For more in-depth descriptions of the riots, see, for example, Harris, ‘The Bawdy House Riots of 1668’, *The Historical Journal* 29, no.3 (1986): 537-556; Katherine Romack, ‘Striking the Posture of a Whore: The Bawdy House Riots and the “Antitheatrical Prejudice”’, *Genders* 50 (2009).

Easter Monday, 23rd March. Rioters made their way through London from east to west bringing down brothels in Poplar, Moorfields, East Smithfield, St Leonard's, Shoreditch, St Andrew's and Holborn. When members of their group had been arrested the rioters stormed prisons and, on two occasions, were able to free prisoners from New Prison at Clerkenwell. Although riots by apprentices upon brothels were a semi-frequent pastime in the years before the Civil Wars, these 1668 riots were considered by the court of Charles II to be politically motivated, and stoked old fears about rebellion and revolution to the extent that it was believed ex-soldiers of Oliver Cromwell's New Model Army were the ringleaders rather than apprentices. Though this was not proved it is possible to see why the court felt this way: unlike other riots of its kind, these rioters were highly organised, led in regiments by captains, and marched behind coloured banners. They shouted 'Down with the Red Coats' and 'Reformation and Reducement', they demanded 'liberty of conscience', and, crucially, threatened to 'pull White-hall down', indicating that the rioters saw Whitehall and the court itself as a brothel, much like Duffett's burlesque does, and considered their attacks on these brothels as attacks on the government and restricted liberty.¹¹²

The revolutionary aspect of their behaviour was made clear by a group who besieged Finsbury prison and stated that 'we have been servants, but we will be masters now'.¹¹³ The court sentenced fifteen of the rioters to high treason for 'levying of war' against the king, and four were hanged, drawn, and quartered.¹¹⁴ The sentencing confirmed that brothels were a key aspect of Charles II's domain, and that in destroying them the rioters were taking 'upon them regal authority' by inciting 'public reformation'.¹¹⁵ Thus, Duffett's staging of a riot at a brothel in which the Bawd of the house represents herself as a monarch in a court room is analogous to the court aligning attacks on brothels with attacks on the king. Both *The Mock-Tempest* and the court's response to the riots collapse distinctions between the court and the attacked brothels. A further indication

¹¹² Harris, 'The Bawdy House Riots of 1668', 540-541.

¹¹³ Ibid., 541.

¹¹⁴ T.B. Howell, *A Complete Collection of the State Trials*, vol. 6 (London: T.C. Hansard, 1809), 884.

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

that Duffett intended his audience to recognise the references to the Bawdy House Riot comes in the revelation of the location of Stephania's brothel when Beantossor asks if they will go back 'to the old place in *Moor-fields*', one of the key locations of the riots (H2r). The analogue between the riots and the opening storm scene of *The Tempest*, *The Enchanted Island* and the operatic *Tempest* is a powerful one: the riotous seas, the roarers which cared nothing for the name of king, become the rioters who did, indeed, care nothing for the name of kings and declared themselves 'masters now'.

Duffett's satire is not limited only to court culture, but also takes an obvious swipe at Puritans and the republican revolution with which they were associated. Quakero's name in and of itself aligns him with the dissenting groups that emerged during the civil war and continued to trouble Charles II's regime in the Restoration.¹¹⁶ Further, Quakero, Alonzo, Gonzalo and Antonio are called 'crop-ear'd whelps' by Stephania, a reference to the punishments for Puritans who spoke out against Laud and had their ears cut off in the run-up to the Civil Wars, but perhaps also to the short hair of the 'round heads' (*OED*), indicating that these characters may indeed have been dressed in recognisably Puritan costumes.¹¹⁷ Stephania's chastisement is particularly hierarchical, as she pulls rank on them due to the fact that she has 'had Lords – Lords!' and advises them scathingly to 'See if thou canst preach the Rabble to Silence, thou canting Hypocritical Abednego' (B2v). Indeed, Quakero in particular is characterised as a luxuriating hypocrite who preaches honour and reputation whilst inside a brothel (B1v); he is ineloquent despite his attempts at preaching, often stuttering over his lines (B1v, E3v); and he is exposed as extremely bawdy in his blazon to Miranda which likens her entirely to consumable food and takes particular pleasure in describing and expressing a desire to touch her breasts (G3r-v).¹¹⁸ The masque of devils presented to Alonzo and Gonzalo further illustrates this connection when the figure of Fraud is played by a

¹¹⁶ For a discussion of the Quakers' role in the English Revolution, see Alan Cole, 'The Quakers and the English Revolution', *Past and Present* 10 (1956): 39-54.

¹¹⁷ William Lamont, 'Prynne, William', *ODNB*, last modified 19th May 2011, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/22854>.

¹¹⁸ This is in line with the stereotypical depictions of lecherous and hypocritical stage puritans, see Brian Walsh, *Unsettled Tolerance: Religious Difference on the Shakespearean Stage* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), specifically chap. 3.

Quaker who appears a ‘Saint’ in ‘publick’ but in private ‘serve[s] for a Whore or a Baud’ (D1v). Like Charles II and his court, then, the play’s puritanical figures are also likened to prostitutes. Duffett’s burlesque can be seen to satirise both the republicans and royalists based on their relationship to the London sex trade and their roles in the Bawdy House Riots of 1688. The royalists are seen as over-zealous supporters of it, and, in many ways, prostitutes themselves. The Puritans are seen as hypocritical idiots who frequent them just as often, and may well also serve in them. The rioters themselves are so far from being morally opposed to the sex-trade that their terms consist of free access to all of the prostitutes in the brothel whenever they like (B3v). *The Mock-Tempest* mocks everyone and every social model as equally corrupt.

Marriage, Divorce, and Patriarchy

As argued in the Introduction to this thesis, utopian literature, in its restructuring of society, returns almost obsessively to relations between genders, the institutions of marriage, and the unit of the family. As Lara Dodds has explained:

In the utopian text, social and sexual reproduction often becomes the site where the conflict between personal fulfilment and the demands of the rationalized utopian institution are negotiated... In the classical utopia, sexual desire serves as a synecdoche for all of the individual desires that, in the interest of social harmony, must be sacrificed to the common good.¹¹⁹

This sacrifice to the common good results most frequently in patriarchal family units. For example, marriage in More’s *Utopia* is arranged in a way that minimises ‘the risk of dissatisfaction’ and makes ‘faithful monogamy in the individual’s interest’.¹²⁰ Marriage intends to satisfy the desires of its citizens and provide a microcosm of patriarchal control, as within the households of the Utopians authority is based on age and sex, with men taking precedence.¹²¹ This microcosm undergoes a gradual broadening for overarching government, with thirty households electing a ‘Philarch’ or ‘Syphogrant’ who governs over that selection of society, and it is they who are able to take part in

¹¹⁹ *The Literary Invention of Margaret Cavendish* (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 2013), 128.

¹²⁰ Davis, *Utopia and The Ideal Society*, 57.

¹²¹ More, *Utopia*, 63.

an election of a city governor who then holds his office for life.¹²² Thus, though this process is democratic, it is based upon a patriarchal chain of authority that is repeated and reflected in the domestic institution of the family. As such, the family ‘provides a powerful cohesive force for the whole commonwealth both as a coercive institution and as a training place for citizens. It is one of the means by which Utopians counteract the possible disruptive effects of their egalitarianism’.¹²³ In other words, marriage and familial structures represent and inscribe on the subjects of utopia an obedience to patriarchal control, preventing the freeing notions of democracy from getting out of control and giving subjects dangerous ideas about individual liberty. The assertion of patriarchal power, its strategies of naturalisation and its effectiveness (or lack thereof) are thereby central to the success of utopian projects and to the plays discussed in this chapter.

In Shakespeare’s play the (re)assertion of patriarchal order is achieved through marriage: Prospero insists that his daughter, Miranda, marry the King of Naples’ son, Ferdinand, in order to safeguard his power once back in Milan. Shakespeare’s use of marriage also sees him transform one of his utopian source texts. As Greenblatt notes, in William Strachey’s ‘A True Reportory of the Wracke and Redemption of Sir Thomas Gates’, a recognised source for Shakespeare’s play, the sailors were stranded on an island which seemed to fulfil the dream of the Land of Cockaigne in its abundance of resources.¹²⁴ This experience of utopia and potential for freedom led to conflict with the established authority of the Governor.¹²⁵ The sailors of Strachey’s report, enamoured with the island, did not want to carry on with their journey: they wanted instead to continue with their enjoyment of ‘liberty, and fulness of sensuality’ and this resulted in multiple rebellions which are marginally represented in Trinculo and Stephano’s usurpation plot.¹²⁶ The reassertion of the authority of the Governor and the Virginia Company, as Greenblatt interprets it, is transformed in Shakespeare’s *The Tempest* into an authority of patriarchal control which is emblematised by

¹²² Ibid., 51; 55.

¹²³ Davis, *Utopia and the Ideal Society*, 50.

¹²⁴ Strachey, ‘A True Reportory’, 309-325; Greenblatt, ‘*The Tempest*: Martial Law in the Land of Cockaigne’, 227-28.

¹²⁵ ‘*The Tempest*: Martial Law in the Land of Cockaigne’, 227-28.

¹²⁶ Strachey, ‘A True Reportory’, 313.

marriage.¹²⁷ I propose that the same urge and the same threat which utopia poses to established order is clearly visible in Dryden and Davenant's adaptation. I would further argue that it is this emblem of authority – patriarchal marriage – which the contesting utopian visions of the female bodies / characters of *The Enchanted Island* rail against. Whilst both *The Tempest* and *The Enchanted Island* are concerned with the reassertion of patriarchal power against rebellious utopian desires, the Restoration play uses utopia to expose new anxieties concerning female agency and rebellion. Shadwell's operatic *Tempest* attempts to reduce some of these anxieties, particularly surrounding notions of divorce, to increase the play's innocence, whilst Duffett emphasises the rebellious nature of sexual desire in his burlesque of these plays through misogynistic representations of women, their desires and their bodies.

Dryden and Davenant's adaptation multiplies the number of marriages in Prospero's plot to gain dynastic power so that Prospero intends not only to marry Miranda to Ferdinand but also Dorinda to Hippolito, and this is parodied by the marriage of Trincalo and Sycorax. Dryden and Davenant's Prospero is also more repressive, tyrannical and dogmatic than Shakespeare's in his pursuit of power and control over his subjects, but he simultaneously lacks the power to control them, leading Maus to align him with 'the neurotic and domineering father of farce'.¹²⁸ Throughout the play, Prospero's own daughters, Miranda and Dorinda, disobey him, lie to him, and display a sexual curiosity which undermines his authority. Hippolito, the young Duke of Mantua who was usurped alongside Prospero, is also disobedient: and his transgression takes the form of an opposing utopian vision.

In *The Enchanted Island* Hippolito's desires for utopia work to counteract the emblematic authority of Prospero's patriarchal marriage plot. Although Hippolito is a male character, he was played by a female actor, and the fact of her female body on the stage is, as Jocelyn Powell notes,

¹²⁷ Greenblatt, 'The Tempest: Martial Law in the Land of Cockaigne', 230.

¹²⁸ Maus, 'Arcadia Lost', 196; See also Rosenthal, 'Reading Masks', 201-218.

intrinsic to the character.¹²⁹ As Laura J. Rosenthal has pointed out, this gender-blending ‘calls the greatest attention to the new play’s fascination with the dangers of female sexual subjectivity’.¹³⁰ Prospero has brought Hippolito up in a cave, separate from his daughters, and he has never met a woman because Prospero has predicted that meeting one before a certain age will be fatal for him. When Prospero’s daughters disobey him and approach the cave, Hippolito meets Dorinda and finds he is unharmed, deciding that he in fact loves women. Shortly after, Prospero imprisons the more experienced Ferdinand in Hippolito’s cave, and Ferdinand reveals to Hippolito that more than one woman exists. Hippolito’s defining characteristic throughout the rest of the text is his urgent searching for more women he can love. Although Auberlen has suggested that this is merely typical libertine sexual humour, Hippolito’s envisioning of his possession of many women goes beyond simple sexual fantasy and strays into the envisioning of travel to other worlds in order to fulfil this fantasy – it becomes a utopian ideal.¹³¹ After finding out there are only two women on the enchanted island he states: ‘This is a base poor world, I’ll go to th’ other; / I’ve heard men have abundance of ’em there’ (H4v). In order to succeed in the attainment of his Cockaigne-style vision of more women, Hippolito battles with Ferdinand for the possession of the women, and in doing so subverts Prospero’s plans. With Hippolito fatally wounded, Prospero goes on to order Ferdinand’s death, and dissolves all of his scheming for marital resolution. It has thus been suggested that the Hippolito plot line could serve to ‘warn Charles away from some of his more regrettable tendencies’, namely his promiscuity and dissolution and the threat it posed to patriarchal stability already in the mid-1660s.¹³² It is only when Ariel, another female body on the stage, decides of his own accord to revive Hippolito that the happy conclusion is brought about.¹³³

¹²⁹ Mrs Long is listed as playing Hippolito (Van Lennep, *The London Stage*, 123); *Restoration Theatre Production*, Theatre Production Studies (London: Routledge, 1984), 76.

¹³⁰ Rosenthal, ‘Reading Masks’, 208.

¹³¹ Auberlen, ‘*The Tempest* and the Concerns of the Restoration Court’, 75-76.

¹³² Kroll, *Restoration Drama and ‘the Circle of Commerce’*, 105. He further argues that *The Enchanted Island* serves to warn of the dangerous ‘lure of the “natural”, whether figured in the elemental impulses to power, sex, and drink in the low plot, or the naked response to the erotic in the high plot... the court had shamed itself in response to the plague, and the second Dutch War had ended in national humiliation – the play clearly seeks to advise the King to direct his energies from private matters to the public concerns of the state’ (200-201).

¹³³ *The London Stage* lists Mary (Moll) Davis as playing Ariel (123).

It is noteworthy that Hippolito's anarchic vision and the resulting duel are staged in the operatic *Tempest* in the beautiful, supposedly ordered part of the island, demonstrating the failure of the neat visual divisions of patriarchal order and political chaos.¹³⁴

Some read the conclusion of the play – Hippolito's death by stabbing and subsequent resurrection by Ariel – as a punishment which results in this uncontrolled desire being brought into the patriarchal order and the establishment of marriage: I would like to disrupt the tidiness of this reading.¹³⁵ Hippolito does, at first, appear cowed after being stabbed and restates his dedication to Dorinda: 'I repent it, the fault / Was only in my blood, for now 'tis gone, I find / I do not love so many' (L2v). However, only thirteen lines later, Hippolito meets Miranda, and laments his loss of blood stating 'For if I had that blood, I then / Should find a great delight in loving you' (L2v). After being rebuked by Miranda, he continues to pursue her, stating 'Yet I find that if you please I can love still a little' (L3r). Even in his weakened state Hippolito's Cockaigne-style vision of the world and his will to pursue it remain intact.

I would also suggest that Hippolito and Dorinda's relationship does not appear to be convincingly settled by the marital plots at the conclusion of the play. Despite the fact that Prospero promises, at some point, to make Dorinda and Hippolito one, it is difficult to believe that this coupling will take place. Both Dorinda and Hippolito seem alarmed by the idea of marriage:

<i>Hippolito.</i>	How can he make us one, shall I grow to her?
<i>Prospero.</i>	By saying holy words you shall be joy'nd in marriage To each other
<i>Dorinda.</i>	I warrant you those holy words are charms. My father means to conjure us together (L4r).

¹³⁴ Hughes has also pointed out the irony that 'the most shocking failure of civilization occurs when Ferdinand apparently kills Hippolito... occur[s] amidst the more tamed landscape of the Cypress walks' (*English Drama 1660-1700*, 4).

¹³⁵ Rosenthal, 'Reading Masks', 201-218; Wikander, "'The Duke My Father's Wrack'", 91-98; Barbara Murray has argued that Hippolito's near death experience is actually a restoring of gender order, suggesting that the herbal remedy which Ariel uses to cure Hippolito is known for 'procuring' menstruation, showing that 'however closely [the actress] may proximate manliness, she will remain, and can be medicined to remain' female, "'Transgressing Nature's Law': Representations of Women and the Adapted Version of *The Tempest*, 1667', *Literature and History* 12, no.1 (2003): 19-40.

Dryden and Davenant thus allow Hippolito's Cockaigne vision and utopian hopes to remain a potential threat to Prospero's patriarchal plan in the long term. The transgressive nature of Hippolito's (and to a lesser extent Miranda's and Dorinda's) sexual curiosity, is bound up with the female body, utopian visions, and the rejection of patriarchal authority.

In a further parody of Prospero's central marriage plots, Trincalo intends to make Sycorax his 'Queen Blouze' and gain power through marriage to the 'lawful inheritrix' of the island (G1r). This marriage is the only one which does seem to be confirmed on stage as Trincalo calls her 'spouse' and they leave the stage to consummate the marriage (G1v). Sycorax, however, will not be easily subsumed into this narrative, and instead becomes another female body / character to resist the patriarchal plot.¹³⁶ Despite being married she remains what Candy Schille has called 'man hungry' – noting that she offers to have sex with all of the sailors and does, reportedly, couple with her own brother.¹³⁷

Sycorax demonstrates her power by divorcing Trincalo. After discovering that he has slighted her physical appearance, Sycorax states 'Be gone! Thou shalt not be my Lord, thou say'st I'm ugly' and then physically attacks him (4.2.141-42). Crucially, during the debates of the Civil Wars, royalist writers used marriage – a hierarchical and irrevocable relationship between husband and wife – as a metaphor for a hierarchical and irrevocable relationship between a king and his subjects. As a result, parliamentarians were often forced to argue that there were inherent restrictions on a husband's authority and that a wife could oppose her husband if he broke those restrictions. They often, thereby, found themselves arguing for divorce: some, like John Milton, more willingly and consistently than others. In her action of divorce, Sycorax claims her political power as a woman, a subject, and an 'inheritrix' of the island. She recognises that it is she who creates the ruling government, and, pivotally, that she can unmake them in the same way rebellious

¹³⁶ It has been suggested that Sycorax may have been played by a male actor, though there is no evidence for this casting assumption in *The London Stage* or *Roscius Anglicanus*. See Dobson, *The Making of the National Poet*, 101-2; Susan Iwanisziw, 'The Shameful Allure of Sycorax and Wowski: Dramatic Precursors of Sartje, the Hottentot Venus', *Restoration and Eighteenth-Century Theatre Research* 16, no. 2 (2001): 3-23.

¹³⁷ "'Man Hungry'", 278.

subjects can unmake kings. Of course, this is most directly a satire of Parliament failing to control its subjects, and a reflection of their own divorce rhetoric, but the staging of a rebellious female body / character divorcing and physically attacking her husband who is, simultaneously, a ruler on the island, would certainly be reminiscent of the recent rebellions and regicide and perhaps linked to the parliament of women pamphlets, discussed in more detail in Chapter Four of this thesis.¹³⁸

Her resistance to the sublimation of power is linked both to her gender and to her ability to control the utopian space of the island. Although Trincalo convinces himself that he is in charge, and Sycorax and Caliban do not necessarily disabuse him of this assumption at first, it is in fact Caliban and Sycorax who control the larger number of subjects – ‘a hundred spirits to attend us’ – who are able to produce music and entertainment for them at will (I3r). These spirits, we are told, were left to the pair in their mother’s inheritance, emphasising the female line and the Hobbesian notion that in a state of nature ‘dominion is in the mother’, highlighting the power of the female body.¹³⁹

Crucially, this is not the only reference to the legality behind the separation of husband and wife within the play. The sailors discuss their wives back home, and the potential dissolution of their marriage contracts due to desertion for over seven years.¹⁴⁰ Stephano states: ‘well, If I return not in seven years to my own Country, she may marry agen: and ’tis from this Island thither at least seven years swimming’ (D2r). A call-back is made to this at the end of the play when Sycorax offers to travel home with Trincalo and Trincalo states ‘No my dainty Dy-dapper, you have a tender constitution, and will be sick a Ship-board. You are partly fish and may swim after me. I wish you a good Voyage’ (M2v). Trincalo is here attempting to find a legal reason to separate from his new wife, Sycorax.

¹³⁸ 208-221.

¹³⁹ Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan, or, The Matter, Form, and Power of a Common-Wealth Ecclesiastical and Civil* (London: Andrew Crooke, 1651), 140. For more on Hobbes in *The Enchanted Island*, see Hughes, *English Drama 1600-1700*, 49; Shanahan, “The Dryden-Davenant *Tempest*”: 91-118; Schille, “‘Man Hungry’”, 273-290.

¹⁴⁰ The rule which allowed for divorce after seven years of desertion had been accepted in all other European countries apart from England, Lawrence Stone, *Broken Lives: Separation and Divorce in England 1660-1875*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 10.

This final interaction between Trincalo and Sycorax interjects between Prospero's concluding orders to Ariel, and seems in many ways rather intrusive. Considering that the happy-ending has been brought about by marital pledges and the supposed suppression of inconstancy, it is a peculiar choice to remind your audience of the potential of marital discord, inconstancy and legal methods of separation during the conclusion. It is perhaps for this reason that the operatic *Tempest* removes these lines both from the conclusion and the earlier discussion of legal separations in act 2.¹⁴¹

At the end of *The Enchanted Island*, Sycorax is not subsumed by patriarchal power, nor is she punished, as Schille argues, she is instead 'abandoned' by it.¹⁴² The western courtiers and sailors all flee the island, but she and the other native Islanders remain, unpunished and unacknowledged, to continue to govern themselves in the matriarchal state of nature. Sycorax, Caliban, Ariel and the other spirits are left in the Arcadian utopian space which Prospero's closing lines emphasise:

The Promises of blooming Spring live here,
And all the Blessings of the rip'ning year;
On my retreat let Heaven and Nature smile
And ever flourish the *Enchanted Isle* (M2v).

Thus, Sycorax as unruly female subject, along with other unruly subjects who act of their own accord, is associated with utopian visions which imply direct threat to monarchic and patriarchal order.¹⁴³

Duffett's *The Mock-Tempest* draws on this uncertainty surrounding the marital unity of the couples and expands upon it. Duffett transforms Miranda and Dorinda from women who are ignorant of men and innocent of sexual experience into women who are ignorant only of the idea of husbands. In a game of supposedly childish make-believe the sisters perform the roles of a

¹⁴¹ The operatic *Tempest* also removes Sycorax's assertion that she will 'have all [Trincalo's] fine things when [she's] a Widow' (*Enchanted Island*, F4r), but does retain the plot regarding Sycorax's adultery and lack of consideration for marriage, with the more direct line that Trincalo intends to divorce her before she cuckolds him and then sues for alimony, (I4v).

¹⁴² Schille, "'Man Hungry'" 278

¹⁴³ It is perhaps for this reason that *The Mock Tempest's* final masque scene, a burlesque of the Royalist sea masque of the operatic *Tempest*, is led by Sycorax and Caliban, who celebrate a complete escape from order and authority, free all of the prisoners, and generally engage in drinking and debauchery.

‘Citizen’s Wife’ and a man she meets ‘at the Play-House’ with whom she cuckolds her husband before going on to lye with ‘another...and another’ and is eventually brought to Bridewell prison (F2r-F2v). Prospero’s attempts to control his daughters’ sexuality are rendered far more explicit in *The Mock Tempest*: Prospero, the master of the prison, has orchestrated the riot at the brothel and their subsequent imprisonment in order to imprison gentlemen whom he intends to fulfil the sexual needs of his daughters’ ‘Vertuous Bod[ies]’ (C1v). Indeed, we are told that Prospero has often had to provide them with men to have sex with and that his present aim to find them a husband is not to secure a political legacy but simply to ‘ease [him] of the trouble’ of having to continue to cater to their appetites (C4r). Dorinda tells us that Prospero enacts the role of pimp for his daughters, and ‘gets men to lye with us’, issuing an incestuous threat that if he fails to get them a husband ‘wee’l make him lye with us himself, shall we sister?’ (C2r). Prospero thus seeks to find them husbands not for love or legacy but instead simply ‘end’ his ‘Care’ of providing them with sexual partners (H4v), and perhaps to avoid their monstrous sexuality turning on him. Miranda and Dorinda are not sexually innocent, they are merely innocent of the knowledge of husbands and ‘honour’ or virginity, which they are led to believe is located in the elbow (G3r).

Their husbands are also doomed to be incapable of controlling them: Duffett represents marital relationships as ones in which husbands will be browbeaten and cuckolded by transgressive and uncontrollable females. To Miranda and Dorinda, husbands are distinguishable from other men only because of the ‘great pair of Hornes’ they wear (C4r), i.e. because they are cuckolded, and they are useful because when they continue to have sex with various men their husbands will enact the role of father so that they do not ‘get nothing but Bastards’ (C4r).¹⁴⁴ The play does not intend for us to have any hope that the ineffectual figures of Quakero or Hypolito could control these women, as both are presented as foolish and weak. Duffett thus not only seems attuned to the ambiguities and potential problems between the marriages proposed in previous iterations of

¹⁴⁴ This also reflects on how the plot of *The Tempest* and its adaptations rely on succession via the female bodies of Miranda, Dorinda and Sycorax.

the play, but also assumes that an audience would understand the relevance of these themes to the previous adaptations.

Inverting the notion of male control, Stephania, Beantossier and Moustrappa all show how the use of their marketable bodies allows them to control and manipulate men. After their imprisonment they reflect on the impact it will have on their trade and indeed on the men who have come to rely on them. Moustrappa suggests that ‘six Brokers’ will be pining after her and that her trade deal with ‘honest Jack the *Mercer*’ will be ruined ‘for just as I had brought his Body to such a state, that none else would touch him so that I could set my own rates, they took me from him’ (D3v). Stephania gives a long speech about her role as a Bawd and how ‘Shop-keepers’, ‘Prentices’, ‘Gallants’ ‘close thriving Tradesman’, ‘Vestry-men’ and ‘Burgesses’, would pay her ‘Tribute’, bowing as she walked down the street, indicating the clear power she had as a female purveyor of female bodies (D3v). Beantossier laments, rather boastfully, that her influence over the ‘*French Merchant*’ who had cheated the ‘King of his Customes, and his fellow Subjects of their Money’ will not be put to good use (D3v). She suggests that her power over him would have ‘reduc’d’ him to his ‘first being’ by her business which would ‘ruin’ his ‘body, and /estate’ and, in turn, rectify his corruption (D3v). This kind of female sexual influence and control of men was a common trope and, indeed, anxiety when it came to women and politics, perhaps most famously illustrated in the following lines from John Wilmot, Second Earl of Rochester’s poem ‘A Satyr on Charles II’ (c.1674): ‘His sceptre and his prick are of a length; / And she may sway the one who plays with th’ other’.¹⁴⁵ Duffett’s female characters seem far more aware of the power inherent in their sexualised bodies. *The Mock-Tempest* highlights the ways in which plots for power in the texts it adapts revolve around the control, or lack of control, over female bodies, and simultaneously posits that this kind of control could never be possible.

¹⁴⁵ John Wilmot, ‘A Satyr on Charles II’ in *The Complete Poems of John Wilmot Earl of Rochester*, ed. by David M. Vieth (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002) 60-61, lines 11-12.

Conclusion

Each text discussed in this chapter reflects the development of the utopian genre in relation to the changed political situation from the Renaissance to the post Restoration adaptations of the 1660s and 1670. As I argue in my introduction, 1660-1682 are key years for the flourishing of the utopian genre in English. The increase in utopian writing speaks to the political and social climate and this relationship results in key changes to the genre. As demonstrated, these adaptations make significant changes to the utopian impulse found in Shakespeare's *The Tempest*. They focus on maritime metaphor, the instability of utopian space, and the ways in which these themes coalesce around the representation of women and the control of female bodies / sexuality.

Despite the deletion of some of the most overt references to utopia, the first adaptors, Dryden and Davenant, capitalise on the patterns of irony and self-reflection on the insubstantiality of social dreaming in order to reflect on the illusory nature of any utopian projection of stable power. The comic subplot has most frequently been read as a parliamentary parody, but, when viewed in relation to its utopian references and naval metaphors, it can be seen to satirise parliamentarians not for their utopian ideals but rather for their failure to truly enact these principles due to a reliance on outdated monarchic regimes. To further illustrate the outdated concepts of patriarchal monarchy, Dryden and Davenant disempower Prospero as the ruling patriarch and destabilise his dynastic marriage plots with subversive utopian visions associated with female bodies / characters on stage. These female bodies represent rebellious subjects refusing to be subsumed into neat patriarchal narratives and, in the case of Sycorax, taking action to remove themselves from imposed patriarchal control. Dryden and Davenant do not satisfactorily eliminate these contesting utopian visions at the play's end: Hippolito's desires live to fight another day, and the enchanted island remains a utopia for subjects who have rejected patriarchal rule.

Though these underlying ambiguities and anxieties are subtle, it is notable that the operatic *Tempest* attempts to paper over the cracks with clear royalist support through baroque stagecraft and an additional sea masque representing the royalist utopian dream of the halcyon days.

However, *The Mock Tempest's* degradation of any notion of royalist utopia offers instead a picture of the court as driven by unbridled female sexuality. Most of the comedy in the burlesque relies on rendering the sexual politics and rebellious women more visible, material threats to the imagined stability of patriarchal power. Thus, the Restoration adaptations of *The Tempest*, when placed within this nexus of utopian references, can be seen to reflect anxieties about the stability of the new regime and uncertainties about the future of patriarchal control in 1660s England. In the next chapter, I turn to visions of Paradise / Eden in John Milton's *Paradise Lost* (1667) and how the utopian impulse, and its configuration around the figure of Eve, was adapted by John Dryden in *The State of Innocence and Fall of Man* (1677).

Chapter Two: The Utopian Tradition and the Family Analogy in John Milton's *Paradise Lost* (1667) and John Dryden's *The State of Innocence* (1677)

This chapter focuses on John Milton's *Paradise Lost* (PL) and its afterlife in John Dryden's semi-operatic adaptation, *The State of Innocence and Fall of Man* (SoI).¹ I here build on Chapter One's analysis of utopian developments in three Restoration versions of William Shakespeare's *The Tempest* (1611) and their depictions of naval metaphors, island space and gender politics, which responded to the increased instability of the Restored monarchy. I contend that Milton's and Dryden's texts demonstrate both the continued centrality of Edenic utopian narratives after the Restoration of the monarchy, and their changed political relevance. I suggest that Milton's text reveals a practical millenarianism which focuses on the figuration of Eve as a body politic with the capacity to rectify the Fall and dismisses alternative utopian narratives as foolhardy, highlighting his distinct engagement with the tradition. I then demonstrate how the metaphorical and literal aspects of patriarchalism and its references to female bodies can be seen to converge in John Dryden's 1677 play, *The State of Innocence*. Dryden transforms Milton's rendering of Eve as a metaphorical body politic into an analogously disruptive Mary of Modena: a Catholic bride whose fertility could give way to a Catholic ascendancy and political disturbance. Both texts thus centralise the female body to comment on recent and contemporary politics which had frequently mobilised political analogies of gender relations, but they do so in very different ways.

Despite Milton's stated rejection of certain aspects of utopianism, his works, including *PL*, arguably reflect a sustained engagement with the utopian tradition, and particularly the millenarian utopianism advocated by many republican reformers of the 1640s. I argue that, when read in

¹*Paradise Lost* was first published by Samuel Simmons in 1667. Subsequent references appear parenthetically and are from *Paradise Lost*, ed. Barbara Kiefer Lewalski (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2007); *The State of Innocence and Fall of Man* was first published by Henry Herringman in 1677, subsequent references are from this edition and appear parenthetically. For more on Milton's afterlives, see, for example, Emma Depledge, John S. Garrison and Marissa Nicosia, eds., *Making Milton: Print, Authorship, Afterlives* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021); David Harper, 'The First Annotator of *Paradise Lost* and the Makings of English Literary Criticism', *Studies in English Literature* 112, no.3 (Summer 2019): 507-530; Blair Hoxby and Ann Coiro, eds., *Milton in the Long Restoration* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).

relation to his underlying utopianism and engagement in the broader mid-seventeenth century political debates, *PL* can be seen to depict an ideal commonwealth which could pave the way to the millennium. Further, this ideal commonwealth and governance structure is based on the marital contract and domestic relationship between Adam and Eve. Milton figures Eve as a body politic whose consent to be ruled by a just and wise governor is essential to the balance of authority and millenarian hopes. Further, after the Fall, she is not portrayed as a ‘fallen woman’ who needs to be erased or avenged but is instead an active participant in the redemption narrative, in rising against Satan’s tyranny and in the ultimate attainment of the millennial, utopian paradise.

Dryden’s *SoI* has complex relationships with Milton’s politics and gender representation and these are best understood in the political contexts in which it was written (1673-4) and published (1677). I propose that Dryden’s modifications to the character of Eve effectively remove the utopian hopes contained in Milton’s text and I link his changes to Eve and her fertility to contemporary fears surrounding the political sway of prominent female figures such as Catherine of Braganza and James II’s new Catholic bride, Mary of Modena. By paying attention to the utopian aspects of Milton’s and Dryden’s texts this chapter suggests that they offer insight into the ways in which the utopian tradition continued to develop in the 1660s and 1670s. It demonstrates the utopian impulse’s increasing reliance on representations of women and, as with my other chapters, offers a challenge to critical assumptions that utopianism as a genre was unproductive after the Restoration.²

Milton and the Utopian Tradition

Milton’s relationship to the utopian tradition is rarely discussed by critics. When it is, it tends to be characterised as dismissive, based on the frequently quoted phrase from *Areopagitica*: ‘To sequester out of the world into *Atlantick* and *Eutopian* polities which never can be drawn into use, will not mend our condition’.³ Barbara Lewalski writes that Milton repeatedly takes an approach

² See Introduction, 25-26.

³ *Areopagitica*: (London: s.n., 1644), C2r.

that is ‘pragmatic, not utopian’ and – using the *Areopagitica* quote – argues that Milton finds the ‘fanciful utopias of Plato, [Francis] Bacon, and [Thomas] More...useless’.⁴ Even Amy Boesky, who goes on to argue that Milton’s work in *PL* is characterised by an interest in utopian literature, uses this quote to indicate that Milton rejects imaginary commonwealths as ‘inefficacious’.⁵ What is rarely commented on is the full passage from which the quote is extracted, and the full statement complicates Milton’s position:

To sequester out of the world into *Atlantick* or *Eutopian* polities which can never be drawn into use, will not mend our condition; but to ordain wisely as in this world of evill, in the midst whereof God hath plac’t us unavoidably. Nor is it *Plato*’s licencing of books will doe this...; but those unwritt’n, or at least unconstraining laws of virtuous education, religious and civill nurture, which *Plato* there mentions, as the bonds and ligaments of the Commonwealth, the pillars and containers of every writt’n Statute.⁶

Milton here qualifies – using a string of buts, nors and ors – his position on the utopian literary tradition. Whilst it is certainly true that Milton is not interested in the notion of a distant utopia to which one would travel, he *is* emphatically intereysted in bettering the ‘world of evil’ through social reform, and he draws from Plato’s *Republic*, a key text in the utopian literary tradition, for guidance. Thus, in *Areopagitica*, a text concerned with ‘preparing citizens for the reformed commonwealth in the making’, though he does not accept Plato’s entire blueprint, he does find within the *Republic* practical instruction and advice: ‘the bonds and ligaments’ of a commonwealth.⁷

He had confirmed this position previously in a response to Joseph Hall (1574-1656), author of the anti-utopian satire *Mundus Alter ed Idem* (c.1605), accusing him of degrading the works of Plato, Thomas More, and Francis Bacon on whom he heaps revealing praise:

That grave and noble invention which the greatest and sublimest wits in sundry ages, *Plato in Critias*, and our two famous countrymen, the one in his *Vtopia*, the other in his *new Atlantis* chose, I may not say as a field, but as a mighty Continent wherein to display the largeness of their spirits by teaching this our world better and exacter things, then were yet known, or us’d.⁸

⁴ *The Life of John Milton: A Critical Biography*, (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2000), 390, 195.

⁵ ‘Milton’s Heaven and the Model of the English Utopia’, *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* 36, no. 1 (Winter 1996), 92.

⁶ *Areopagitica*, C2r.

⁷ Lewalski, *The Life of John Milton*, 180.

⁸ Milton, *An Apology Against a Pamphlet Call’d a Modest Confutation of the Animadversions upon the Remonstrant Against Smectymnuus* (London: s.n., 1642), B2r.

Clearly, then, Milton read and engaged with utopian works and found them to be instructive. Lewalski has argued that Milton was pragmatic *instead of* utopian, but I wish to suggest that he was both inspired by utopian literature and motivated by a utopian impulse which for him had to be applied in a pragmatic way.⁹

This position is not surprising when one considers the context of utopian literature in the early 1640s. The notion of utopia was becoming increasingly associated with pragmatism and real social reform and, at the same time, the number of literary utopias written and published increased.¹⁰ More sects developed, more utopias were produced to represent their social ideals and propositions to Parliament, and these elements clearly infiltrated the political sphere.¹¹ As discussed in the Introduction and Chapter One, utopianism had become connected with contemporary political action and rebellion.

Milton and Millenarianism

I argue that Milton's works frequently reflect on the ideas of millenarian utopianism, the belief in a coming period of blessedness on Earth, and that we can find millenarian fervour in Milton's writing from this period.¹² According to Richard A. Landes, although millenarianism had long existed in Christian theology, it was the advent of Protestantism which 'provided a bridge' between the conservative tradition of millennial expectation which preached patience and excused corruption, suffering, and inequality by the promise of an eventual period of peace and reward, and the more popular millennial tradition which tended towards apocalypticism, dissatisfaction with the status quo, and had a revolutionary spirit.¹³ As Landes puts it, by 'uniting theological and popular millennialism, Protestantism made millennial dreams the vehicle for much broader political and social movements. It motivated the cause of church reform itself, of course, but its

⁹ *The Life of John Milton*, 390.

¹⁰ Boesky, *Founding Fictions: Utopias in Early Modern England* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1996), 84-86.

¹¹ Frank E. Manuel and Fritzie P. Manuel, *Utopian Thought in the Western World* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1979), 334.

¹² See Introduction, 23-24.

¹³ *Encyclopedia of Millennialism and Millennial Movements* (New York: Routledge, 2000), 604-605.

vision of justice and political glory would come to inspire nationalist movements'.¹⁴ Further, sixteenth- and seventeenth-century proponents of millenarianism believed that the millennium needed to be prepared for and hastened by actions in the present, a concept drawn from Joseph Mede's *Clavis Apocalyptica* (1627 in Latin, 1643 in English), the most popular millenarian tract of the period in which 'the scientific, cultural, and political achievements of modern men become evidence of positive advancements over the past, and of advance towards millennium'.¹⁵ The notion that human action could hasten the millennium effectively nullified the conservative tradition which advocated patience and acceptance. Instead, 'driven by a sense of imminence... believers c[ould] become disruptive, even engaging in revolutionary efforts to overthrow an unjust sociopolitical order in an attempt to bring about the kingdom of "peace" for the meek and the defenseless'.¹⁶ This approach to millennialism was championed and practiced by various sects with whom Milton was associated, and, I argue, colours the eschatological approach taken by Milton in his works.¹⁷

¹⁴ Ibid., 605.

¹⁵ Theodor Olson, *Millennialism, Utopianism, and Progress* (London: University of Toronto Press, 1982), 202.

¹⁶ Landes, *Encyclopedia of Millennialism*, 453

¹⁷ Chloë Houston has argued that a large portion of those promoting social reform in the Interregnum – such as Hartlib and the Hartlib circle, Diggers, Levellers and Fifth Monarchists – did so because they subscribed to millennial readings of biblical texts and wished to perform a role that would help to bring it about, *The Renaissance Utopia: Dialogue, Travel and the Ideal Society* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014), 122. Evidence can be found which connects Milton to some of these circles. For example, Milton's failure to respond to and repudiate the Leveller tract written by John Lilburn, *The Second Part of England's New Chains Discovered* (1648), despite being asked by the Protectorate government to do so, has been read as a deliberate refusal because of his affinity with millennial ideas (Lewalski, *The Life of John Milton*, 240). Further, Milton was a noted associate of Hartlib, and wrote *Of Education* (1644) at his request, before dedicating it to him (London: Thomas Underhill, 1644). Although Milton's *Of Education* does not tally with all of the Hartlib circle's beliefs and principles, it was designed as an educational map for future rulers of the English nation which would help to 'repair the ruins of our first parents' and return their bodies and souls to their state of 'highest perfection' (A1v). The text thereby speaks to the millenarian mindset which they shared – that a better and more moral society must be created to prepare for the millennium. For more on Milton's views of education and its eschatological implications, see David Parry, 'Exile, Education and Eschatology in the Works of Jan Amos Comenius and John Milton', in *Religious Diaspora in Early Modern Europe: Strategies of Exile* eds., Timothy G. Fehler et al. (New York: Pickering and Chatto, 2014) 47-60. The Hartlib circle's millenarian outlook and its pragmatic application is linked not only with biblical Paradise and contemporary politics, but also literary utopias: a key figure of the Hartlib circle was Gabriel Plattes, author of the literary utopia, *A Description of the Famous Kingdom of Macaria*, which imagined a world in which the Hartlib circle's suggestions were imposed (London: Francis Constable, 1641). As Kevin Dunn puts it, Plattes's text is 'a redaction of More's *Utopia* and Bacon's *New Atlantis*, a puritan Utopia stripped of all humanist ornament, trimmed down to its unambiguous and utilitarian core', 'Milton among the Monopolists: *Areopagitica*, Intellectual Property and the Hartlib Circle', in *Samuel Hartlib and Universal Reformation: Studies in Intellectual Communication*, eds., Mark Greengrass, Michael Leslie and Timothy Raylor (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 179. For further discussion, see Gregory Claeys, *Restoration and Augustan British Utopias* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2000), xxi.

Accordingly, in *Of Reformation Touching Church-Discipline*, the pure revolutionary aspect of overthrowing episcopal tyranny is not enough for Milton. He writes:

whereby this great and Warlike Nation instructed and inur'd to the fervent and continuall practice of *Truth* and *Righteousness*... at that day when thou the Eternall and shortly-expected King shalt open the Clouds to judge the several Kingdomes of the World, and distributing *Nationall Honours* and *Rewards* to Religious and just *Common-wealths*, shalt put an end to all Earthly *Tyrannies*, proclaiming thy universal and milde *Monarchy* through Heaven and Earth.¹⁸

The nations must not only participate in revolution but also continually practice '*Truth and Righteousness*' and prove themselves to be 'Religious and just commonwealths' to gain the '*Nationall Honours and Rewards*'. Further, his reference here to the son of God as a 'shortly-expected King' who will reward commonwealths, end tyrannies, and proclaim a 'milde *Monarchy*', arguably goes beyond warning against episcopal tyranny and serves also as a challenge to earthly kings, and particularly Charles I. This was not, then, a passing phase for Milton or a single and inevitable revolutionary moment of millennial instigation; the work was not finished in 1649 with the beheading of Charles I, but was a national endeavour towards the creation of an ideal commonwealth which would be rewarded at the Second Coming.

The idea that Milton held radical millenarian views is not new, nor am I the first to make the connection between the contemporary millennial radicalism, political radicalism, republicanism, and literary utopianism in Milton's work.¹⁹ As Joseph E. Duncan has noted, 'Milton was the poet of the celestial paradise long before he was the poet of the terrestrial one that foreshadowed it [i.e. Paradise]'.²⁰ In his 'On the Morning of Christ's Nativity', written in 1629, Milton connects the birth of Jesus with both the crucifixion and the millennium, complete with

¹⁸ (London: Thomas Underhill, 1641), N1r.

¹⁹ Christopher Hill, *Milton and the English Revolution* (New York: Viking Press, 1977), 279-284; Ernest Lee Tuveson, *Millennium and Utopia: A Study in the Background of the Idea of Progress* (New York: Harper and Row, 1964), 109, 119, 149, 217.

²⁰ Joseph E. Duncan, *Milton's Earthly Paradise: A Historical Study of Eden* (Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 1972), 249.

references to the Golden Age.²¹ In this poem, and in *De Doctrina Christiana* (not published until 1825), Milton has been seen to be drawing from Mede's *Clavis Apocalyptica*. Milton had thus been interested in the millennium from a young age, and his interest only increased as the situation in England developed through the Civil Wars and Interregnum. Even Lewalski has argued that, 'like many reformers in 1641-2 [Milton] is touched by millenarian expectation and eager to help prepare for the apocalypse, whose glories he celebrates in occasional bursts of prophetic and poetic fervour'.²² I contend, however, that this poetic fervour is still clearly visible in *PL*, which was first published in 1667.²³

Book 3 of the poem contains evidence that Milton had not abandoned his millenarian hope. God declares that his Son shall descend to earth, judge, end the old world and create:

New Heav'n and Earth, wherein the just shall dwell
And after all thir tribulations long
See golden days, fruitful of golden deeds,
With Joy and Love triumphing, and fair Truth.
Then thou thy royal sceptre shalt lay by,
For regal Scepter then no more shall need,
God shall be All in All (3.335-341).

It is possible to read this as simply eschatological in terms of discussing the Son's judgement, but millenarianism itself is fundamentally and at its origins a belief which offers 'a concrete version of the fundamental eschatological belief that at the "end of time" God will judge the living and the (resurrected) dead'.²⁴ Raphael explicates this eschatological notion further when discussing with Adam a future time where men and angels may live together, when their material conditions will be one and the same, but only if humankind meet certain conditions of obedience (5.293-5.505). In this way, the eschatological reading becomes associated with those notions of millenarianism in

²¹ 'Time will run back and fetch the age of Gold', John Milton, 'On the Morning of Christ's Nativity. Compos'd 1629', in *Poems of Mr. John Milton, Both English and Latin, Compos'd at Several Times* (London: Humphrey Moseley, 1645), v. XIV. Golden Age references are significant for millenarianism in that they date back to Hesiod's *Works and Days* where, as discussed in the Introduction to this thesis, Hesiod represented a time before the Olympian God's seized power and in which God and Men lived together in harmony.

²² *The Life of John Milton*, 121.

²³ John Aubrey heard from Edward Philips that *Paradise Lost* was written between 1658 and 1663, 'Minutes of the Life of Mr John Milton', in *The Early Lives of Milton*, ed. Helen Darbishire (London: Constable and Co, 1932), 13. Thomas Ellwood read the work in 1665, *The History of the Life of Thomas Ellwood* (London: J. Sowle, 1714), 233.

²⁴ Richard A. Landes, *Encyclopedia of Millennialism*, 453

which human actions can precipitate or usher in the millennium through ‘organization of ideology, politics, and an alternative plan for society’.²⁵ Between the 1640s and the 1660s, Milton had not changed his view of what this would entail: the discovery of ‘fair Truth’, the disestablishment of earthly hierarchies, and the creation of a ‘commonwealth’ free from political hierarchies and regimes where the Son and God can ‘lay by’ their royal sceptres. *PL* depicts the Second Coming and the Son’s judgement as a moment to actively work towards, which is consistent with Milton’s earlier millennial positions. Though he may be less convinced of its immediate realisation post 1660, I contend that in *PL* Milton sought to illustrate the work which must be done by a society to attain the status of the ‘just *Commonwealth*’ he envisions as receiving ‘*National Honours and Rewards*’.²⁶ One way in which Milton engages with what the pragmatic work to prepare for the millennium should look like is through the parody and satire of what it should not resemble. As I go on to argue below, he draws such distinctions with clear links to utopian literature in the guise of ‘New World’ / traveller utopianism.²⁷

Milton and ‘New World’ / Traveller Utopianism

New World or traveller utopianism is the most obvious aspect of early modern literary utopianism which Milton grapples with and dismisses in *PL*, and it is perhaps for this reason that Milton has been seen as anti-utopian. However, it clearly displays what I have termed a utopian impulse.²⁸ The intensity with which Milton engages with this subject throughout *PL* indicates more than just a passing or dismissive response, and Milton uses these references to define his own utopian position in direct opposition to the perceived folly of Renaissance New World utopian narratives. As Diane McColley has noted, ‘the revival of classical literature and the discovery of a New World full of economic and evangelical opportunities naturally brought forth an association of scriptural Eden,

²⁵ Landes, *Encyclopedia of Millennialism*, 451.

²⁶ *Of Reformation*, N1r.

²⁷ I use inverted commas here to reflect the erroneous, Eurocentric nature of this label, which implies that lands were discovered as opposed to exploited and colonised, but I omit them in subsequent usage to avoid distracting the reader.

²⁸ See Introduction, 8-9.

[and] classical Arcadia'.²⁹ The Americas were often represented both by travellers to the New World and by advocates of colonial expansion as an earthly paradise, a form of Eden, where man could enjoy abundance in idleness and return to his pre-lapsarian state of happiness, free from toil and labour.³⁰ Some believed that original Eden would be found, others proposed that something akin to Eden had been found, and would represent it in similar terms.³¹

Milton goes to some lengths to distance his Eden from these depictions of colonial discoveries. For him, the assumption that Eden was out there waiting to be found, or that anything akin to it would be discovered in a postlapsarian world are not acceptable. In terms of finding the actual site, Milton emphatically denies this possibility by depicting the flaming sword of God 'parch[ing] that temperate Clime' at Adam and Eve's expulsion (12.636), stating that it would only remain as an 'Iland salt and bare' after the Flood (11.834). Further, God's relationship to Eden is not one of colonial overlord: God does not discover and colonise the land, nor does he harvest products from there or make profit from it.³² It is thereby not Eden, nor Eden's inhabitants, who are linked with colonial enterprise but instead, as many critics have noted, Satan and the other

²⁹ *Milton's Eve* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1983), 124. See also A. Bartlett Giamatti, *The Earthly Paradise and the Renaissance Epic* (New York: Norton, 1989).

³⁰ Clearly, this would not sit well with Milton's vision of Eden in which 'God hath set / Labour and rest, as day and night to men' (4.612-613).

³¹ In 1534 Christopher Columbus, on his third trip to the New World, contested that the world was pear-shaped, with a bulge on the top 'like a woman's nipple', and that he believed it would be 'impossible to ascend thither, because I am convinced it is the point of the earthly paradise, whither no one can go but by God's permission', *Select Letters of Christopher Columbus, with other Original Documents, Relating to his Four Voyages to the New World*, trans. and ed. R.H. Major, (London: Hakluyt Society, 1870), 136, 141. Marmaduke Carver also worried that not physically finding Eden may cause people to doubt the scripture and think it is 'a mere Utopia, or Fiction of a place that never was', *A Discourse of the Terrestrial Paradise* (London: James Flesher, 1666), A3v. In describing the indigenous population of a tribe in Brazil, Michel de Montaigne argued that their natural reality was a paradise way beyond Plato's utopian Republic or the Golden Age of poetry, associating them with Edenic naturality and pre-lapsarian beauty, 'Of the Canibales' in *Essais*, trans. John Florio (London: Edward Blount and William Barret, 1613), K4r.

³² Lewalski, *The Life of John Milton*, 470-71.

fallen angels.³³ Milton uses *PL* to parody, critique and distance his methods of gaining Paradise from the notion that one could somehow discover a utopian landscape.

Milton's satire of New World utopianism and travel writing is in line with his pragmatic approach to millenarian utopianism. From its beginning the utopian literary tradition in English had been associated with an imitation of travel writing which had exploded during the period.³⁴ By the end of the sixteenth century 'Europe was deluged with materials on the overseas world', many of which were falsified, which created an association of lying, low credibility and inauthenticity within travel writing itself.³⁵ The utopian reports came packaged with paratextual information designed to imitate authentic travelogues and trick the reader. Chloë Houston has argued that as a result of the distrust generated by this generic relationship 'the 1640s saw a proliferation of utopian thought... and a simultaneous turning away from the conventional utopian forms of dialogue and travel narrative'.³⁶ Houston points out that, in the 1640s, members of the Samuel Hartlib circle, the Diggers, Levellers, and, as I argue, Milton himself, distanced themselves from these kinds of utopias based on travel writing and turned to the practical utopianism of social reform in order to pave the way to a millennium.³⁷ Milton can be seen to satirise both utopian travel literature and those who are fooled by it into thinking that these false hopes are real. He does so through his representation of the devils and Satan foolishly attempting to escape their sin and its punishment

³³ J. Martin Evans argues that Milton's epic contains all permutations of the colonial enterprise, and in particular the contest of colonial expansion between England and Spain in relation to Satan and the devils, *Milton's Imperial Epic: Paradise Lost and the Discourse of Colonialism* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996). Further, J.P. Conlan argues that we can read *Paradise Lost* as a warning to colonisers who feel that they are being judged by God, as Satan is during his journey across Chaos, "'Paradise Lost': Milton's Anti-Imperial Epic", *Pacific Coast Philology* 33, no.1 (1998): 31-43. Neil Forsyth also positions Satan with the Renaissance explorers and exploiters of the Americas, *The Satanic Epic* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), 59. Rodger Martin conversely argues that Milton's epic aligns Satan and his devils with the colonised 'savages', contributing and reacting to the view that those in foreign lands were soulless devils who needed to be colonised, 'The Colonization of Paradise: Milton's Pandemonium and Montezuma's Tenochtitlan', *Comparative Literature Studies* 35, no. 4 (1998): 321-55. Going beyond the New World, for an in-depth treatment of the specific representation of India in *Paradise Lost* as infernal, postlapsarian, and feminised, see Balachandra Rajan's *Under Western Eyes: India from Milton to Macauley* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999), 50-66.

³⁴ For more discussions of utopian travel writing, see Introduction, 19-21; Chapter One; 48-54; Chapter Three, 176-178; Chapter Four 257-258.

³⁵ Donald F. Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe, Book 2*, vol. 1 of *The Century of Discovery*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 204; William H. Sherman, 'Stirrings and Searchings (1500-1720)', in *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*, eds., Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 31.

³⁶ *The Renaissance Utopia*, 119.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 119-140.

through colonial exploration, much like those early modern explorers. As Douglas Anderson has argued, Hell is ‘modelled along earthly lines’, and the devils thus ‘explore it like the great English navigators of Milton’s childhood and of the preceding century’.³⁸ This familiarity is used by Milton to associate the type of literature that surrounded it with Satan and his devils, Hell itself, and even Catholicism.

Satan’s opening lines and the description of him associate his fruitless hope with tropes of travel writing. In Book One, Satan does not simply seek rest, which we have been told is impossible, but also looks for a place from where he hopes to return to his former state. *PL* begins in Hell, with the devils lying defeated and stranded on a bed of water in a new land they have yet to discover. We are invited to watch as Satan wakes from his stupor and takes in his surroundings. Only a few lines after he has seen that there are ‘onely’ new ‘sights of woe’ and ‘Regions of sorrow’, where ‘rest can never dwell’ (1.56-67), he seeks respite through travel to ‘yon dreary Plain’ (1.180), where they can ‘rest’ and ‘repair’ their loss (1.185, 188). This small journey from the waters of Hell’s ‘Flood’ to the nearby shore is aligned with utopian travel literature through the shipwreck trope. Satan’s suggestion to travel to shore is interrupted by the narrator’s famous leviathan simile where the fallen angel spread out on the flood is compared to the leviathan who deceived sailors mistake for an island (1.205). Milton even draws attention to the fact that this is a well-worn trope by emphasising his simile with the repeated use of ‘some’: ‘some small night-founder’d Skiff’ (1.204), ‘some Iland’ (1.205), and by aligning it with stories ‘oft’ told (1.205). Although far from a utopian location, the description is certainly reminiscent of utopian travel accounts. The generic relationship between utopian literature and travel narratives meant that early modern utopias were stereotypically ‘reached after difficult journeys, generally by sea, involving shipwrecks and storms’, and this trope and its generic connections would be recognisable to an early modern reader.³⁹ Satan

³⁸ ‘Unfallen Marriage and the Fallen Imagination in *Paradise Lost*’, *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* 26, no.1 (1986): 129-30.

³⁹ Houston, ‘No Place and New Worlds: The Early Modern Utopia and the Concept of the Global Community’, *Spaces of Utopia: An Electronic Journal* 1 (Spring 2006): 13.

is thus physically aligned with the notion of a deceptive, illusory utopia, one which draws in foolish and wayward travellers looking for paradise, a metaphor which of course reflects on Satan's propensity to tempt others to fall.⁴⁰ He is also, however, attempting a foolish journey to a shore in order to improve his situation and divinely ordained punishment. This small journey thus can serve as a microcosmic representation of Satan's later colonial journey to discover 'some new Worlds' (1.635), specifically Eden, in order to colonise it and leave 'this Infernal Pit' (1.642). Satan is thereby from the beginning a traveller, restlessly seeking hope, comfort, and a way out of his punishment in a method Milton associates with typical utopian travel literature, and is simultaneously the fantastical and treacherous location of a false utopia.

Inevitably, the devils follow in their leader's footsteps of colonial exploration. Once the 'Stygian Counsel' has dissolved and Satan has elected himself the chief traveller to go to Eden (1.506), his devils disband and, trying to find some way of occupying their 'irksome hours', are led 'By false presumptuous hope' to 'wander' and explore Hell in search of a better home (1.506, 522-527). The 'adventurous Bands' find 'No rest', just 'Rocks, Caves, Lakes, Fens, Bogs, Dens, and shades of death' (1.616-622), a monosyllabic list that emphasises the multiplicity and endlessness of their search and its poor results. This line is then deliberately paralleled in Book 9. When Satan first sees Earth and considers it 'preferr'd' to Heaven in beauty (9.99), he speaks a lament which draws on the same vocabulary and syntax:

If I could joy in aught, sweet interchange
Of Hill, and Vallie, Rivers, Woods and Plaines,
Now Land, now Sea, and Shores with Forrest crownd,
Rocks, Dens, and Caves; but I in none of these
Find place or refuge (9.115-118).

⁴⁰ James Whaler, 'The Miltonic Simile', *PMLA* 46, no. 4 (1931): 1050. See also Antoinina Bevan-Zlatar's reading of the leviathan simile in relation to religious iconography and mythology as well as contemporary scientific literature, suggesting that the simile reflects on God's creative power, "'The image of their glorious maker": Looking at Representation and Similitude in Milton's *Paradise Lost*", *Swiss Papers in English Language and Literature* 34 (2017): 240-265.

Milton thus linguistically parallels Satan's discoveries of Eden with the devils' discoveries of Hell, underscoring that the physical make-up of the land, its geography or natural abundance, is not what makes Paradise, but instead the morality of the beings who inhabit it.

Satan's colonial and fruitless journey is structurally contrasted in Book 3 with God's declaration of the promised millennium. Milton introduces Satan's pursuit of a new world immediately after God has promised that Christ the Son will create 'New Heav'n and Earth, wherein the just shall dwell' and 'See golden days, fruitful of golden deeds' (3.335, 337). After this announcement, the angels sing hymns and celebrate, ending with the line 'Mean while upon the firm opacous Glove / of this round World', and the subsequent description of Satan's invasion of Eden (3.418-419). This line is heavy with irony: the readers, angels and mankind have been promised the utopian Paradise in the post-millennial future, but *meanwhile*, Satan searches fruitlessly for it in the physical world. Although Satan does indeed find a true colonial dream of Paradise, described in the poem as '*Hesperian* fables true' (4.250), no matter how far Satan travels and no matter how beautiful the place he finds himself in, he is eternally in turmoil.⁴¹ He brings 'the Hell within him' and 'nor from Hell / One step no more than from himself can fly / By change of place' (4.20-23). This connects Satan once again with utopian fictions and optimistic travelogues. For Milton, it would be foolish to think that an individual can find Paradise or anything akin to it: the path was described in the scriptures and it could only be achieved after the Second Coming. In a post-lapsarian world Paradise is, for Milton, dependent on the individuals who inhabit it as a society, and the work they do to improve themselves or make themselves open to God's grace.

Incidentally, these individuals also cannot be Catholic. Milton links similarly foolish colonial hopes with Catholicism in his 'Paradise of Fools', a future colony of Satan's which will be inhabited by Catholics desperately attempting to access Heaven with 'Indulgences, Dispenses,

⁴¹ For more on the Hesperides, see Introduction, 27.

Pardons, Bulls' (3.490). Their methods, flawed as they are for Milton, become 'The sport of Winds: all these upwhirld aloft / Fly o're the backside of the World farr off' (3.490-492). They are spatially represented as foolish travellers who are blown off course. As fallen and corrupted figures, the devils and Satan, as well as the Catholics, are doomed to perpetually hope for better and fail to find it. They are characterised by a preposterous hope that they can attain freedom from the punishment of sin through travel, and this hope is associated with a version of utopianism that intends to travel, discover, and conquer Paradise rather than improve oneself and one's society as in Plato's *Republic* and, indeed, utopianism of the 1640s which informed Milton's writing.

It is worth noting that Satan and the devils do attempt to improve the world around them through the architectural creation of Pandemonium.⁴² They do so not with the same Platonic methods that Milton praised, using those 'laws of virtuous education, religious and civill nurture' as their foundation, but instead through imitation of Heaven.⁴³ The leader of this enterprise, Mammon, was 'the least erected Spirit' whose thoughts 'Were always downward bent, admiring more / The riches of Heav'ns pavement, trod'n Gold' (1.679, 671-72), a reference, perhaps, to the distaste the citizens of More's *Utopia* have for gold and their use of it for banal things: in Milton's Heaven they use it for pavements, in *Utopia*, for chains for slaves, markers for criminals, and chamber pots.⁴⁴ The architect was Mulciber, whose 'hand was known / In Heav'n by many a

⁴² Jeffrey S. Theis has shown Satanic architecture to be highly contrived in contrast with the natural and rustic images of Eden and the architecture of the bower, 'Milton's Principles of Architecture', *English Literary Renaissance* 35, no. 1 (2005): 102-122. Stephen Blakemore connects Pandemonium and other fallen architecture, 'Pandemonium and Babel: Architectural Hierarchy in *Paradise Lost*', *Milton Quarterly* 20, no.4 (December 1986): 142-145. For critical engagement with Pandemonium's architecture and the sources, see Rebecca Smith, 'The Source of Milton's Pandemonium', *Modern Philology* 29 (1931): 187-98; Margaret Mather Byard, 'St Peter's and Pandemonium?', *Milton Quarterly* 9, no.2 (1975): 65-66; Marjorie Hope Nicholson, *A Reader's Guide to John Milton* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Grioux, 1963), 196-198; William A. McClung, 'The Architecture of Pandaemonium', *Milton Quarterly* 15, no.4 (1981): 109-112 who have all argued that Milton's Pandemonium is based on St Peter's in Rome. This has been contested by Ronald Mushat Frye, *Milton's Imagery and the Visual Arts: Iconographic Tradition in the Epic Poems* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), 134-135.

⁴³ *Areopagitica*, C2r.

⁴⁴ 'Of gold and silver they make commonly chamber pots and other like vessels, that serve for most vile uses... Furthermore, of the same metals they make great chains with fetters and gives wherein they tie their bondmen. Finally whosoever for any offence be infamed, by their ears hang rings of gold: upon their fingers they were rings of gold, and about their necks chains of gold: and in conclusion their heads be tied about with gold. Thus, by all means that may be, they procure to have gold and silver among them in reproach and infamy', *Utopia*, in *Three Early Modern Utopias: Utopia, New Atlantis and The Isle of Pines*, ed. Susan Bruce (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 71.

Towred structure high' (1.732-33). Thus, yoking together the interests of Mammon and Mulciber, Pandemonium becomes a towering, golden structure intended to rival the heavens. Indeed, Mammon in the later debate advocates that they could stay and improve Hell, suggesting that they could 'found this nether Empire, which might rise / By policy, and long process of time, / In emulation opposite to Heav'n' (1.295-298). Though Mammon here clearly means that they can become a parallel of Heaven, his telling phrase, 'in emulation opposite', indicates the real subtext here: that emulation of Heaven is, indeed, opposite to Heaven – in imitation and emulation they become idolatrous, focused on the outer materials rather than the inner sanctity of a true heavenly existence.⁴⁵

Their idolatry is most clearly represented in Milton's inversion of the typically republican metaphor of architecture and nation building. Architecture, and indeed the destruction of old architecture, was a common image for Republicans in their quest to build a new constitution with new rights, and one which Milton and others repeatedly utilised.⁴⁶ Most notably, Milton famously uses the image of architecture in *Areopagitica* in defending the position of a press free from pre-publication censorship, claiming that a society of dissenters and free thinkers, not uniformity, is the only way to create a united structure:

perfection consists in this, that out of many moderat varieties and brotherly dissimilitudes that are not vastly disproportionall arises the goodly and the gracefull symmetry that commends the whole pile and structure. Let us therefore be more considerat builders, more wise in spirituall architecture, when great reformation is expected.⁴⁷

He returns to this image later, saying:

We doe not see that while we still affect by all means a rigid externall formality, we may as soon fall again into a grosse conforming stupidity, a stark and dead congealment of *wood and hay and stubble* forc't and frozen together, which is more to the sudden degenerating of a Church then many *subdichotomies* of petty schisms. Not that I can think well of every light

⁴⁵ Joseph Lyle investigates the treatment of idolatry and religious architecture in *Paradise Lost*, such as that of temples and altars, in 'Architecture and Idolatry in "Paradise Lost"', *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* 40, no.1 (Winter, 2000): 139-155. On Milton's treatment of idolatry more generally, see, for example: Antoinina Bevan Zlatar, 'Milton among the Iconoclasts' in *Making Milton*, 123-140; Lewalski, 'Milton and Idolatry', *Studies in English Literature 1500-1900* 43, no.1 (Winter 2003): 213-232. For a contrasting view, see Daniel Shore, 'Why Milton is Not an Iconoclast', *PMLA* 127, no.1 (2012): 22-37.

⁴⁶ David Norbrook, *Writing the English Republic: Poetry, Rhetoric, and Politics, 1627-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 124.

⁴⁷ E1v.

separation, or that all in a Church is to be expected *gold and silver and precious stones*: it is not possible for man to sever the wheat from the tares, the good fish from the other frie; that must be the Angels Ministry at the end of mortall things.⁴⁸

For Milton then, the key to this 'spirituall architecture' is a building which includes diversity of opinion, metaphorically represented by a diversity of materials. He argues that the job of judgement, of separating the 'wheat from the tares' can only be performed at the millennium: it is not the job of a fallen people. The fallen people can only search for truth and pave the way for that millennium by creating a society that allows for liberty, choice and dissenting voices.

Pandemonium stands in stark contrast to this image. It was made 'with speed' and 'within an hour', and once it is created the 'hasty multitude / admiring enter'd' (1.673, 696, 730-31). The structure is made seemingly entirely of one material, 'Ribs of Gold' (1.690), and it 'Rose like an Exhalation, with the sound / Of Dulcet Symphonies' (1.711-12), singing in harmony rather than discord or dissonance as in Milton's ideal architectural metaphor. As Jeffrey S. Theis has commented, satanic architecture (meaning both Lucifer's palace in Heaven, Pandemonium, and the bridge through chaos) consists of 'opulent and fixed qualities' which 'model[s] how architecture can be a means towards self-worship by creating static, unchanging edifices that conquer matter's propensity to change'.⁴⁹ It is thus unsurprising that during the debate in Pandemonium Satan claims that Hell is factionless (2.30-35). Satanic architecture, much like satanic debate, is anything but the open commonwealth based on Miltonic utopian principles of education and the liberty of informed opinion which Milton argued so vehemently for in *Areopagitica*. Milton has the devils engage with the metaphor of architecturally building a new and better republic to show that Satan and his devils are unable to penetrate the surface appearance of pragmatically utopian and republican rhetoric. They are once again misled by false hope to think that their tower is in any

⁴⁸ Ibid., E4r.

⁴⁹ 'Milton's Principles of Architecture', 110, 115.

way a rival to Heaven simply because it looks like it.⁵⁰ Merely imitating another tower is of no use if the right foundations of principles have not been laid. Satan and the devils' colonising and industrial attempts at improvement are mocked for assuming that their physical location could be ameliorated outwardly, either by travel or by construction, when their torture is internal. They are thus derided for failing to engage with or understand the differences between discovering and building a utopian paradise, and the pragmatic work of social reformers motivated by a utopian impulse.

This did not mean for Milton, and many others, that the utopian impulse was entirely foolish. In *PL* Milton presents us with two models of unfinished utopias or Paradise – Eden and Heaven – which serve to underline his position that work must continuously be done to prepare for the true utopia of the millennium. Both utopian examples indicate the kind of structure required to best prepare for a society which would do away with hierarchies and social structures in the millennium. Boesky has argued that Heaven is representative of an industrial, Protestant utopia which is founded on the same principles as the New Model Army: where hierarchy is necessary for it to function and all military activity by the angels is purely a drill to instil discipline and obedience.⁵¹ Anderson has argued instead that Eden is presented in *PL* as the closest that we can come to the envisioned post-millennial Paradise, in opposition to Heaven, because the political fiction of these drills is reduced to one simple commandment.⁵² Although on the surface Anderson and Boesky take different approaches, both of their readings serve to emphasise one central point: that it is necessary for men, women, and angels to *consent* to belong to the hierarchy, through the symbolic demonstration of choosing to obey and to continually obey a just God who rules wisely, and to actively participate in that society in order to create a commonwealth that will pave the way

⁵⁰ This might be said to reflect on Milton's depiction of God as 'heav'ns king' (2.751), suggesting that earthly kings are also 'in emulation opposite'. For a further discussion of Milton's treatment of earthly and divine kingship, see Michael Bryson, "'His Tyranny who Reigns': The Biblical Roots of Divine Kingship and Milton's Rejection of 'Heav'n's King'", *Milton Studies* 43 (2004): 111-144.

⁵¹ 'Milton's Heaven and the Model of the English Utopia', 91-110.

⁵² 'Unfallen Marriage and the Fallen Imagination in *Paradise Lost*', 125-44.

for the final millennial Paradise. *PL* makes very clear, on numerous occasions, that neither Heaven, nor Eden, is the final state of that millennial Paradise. God and the Son look forward to a time where the work is completed and they can lay their sceptres by, making obedience to arbitrary law and the performance of roles within a hierarchy redundant (3.335-341). When Raphael and Adam discuss their relative natures, Raphael suggests that ‘time may come’ when men and angels live together, and when their material existence will be one and the same (5.493-505), but Raphael stipulates that this is only possible ‘if ye be found obedient’ (5.501). When questioned, Raphael explains to Adam that God also requires obedience from the angels, ‘our voluntarie service he requires’ (5.529), and that those who have fallen did so due to their ‘disobedience’ (5.541). Whether that service required is military action as in Heaven, or labour in the garden and the avoidance of forbidden fruit as in Eden, the achievement of the millennial Second Coming is dependent on the citizens of Heaven and Eden being informed, free, and, crucially, consenting to obey a wise God. As argued below, Milton’s clearest demonstration of this is in his depiction of the marital contract between Adam and Eve.

Eve’s Consent: Domestic Politics in Paradise

PL constitutes what Joan Mallory Webber has called the first domestic epic, as the central drama and action is based on a married couple and their domestic life in the garden of Eden.⁵³ This focus on marriage is by no means accidental for Milton, nor is it an anomaly in the context of contemporary literary output. Gordon Teskey is likely correct when he states that ‘Milton thought more about marriage, and more deeply about marriage, than anyone in the seventeenth century’, but Milton was certainly not alone in making it a critical theme of his writing.⁵⁴ Marriage featured as a central analogy of the pamphlet wars and debates between royalists and republicans of the period.⁵⁵ I contend that Milton’s *PL* focuses on the domestic world of marriage in order to

⁵³ ‘The Politics of Poetry: Feminism and “Paradise Lost”’, *Milton Studies* 14 (1980): 3-24.

⁵⁴ *The Poetry of John Milton* (New Haven: Harvard University Press, 2015), 494.

⁵⁵ Su Fang Ng, *Literature and the Politics of Family in Seventeenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 6.

comment on the broader political conversation regarding consent to be ruled and the fabric of the social contract. I suggest that the long held metaphorical analogy between king / subject and husband / wife, is taken up by Milton in *PL* and given a republican twist.⁵⁶ As I argue below, Eve's body figures in *PL* as the political body of the commonwealth nation, that of a citizenry that gives its consent to be ruled by those who it perceives to be virtuous and good, in line with Milton's approach to political leadership, divorce, and millenarianism.⁵⁷ Milton thus focuses his discussion of the ideal society and the ideal way to prepare for the Millennium on his representation of the female character of Eve.

As discussed in the Introduction to this thesis, the family analogy and the depiction of the King as a natural patriarch was put under significant pressure by the Civil Wars and the behaviour of Charles II in the post-Restoration era, and Milton participated in critiquing this analogy.⁵⁸ Social contract theory, a belief that the governed have to *consent* to be governed, challenged the divine or natural notions of kingship. Although Thomas Hobbes's view of the social contract meant that the terms, once agreed to by a subject participating in society, were non-negotiable, other theorists began to suggest that the terms of this contract were more open.⁵⁹ The terms were dependent on specific relationships, and if one person broke the contract, then that contract was void. Due to royalist insistence on naturalising this power as patriarchal and divinely sanctioned, critiquing this theory began to suggest that female subjection in marriage was also an artificial process which

⁵⁶ In this regard, I am indebted to the work of Erin Murphy, who argues that Milton's depiction of the family constellation of Satan, Sin and Death is in contrast with the depiction of Adam, Eve and God which creates a distinction between the public nature of primogeniture advocated by royalists and the private naturalism of republicanism. I share her view that Milton uses this distinction to reclaim the family analogy for republican values, but differ from her, however, in suggesting that the primary differentiation is that of consent rather than of private / public rule ("Paradise Lost" and the Politics of "Begetting", *Milton Quarterly* 45, no.1 (2011): 25-49).

⁵⁷ Katherine Eggert, in *Showing Like a Queen: Female Authority and Literary Experiment in Spenser, Shakespeare, and Milton* argues that Eve can be considered in line with the republican subject who refuses to be tyrannically governed. However, in order to do so she aligns Eve with the 'newly emancipated husband', and a firmly male subjectivity, positing that she embodies an effeminate and tyrannical monarch (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), 192. I disagree with this association between Eve and masculinity and tyranny, and argue instead that this political subjectivity is deliberately aligned with the female body in response to the analogy between marriage and governance.

⁵⁸ Introduction, 28-30.

⁵⁹ *Leviathan, or, the Matter, Form and Power of a Common-wealth Ecclesiastical and Civil* (London: Andrew Crooke, 1651), P4v.

required consent.⁶⁰ In the 1640s and 1650s, as Mary Lyndon Shanley has shown, the ubiquity of this analogy meant that republican writers were forced to write within its bounds.⁶¹ To justify their position they needed to suggest that they supported the idea that wives could place checks, balances, and restrictions on their husbands, and sometimes advocate for divorce, but they were for the most part reluctant to do so.⁶² It is not until the 1680s in the work of writers such as James Tyrrell (1642-1718) that we begin to see this advocated for in more forthright terms, but even Tyrrell draws the line at advocating for women's right to divorce their husbands.⁶³ Milton's work repeatedly returns to the family analogy, with the central concern being that of consent, and he was more radical in his argument than his contemporaries. For example, in his divorce tracts – *The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce* (1643), *The Judgment of Martin Bucer* (1644), *Tetrachordon* (1645) and *Colasterion* (1645) – Milton argued that divorce, for any circumstance and requested by either man or woman, should be allowed, because an unhappy marriage is a kind of tyranny which no subject should be forced to endure.⁶⁴ In the tracts he inverted the standard familial analogy and argued

⁶⁰ For an in-depth discussion of the debates around the family analogy, see Mary Lyndon Shanley, 'Marriage Contract and Social Contract in Seventeenth-Century English Political Thought', *Political Research Quarterly* 32, no.1 (1979): 79-91. See also Ng, *Literature and the Politics of Family*.

⁶¹ 'Marriage Contract and Social Contract', 82-85.

⁶² Positions taken by the republicans in this regard are often half-hearted, such as Herbert Palmer who suggests that a woman 'cannot recall wholly her Husbands Authority over her... Yet for her necessity, she may by the Law of God and conscience... secure her Person from his violence by absence (though that ordinarily be against the Law of Marriage, and the end of it) or any other meanes of necessary defence', *Scripture and Reason Pleaded for Defensive Armes* (London: John Bellamy, 1643), F1r.

⁶³ In his *Patriarcha Non Monarcha*, building on the Hobbesian principle that in nature only a woman can confidently name her child, Tyrrell refuted the association between Adamic fatherhood, monarchy, and patriarchal authority. He anticipated arguments that a man is master of his wife, and therefore of her children, by pointing out that this power was not inherent, nor was it divinely given, but instead 'acquired from the Contract of Marriage' (London: Richard Janeway, 1681), B8r. He argues that 'we presuppose at the outset that by nature all individuals have equal rights, and no one enjoys authority over another... Therefore, whatever right a man has over a woman, inasmuch as she is his equal, will have to be secured by her consent', B8r-B8v. He uses the term 'consent' no fewer than 103 times throughout his tract and emphasises that the contract can be broken. For his views on divorce, see H9r.

⁶⁴ The divorce tracts were immensely popular, perhaps due to their controversial and radical contents, with the first tract *The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce* published in new editions in 1644 and 1645. In the tracts he inverted the standard familial analogy and argued that if Parliament could sanction its own rebellion against tyranny then it must logically also sanction a man or woman liberating themselves from the tyranny of an unhappy marriage, 'for no effect of tyranny can sit more heavy on the Common-wealth, then this household unhappiness on the family' (*The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*, (London: Thomas Payne and Matthew Simmons, 1644), A3v). The connection between the Commonwealth and the household is returned to in *The Judgment of Martin Bucer* along with the architectural metaphors previously discussed, stating that 'the constitution and reformation of a commonwealth ... is, like a building, to begin orderly from the foundation thereof, which is marriage and the family' (London: Matthew Simmons, 1644), B1v. In this way, Milton suggests that the move towards a state in which marriage was analogous not to king and subject but to a social contract of consent between the government and the governed could be said to be a move towards the kind of society which paved the way for the second coming.

that if Parliament could sanction its own rebellion against tyranny then it must logically also sanction a man or woman liberating themselves from the tyranny of an unhappy marriage, ‘for no effect of tyranny can sit more heavy on the Common-wealth, then this household unhappiness on the family’.⁶⁵ The connection between the Commonwealth and the household is returned to in *The Judgement of Martin Bucer* along with the architectural metaphors previously discussed, stating that ‘the constitution and reformation of a commonwealth ... is, like a building, to begin orderly from the foundation thereof, which is marriage and the family’.⁶⁶ In this way, Milton suggests that the move towards a state in which marriage was analogous not to king and subject but to a social contract of consent between the government and the governed could be said to be a move towards the kind of society which paved the way for the second coming. These tracts further outline that, although Milton believed in marital hierarchy, this hierarchy is based on wisdom and not gender, where women can govern their husbands if they are found more wise, and that in any case the subordinated party retains their subjectivity, their right to consent, and, crucially, their right to withdraw this consent and end the contract.⁶⁷ This, I argue, becomes a central aspect of *PL* and reflects on Milton’s radical politics.

Eve’s consent to enter into the marriage contract and the nature of this contract is thus of central importance to *PL*. In the frequently discussed Narcissus scene, Eve, discovering herself in a ‘liquid Plain’, is interrupted by the disembodied voice of God, who explains that she is looking

⁶⁵ *The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*, (London: Thomas Payne and Matthew Simmons, 1644), A3v.

⁶⁶ (London: Matthew Simmons, 1644), B1v

⁶⁷ Milton’s tracts suggested that, in certain circumstances, women could govern their husbands. I do not wish to clear Milton from charges of misogyny and I accept that, in general, he places men in the position of authority. However, in *Tetrachordon*, Milton controversially posits that although the bible states that woman was created for the man and this implies subjection, ‘Neverthelesse man is not to hold her as a servant ... particular exceptions may have place, if she exceed her husband in prudence and dexterity, and he contentedly yield, for then a superior and more natural law comes in, that the wiser should govern the lesse wise, whether male or female’ (*Tetrachordon*, (London: Thomas Paine and Matthew Simmons, 1645), B2r). Similarly, although in *The History of Britain* Milton often mocks women who attempt to exercise power either in government or on the battlefield, he also makes deliberate exceptions where he feels the woman in question is ‘worthy’: Cordelia (D2v), Godiva (2P3r), and Elfred (2G3r) are such exceptions (London: James Allestry, 1670). I would thereby disagree with Janet E. Halley’s suggestion that Milton’s view of marriage and divorce suggests that female subjectivity is non-existent, ‘Female Autonomy in Milton’s Sexual Poetics’, in *Milton and the Idea of Woman*, ed. Julia M. Walker (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988), 242-46. For Milton, the analogy between the relationship between a husband and wife and the government and the governed, and the notion that this contract should be based on consent, results in a text which gives the subordinated partner significant subjectivity.

at herself and that he can lead her to Adam (4.456). God's interruption, however, is not a commandment. Eve claims that it was instead a warning against 'vain desire', which should be read both in terms of vanity and unfulfilled desire (4.467-8). It does include an imperative, 'follow me' (4.470), but this imperative is qualified and the full warning reads:

What there thou seest fair Creature is thy self,
With thee it came and goes: but follow me,
And I will bring thee where no shadow staies
Thy coming, and thy soft imbraces, hee
Whose image thou art, him thou shalt enjoy
Inseperable thine, to him shalt beare
Multitudes like thy self, and thence be call'd
Mother of human Race (4.469-476).

Rather than a command, this speech of God, interpreted by Eve as a warning, is also reiterated by Eve here as a persuasive invitation. I contend that the 'but', which qualifies the imperative 'follow me', enables us to read the line as 'If you will but follow me'. In other words, if you will consent to be led, you will gain fulfilment. In Eve's narrative – and it is crucial to understand that this is not God's voice but rather Eve's retelling of God's words to her – God does not appeal to Eve's sense of duty as his daughter, as his subject, or as one created for Adam, but instead to her sense of power and choice. According to Eve's retelling, God uses the second person pronouns *thy*, *thou*, *thee*, and *thine* no fewer than ten times with a particular emphasis on the second person possessive pronouns in relation to Adam and her children. Although elsewhere in the text, after agreeing to the marriage contract, Eve acknowledges herself as subordinate to both God and Adam, the language used here positions her in control of whether she chooses firstly to follow God, and secondly whether to marry Adam.

This is reinforced in Eve's second choice where, upon seeing Adam, Eve turns away and must be persuaded again. As McColley puts it, this 'moment of hesitation marks her discovery that her will is free'.⁶⁸ Adam makes his claim to Eve, and this time unlike God he does assert patriarchal dominance: 'I seek thee, and thee claim / My other half', and, Eve says, 'with that thy gentle hand

⁶⁸ *Milton's Eve*, 82.

/ Seisd mine' (4.87-89). However, the word 'seisd', in this context, is slightly removed from Adam's agency, and instead his 'gentle hand', as a bifurcated entity, is the element which seizes Eve's. In terms of property law, seized could be used in a passive sense where the person who possesses land or property is described as the person who *is* seized (*OED*, 1b). In this sense, it is possible to read this line both as Adam seizing Eve's hand and taking possession of her, but also simultaneously as Eve, the one who is passively seized, as being seized of Adam as her property – in possession of him – reflecting back on those possessive pronouns she emphasised in her retelling of God's intervention. Similarly, immediately following the remembrance of the seizing of one-another's hands, Stephen B. Dobranski has noted that Eve initiates physical contact to mirror his earlier seizing when she leans on Adam in an action of 'conjugal attraction unreprou'd' (4.493-94).⁶⁹ For Dobranski, her initiation of conjugal intimacy highlights her consensual role in the relationship, now as the initiator, and once again the language used indicates a mutuality of consent, this time on behalf of Adam. Eve is only 'half imbracing' (4.494), with 'half her swelling Breast' (4.495) meeting his, and it is up to Adam to consensually respond with 'kisses pure' (4.502).⁷⁰ In this sense, Milton foregrounds not only their mutual possession of one another through the ambiguous use of the term seized, but also the mutuality of their relationship and the continued consent required, which is figured bodily in the clasping of Adam and Eve's hands and their sexual intimacy.

Eve's consent to engage in the marital contract does result in her subordination, but this subordination does not eclipse her abilities or her liberty. Eve's subordinated status in the marriage contract is demeaning and troubling to contemporary readers. The beginning of her birth narrative speech is full of self-effacement and self-subordination in which she calls Adam her 'Guide / And Head', 'for whom / And from whom [she] was formd.../ And without whom [is] to no end' (4.440-443). Crucially, however, Eve's consent to be married and her acceptance of a subordinated

⁶⁹ 'Clustering and Curling Locks: The Matter of Hair in *Paradise Lost*', *PLMA* 125, no.2 (2010): 349.

⁷⁰ *Ibid*.

position, whilst it is uncomfortable for us, does not reduce her sufficiency or liberty to consent. As discussed, in order to make her choice to be governed, Eve not only had to consent to be ruled by Adam and God but had to be sufficient to make that choice, and this sufficiency is not erased simply by engaging in the marital contract. Focusing on the hierarchical relationship between Adam and Eve, McColley shows that Milton rewrites the typical Renaissance understanding of Eve as either of the devil's party and the corrupting influence over Adam; insufficient and thereby predisposed to fall, or, the perpetrator of a fall that was not only inevitable, but also desired by God. Milton refutes all three traditions and creates Eve as a sufficient character with positive traits and her own liberty of mind. As McColley puts it:

[Milton's] crucial task was, in the face of an overwhelmingly antifeminine tradition, to create poetically such an Eve as a just and provident God must be supposed to have created actually. That is, he had to create an Eve who is imaginative and rational, sensuous and intelligent, passionate and chaste, and free and responsible, and to show her fruitfully tempering the ingredients of virtue in everything she does until the moment when Satan's lies 'into her heart too easie entrance won'.⁷¹

In this regard, Milton does not deny his Eve the right to contribute equally to the management of Eden, and instead presents the governance of Eden as one of a council, the kind of government which Milton hoped for.⁷² Milton is keen to establish in the domestic epic of *PL*, as in many of his earlier works previously discussed, that hierarchy, whether marital or political, is based on the informed consent of those who are governed, that their subordination to this governance does not preclude their liberty, and – as is established in *The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce* – that this consent is not perpetual but can be taken away if those to whom it is given abuse it.

Milton establishes that Eve can make good decisions and undertake the work of Edenic management. For example, Eve chooses the names of the flora and fauna of Eden, matching Adam's ability to name the animals (11.277; 8.352-355). It is also indicated that she knows more about the plants and the garden management. When Adam sees Raphael approaching, he requests that Eve 'bring forth and poure / Abundance, fit to honour and receive / Our Heav'nly stranger'

⁷¹ *Milton's Eve*, 3.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 49.

(5.314-316), and Eve has to explain to Adam that they do not keep much food in storage because it would not preserve well, before leaving to decide 'What choice to chuse' (5.321-330, 333). She then displays her knowledge of the plants and her somewhat alchemical ability to create delicious food and drink directly from the garden around her. Milton lingers in loving detail on the scene for almost twenty lines as she demonstrates her in-depth knowledge and skill: she 'gathers', 'crushes' and 'tempers' the particular berries, plants and herbs in order to 'bring / Taste after taste upheld with kindest change' (5.335-349). Though it is often looked on as a typically feminine and domestic chore, Milton's preoccupation with Eve's knowledge and activity here portrays more than just that of a generous hostess: she is a knowledgeable horticulturist and chef. Indeed, her knowledge of the plants places her in a position of more spiritual knowledge than Adam. She correctly predicts that Raphael will 'confess that here on Earth / God has dispensed his bounties as in Heav'n' (5.329-340), whereas Adam later wonders whether this food is 'unsavourie...perhaps / To spiritual Natures', and later still asks how it compares, only to be told what Eve had already predicted (5.401-2, 467).

Adam's view of Eve's birth and their relationship emphasises his need for a partner and his reliance on Eve. Milton seems to engage with how power is invested and qualified in those who wield it through their relationship to their subjects. In Adam's desire for the creation of Eve, Milton suggests that a head of state is purposeless, unfulfilled, and impotent without a political body which consents to be ruled by it, locating real power in the body – here Eve's. Adam's request for Eve indicates an awareness of his lack of completion, which is a hypothesis God supports. After naming the plentiful creatures of Earth, Adam experiences a sense of existential lack, he recalls that he 'found not what me thought I wanted still', and complains to God that he cannot enjoy Eden alone: 'In solitude / What happiness, who can enjoy alone, / Or all enjoying, what contentment find?' (8.354, 364-366). Adam's request for a mate belies a need to be in a relationship with an equal who consents to be governed. After his first request, God reminds Adam that he has 'rule' over all the beasts and that his 'Realm is large', but Adam clarifies that rule over inferiors

who have no choice is not rule at all: 'Among unequals what society / Can sort?' (8.375, 383-384).⁷³

In this broader sense, what Milton seems to be implying is that Adam feels incomplete without a partner who will help him to sort the society into a governor and a governed, he is a head of state without a body politic, and both are equally important and equally, well, equal. His request for a mate is based on the idea of that mate being equal, sufficient, able to reason, and thereby able to choose. He asks for a relationship 'which must be mutual, in proportion due / Giv'n and receiv'd' (8.385-386), and requests a mate who is 'fit to participate / In rational delight' (8.390-391). Milton here suggests that in order to create a paradisaical society which can prepare itself for the millenarian outcome, hierarchy must indeed exist, but the status must be decided through consent between equals, and the subject is in no way less rational, sufficient, or important. Crucially, the subject can also take that consent away.

Raphael's rebuke to Adam's thirty-nine-line declaration of love and subjugation to Eve's physical beauty clarifies that Eve's subjection to Adam is based on a consent which can be revoked if Adam proves unworthy of it, and serves as a reminder that rulers who stray from right reason, wisdom, and virtue will cease to be consented to by their subjects (8.530-569). Raphael, frowning 'with contracted brow' (8.569), reminds Adam not to dismiss 'Wisdom' (8.563-564). He counsels Adam that 'the more thou know'st, / The more she will acknowledge thee her Head' and further cautions that she 'sees when thou art seen least wise' (8.573-574, 578). This advice is fundamentally a warning that he will lose the consent of Eve, her affection and her willingness to be governed, if he fails in his wisdom and is distracted by unchecked and carnal passion. Raphael gives a stark warning that Eve, thanks to her sufficiency, her reason and intelligence, will see if Adam's wisdom fails. Raphael does so in millenarian terms when he states that Adam must base his relationship with Eve 'In Reason... / By which to heav'nly Love thou maist ascend' (8.591-592). It is clear that Raphael's angelic counsel is a counsel on good governance, with the domestic governance serving

⁷³ Lewalski glosses 'sort' to mean 'suit' or 'be fitting' (*OED* v.1, 8). I would suggest the alternative 'to arrange (things, etc.) according to kind or quality, or after some settled order or system; to separate and put into different sorts or classes', (*OED* 9a) which the *OED* records as being used more consistently in the late seventeenth century.

as a microcosm for political governance in a world in which the domestic couple are the only citizens. Raphael clearly states that this governance, if performed correctly, can lead to the attainment of millenarian Paradise. Crucially, Raphael's counsel also pays particular attention to the notion of the 'carnal pleasure' which Adam, as governor, should fear to sink to, and which becomes the central motif of the relationship between Eve and Satan (8.593).

Perverse Tyranny: Satan, Eve, and the Rhetoric of Rape / Seduction

Satan's persuasion of Eve has long been considered a sexual seduction in both biblical and critical traditions. Indeed, the phallic snake seducing Eve to taste a forbidden fruit is still the ubiquitous metaphor for sexual transgression, commonly used in relation to adultery, in which the woman can embody the 'forbidden fruit', the tempting snake, or a foolish transgressing Eve. For the early moderns, sexual seduction and rape are intrinsically linked. As Jocelyn Catty has argued, literary representations of rape (and, indeed, legal ones) rest on unstable definitions.⁷⁴ Rape (stemming from *raptus*, for theft) for early moderns could mean both the theft of a woman from their patriarchal owner (husband or father) with or without their volition, or the sexual abuse of a woman against their will. As such, the relationship between female consent and rape is unstable. As the female volition does not necessarily signify in rape narratives, early moderns have a 'tendency to collapse rape and seduction into each other' and this collapse is 'characteristic of early modern representations of women's sexual "falls"'.⁷⁵ Milton's retelling of the temptation (or seduction) and fall of the original woman arguably draws upon tropes of rape narratives, and

⁷⁴ *Writing Rape, Writing Women in Early Modern England: Unbridled Speech* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 9-24. See also Susan Staves, *Players' Sceptres: Fictions of Authority in the Restoration* (Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1979), 59.

⁷⁵ Catty, *Writing Rape*, 19.

straddles this boundary between the rhetoric of rape and seduction, making links between the rhetoric of rape and sexual consent and the political rhetoric of governing without consent.⁷⁶

Satan's attempts to seduce Eve are sexualised and exist rhetorically and metaphorically on those boundaries of seduction and rape. After looking upon Adam and Eve for the first time, Satan begins to voice his plans and frames it as a potential abduction or rape, in the sense of *raptus*, with clear sexual undertones. He initially dwells upon his physical entry into closeness with them. He notes how Eden is too 'ill secur'd' and 'ill fenc't' to protect them from a foe who is now 'enterd' (4.370-373), utilising the language of invasion which echoes his previous use of the language of colonial conquest and empire, both of which are often used to describe rape.⁷⁷ Satan further indicates that his plan is for them to be physically close and to live together – in Eden or in Hell: 'League with you I seek, / And mutual amitie so straight, so close, / That I with you must dwell, or you with me' (4.375-377). The duplicated intensifier here of 'so' in terms of physical closeness contains implications of intimacy. This is further supported by the fact that Satan's reaction to their innocent sex acts is one of sexual longing. As he watches his 'prey' have sex, he devolves into a sexually jealous tirade discussing his 'fierce desire' and 'unfulfill'd...longing pines' (4.399, 510-511). As such, the threat to Adam and Eve is that they, as God's children, will be abducted by Satan to live with him, and carries with it a further threat of sexual violation. Satan then explicitly outlines how this is a rape of political revenge, telling Adam and Eve they should 'Thank him [God] who puts me loath to this revenge' and suggesting that:

⁷⁶ Julia Rudolph has argued that the image of the stock tyrant-rapist was mobilised and reinvigorated by Whig politics in the late 1670s and early 1680s, and that in doing so the Whigs tentatively suggested that a woman might be 'a free and rational individual' even whilst simultaneously defining women as male property. The rhetoric of rape, which Rudolph describes as the 'language of ravishment, deflowering, violation, and adultery' was thus placed 'alongside an emerging language of consent, social contract, and natural law' ('Rape and Resistance: Women and Consent in Seventeenth-Century English Legal and Political Thought', *Journal of British Studies* 39, no.2 (2000): 161-162). I argue that Milton can be seen to be doing this here, in the 1660s, and indeed, Ian Donaldson has noted that the parallel between the exiled Stuarts and Tarquin as tyrannical rapists was repeatedly drawn on by republicans in the 1650s, including Milton, Marchamont Nedham and others, becoming a 'powerful Republican myth' which justified their own rebellion (*The Rapes of Lucretia: A Myth and its Transformations* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), 112, 118).

⁷⁷ In William Shakespeare's *The Rape of Lucrece*, Tarquin is positioned as an invader of the female landscape. Her breasts are 'globes...maiden worlds unconquered' and Tarquin is the 'foul usurper' whose hand as an invading army 'march'd on to make his stand / On her bare breast, the heart of all her land' (London: John Harrison, 1594), STC22345, D2v. For further discussions of female bodies as landscapes in the utopian tradition, see Introduction, 18-19 and Chapter Four, 249-257.

public reason just,
 Honour and Empire with revenge enlarg'd,
 By conquering this new World, compels me now
 To do what else though damnd I should abhorre.
 So spake the Fiend, and with necessitie,
 The Tyrants plea, excus'd his devilish deeds (4.389-394).

This was read by at least one contemporary in terms of sexual deviancy. In Dryden's adaptation Lucifer's condensed reaction to Adam and Eve's sensuousness is far more directly rapacious:

Why have not I like these, a body too
 Form'd for the same delights which they pursue?
 I could (so variously my passions move)
 Enjoy and blast her, in the act of love.
 Unwillingly I hate such excellence;
 She wrong'd me not; but I revenge th'offence
 Through her, on Heav'n (D1r).

His threat to '[e]njoy and blast her in the act of love' is the most clear reference to rape, as 'blast' in the seventeenth century could mean to 'bring infamy upon... to ruin' (*OED* 8b). Thus, Milton's Satan plans a rape / theft of Adam and Eve which is sexual in tone, associated with not only revenge but political tyranny, and related to New World imperialism.

The language Milton uses to describe Satan's temptation of Eve is reminiscent of the rhetoric of rape or sexual violation, particularly in the pastoral tradition. Satan tellingly wishes to find '*Eve* separate' and is pleased to find her alone and 'opportune to all attempts' (9.422, 481). Satan's lascivious view of the situation recalls the traditional pastoral mode: he is described as a man who suddenly emerges from a city into a pastoral setting 'among the pleasant Villages and Farmes', with 'rural sight' and 'rural sound' in which a 'fair Virgin' with 'Nymphlike step' appears and 'Such Pleasure took the Serpent to behold / This Flourie Plat, the sweet recess of *Eve*, Thus earlie, thus alone' (9.444-457). The language used here indicates the sexual overtones of this encounter. The 'sweet recess of *Eve*' represents not just the floral enclosure in which he finds her but is also a euphemism for her vagina. Satan 'thus excites' himself to a revenge which is performed in highly sexualised terms and seduces Eve as a serpent, 'erect' (9.500). Satan approaches her 'under shew of Love well feign'd / The way which to her ruin now I tend' (9.492-493), and thus intends

to gain revenge by seducing Eve with a 'shew of love', getting her to disobey her father, God, and resulting in her 'ruin'. After eating, the physical change which she undergoes is also linked to depictions of fallen women or a loss of chastity.⁷⁸ As she tells her story to Adam, her 'Cheek distemper flushing glowd' (9.888). In reaction 'the Garland [Adam] wreath'd for *Eve*, / Down drop'd, and all the faded Roses shed' (9.893-894), a metaphoric de-flowering which he concretises by calling her 'Defac't, deflourd' (9.901) and 'ruin'd' (9.906).

Texts about rape and sexual violence exist on the same continuum as the family analogy for governance, and they were mobilised by republican writers in the seventeenth century, including Milton, to represent monarchic tyranny in association with perverted sexual aggression. In *Eikonoklastēs* (1649), Milton takes issue with a passage in *Eikon Basilike* (1649) which equates Charles I with a male sun who impregnates Parliament to produce law. Milton refuses to allow this abstraction to stand, and instead grounds it within the family analogy. Milton suggests that if, to Charles I, Parliament is 'but a Female' and incapable of giving birth to laws without Charles I's 'procreative reason', then it stands that Charles I is sleeping with his mother, as it is only through parliamentary laws that the role of a king exists.⁷⁹ He then draws on the classical links between sexual perversion and tyranny:

And if it hath bin anciently interpreted the presaging signe of a future Tyrant, but to dream of copulation with his Mother, what can It be less then actual Tyranny to affirme waking, that the Parlament, which is his Mother, can neither conceive or bring forth *any autoritative Act* without his Masculine coition: Nay that his reason is as Celestial and lifegiving to the Parlament, as the Suns influence is to the Earth: What other notions but these, or such like, could swell up *Caligula* to think himself a God.⁸⁰

Milton here equates this conception of monarchy with incest, and incestuous monarchs with tyranny through reference to Caligula, who he uses twice as a metonym for Charles I in *Eikonoklastēs*.⁸¹ Milton draws attention to parallels in the sexual perversion of Caligula through the

⁷⁸ Catty, *Writing Rape*, 11-13.

⁷⁹ *Eikonoklastēs*, (London: Matthew Simmons, 1649), R1v.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, R1v.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, Hh1r. Caligula is not the only tyrant with whom Milton associates Charles in the text: Ahab 2D2v, 2E1r; Herod 2I1r; Nero, 2I2r.

metaphor of incestuous relations. In equating Charles I with a Roman emperor known for his tyranny and perversion, and making reference to incestuous dreams, Milton is drawing on the classical picture of a stock tyrant who:

in classical tyrannography... holds unrestricted power and is accountable to no one, he can have sex with anyone he pleases...he may engage in sex with a view to bullying and degrading his sex objects...they may commit other kinds of sexual transgressions as well, exotic or abnormal acts contrary to law and custom.⁸²

In this sense, and when we take into context the relationship between Charles I and his Parliament, Charles I is not only incestuous but also a tyrannical rapist who attempts to enforce his sexual will upon others, here his parliamentary mother, without their consent. In classical history, ‘A tyrants *hybris* [abuse and harassment], especially sexual *hybris*...was a prime motive for assassination’, and, in *Eikonoklastēs*, Milton also argues that this is the case, stating that revenge against tyrants for rape has biblical precedent: ‘is there the same cause to destroy a whole Citty for the ravishing of a Sister...Did not all *Israel* doe as much against the *Benjamits* for one Rape committed by a few, and defended by the whole ‘Tribe’.⁸³ Within this framework, Parliament’s execution of Charles I is justified because of his tyrannical perversion.

Narratives of sexual tyranny and rape were consistently used to bolster republican claims. These discussions regarding tyranny and sexual violence or unbridled lust are also found in the proto-utopian texts which republicans considered foundational to commonwealth politics.⁸⁴ In Plato’s *Republic*, there is a lengthy discussion of the tyrannical character and appetites, and explicitly these appetites are described as a lust and desire for things which are unlawful; incest and rape being among them.⁸⁵ Most famously, Livy’s account of Sextus Tarquinius and his rape of Lucretia

⁸² Philip Holt, ‘Sex, Tyranny, and Hippias’ Incest Dream (Herodotus 6.107)’, *Greek and Roman Byzantine Studies* 39, no.3 (2000): 225-226. The incestuous dream Milton refers to here is a dream of Hippias, a deposed tyrant, who dreams he had sex with his mother and thought this meant he would return to his homeland and recover his power in a proto-Freudian interpretation of his unconscious return to the womb. It is comically undercut in Herodotus’ narrative as, upon arriving in Athens, Hippias loses a tooth in the ground, and finds that this is the only part of him which has come to reclaim his mother land (Holt, ‘Sex, Tyranny and Hippias’ Incest Dream’, 222).

⁸³ Holt, ‘Sex, Tyranny, and Hippias’ Incest Dream’, 232; *Eikonoklastēs*, S3r.

⁸⁴ Rebecca W. Bushnell, *Tragedies of Tyrants: Political Thought and Theatre in the English Renaissance* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990), 8.

⁸⁵ Plato, *Republic*, 571-78. For further discussion of the character of the tyrant in *Republic*, see Cinzia Arruzza, *A Wolf in the City: Tyranny and the Tyrant in Plato’s Republic* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018), 51-95.

was a foundational text for early modern English literature, especially William Shakespeare's retelling in *The Rape of Lucrece* (1584). This narrative is of particular use to republican rhetoric in that the rape of Lucretia and her suicide justifies the overthrowing of the monarchic reign of Tarquin, categorised as tyrannical through association with this rape, and the establishment of a republic under Lucius Junius Brutus.⁸⁶

Nevertheless, Milton departs from other stereotypical narratives of fallen women in depicting the life of Eve after the rhetorical sexual violation and loss of chastity: she does not commit suicide out of shame in a self-destructive response as in classical narratives, she does not marry her attacker as in the biblical imperative (Deuteronomy, 22:28-29), and she is emphatically not forever 'ruin'd' despite Adam's use of that descriptor (9.906).⁸⁷ Though Adam and Eve are stained with the sin of this interaction, which took place specifically on Eve's body, and the language of pollution and ruin is used to describe Eve's body on several occasions, Milton's narrative has more to say about Eve's body which does not fit with the tradition. Eve's body becomes the site through which millennial Paradise, which this narrative never attained but which hoped to work towards, can be achieved. The perversion of Satan is figured merely as a delay, which will be resolved through a woman's womb. The post-lapsarian narrative of *PL* becomes in many ways a celebration of the potential figured in Eve's body – a potential which is maternal and millenarian in aspect.

Although Adam and Eve do both wish for death, and Eve explicitly contemplates suicide in line with the fallen women narratives of Lucretia and others (10.770-782; 10.992-1006), Adam reasons that they must live and produce children to fulfil the prophecy and gain revenge over Satan (10.1030-1040). Later, Adam also recalls the promise about the Seed and comes close to offering Eve worshipful praise:

Whence Haile to thee,

⁸⁶ Donaldson, *The Rapes of Lucretia*, 118; Adam G. Hooks, 'Royalist Shakespeare: Publishers, Politics and the Appropriation of *The Rape of Lucrece*' in *Canonising Shakespeare: Stationers and the Book Trade, 1640-1740*, eds., Emma Depledge and Peter Kirwan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 17-25.

⁸⁷ Catty, *Writing Rape*, 11.

Eve rightly call'd, Mother of all Mankind,
Mother of all things living, since by thee
Man is to live, and all things live for Man (11.158-161).

This prophecy which God pronounces in 'mysterious terms' states that: 'Between Thee and the Woman I will put / Enmitie, and between thine and her Seed; / Her Seed shall bruise thy head, thou bruise his heel' (9.173, 179-181). This proclamation is 'then verifi'd' by the fact that *Jesus* son of *Mary* second *Eve* will 'tread at last under our feet' the figure of Satan (9.182-183), and in this discussion of Mary as a second Eve, Milton highlights Eve's central role in the redemption narrative (9.190). God, when sending Michael down to comfort Adam and Eve, specifically tells him to inform them of 'My Cov'nant in the womans seed' (11.116). We are thus asked to look at Eve's body in the positive light of redemptive potential, rather than one of corruption, ruin or tragedy.

More than just redemptive, Eve's role is central to the achievement of the Second Coming and millennium. When Michael fully unfolds to Adam the nature of the seed in the character of Jesus, and how this will lead to the millennium, Adam exclaims:

O prophet of glad tidings, finisher
Of utmost hope! Now clear I understand
What oft my steddiest thoughts have searcht in vain,
Why our great expectation should be call'd
The seed of Woman: Virgin Mother, Haile (12.375-379).

Through Jesus, the people of earth will have the stain of original sin removed, and once the disciples have taught 'All Nations' about Jesus (12.446), then we can look forward to 'this worlds dissolution' and the creation of a Paradise which is 'far happier place / Then this of *Eden*' (12.464-465). Lucretia's dead body was 'displayed' whilst Brutus gave a speech to the public to 'remind them of the tyranny of the Tarquins and of their many crimes, of which this rape was the most recent and most outrageous' in order to incite political revolution and attain liberty.⁸⁸ In stark contrast, it is Eve's active, lively role as the 'Mother of all Mankind', her continued participation in

⁸⁸ Donaldson, *The Rapes of Lucretia*, 5.

society, which must give birth to the means of rebellion against Satanic tyranny in the figure of Jesus (11.159).⁸⁹ This stands in stark contrast to the ‘power achieved so passively’ through the swansong of the self-destructive victims of rape in much of early modern literature, though it is of course important to stress that Eve is not literally raped within the narrative, but she is nonetheless troped and described in line with traditional rape victims.⁹⁰ In this way, Milton departs from traditional rape narratives and their associations with politics, and refigures the female body in relation to the political body, and to revolution: she is no longer a passive symbol of the excessive lust of tyrants which galvanizes the active, public, male sphere into action, but instead an active member of a society herself, whose domestic contributions to family life and society are figured as fundamental to the political future. Although Eve’s character is tainted by sin and described in the misogynistic terms of rape victims, Milton once again adds subtlety to this position by also arguing, forcefully, that she can and must actively contribute to the erasure of this stain and the attainment of the promised millenarian Paradise after the Second Coming.

PL thus frames the female body and female subjectivity as the body politic, and in doing so, suggests that the female body is a site of disruption to hierarchy. Although Eve is, indeed, subjected to the patriarchal authority of God and Adam in her submission to the marital contract, Milton represents Eve’s consent to this contract as the central means through which society can be bettered, and eventually attain the millennial future he hoped for. This figuration is maintained

⁸⁹ Of course, this could be seen as in line with Milton’s Christianity, and the transition from ‘shame culture’ to ‘guilt culture’ which is discussed at length in Eric R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1951), 28-63.

⁹⁰ Catty, *Writing Rape*, 21.

in the narrative of Jesus, Eve's seed, triumphing over Satan in *Paradise regain'd* (1671).⁹¹ Further, Milton's ideal of a millennial future, in which hierarchy can be dismantled, indicates that the political subjection of Eve, the body politic, in this relationship is merely a stepping-stone towards a future in which this obedience is unnecessary. The focus on the political agency of the female body in *PL*, its relationship to utopia, and the threat which it poses to the re-establishment of monarchic hierarchy in the Restoration, is something which Dryden's adaptation seems to be astutely aware of.

Politics After Paradise: Dryden's *The State of Innocence and Fall of Man* (1673-1677).

Dryden's semi-operatic adaptation of *PL*, *SoI*, responds to the utopian, political, and gendered aspects of Milton's epic in ways that reflect the moments of composition, in 1673/4, and publication, in 1677. James Duke of York's marriage to the Catholic Mary of Modena in 1673, and the continued heirless union of Charles II and Catherine of Braganza, contributed to heightened fears of a Catholic succession; fears which eventually led to the end of the Stuart dynasty in the so-called 'Glorious Revolution' of 1688. Dryden's choice of subject and source, his dedicatee, and his significant alterations to the characters of Adam, Lucifer (Dryden's Satan), and – most crucially – Eve, serve to reflect and participate in the anxiety of the period, the loss of utopian hopes, and the fears surrounding maternity and succession. As argued above, Milton's Eve was a sufficient subject who consented to be ruled by a ruler she considered wise in order to achieve the millennium. Even after the Fall, Eve is figured as the means through which Paradise will still be

⁹¹ The potential of Jesus as the Son is carefully equated with maternal power in the figures of Eve and Mary in *Paradise Regain'd* (London: John Starkey, 1671). Very early on in the narrative, we hear Satan telling the other devils that 'the seed of *Eve*' which had been prophesied 'is late of woman born', and this passive construction highlights the physical role of a woman (B2v). Mary is accorded a prominent place: it is she who reveals to Jesus that he is the son of God (B7r). She also has a speech of over forty lines outlining her 'Motherly cares and fears' when Jesus does not return from his baptism, and here she narrates his birth and early childhood (C8r-D1v). Further, the final line of *Paradise Regain'd* gives us an image of Jesus simply walking 'Home to his Mothers house private return'd' (H8r). Milton thus depicts Mary as a decidedly domestic, grounded, and relatable mother figure, whose mortality and physicality as a human woman, mother, and descendent of Eve is central to the millennium. It is worth noting that Steven Zwicker has argued that *Paradise Regained* is in part a response to Dryden's adaptation, that it was 'shaped... as an answer to and a repudiation of the heroic drama' ('Milton, Dryden and the Politics of Literary Controversy', in *Culture and Society in the Stuart Restoration: Literature, Drama, History*, ed. Gerald M. MacLean (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 139).

achieved. Dryden's Eve, by contrast, is inherently manipulative, unwilling to be governed by a weak and effeminate Adam, sufficient to corrupt herself without Lucifer's involvement, and incapable of rectifying the fall. I argue that *SoI* thus participates in and reflects anti-Catholic rhetoric in relation to Eve, and further, that Dryden creates deliberate parallels between Eve and the dedicatee, Mary, the feared target of this anti-Catholicism and the new Duchess of York, to offer a veiled warning to the Stuart monarchy that the consequences of their choices may result in expulsion from power.

In what is now a well-rehearsed anecdote, John Aubrey tells us that Dryden visited Milton and asked his leave to adapt *PL* as a heroic opera, and that Milton agreed that he 'would give him leave to tagge his verses'.⁹² This visit almost certainly occurred before the publication of the second edition of *PL* in 1674, which includes a prefatory poem by Andrew Marvell in which he mocks 'the *Town-Bayes*' for tagging verses with rhyming bells.⁹³ The use of 'Bayes', the name of a character in *The Rehearsal* (1672) who was a thinly veiled satiric representation of Dryden, and the word 'tag', indicates that Marvell was aware of the meeting. In the same poem he also notes that he fears that 'some less skilful hand' would 'change [*PL*] in Scenes, and show it in a Play'.⁹⁴ It is unclear whether or not Marvell or Milton had, at this point, read a manuscript copy of the play, or whether they were simply referring to their knowledge of Dryden's intent. What we do know is that on 17th April 1674, Henry Herringman entered 'a booke or cobby entituled *The Fall of Angells and man in innocence, An heroic opera* Written to John Dreyden, servant to his Matie' into the Stationers' Register, but the play was never acted, and was not published until 1677.⁹⁵ The eventual publication was, according to Dryden, precipitated because 'many hundred Copies' of it were 'dispers'd, abroad without my knowledge or consent: so that each one gathering new faults, it became at length a Libel against

⁹² 'Minutes of the Life of Mr John Milton', in *The Early Lives of Milton*, ed. Helen Darbishire (London: Constable and Co, 1932), 7.

⁹³ Andrew Marvell, 'On Paradise Lost', in *Paradise Lost*, 2nd edition (London: S. Simmons, 1674), A3r.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, A3r.

⁹⁵ Stationers' Company, *A Transcript of the Registers of the Worshipful Company of Stationers: from 1650-1708*, ed. George Edward Briscoe Eyre (London, s.n., 1913), 3.479.

me' (b1v). He also here argues that it was 'wholly Written' in one month and has not been revised' (b1v). In combination with the entry in the Stationers' Register, this suggests a likely composition date of late 1673 or early 1674.

Critics have generally been suspicious of Dryden's rationale for writing and publishing this play.⁹⁶ Some posit that the play was intended for the opening of the King's Company's playhouse at Drury Lane in 1674, and designed to contend with the production of the popular operatic *Tempest* being put on by the rival Duke's company, at the end of April of that year.⁹⁷ It has also been argued that it is 'almost certain' that *SoI* was intended to celebrate the marriage feast of James and Mary in 1673.⁹⁸ Many of the celebrations, perhaps including this performance, were cancelled, due to 'widespread popular disapproval' of the match, specifically because it increased fears of a Catholic succession.⁹⁹ In the context of this unfavourable marriage, which increased fears of a Catholic succession and threats to English Protestantism, it might have been controversial to have staged a play focusing on the disastrous outcome of the coupling of Adam and Eve. Early modern wedding entertainments served both as 'theatrical diversion and political eulogy', so arguably the audience would be primed for reading political parallels between the entertainment, the couple being celebrated, and monarchic rhetoric, and this could have contributed to the decision not to put the production on.¹⁰⁰ It is, however, more likely that it was never produced due to the financial constraints of the King's Company between 1673/4 and 1677.¹⁰¹ Nonetheless, A.W. Verrall points

⁹⁶ Vinton A. Dearing, 'Commentary: *The State of Innocence*', in *The Works of John Dryden*, ed. Dearing, vol.12 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 322.

⁹⁷ James Anderson Winn, *John Dryden and his World* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), 262. The Operatic *Tempest* is discussed in detail in Chapter One.

⁹⁸ Tobias Gabel, *Paradise Reframed: Milton, Dryden, and the Politics of Literary Adaptation, 1658-1679* (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter GmbH Heidelberg, 2016), 188.

⁹⁹ Lewalski, "'Paradise Lost' and the Contest over the Modern Heroic Poem", *Milton Quarterly* 43, no.3 (2009): 157.

¹⁰⁰ Kevin Curran, *Marriage, Performance, and Politics at the Jacobean Court* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2009), 2.

¹⁰¹ Dearing, 'Commentary: *The State of Innocence*', 323. Critics such as Anthony Welch have suggested it was unperformable, 'Losing Paradise in Dryden's *State of Innocence*', in *Uncircumscribed Mind: Reading Milton Deeply*, eds., Charles W. Durham and Kristin A. Pruitt (Selingsgrove: Susquehanna University Press, 2008), 222. However, evidence suggests that Dryden revised the manuscript for publication in 1677 and responded to theatrical developments and tastes. For specific revisions, see Marion H. Hamilton, 'The Manuscripts of Dryden's "*The State of Innocence*" and the Relation of the Harvard Ms to the First Quarto', *Studies in Bibliography* 6 (1994): 244. For how those revisions reflect theatrical tastes, see Lara Dodds, "'To change in scenes and show it in a play": "*Paradise Lost*" and the Stage Directions of Dryden's "*The State of Innocence and Fall of Man*," *Restoration: Studies in English Literary Culture, 1660-1700* 33, no.2 (2009): 1-24.

out that it is likely that Dryden presented a manuscript version to Mary upon or shortly after her arrival.¹⁰² Thus, there is evidence to suggest that at the time of composition Dryden was already thinking of associating his text with the arrival of Mary, and her marriage to James.

SoI is frequently dismissed by critics as a kind of aberration, a reductive and cynical approach to Milton's genius, even when acknowledging the contemporary popularity of the text.¹⁰³ It is often alleged that Dryden's text mocks Milton's, evacuates the literary, philosophical, theological, and political ideologies that Milton held dear, and repackages his liberated verse in the heroic mode of Restoration drama in an effort – with varying degrees of success – to oblivate all traces of republicanism and enthusiasm and reinscribe order.¹⁰⁴ Some have argued that Dryden adapts this text because he did, indeed, consider Milton one of the greatest poets – that he treats *PL* as a national epic and reveres its ambition and poetic content – and that his attraction to it made him wish to repackage it for broader consumption in the Restoration age.¹⁰⁵ Even in these readings his response to Milton is still seen as reductive: he treats Milton in the same way he does Shakespeare, consigning them both to the 'mausoleum' of a prior age, rendering Milton out of touch, old fashioned, even while he was still alive.¹⁰⁶ Though these readings sometimes acknowledge the contemporary popularity of Dryden's text, their desire to read Dryden in

¹⁰² 'The State of Innocence: Dryden and Milton', in *Lectures on Dryden*, ed. Margaret Verrall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1914), 220.

¹⁰³ Diana Traviño Benet accuses Dryden of 'cannibalizing the great Christian epic' ('The Genius of Every Age: Milton and Dryden', *Milton Studies* 57 (2016): 263). Anne Ferry calls it a 'vulgarization' in *Milton and the Miltonic Dryden*, (Cambridge US: Harvard University Press, 1968), 21. Morris Freedman suggests that 'the futility of the project overwhelmed' Dryden which is why it was never staged, and that in undertaking the project Dryden actually realised the shortcomings of verse ('The "Tagging" of Paradise Lost: Rhyme in Dryden's "The State of Innocence"', *Milton Quarterly* 5, no.1 (1971): 18); and Zwicker calls it 'trivializing, domesticating, even ridiculous or comic' ('Milton, Dryden and the Politics of Literary Controversy', 54).

¹⁰⁴ Sharon Achinstein considers Dryden's adaptation thoughtful rather than mocking, but still suggests that it 'sets his original straight, limits such "licence"' and 'makes rational order triumphant' ('Milton's Spectre in the Restoration: Marvell, Dryden, and Literary Enthusiasm', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 59, no.1 (1996): 18); Dodds states that it is in many ways 'a deliberate challenge to Milton's poetic and political commitments' ("To change in scenes and show it in a play", 2); Paulina Kewes suggested the literary changes were an act of 'creative self-confidence' ('Dryden's Theatre and the Passion of Politics' in *The Cambridge Companion to John Dryden*, ed. by Zwicker (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 141); and Nicolas Von Maltzhan has argued that the text should be read in conjunction with libertine literature ('Dryden's Milton and the Theatre of Imagination', in *John Dryden: Tercentenary Essays*, eds., Paul Hammond and David Hopkins (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), 32-56).

¹⁰⁵ Benet, 'The Genius of Every Age'; Marcie Frank, 'Staging Criticism, Staging Milton: John Dryden's "The State of Innocence"', *The Eighteenth Century*, 34, no.1 (1993): 45-64.

¹⁰⁶ Benet, 'The Genius of Every Age': 226.

opposition to Milton – which is arguably shaped by the posthumous afterlives and political reputations of the two writers – has caused them to overlook the criticism of key royal figures found in Dryden’s opera.

Negative appraisals of Dryden’s opera often adopt the same tone once reserved for Restoration adaptations of Shakespeare’s plays: with Milton’s and Shakespeare’s (now) better-known works revered, and rewrites disparaged in ways that overlook the role adaptation often plays in the canonisation of individual texts and authors.¹⁰⁷ Although it is Milton’s *PL* which has stood the test of time and remained a household name, and despite the fact that *SoI* was never performed, Dryden’s semi-operatic adaptation was well known in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century and it played an important role in the afterlife of Milton’s poem. Even without considering the many hundred manuscript copies that were allegedly circulated prior to 1677, we know that between its first print publication and 1700, *SoI* went through nine separate editions, including one pirated edition, which is a remarkable attestation to its popularity. In contrast, *PL* went through only six editions between the longer period of 1667 and 1700 and, as Table 1 below indicates, new editions of *PL* were issued shortly after editions of *SoI*. *PL* was first published in quarto format in 1667. The second edition of *PL*, an octavo, was not published until seven years later, in 1674, and its appearance seems to have been influenced by manuscript circulation of *SoI*. As mentioned above, the 1674 edition makes reference to Dryden’s adaptation in its paratextual materials. The 1678 third edition of *PL* appeared within twelve months of *SoI*’s first print edition. Emma Depledge has recently argued that the Jacob Tonson (and Richard Bentley) folio of *PL* in 1688, widely believed to be the edition which secured canonical status for *PL*, was actually a ‘consolation prize’ for Tonson when he could not get the rights in copy to *SoI*.¹⁰⁸ The 1691 and 1695 editions of *Paradise Lost* likewise followed hot on the heels of new editions of *SoI*. The afterlife

¹⁰⁷ Depledge, *Shakespeare’s Rise to Cultural Prominence: Politics, Print and Alteration, 1642-1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018); Depledge, ‘Shakespeare for Sale’, in *Canonising Shakespeare*, 17-25; Michael Dobson, *The Making of the National Poet: Shakespeare, Adaptation and Authorship, 1660-1796* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995).

¹⁰⁸ ‘Repackaging Milton for the Late Seventeenth-Century Book Trade: Jacob Tonson, *Paradise Lost*, and John Dryden’s *The State of Innocence*’, in *Making Milton*, 50.

of *PL* in this adaptation can thus be said to breathe life back into *PL*, inspiring stationers to invest in new editions of Milton's poem. Its popularity indicates that it was worthy of contemporary attention and, as I intend to argue, that popularity was a result of Dryden tapping into a contemporary topic which drew audiences in: the Catholicism of James and Mary and the impact this had on the stability of the monarchy.

Table 1: Circulation and Publication Dates of <i>Paradise Lost</i> and <i>The State of Innocence</i>	
1667	1st edition of <i>Paradise Lost</i>
c.1673	Manuscript of Dryden's <i>The State of Innocence</i> in circulation
1674	2nd edition of <i>Paradise Lost</i> , featuring paratextual allusions to <i>The State of Innocence</i>
1677	1st edition of <i>The State of Innocence</i>
1678	2nd edition of <i>The State of Innocence</i> 3rd edition of <i>Paradise Lost</i>
1684	3rd and 4th editions of <i>The State of Innocence</i>
1688	4th edition of <i>Paradise Lost</i> (folio)
1690	5 th edition of <i>The State of Innocence</i>
1691	5 th edition of <i>Paradise Lost</i>
1692	6 th edition of <i>The State of Innocence</i>
1695	7 th and 8 th edition of <i>The State of Innocence</i> 6 th edition of <i>Paradise Lost</i>
'1684'	9 th edition of <i>The State of Innocence</i> , with a false date, but must date from later than 1695. ¹⁰⁹

Dryden's decision to adapt this particular text and to thus participate in the 'politics of Paradise' discourse was carefully orchestrated.¹¹⁰ It does not seem to be much of a stretch to consider that the readers of *SoI* would be aware of the political analogue of Adam and monarchy, discussed above. Readers might thus have expected Dryden – as Poet Laureat (from 1668), Historiographer-Royal (from 1670) and author of *Astraea Redux* (1660), which ends by heralding a 'Happy Age!', or, as Alan Roper puts it, 'the vision of a Caroline millennium' – to exploit these links to voice support for the reigning monarch and his extended family, but this was not the case.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁹ Hamilton, 'The Early Editions of Dryden's *State of Innocence*'. *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 5 (1952/3): 163.

¹¹⁰ Alan Roper, *Dryden's Poetic Kingdoms* (London: Routledge, 1965), 110.

¹¹¹ (London: Henry Herringman); Roper, *Dryden's Poetic Kingdoms*, 104.

Dryden's version of Adam cannot be seen to defend Adamic authority and patriarchal rights in line with the most staunchly devout Royalists such as Robert Filmer, author of *Patriarcha* (1680). For Matthew C. Augustine, Dryden's weak, lustful, and ineffectual Adam reflects a pessimism about the stability of monarchy under an effeminate monarch like Charles II.¹¹² Dryden presents us with an Adam who is predominantly characterised by effeminacy in the sense of 'enslavement to women and sexual desire', which was widely seen to be an issue for the Stuarts.¹¹³ The ideological notion of kingship, as Paul Hammond explains, was travestied by the physical existence of the debauched King, and Charles's public, sexualised body was the topic of a number of satirical poems.¹¹⁴ Augustine is correct to relate Dryden's Adam – who 'resigns his boasted sovereignty' to Eve (C3r) – with critiques of the King. Indeed, I would echo Augustine's argument – a necessary antidote to the critical tradition which considers Dryden at odds with Milton – that we should consider Dryden's decision to adapt Milton's work not as a repudiation of Milton and his politics but instead as an 'interpellation of Milton's oppositional view of Stuart monarchy and its literary culture'.¹¹⁵

The opera's political cynicism may also help to explain the print success enjoyed by *SoI*. Dryden's departure from the more orthodox Royalist representation of Adam can be in part explained by the fact that satirical, tongue-in-cheek plays which contained thinly veiled criticisms of public figures were far more popular in the 1670s than the bombastic Royalist heroic works of the 1660s, and Dryden was no stranger to courting both popularity and controversy.¹¹⁶ I here wish

¹¹² 'How John Dryden Read his Milton: *The State of Innocence* Reconsidered', in *Texts and Readers in the Age of Marvell*, eds., Augustine and Christopher D'Addario (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2018), 239.

¹¹³ Susan J. Owen, *Restoration Theatre and Crisis* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 9.

¹¹⁴ *The Making of Restoration Poetry* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2006), 123-124. See also Rachel Weil, "'Sometimes a Sceptre is Only a Sceptre': Pornography and Politics in Restoration England", in *The Invention of Pornography: Obscenity and the Origins of Modernity, 1500-1800*, ed. Lynn Hunt (New York: Zone Books, 1996), 125-157.

¹¹⁵ 'How John Dryden Read his Milton', 234, 239.

¹¹⁶ For an overview of developing tastes, see Owen, 'Restoration Drama and Politics: An Overview', in *A Companion to Restoration Drama*, ed. Owen, (London: Blackwell Publishing, 2008), 126-139. One theatrical example is Elkana Settle's *The Empress of Morocco* (1673). It was extremely popular, but it depicts a treacherous, murderous and lustful queen mother who 'abuses her position in an attempt to subvert the legitimate right of succession', just as Mary and other female Catholic figures such as Henrietta Maria and Charles II's Catholic mistress Louise de Kérouaille were suspected of doing. For discussion of this, see Anne Hermanson, *The Horror Plays of the English Restoration* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2014), 43. Jennifer L. Airey has also read Settle's *Love and Revenge* (1674) as offering 'a subtle warning to Charles II and his courtiers' to 'rescue the nation from feminine poison' (*The Politics of Rape*, 94).

to build on Augustine's reading by focusing less on Adam's effeminacy and more on Dryden's representation of Eve as a powerful female figure who manipulates weak men. These tropes were associated with the dangers of Catholic women in the period and, most specifically in the 1670s, with James Duke of York's new Catholic bride, Mary. I contend that Dryden's dedication to Mary, its material representation on the title pages of the editions, as well as the parallels he makes between his dedicatee and the depiction of Eve, participate in and reflect contemporary anti-Catholic rhetoric to offer a covert warning to the Stuart monarchy.

Politics and Popery in 1673 and 1677

The date of *SoI*'s appearance in manuscript and its first print edition – c.1673 and 1677 respectively – both coincide with moments of heightened anti-Catholic feeling. As mentioned in the Introduction and further analysed in Chapter Three, Charles II and his wife, Catherine of Braganza, had failed to produce any heirs and, by 1673, it was becoming increasingly clear that James would succeed his eldest brother.¹¹⁷ The threat of Catholic rule loomed large and Adam's declaration in *SoI* that he is 'A barren sex, and single, of no use; / But full of forms which I can ne'r produce' must have been particularly relevant to the widely acknowledged issue of his childless marriage (C1r). Charles II 'produced' multiple illegitimate heirs but this kind of procreation was of little use to the succession, and his virility led to attacks on his wife, who was frequently accused of being 'barren'.¹¹⁸ Concern over the succession underscored the pivotal importance of women and maternity in politics, and perhaps heightened the tension and suspicion around the second marriage of James II. The Test Act of 1673 barred Catholics from holding high-ranking posts and effectively outed James II as a Catholic by forcing him to resign the admiralty. To further fuel tensions, James II's new bride was also a Catholic princess.

¹¹⁷ For more on Catherine of Braganza, see Introduction, 32-34; Chapter Three, 194-198; Chapter Four, 256-257.

¹¹⁸ For example, Michal is described as 'a soil ungrateful to the tiller's care' in Dryden's *Absolom and Achitophel* in order to justify Absolom's 'promiscuous use of concubine and bride', an analogy which is frequently read as referring to Catherine and Charles II (London: Jacob Tonson, 1681), B1r. For more on women's bodies depicted as landscapes, see Introduction, 18-19; Chapter Four, 249-257.

Parliament was outraged not only by this match but also by the surreptitious way that it was handled, and this intensified suspicions and fears of Catholic plots to gain control of the governance of England that went all the way up to the Pope: the public imagined that Mary was related to the Pope directly, generally as an illegitimate daughter.¹¹⁹ Fears of the Pope's involvement in the match were not unfounded. Mary, initially resistant to marriage and intending to become a nun, acquiesced only due to the intervention of the Pope, who wrote to convince her that her marriage would be of service to the Catholic church by 'preparing for us, in the Kingdom of England an ample harvest of joy', and hoping that 'the orthodox faith, reinstated by you in a place of honour might recover the splendour and security of former days'.¹²⁰ In this sense, the fears of Parliament and the public are reflected in the Pope's hopes: the alliance was suspected on both sides of bringing about a Counter Reformation.

Mary was married to James by proxy in Italy on 30th September 1673, and, expecting resistance, those arranging the marriage intended for it to be consummated in England before the opening of Parliament on 20th October, but due to sickness, Mary did not arrive in England until late November.¹²¹ Charles II prorogued Parliament to prevent parliamentary dissent to the match from gaining further momentum, but members of Parliament expressed their concerns anyway at a meeting for prayers on 30th October, despite not being able to vote or pass any official legislation, calling for the dissolution of the proxy marriage. Chief amongst their concerns was that 'Mary of Modena, by reason of her relationship to several eminent persons at the Court of Rome, might further Papistical intrigues among us, or be the means of divulging our councils and the state of this kingdom'.¹²² After the initial prorogation, on 4th November the House of Commons met and received the King's refusal to intervene in the marriage, at which point they threatened that they would refuse to give the King financial support unless 'the country was secured from the danger

¹¹⁹ F. H. Blackburne Daniell, ed. *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series 1673-1675*, (London: His Majesty's Stationary Office, 1904), vii.

¹²⁰ Quoted in Mary Hallé, *Queen Mary of Modena: Her Life and Letters* (London: J.M. Dent and Co., 1905), 21.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 35.

¹²² *Ibid.*, 36.

of popery and popish counsellors'.¹²³ Charles II, outraged by this threat, appeared in court in his robes and crown and prorogued Parliament until 7th January, also relieving the ringleader of the opposition, the Earl of Shaftesbury (1621-1683), of his position as Lord Chancellor.¹²⁴

The timing of this prorogation coincided with a particularly ripe moment for anti-Catholic sentiment, coming the day before the anniversary of the Gunpowder Plot; 5th November of 1673 marked the revival of pope-burning pageants, for the first time since Elizabeth I's reign, to protest the prorogation of Parliament and the Catholic match.¹²⁵ According to a letter from T. Player, that night 'there were more bonfires from Charing Cross to Whitechapel than had been in 30 years before. The young fry made the effigies of popes, carried them in procession, and burnt them'.¹²⁶ The use of Elizabethan pope-burning pageants to protest Mary's arrival was not an idle or mindless protest: it was pointedly political and highly threatening. As Odai Johnson argues, it contained 'a dense register of royalism and regicide. It simultaneously celebrates the preservation of monarchy by figuratively assassinating the successor'.¹²⁷ The King does seem to have wanted to take measures to assuage these fears, as *By the King, a Proclamation for Suppression of Popery* was published on 14th November 1673, and begins with the conciliatory argument that:

in pursuance of Our Gracious Assurances to both Houses of Parliament at the late Prorogation, to let all Our Subjects see that no care can be greater than Our own, in the effectual Suppressing of Popery we were pleased... to Direct and Command the Lord Steward and Chamberlain of Our Household to hinder all Papists, and Popish Recusants, or reputed Papists and Popish Recusants from having access to Our Presence... from and after the Eighteenth day of this instant *November*.¹²⁸

¹²³ Ibid., 39.

¹²⁴ For the King's speech to the Houses of Parliament, see *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1673-1675*, 6. On Shaftesbury being relieved, see, Hallé, *Queen Mary of Modena*, 39-40. For a biography of Shaftesbury, see John Spurr, *Anthony Ashley Cooper, First Earl of Shaftesbury 1621-1683* (London: Routledge, 2016).

¹²⁵ Odai Johnson, *Rehearsing the Revolution: Radical Performance, Radical Politics in the English Restoration* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2000), 64; Details of at least one pope-burning pageant on this date can be found in a contemporary report, *The Burning of the Whore of Babylon*, (London: RC, 1673).

¹²⁶ *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1673-1675*, 12.

¹²⁷ Johnson, *Rehearsing the Revolution*, 65.

¹²⁸ (London: John Bull and Christopher Barker, 1673), b.s.

The effort seems to have been largely unsuccessful, likely because, for the enraged Parliament and public, Catholic staff having access to the household were the least of their worries when Catholic brides had access to royal beds.

The atmosphere of protest had not dissipated by the time the Duke and Duchess of York arrived in London on 1st December and were allegedly smuggled into the palace by the King via a 'secret door' due to fears for their safety.¹²⁹ We hear from one commentator that 'The night the Duchess arrived a Pope of 50 $\frac{1}{2}$ was burnt in Southwark', whilst another mentions that the pope-burning celebrations had now reached as far as Scotland.¹³⁰ Further, the Duchess did not seem to make a great impression at court, as one commentator remarks that 'most of our great ladies have been rude in their behaviour towards the Duchess of Modena', going on to suggest that because of this match 'we are like to be involved in many unavoidable troubles'.¹³¹ Thus, the Catholic alliance of Mary and James had incited fears not only in Parliament but also in the public across the Three Kingdoms. These anxieties were to be used and heightened by opposition to the Stuarts at particular moments of resistance in the coming years.

Mary was thus transformed in the public imagination into a symbol of horrifying and dangerous Catholic power and interference, and her arrival in London also marks the beginning of a propaganda campaign against James's succession.¹³² A memorandum in Parliament declared that Mary was descended from 'the bastard issue of a Pope and a Cardinal' and suggested that it was 'high time to consider of settling the succession of the Crown so as may secure us our posterities from those bloody massacres ... the certain consequences of a Popish government', proposing the marriage of James's daughter Mary to the Protestant William of Orange as a bulwark against this.¹³³ The Earl of Rochester's poem, 'Seigneure Dildoe', which has been dated to

¹²⁹ Hallé, *Queen Mary of Modena*, 41.

¹³⁰ *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1673-1675*, 40, 44.

¹³¹ *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1673-1675*, 40-41.

¹³² Sandra Jean Sullivan, 'Representations of Mary of Modena, Duchess, Queen Consort and Exile: Images and Texts' (PhD Thesis: University College London, 2008), 111.

¹³³ *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1673-1675*, 131-132. This is discussed more in Chapter Four, 256-257.

November 1673, begins by asking the ‘Ladies of merry England’ if they have ‘been to kisse the Duchesse’s hand’, and whether they had met in her retinue ‘A noble Italian called *Signeur Dildoe*’.¹³⁴ As Sandra Jean Sullivan has argued, this poem constitutes ‘an attack on her [Mary] for bringing unspeakable vices as a Catholic wife of the Catholic heir presumptive to the throne’.¹³⁵ Associations between Catholic women and monstrosity were not new. The treatment of Mary in the 1670s recycled images of the ‘poisonous Catholic bride’ and the potential ‘monstrous Catholic mother ... who would infect the individual conscience, commission the rape of the innocent, and destroy the nation to satisfy her Popish masters’, of which Henrietta Maria had been the archetype.¹³⁶

By 1677 and the publication of *SoI*, anti-Popish sentiments and successional concerns were at an all-time high. In 1676 an anonymous pamphlet argued that ‘Acts of Parliament can bind, limit, restrain and govern the Descent and Inheritance of the Crown it self, and all rights and titles hereunto’, in clear reference to the fears of Catholic succession.¹³⁷ Marvell’s infamous *An Account of the Growth of Popery and Arbitrary Government* was first published anonymously in 1677. It is widely considered the foundational tract for the Exclusion Crisis and Whig movement.¹³⁸ It notably discusses Parliament’s earlier objections to the marriage to Mary based on the ‘continual apprehensions of the increase of Popery’ and the idea that, through her, Catholic plots against ‘the Realm’ might come to fruition.¹³⁹ For Marvell and the rest of the opposition, these objections were still fresh and current, and remained so in 1678 when the Duchess became embroiled in the fabricated ‘Popish Plot’. Mary’s secretary, Edward Coleman, was found with incriminating letters

¹³⁴ John Wilmot, 2nd Earl of Rochester, ‘Seigneure Dildoe’, in *The Complete Poems of John Wilmot Earl of Rochester*, ed. David M. Veith (London: Yale University Press, 2002), lines 1-4.

¹³⁵ ‘Representations of Mary of Modena’, 112.

¹³⁶ Airey, *The Politics of Rape: Sexual Atrocity, Propaganda Wars and the Restoration Stage* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2014), 18.

¹³⁷ *Some Considerations upon the Question, whether the Parliament is Dissolved by its Prorogation for 15 Months?* (London: s.n., 1676), D1v.

¹³⁸ See Mark Knights, *Politics and Opinion in Crisis, 1678-81* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 17-25.

¹³⁹ (Amsterdam [i.e London]: s.n., 1677), F4v.

which leant weight to Titus Oates's story and was hung, drawn, and quartered for treason.¹⁴⁰ By 1679, James and Mary were living in temporary exile in Edinburgh.

It is within this culture, then, that Dryden chose to adapt Milton's republican and at points anti-Catholic *PL* and to dedicate it to a future Catholic queen, a figure of intense public vilification. The halcyon days and Caroline Millennium that Dryden celebrated in *Astrea Redux* were now over, and the monarchic paradise envisioned by its supporters must have seemed, appropriately enough, a lost paradise.¹⁴¹ It is unfathomable that Dryden would not have been aware of the intensity of this discourse and the impact that it had upon the political stability of his country and his patrons, indeed the language of the dedication proves his awareness of it. I contend that the play and its dedication should be read as an ironic warning to the Stuarts of the impact of their decisions, reflecting and participating in the discourse which would cause their eventual expulsion from the throne and realm.

The Political and Utopian Subtext of Dryden's Dedication

Dryden's dedication to Mary has been read as support for the Duke of York and his wife in the face of public dislike, but I argue that the highlighting of anti-Catholic and, specifically, anti-Mary feeling cannot be reconciled with this reading.¹⁴² I suggest that Dryden was here hedging his bets by appearing to praise Mary whilst offering the kind of veiled criticism that would have appealed to readers in the 1670s.¹⁴³ The title page of the 1677 edition loudly proclaims its affinity with 'The Duchess', named in large, prominent letters in the centre of the title page (see figures 1 and 2). All subsequent seventeenth-century editions of the play maintained the prominence of this dedication and the dedicatory letter, even after the 'Glorious Revolution' of 1688 and the ousting of James and Mary from the succession (figure 2 shows 1690 edition). Common print practice would name

¹⁴⁰ Mark A. Kishlansky, *A Monarchy Transformed: Britain, 1603-1714* (London: Penguin Books, 1997), 254. See Introduction, 33-35.

¹⁴¹ For more on celebratory Halcyon days literature, see Introduction, 27 and Chapter One, 59-62.

¹⁴² See for example Kewes, 'Dryden's Theatre and the Passion of Politics'; Achinstein, 'Milton's Spectre'; Lewalski "'Paradise Lost' and the Contest'; Zwicker, 'Milton, Dryden and the Politics of Literary Controversy'.

¹⁴³ Owen, 'Restoration Drama and Politics', 126-139.

the dedicatee inside the playbook rather than on the title page, and a title page dedication was particularly unusual for Dryden. Across all of his other works there are only two other examples of dedicatees who feature on the title pages, and both were much later in his career: *The Satires of Decimus Junius Juvenalis* (1693) and *Eleonora* (1692). The dedication to the Earl of Dorset on the title page of *The Satires* is, however, much less prominent than that to ‘The Duchess’, indeed, it is hardly noticeable (see figure 3). *Eleonora*’s title page (figure 4) gives more prominence to the dedicatee than *The State of Innocence* in that *Eleonora* is, in fact, the countess of Abingdon to whom it is dedicated. This ‘Panegyric poem’, commissioned by a husband in memory of his late wife, is entirely devoted to the figure of *Eleonora* and so the intensity with which her importance is proclaimed on the title page is understandable.¹⁴⁴ The dedication to the Duchess in *The State of Innocence* was not commissioned. It may be plausible to argue that she was simply a more important patron and thereby deserved a more prominent place. This is complicated, however, when we look at the title page for *The Conquest of Granada* (1672), which was dedicated to her husband, James, arguably a far more important patron, but which contains nothing on the title page but Dryden’s usual ‘Servant to HIS MAJESTY’ which was a nod to his own status as poet laureate and hagiographer royal (see figure 5).

¹⁴⁴ Winfred Ernst has argued that *Eleonora* can be seen to offer a ‘blend of iconography’ related to both Mary of Modena and her successor Queen Mary II, *John Dryden and His Readers: 1700* (New York: Routledge, 2020), 134.

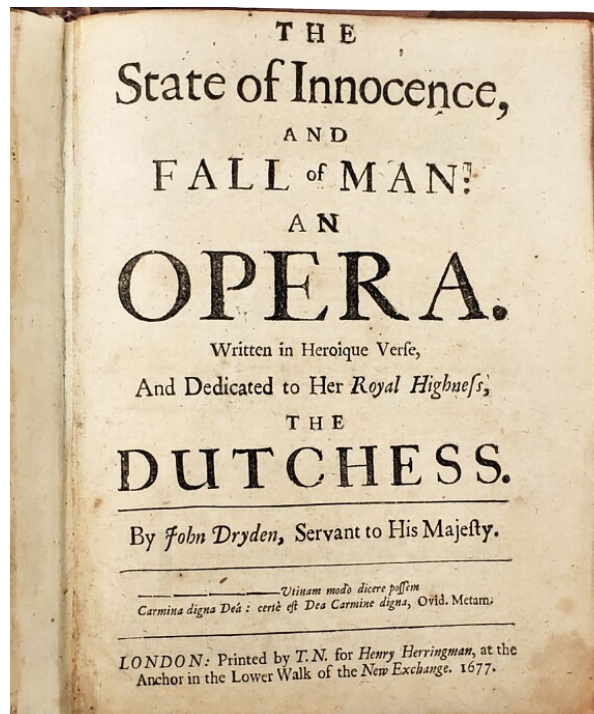


Figure 1: 1677 *State of Innocence* title page

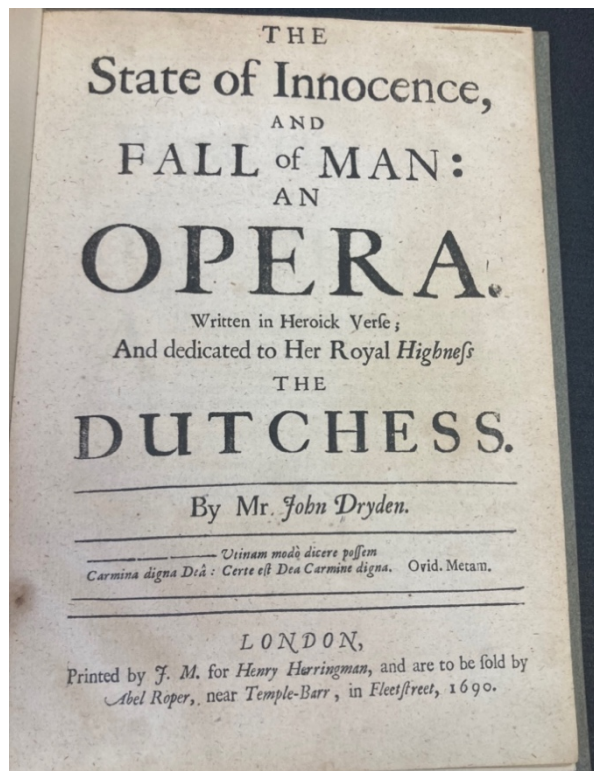


Figure 2: 1690 *State of Innocence* title page

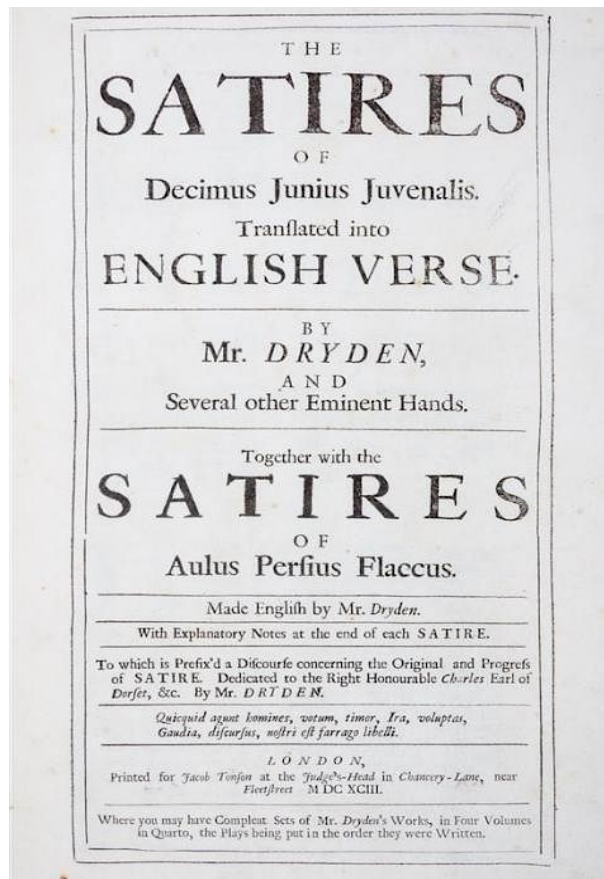


Figure 4: 1693 *Satires of Decimus Junius Juvenalis* title page

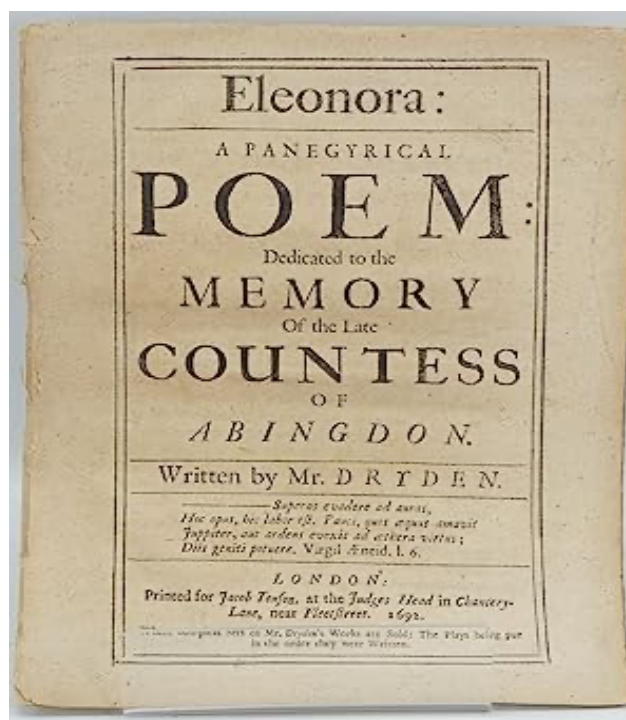


Figure 3: 1692 *Eleonora* title page

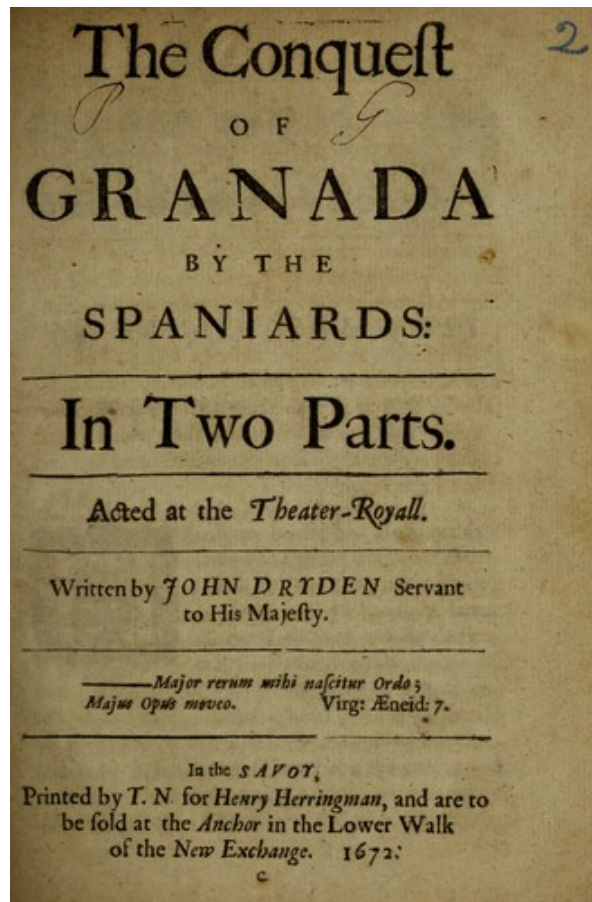


Figure 5: 1672 *Conquest of Granada* title page

The prominence on the title page of Mary as dedicatee of Dryden's text is thus unprecedented in his work, and, I would argue, this suggests that the rationale for the dedication goes beyond the need to simply curry political favour. It is also intended to function as a gloss or commentary on the text itself, in line with Gérard Genette's position that paratextual materials function as thresholds of interpretation and are inextricably bound up with the content of the narrative and its reception.¹⁴⁵ The title-page tells us that we must keep Mary in mind when reading *Sol*.

The dedicatory letter is hyperbolic and has been described as Dryden's 'most heavily perfumed' piece of prose.¹⁴⁶ It focuses primarily on the theme of Mary's beauty, but it also makes continuous and pointed reference to her supposed religious virtue. For Zwicker, the dedication is

¹⁴⁵ Gérard Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*, trans. by Jane E. Lewin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

¹⁴⁶ Winn, *John Dryden and his World*, 254.

‘astonishing’ because in the praise of ‘the most famous and feared Roman Catholic in England’ Dryden ‘exalt[s] the mystery and glory of her virtue in an idiom which he adopts pointedly from the writings of St Theresa’.¹⁴⁷ The offensive passage is as follows:

the priest was always unequal to the oracle: the god within him was too mighty for his breast: he laboured with the sacred revelation, and there was more of the mystery left behind than the divinity itself could enable him to express (A1v).

Dryden also references fears associated with Mary’s interference in politics and power: ‘You have subverted (may I dare to accuse you of it?) even our fundamental laws; you reign absolute over the hearts of a stubborn and freeborn people, tenacious to madness of their liberty’ (A2v). Zwicker argues that the daring language of this dedication is ‘hovering between amusement and contempt for public fears’, accepting that it is ‘difficult to fix’, but ultimately suggests that it constitutes a ‘piece of service’ to the monarchy and serves predominantly to ‘subjugate Milton’s Protestant poetry and poetics in a most humiliating way’.¹⁴⁸ What is not noted here, or by any other critic, are the pointed references made to Mary’s negative reception which would seem out of place in a statement of loyalty.

Rather than simply baiting the opposition by sardonically reframing their own fears, Dryden instead undermines his dedication to Mary with references to the lack of celebration and praise she received upon her arrival:

Our sight is so intent on the Object of its Admiration that our Tongues have not leisure even to praise you: for Language seems too low a thing to express your Excellence; and our Souls are speaking so much within, that they despise all foreign conversation. Every man, even the dullest, is thinking more than the most eloquent can teach him how to utter. Thus *MADAM*, in the midst of Crouds you Reign in Solitude; and are ador’d with the deepest Veneration, that of Silence (A2r).

Whilst he does attempt to gloss this with the positive perspective that her beauty evoked a stunned speechlessness, the veneer is all too thin, and ending the sentence with the word ‘Silence’ causes an appropriate pause. For a contemporary reader it could arguably have brought to the mind not only the lack of celebrations and the surreptitious way that Mary was smuggled into the palace, but

¹⁴⁷ ‘Milton, Dryden and the Politics of Literary Controversy’, 154.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 156.

also perhaps the very overt and loud pope-burning pageants and protests against her and her religion which heralded her arrival. Further, he writes that she has caused ‘The brightest and most victorious of our Ladies [to] make daily complaints of revolted Subjects’ (A2v). Though once again this is couched in the positive frame that her beauty means that all men have abandoned previous mistresses or lovers for her, it seems a pointed reference to the aforementioned lack of popularity she had amongst the women at court. Combined with the language of ‘Rebellious Fugitives’ (A2r), it is ominously similar to the rhetoric of Catholic brides seizing power through sexual domination.¹⁴⁹

The utopian themes of *PL* feature in the dedication to Mary and serve to align Mary with the character of Eve. In celebrating her ‘Conjugal Virtues’ he states that ‘[her] Person is a Paradise, and [her] Soul a Cherubin within to guard it’ (A3r). The elision of Mary herself with Paradise is paralleled in Dryden’s play when Adam’s asserts to Eve that ‘when you were absent, *Eden* was no more’ (F1v). Dryden here drew from Milton’s Adam who, aware of Eve’s fall, immediately recognises that without her, Eden would transform from Paradise to ‘wilde Woods forlorn’ (9.910). Dryden is thus highly aware of the relationship between the dedication, the adaptation, and the source material, and seems keen to draw attention not only to the transformative relationship between Eve and the utopian or paradisaical space, but also between the figure of Eve and that of Mary.

Dryden further likens Mary to an unattainable and indescribable utopian space, drawing on those elements of utopia which, as argued above, *PL* satirised. Dryden writes:

I can but discover a part of Your Excellencies to the World; and that too according to the measure of my own weakness. Like those who have survey’d the Moon by Glasses, I can only tell of a new and shining World above us, but not relate the Riches and Glories of the Place. ‘Tis therefore that I have already wav’d the Subject of Your Greatness (A1v).

The idea of a world in the moon has a number of echoes in *PL*. Firstly, Milton’s Satan, the utopian new-world explorer, is described as having a moon-like shield ‘whose Orb / Through Optic Glass

¹⁴⁹ Francis Dolan, *Whores of Babylon: Catholicism, Gender, and Seventeenth-Century Print Culture* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999).

the *Tuscan Artist* views' (1.287-288). Later, we are told that this '*Tuscan Artist*', Galileo, used his 'Glass' to observe 'Imagind Lands and Regions in the Moon' (5.262-263). The moon is further aligned with farcical utopian imaginings in *PL* when Milton, referencing Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*, states that the Paradise of Fools, his most pointed Catholic satire in *PL*, cannot be found 'in the neighbouring Moon, as some have dreamd' (459).¹⁵⁰ Milton makes it quite clear that these attempts to understand and map out the lands of celestial bodies are to be mocked, much like the utopian travel narratives. Raphael suggests that God made the planets inscrutable simply 'perhaps to move / His laughter at thir quaint Opinions wide' (8.77-78). In other words, Raphael posits that God thought that the opinions that human's might have regarding distant planets and stars would be amusing. Dryden seems to share and use Milton's reflections on the limitations of the telescope, human knowledge of celestial bodies, and the farcical utopian imagination, and associates these limitations with his ability to discuss Mary's 'Greatness'. In doing so, Dryden arguably tropes this vague 'Greatness' as dreamt up utopian lands: imaginary, insubstantial, and ripe for ridicule. Dryden's pointed unwillingness or professed lack of ability to engage in the utopian topic of Mary's greatness and to stick instead to the bodily depiction of her beauty – that which is 'more peculiarly [hers]' and 'confin'd to a more narrow compass' (A1v) – is perhaps then reflective of a further belief that the utopian hopes that heralded the restoration had been proven false. It is unsurprising, then, that Dryden's *Sol* does not contain the hope for a millenarian advancement as Milton's does, but is instead focused on the representation of an already fallen and dangerously agential Eve.

Dryden's Eve and the Female Threat in *The State of Innocence*

Eve's agency is clear from the beginning of *Sol*. Before she has entered the stage, we see Adam resigning his 'boasted Sovereignty' to an Eve who has, at this point, not been seen, which is arguably reminiscent of James Duke of York's agreement to marry a princess he had not met (C3r). Adam's longing for Eve ultimately results in Adam resigning his masculine birth-right of

¹⁵⁰ For more on lunar voyages, see Chapter Three, 163-164.

sovereignty, analogous to monarchic power, to a woman who we come to learn is powerfully agential and capable of manipulation. Seemingly from birth, she displays a habitual instinct of gaining power over others. Eve's first lines in Dryden's semi-opera indicate her awareness of her power:

The feather'd kind peep down, to look on me;
And Beasts, with up-cast eyes, forsake their shade,
And gaze, as if I were to be obey'd.
Sure I am somewhat which they wish to be,
And cannot: I my self am proud of me (C3r).

Further, Dryden retains and expands Milton's Narcissus-like reflection scene, and shows Eve trying to embrace her reflection in a fountain. Upon failing to embrace and take possession of her own reflection, instead of God gently intervening to correct her innocent misunderstanding, Eve instead gives voice to misogynistic rhetoric about female nature: 'Ah, fair, yet false; ah Being, form'd to cheat, / By seeming kindness, mixt with deep deceit' (C3r). Having recognised her power, beauty and deceitfulness, Eve's instinctive reaction to Adam's longing for sexual relations is to wield her sexual power and use her sexuality to control Adam and maintain sovereignty.

Somewhat forbids me, which I cannot name
For ignorant of guilt, I fear not shame:
But some restraining thought, I know not why,
Tells me, you long should beg, I long deny...
I well fore-see, when e'r thy suit I grant,
That I my much-lov'd Sovereignty shall want (C3v).

This is not, then, a pre-lapsarian, innocent Eve, but instead, as Jennifer L. Airey has argued, an Eve already fallen.¹⁵¹ Her demurring and reluctance to copulate may also have been read by contemporaries as analogous to Mary's initial refusal to marry James and their delayed consummation due to the proxy marriage. Dryden's Eve, far more clearly than Milton's, wishes to retain power over herself and thus gain power over others, and is extremely successful in doing so. Dryden's Eve is a character who reflects misogynistic fears of the threat posed by increased female agency.

¹⁵¹ 'Eve's Nature, Eve's Nuture in Dryden's Edenic Opera', *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* 50, no.3 (2010): 529-544.

Eve is more threatening because her manipulations are successful and result in Adam worshipping her in an idolatrous fashion that, for seventeenth-century Protestants, was reminiscent of Catholicism. Adam continually reveres Eve as a second God, and at their first meeting he states: 'Thee, Goddess, thee th' Eternal did ordain / His softer Substitute on Earth to Reign' (C3r). Adam is thus shown to idolise Eve in the same way Catholics were perceived to idolise female figures, giving the Virgin and saints agency as intercessors when, from a Protestant perspective, God alone saved or damned. As Dolan has argued, Catholic iconography often focused on powerful women such as the Virgin Mary and St Theresa (whose writing is referenced in Dryden's dedication).¹⁵² For Protestants of all sects in seventeenth-century England, the notion of praying to and worshipping a human woman in the figure of the Virgin Mary was not only considered idolatrous but also intrinsically tied to fears of female agency. Returning to Dryden's dedication once again, the language reflects an awareness of these fears of idolised Catholic women and ties them to the impact of Mary whose beauty, he says, inspires a love akin to a dangerous religious zeal:

To hope to be a God, is folly exalted into madness: but by the Laws of our Creation we are oblig'd to Adore him; and are permitted to love him too, at Humane distance. 'Tis the nature of Perfection to be attractive; but the Excellency of the object refines the nature of the love. It strikes an impression of awful reverence; 'tis indeed that Love which is more properly a Zeal than Passion. 'Tis the rapture which Anchorites find in Prayer, when a Beam of the Divinity shines upon them... Mortality cannot bear it often: it finds them in the eagerness and height of their Devotion, they are speechless for the time that it continues, and prostrate and dead when it departs (A2v).

Couching this supposed compliment in terms of the 'madness' of hoping to be a God, likening her presence to that felt by Catholic monks who in worship forfeit their speech and life, is a particularly sobering and damning image in a dedication to the most feared Catholic woman in England. That this idolatry and religious zeal for beauty is reflected in Adam's response to Eve, which results in their fall from Paradise, is no accident.

Adam is not the only figure who pales in comparison with the newly empowered and agential Eve; Lucifer, Dryden's Satan, has a drastically reduced role in Dryden's adaptation. He

¹⁵² *Whores of Babylon*, 8-9.

and his court of devils become a mere shadow of Interregnum Republicans in a parody that renders them almost harmless. For example, Dryden's Lucifer no longer plots in advance of the council of Hell to have Beelzebub argue for a plot 'first devis'd / By *Satan*' to corrupt humankind, as Milton's Satan does (2.379-380). In Milton this kind of subterfuge shows that Satan only co-opts republican discourse and does not in fact believe in it, undermining freedom of speech and liberty whilst really ruling as tyrant. Dryden's Lucifer and the council of devils come to the decision far more collaboratively; indeed, it is not even Lucifer's suggestion but that of another devil, one who does not feature at all in Milton, called Asmoday. There is no indication that this has been pre-organised, as in Milton, and Lucifer is not characterised as an individual Machiavellian schemer and usurper but simply as a tool of the Republic of Hell. Despite this reduced role, Lucifer is nonetheless given a devilish suggestion that reflects the Catholic threat: he suggests that the devils can 'blow him up, who justly Rules us now' (B2r), language highly reminiscent of the most famous Catholic conspiracy in England: the Gunpowder Plot.

Further, Lucifer is cast as somewhat auxiliary in the seduction of Eve. In Dryden's text, Eve is not led to the tree by a serpent who has interrupted her gardening work, but has instead separated herself from Adam and deliberately come to visit the tree.

Thus far, at least, with leave; nor can it be
A sin to look on this Celestial Tree...
But Heav'n forbids: I could be satisfy'd
Were every tree but this, but this deny'd (E3r).

It is possible to argue that it is Lucifer's whispered invasion of her dreams, which influences Eve to go to the tree. Certainly, the dream takes on grander proportions and more prevalence in the operatic version than it does in Milton's epic, and it is presented as a theatrical spectacle that Lucifer 'set[s] before the Woman's eyes' because 'vain shows, and Pomp, the softer sex betray' (D2r). Even in this scene, however, Lucifer's role is rendered less textually and visually prominent: the stage is taken up by the tree, dancing angels, and a '*Woman, habited like Eve*' (D2r), who takes an active role in the persuasive spectacle, whilst Lucifer merely 'sits down by Eve' in the

background (D2r). It can thus be argued that it is only Eve's interpretation and innate response to the visual spectacle, in which she features as a character, that cause her to go looking for the tree. Lucifer might function as a director, but he features far less prominently in the dream than in *PL*, in which a single angelic figure, a disguised Satan himself, tempts Eve.¹⁵³ In Milton, this dream seems to have minimal impact in terms of persuading Eve: she watches with 'damp horror chil'd' when the angel in her dream eats the fruit (5.65), and is relieved to wake and 'find this but a dream!' (5.93). In contrast, the impact of the dream on Eve in *SoI* is that she, immediately, is incapable of witnessing the 'glory' and 'light' of the visiting angels, retires to hide in the 'shades' and only returns once they leave (D4r), a phenomenon which only occurs in Milton after both Adam and Eve have fallen (10.100).

Similarly, in Milton's *PL* it is Satan who convinces Eve that God would not allow a lowly beast to eat the fruit while forbidding her, and when he tries to persuade Eve, he describes the tree as:

A goodly Tree farr distant to behold
 Loaden with fruit of fairest colours mixt,
 Ruddie and Gold: I nearer drew to gaze;
 When from the boughs a savorie odour blown (9.578-579).

However, in *SoI*, it is Eve who describes the tree to herself in such a seductive way and she who begins to convince herself of her right to eat it. Having seen Lucifer appear in the shape of a serpent and eat from the tree, before Lucifer can appear on stage and begin his persuasion, she already begins to persuade herself of her right to eat from the tree, using very similar rhetoric to Milton's Satan to describe the tree itself.

Strange sight! Did then our great Creator grant
 That priviledge, which we their Masters want,
 To these inferior beings? Or was it chance?
 And was he blest with bolder ignorance?
 I saw his curling crest the trunk infold:
 The ruddy fruit, distinguish'd ore with gold,
 And smiling in its native wealth, was torn
 From the rich bough, and then in triumph born:

¹⁵³ 'The Argument' to Book 4 states that they 'find him at the ear of *Eve*, tempting her in a dream', which invites us to read the figure in the dream as Satan himself.

The vent'rous victor march'd unpunished hence,
And seem'd to boast his fortunate offence (E3v).

Once again, it is Eve's interpretation of a visual spectacle and her own sense of her power which persuades her to eat. Though the spectacle is necessarily brought about by Lucifer, his role as Machiavellian manipulator becomes something more theatrical and insubstantial that functions predominantly as a prompt to Eve's own proclivities. This is further underscored when Lucifer does appear and begins to attempt rhetorical persuasion and Eve responds imperiously with, 'Thou speaks't of wonders: make thy story plain' (E4r). Lucifer is relegated to the role of a stagehand, accessory, or subsidiary participant in Eve's temptation of herself.

The telling punishment of Eve further showcases Dryden's text's relationship to the misogynistic anti-Catholic rhetoric of the 1670s, and this alignment in Dryden's text is arguably the reason for the loss of hope for a millenarian future. After the fall, Dryden's Eve is no longer represented as the hope for the future and 'Mother of Man Kind' as she is in Milton's epic (1.36; 5.388; 11.159). In Dryden, there is no mention of her giving birth to the heel that will bruise the serpent's head, a redaction I attribute to the fears around Mary's ability to produce a Catholic heir who would certainly not be considered a saviour to much of the 1670s audience. After the fall, Adam, in a misogynistic tirade against Eve asks, 'Ah: why must man from woman take his birth?' (F4r), reflecting the grievances felt by many in the period that so much of their political future was dependent on women's bodies. Female bodies are indeed categorised by Adam as 'sin[s] of nature and 'fair defect[s]' (F4r). Tellingly, then, pregnancy and painful labour are no longer mentioned at all in Eve's punishment. Instead, Eve is to have unsatiated desire and be prevented from gaining domestic control:

She, by a curse, of future wives abhorr'd.
Shall pay obedience to her lawful Lord:
And he shall rule, and she in thraldome live;
Desiring more of love than men can give (G1r).

This highlights the connection between Eve and Mary of Modena and reflects back on the problems which many feared an assertive Catholic woman could cause if not contained. Read in this way, the text comes across as a veiled threat, or a warning, against the irresponsible actions of James and the problems that his choice of bride could, and eventually did, cause for the restored monarchy when they had a child. It was the birth of Mary and James's Catholic son, a male heir and guarantor of Catholic ascendancy, that hastened his ousting from power in the so-called 'Glorious Revolution' of 1688.

Milton's *PL* can thus be seen to actively participate in the utopian tradition and to represent an imagined pathway to the utopian millennium which is heavily reliant on representations of the female body as both a sufficient, consenting, and obedient body politic and a required participant in the work that needs to be done to achieve utopia, even after the fall. I have argued that Dryden's *Sol* responds to the depiction of female centrality to utopian hopes and social construction by alluding to the misogynistic, anti-Catholic fears expressed in response to James and Mary's marriage. The result was a suggestion that, by 1673, Paradise was no longer to be found. Dryden's use in the dedication to Mary of the utopian themes found in Milton's work, and his transformation of Eve into a powerful, manipulative villain beyond redemption, are not simply ways to rebuke Milton's republican or theological principles, but instead ways to voice specific critiques of the Stuart monarchy and its ill-advised actions in arranging and supporting a match between James and Mary which seemed to secure a Catholic ascendancy. Having emphasised the centrality of female agency and sexuality in versions of *The Tempest* and versions of *Paradise Lost*, in my next chapter I turn my attention to a female-authored utopian text, Margaret Cavendish's *Observations Upon Experimental Philosophy. To which is added the Description of a New Blazing World* (1666), and the ways in which she can be seen to respond to the utopian impulse which undergirded the political and scientific philosophies of the seventeenth century.

Chapter Three: Fancy, Philosophy, and Fertility in Margaret Cavendish's *Blazing World* (1666)

As I have argued in chapters one and two, the utopian impulse in seventeenth-century literary texts is characterised by its relationship to political instability and gender relations, and utopian visions are frequently predicated on the management or suppression of female bodies and their reproductive capacity. This chapter will explore ways in which the utopian impulse is found in philosophical literature of the late-seventeenth century. It will suggest that Margaret Cavendish (1623-1673) can be seen to respond to natural philosophers' depictions of female bodies as objects in her fantastical utopian travel narrative, *The Description Of a New Blazing World*, which was published alongside her treatise on experimental philosophy, as *Observations Upon Experimental Philosophy. To Which is Added The Description of a New Blazing World*.¹ In many experimental philosophical texts women are aligned with an inert and passive nature that must be dominated by men in order to attain a utopian state of order. Similarly, in some mechanistic philosophy, women are reduced to their reproductive capacities. In these texts and theoretical approaches women's power in the realm of fertility is one which is feared and needs to be managed, a concept visible in masculine utopias, such as Francis Bacon's *New Atlantis* (1627), and Henry Neville's (1620-1694) *Isle of Pines* (1668), the latter of which highlights the anxiety surrounding what happens when utopian central control of the methods of production is lost.² I place these discourses surrounding issues of fertility and Cavendish's text in the context of both the increasing pressure in the 1660s on Charles II's wife, Queen Catherine of Braganza, to conceive, and Cavendish's own issues with

¹ (London: A. Maxwell, 1666). The texts have separate title pages, pagination and signatures, so for clarity, I will distinguish between the natural philosophy treatise by referring to it as *Observations* and the utopian fiction as *Blazing World*. Subsequent references will be recorded in footnotes.

² *New Atlantis* was published in *Sylva Sylvarum: or a Naturall Historie in Ten Centuries*, ed. William Rawley (London: William Lee, John Haviland and Augustine Mathews, 1627). *Sylva Sylvarum* and *New Atlantis* have separate pagination, title pages, and signatures. I will differentiate where relevant in footnotes. Neville, *The Isle of Pines, or, A Late Discovery of a Fourth Island in Terra Australis, Incognita* (London: Allen Banks and Charles Harper, 1668).

fertility. I read Cavendish's reimagining of imperial fertility as a process distinct from the female body as a means of circumventing these anxieties.

This chapter thus argues that Cavendish can be seen to react to utopian, philosophical and political anxiety around female power and the female body by removing the issue of reproduction and representing a woman whose body reflects imperious, weaponised, and unapologetically bejewelled femininity so blindingly bright that those, like observational scientists, who attempt to gain possession through observation, are left dazed and confused. As I intend to demonstrate, she reimagines nature and reproduction not only to relocate female power in the mind, but also to reposition female bodies as dazzlingly powerful. In recognising Cavendish's awareness of the influence the utopian impulse had on natural philosophy, I respond to Lara Dodds's invitation for scholars to 'take Cavendish seriously as a theorist of form' and accordingly read Cavendish's choice to write a utopian text and adjoin it to her most developed treatise of natural philosophy as a deliberate response to, and commentary on, the wider practices of utopian philosophical writing in the seventeenth century.³ Cavendish exhibits an astute awareness of the utopian leanings of natural philosophy, and the ways in which these utopian leanings rest on gendered notions of exploiting nature and privileging strength. Thus, her *Observations* and *Blazing World* work together to satirise the short sightedness of her contemporaries, and to carve out a space in which fancy, poetics, and the imagination become a vitalist material and generative driving force for a world in which a proto-feminist practice of philosophy inverts those masculine assumptions.

Blazing World has a dual reception history. From its publication up until the 1980s it was either ignored or ridiculed, considered too eccentric and personal to be placed alongside the works

³ 'Form, Formalism, and Literary Studies: The Case of Margaret Cavendish', in *World-Making Renaissance Women: Rethinking Early Modern Women's Place in Literature and Culture*, eds. Pamela S. Hammons and Brandie R. Siegfried (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2021) 137.

of Plato, More and Francis Bacon in the utopian canon.⁴ Scholars have shown that this exclusion was likely due to Cavendish's refusal to remain within the generic boundaries which have traditionally been aligned with the utopian form.⁵ The gynocritical tradition of the 1980s and 1990s rightly celebrated Cavendish's depiction of a female protagonist and her meteoric rise to power in *Blazing World* as a paradigm-shifting contribution to utopian literature.⁶ It has been argued that Cavendish was forced to develop a new kind of utopian world for a female subject; one that freed it from earlier, male-authored utopian writing.⁷ The space she depicts has also been read as a world of 'Otherness *by and for* the Other'.⁸ Indeed, Cavendish was revolutionary in several ways. She was the first woman to publish her own philosophy in English, and the first woman to write across a broad variety of genres and forms, including philosophy, poetry, drama and biography. She was also the first female author of utopian fiction in English, and, as discussed in more detail below,

⁴ The contemporary reaction to her writing can be discerned, for example, in the couplet inscribed in Edmund Waller's copy of the second edition of *Philosophical and Physical Opinions*: 'New Castles in the air this Lady builds, / While nonsense with Philosophy she guilds', (London: William Wilson, 1663), The Huntington Library, Call No. 120156. In 1929 Virginia Woolf, looking for female voices in the literary canon, describes Cavendish as 'scribbling nonsense and plunging ever deeper into obscurity and folly', 'A Room of One's Own', in *Virginia Woolf's A Room of One's Own and Three Guineas*, ed. Morag Shiach (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 46-47. Frank E. Manuel and Fritzie P. Manuel consider *Blazing World* the work of a schizophrenic and disordered mind, and, alongside Eighteenth-century utopias that they felt 'were intended to divert...literate ladies', they exclude it from their survey, *Utopian Thought in the Western World*, (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1979), 6-7.

⁵ Rachel Trubowitz writes that 'the omission of *Blazing World* from standard studies of the utopia can be attributed to the generic transgressiveness of Cavendish's text...Unlike other utopias, including or especially those contemporaneous with it, Cavendish's ideal world does not domesticate human and physical nature into a rationalized cultural grid that can be easily managed and patrolled', 'The Reenchantment of Utopia and the Female Monarchical Self: Margaret Cavendish's *Blazing World*', *Tulsa Studies in Women's Literature* 11, no.2 (Autumn, 1992): 230.

⁶ Lee Cullen Khanna argues that *Blazing World* 'makes room for a discourse of difference in the utopian genre. By constructing varied subject positions for women, her fiction releases the utopian genre from conventional binary oppositions in the depiction of the desire for the good life', 'The Subject of Utopia: Margaret Cavendish and Her *Blazing-World*', in *Utopian and Science Fiction by Women: Worlds of Difference*, eds., Jane L. Donawerth and Carol A. Kolmerten (New York: Syracuse University Press, 1994), 15. Kate Lilley states that Cavendish's text uniquely combines 'the effortless rise of a woman to absolute power, with a narrative of the liberty of the female soul and the emancipatory possibilities of utopian writing for women', 'Blazing Worlds: Seventeenth Century Women's Utopian Writing', in *Women, Texts and Histories 1575-1760*, eds., Clare Brant and Diane Purkiss (London: Routledge, 1992) 101-132. More recently, Lynda Walsh has said that it 'records her ecstatic vision of a matriarchal world', *Scientists as Prophets: A Rhetorical Genealogy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 69.

⁷ Trubowitz, 'The Reenchantment of Utopia', 229-245.

⁸ Mary Baine Campbell, *Wonder and Science: Imagining Worlds in Early Modern Europe* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999), 204.

the first to figure female protagonists at the centre of a utopian text.⁹ However, I agree with Marina Leslie that it is important to recognise Cavendish's indebtedness to the genre.¹⁰ Cavendish's knowledge of utopian texts, their tropes and styles, and her manipulation of them to create 'a world of [her] own' is a central element of her utopia.¹¹ Cavendish thus engages with the utopian tradition of adapting, revising, and developing preceding utopian narratives.¹²

Cavendish's tale recycles the tropes of voyages, shipwrecks, and providential discovery found in much classical and pre-modern utopian travel writing.¹³ The story follows a female character who is abducted and taken aboard a ship which is subsequently caught in a tempest and blown off course. This change of direction miraculously leads the vessel into a new world via a

⁹ One interesting forerunner might be Thomas Nicholas' *A Pleasant Dialogue, Between a Lady called Listra, and a Pilgrim* (London: John Charlewood, 1579). Lady Listra as female interlocutor plays the role of Morus here: she introduces the text via paratext in order to present the dialogue as a real encounter, and she features in the text as the one questioning the pilgrim about the utopian society. She asks directly about female behaviour, and is told that in the utopian land of Crangalor women are not permitted outside without their husbands, that they have slaves to run all of their errands, because 'otherwise the Husbandes feare that they should have some evil wares brought home', 17. The narrative also tells us of the degrading punishment of a woman thought to be a witch, 12. The society depicted here thus seems one in which gender relations are remarkably fraught with suspicion. As such, the introduction of a female speaker in a dialogic utopia does pre-date Cavendish, but in this male authored text the society described does not increase female authority as Cavendish's does.

¹⁰ *Renaissance Utopias and the Problem of History* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998), 122. Recent scholarship has responded to Leslie's assertion that the exceptionalism of *Blazing World* has tended to be overstated. Dodds picks up Leslie's position and argues that the *Blazing World* is 'thoroughly engaged with, on the one hand, the most current philosophical debates of ontology and epistemology and, on the other, a long tradition of utopian fiction', *The Literary Invention of Margaret Cavendish* (Pennsylvania: Duquesne University Press, 2013), 122. Brandie R. Siegfried has further suggested that Cavendish was burlesquing the Romance genre in *Blazing World*, 'Cavendish and the Novel', in *A Companion to the Cavendishes*, eds. Lisa Hopkins and Tom Rutter (Leeds: Arc Humanities Press, 2020), 351-372. Scholars have also picked up on Cavendish's indebtedness to particular authors of utopias, see for example Line Cottegnies, 'Brilliant Heterodoxy: The Plurality of Worlds in Margaret Cavendish's *Blazing World* (1666) and Cyrano de Bergerac's *Etats et Empires de la lune* (1657)', in *God and Nature in the Thought of Margaret Cavendish*, eds. Lisa T. Sarasohn and Siegfried (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014), 107-120; Sarah Hutton 'Science and Satire: The Lucianic Voice of Margaret Cavendish's *Description of a New World Called the Blazing World*', in *Authorial Conquests: Essays on Genre in the Writings of Margaret Cavendish*, eds., Cottegnies and Nancy Weitz, 161-178. Similarly, Jason H. Pearl has argued that it is 'less extravagant than it is usually taken to be' *Utopian Geographies and the Early English Novel* (Virginia: University of Virginia Press, 2014) 17,47.

¹¹ Cavendish, *Blazing World*, 2C2v.

¹² As Leslie puts it, 'Cavendish is nowhere more orthodox a utopian than in her revisions of others' utopian models' *Renaissance Utopias* 124.

¹³ See Introduction, 19-21; Chapter One, 48-54; Chapter Two, 102-105; Chapter Three, 176-178; and Chapter Four, 257-258. For more on the relationship between travel and utopianism, see Chloë Houston, 'No Place and New Worlds: The Early Modern Utopia and the Concept of the Global Community', *Spaces of Utopia: An Electronic Journal* 1 (Spring 2006): 13-21; Houston, *The Renaissance Utopia: Dialogue, Travel and the Ideal Society* (Burlington VT: Ashgate, 2014); Houston, introduction to *New Worlds Reflected: Travel and Utopia in the Early Modern Period*, ed. Houston (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2010); Daniel Carey, 'Travel, Utopia and Conflict: Patterns of Irony in Early Modern Utopian Narratives', in *Travel and Conflict in the Early Modern World*, eds., Rachel Willie and Gábor Gelléri (London: Routledge, 2021), 226-247; Fredric Jameson, *Archaeologies of the Future: The Desire Called Utopia and Other Science Fictions* (New York: Verso, 2005), 22-24; Pearl, *Utopian Geographies*; Kenneth M. Roemer, *Utopian Audiences: How Readers Locate Nowhere* (Amherst MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2003), 26-27; Carl Thompson, *Travel Writing* (New York: Routledge, 2011), 29

path of ice at the North Pole, killing her captors in the process. The Lady is discovered by the indigenous population of human-animal hybrids and taken on a whistle-stop tour of the *Blazing World*, eventually arriving at the central city of Paradise and becoming fluent in the native language. The Emperor proposes to her and she becomes the Empress of the new world, wielding total religious, political, philosophical, and military power over its inhabitants and, in the final part, extends this power to cover other worlds. A key feature of the text is the introduction, part way through, of the character of Cavendish herself, known throughout as ‘the Duchess’, who becomes a scribe, advisor, confidante, travel companion, and friend to the Empress. In this I argue that Cavendish draws on the metafictional playfulness of Thomas More’s inclusion of Morus as a character in *Utopia* (1516). These traditional tropes of new world narratives of exploration, discovery, and metafictional commentary on utopian fictionality and invention firmly situate Cavendish’s text within the utopian tradition. However, as I argue below, her female characters and their subjective stance work to underscore the attempts at verisimilitude in the genre, and to highlight the ironic relationship between fictional narratives that present their worlds as real and the experimental scientists who attempted to separate their factual view of the world from fancy and speculation.

Contradictory Utopianism in Male-Authored Philosophy of the Seventeenth Century

Seventeenth-century experimental philosophers, following an allegedly Baconian methodology, wished to reform natural philosophy and move away from what they deemed its fanciful aspect: speculation. In his 1627 prefatory note to *Sylva Sylvarum*, the folio edition which included the utopian text *New Atlantis*, William Rawley asserted that Bacon felt that speculative methods produced ‘Impotent ... deceiuing Notions, and Theories’, claiming that knowledge could only be extracted from ‘Sense, and cleare experience’.¹⁴ Robert Hooke, a prominent member of the Royal Society, later argued that ‘the Science of Nature has been already too long made only a work of

¹⁴ A1r-A1v.

the *Brain* and the *Fancy*. It is now high time that it should return to the plainness and soundness of *Observations on material and obvious things*.¹⁵ The experimental philosophers based this distrust of speculation and their privileging of observation on the writings of Bacon. However, and ironically, the Royal Society itself was acknowledged to be based on the House of Solomon, a fictional utopian institution of the imaginary island of Bensalem in Bacon's *New Atlantis*.¹⁶

The experimental philosophers based this distrust of speculation and their privileging of observation on the writings of Bacon. On the surface, Bacon's warning against speculative philosophy seems to align it with fiction, specifically utopian fiction, to disparage it:

Those however who aspire not to guess and divine, but to discover and know; who propose not to devise mimic and fabulous worlds of their own, but to examine and dissect the nature of this very world itself; must go to facts themselves for everything.¹⁷

And all depends on keeping the eye steadily fixed upon the facts of nature and so receiving their images simply as they are. For God forbid that we should give out a dream of our own imagination for a pattern of the world.¹⁸

These statements against the creation of 'fabulous worlds of their own', a process central to utopian fiction, seem to pose a problem when we consider that Bacon authored the utopian fiction of *New Atlantis*.¹⁹ The term 'fabulous' was not used in the seventeenth century to mean good or wonderful, but was instead used to refer to things based on fables and mythology, i.e fiction, drawing from the etymological Latin root *fabula* (OED). It is thus worth noting that when *New*

¹⁵ *Micrographia, or, Some Physiological Descriptions of Minute Bodies Made by Magnifying Glasses*, (London: John Martyn and James Allestrye, 1665), b1r-b2r.

¹⁶ Thomas Sprat wrote in his *The history of the Royal Society of London for the Improving of Natural Knowledge* that Bacon was the inspiration for the society, 'One great man, who had the true Imagination of the whole extent of this Enterprize, as it is now set on foot; and that is, the *Lord Bacon*', (London: J. Martyn and J. Allestrye, 1667), E2r. For more on Bacon and the Royal Society, see for example: Bronwen Price, introduction to *Francis Bacon's New Atlantis: New Interdisciplinary Essays* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), 1-28, especially 15; John F. Fulton, 'The Rise of the Experimental Method', *Yale J. Biol Med* 3, no.4 (1931): 299-320.

¹⁷ 'The Great Instauration' in *New Atlantis and The Great Instauration*, ed. Jerry Weinberger (New Jersey: Wiley Blackwell, 1989), 26.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 32.

¹⁹ *New Atlantis* has generally been acknowledged as a utopian text and it has classical antecedents which attest to this. It draws its title from Plato's discussions of Atlantis in *Timaues et Critias* (c.360BC). Atlantis in Plato's text figures as an antagonist to the utopian ideal state described in his *Republic*. For more on its ideal naval organization, see John R. Hale *Lords of the Sea: The Epic Story of the Athenian Navy and the Birth of Democracy* (New York: Penguin, 2009), 368. In Plato, the utopian republic of Athens is able to repel the naval power of the Atlanteans because of its utopian organisation. However, as Lewis Mumford has pointed out the description of Atlantis is also one of an ideal state, ('Utopia, the City and the Machine', *Daedalus* 94, no.2 (1965): 279). For further discussions of Bacon's indebtedness to Plato's Atlantis, see Anna-Maria Hartmann, 'The Strange Antiquity of Francis Bacon's *New Atlantis*', *Renaissance Studies* 29, no. 3 (June 2015): 338-488.

Atlantis was first published it was called a ‘*Fable*’ by the publisher, and editor, Rawley.²⁰ Further, a Governor of *New Atlantis*, when narrating the history of the island, acknowledges that it might seem ‘all Poetical and Fabulous’.²¹

As Leslie has pointed out, however, *New Atlantis* can be reconciled with the views expressed in ‘The Great Instauration’, quoted above, because Bacon’s distaste is not levelled at the production of fictional worlds, but at fanciful scholastic and philosophical world views ‘that stand in the place of (and in the way of) a true natural history’.²² Further, as Anna-Marie Hartmann has posited, in an attempt to recover ancient knowledge of the Egyptians and Persians, Bacon resigned himself to interpreting ‘fables’ in *De Sabientia Veterum Liber* (1609), *De Principiis atque Originibus* (c.1612), and *De Augmentis Scientiarum* (1623).²³ Hartmann argues this is a frustrated attempt to pull back the ‘veil of Greek fiction’ which had ‘distorted’ the facts.²⁴ Despite his apparent distaste for these fictionalisations, by interpreting them and searching for facts within them it seems that Bacon tacitly acknowledges that fables could contain useful scientific truth. I would like to suggest, however, that the distinction which Bacon was making between fictional worlds and false philosophical speculation was not quite so clear for the seventeenth-century audience. Prominent members of the Royal Society who followed the Baconian methodology did not always seem to recognise that Bacon dismissed only that fancy which stood in the way of philosophy. They attempted – unsuccessfully – to dismiss all things they deemed fanciful.

The Royal Society’s members attempted to create new genres, language, rhetoric, and printing methods to differentiate their ‘facts’ from the realm of fancy, and in the case of Robert Boyle (1627-1691), a prominent member of the Royal Society, we can link his dismissal of fancy

²⁰ *New Atlantis*, A2r.

²¹ *Ibid.*, B1r

²² Leslie, *Renaissance Utopias*, 81-82, 83.

²³ ‘The Strange Antiquity’, 378. For more on Bacon and Greek fables, see Hartmann, ‘Light from Darkness: The Relationship between Francis Bacon’s *Prima Philosophia* and his Concept of the Greek Fable’, *The Seventeenth Century* 26, no.2 (2013): 203-220 and Rhodri Lewis, ‘Francis Bacon, Allegory, and the Uses of Myth’, *The Review of English Studies* 61, no. 250 (June 2010): 360-389.

²⁴ ‘The Strange Antiquity’, 378.

to utopian fiction.²⁵ Boyle states that his mentors recommended that he read romance narratives and fiction to ‘divert his Melancholy’, and claims that his reading of such ‘~~Raving Books~~ Fabulous & wandering Storys’ produced in him ‘a restless Fancy’ which ‘accustom’d his Thoughts to such a

²⁵ Michael McKeon gives many examples of the way in which the Royal Society struggled to differentiate fact and fiction, or in his terms history and romance, and argues that this tension is one of the factors that led to the emergence of the novel in the seventeenth / early eighteenth century, (*The Origins of the English Novel 1600-1740* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2000), 68-73). On genres, see Boyle’s ‘Proëmium Essay’ (1661), which defines the form of an experimental essay and advises the avoidance of rhetorical embellishment, in *Certain Physiological Essays and other Tracts Written at Distant Times, and on Several Occasions* (London: Henry Herringman, 1669). The contradiction is also visible here, as he states that metaphor and literary language in a scientific essay would be the equivalent to painting over the telescope, but also states that the author should take care to make the narrative entertaining – which he equates to gilding the telescope itself, thus his reasons for avoiding metaphor are relayed metaphorically (C2v-C3r). On language, John Wilkins, a founding member of the society, earnestly proposed a universal language which would help to prevent the overly metaphorical and rhetorical use of language and replace it with a language based on metonymy, where the word was representative of the thing and the signifier-signified relationship was no longer arbitrary, *An Essay Towards a Real Character, and a Philosophical Language* (London: John Martin, 1668). It is probably this discussion of the relationship between words and things which is satirised in Jonathan Swift’s *Gulliver’s Travels* and the discussion of a ‘Scheme for entirely abolishing all words [...] since Words are only Names for Things it would be more convenient for all Men to carry about them, such Things as were necessary to express the particular Business they are to discourse on ... Another great Advantage proposed by this Invention, was, that it would serve as an universal Language’ ((Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 172-3). This is relevant because *Gulliver’s Travels* can be read as responding to the utopian tradition, and thus he seemingly recognised this scientific endeavour as a utopian one, see, for example: Houston, ‘“Utopia, Dystopia or Anti-Utopia” Gulliver’s Travels and the Utopian Mode of Discourse’, *Utopian Studies* 18, no.3 (2007): 425-442; Dorothy F. Donnelly, ‘Utopia and Gulliver’s Travels: Another Perspective’, *Moreana* 25, no. 97 (March 1988): 115-124; John B. Radner, ‘The Fall and Decline: Gulliver’s Travels and the Failure of Utopia’, *Utopian Studies* 3, no.2 (1992): 50-74; Edward J. Reilly, ‘Irony in Gulliver’s Travels and Utopia’, *Utopian Studies* 3, no.1 (1992): 70-83; John Traugott, ‘A Voyage to Nowhere with Thomas More and Jonathan Swift: “Utopia” and “The Voyage to the Houyhnhnms”’, *The Sewanee Review* 69, no.4 (1961): 534-565. Sprat similarly suggests that experimental philosophy will reinvigorate language through providing a new, natural, and truthful poetics based on observable natural knowledge rather than imagination. However, he argues that the poets and ancient philosophers’ limited knowledge about the world around them had resulted in a literary history which ‘quite devour’d the ‘sweetness of Flowers, and Fruits, and Herbs’ and ‘tir’d out the Sun, and Moon and Stars with their similitudes’ (*The History of the Royal-Society*, 3F4v). For Sprat, the way to reinvigorate the tiredness of rhetoric and expression is through experimental philosophy: ‘It is now therefore seasonable for *Natural Knowledge* to come forth... [which has] long been vex’d by the imaginatins of Poets. This charitable assistance *Experiments* will soon bestow. The Comparisons which these may afford will be intelligible to all, because they proceed from things that enter into all mens Senses. These will make the most vigorous impressions on mens *Fancies*, because they do even touch their *Eyes*, and are nearest to their *Nature*’ (3F4v). On rhetoric, see: Brian Vickers, ‘The Royal Society and English Prose Style: A Reassessment’, in *Rhetoric and the Pursuit of Truth: Language Change in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, Papers Read at a Clark Library Seminar, 8 March 1980, eds., Vickers and Nancy S. Struener (Los Angeles: William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, 1985); Charles Bazerman, *Shaping Written Knowledge: The Genre and Activity of the Experimental Article in Science* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988); Geoffrey Cantor, ‘The Rhetoric of Experiment’ in *The Uses of Experiment: Studies in the Natural Sciences*, eds., David Gooding, Trevor Pinch, and Simon Schaffer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989); Alan G. Gross, *Starring the Text: The Place of Rhetoric in Science Studies* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2006; Gross, *The Rhetoric of Science* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990); Jeanne Fahnestock, *Rhetorical Figures in Science* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999); Jennifer Richards, *Rhetoric* (London: Routledge, 2008) 6, 72-73; Tina Skouen and Ryan J. Stark, eds., introduction to *Rhetoric and the Early Royal Society: A Sourcebook* (Leiden: Brill, 2015); Schaffer and Steven Shapin, *Leviathan and the Air-Pump: Hobbes, Boyle, and the Experimental Life*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985. On print, the Royal Society notoriously sought and received the right to license and publish its own books and documents using printers it thought were trustworthy, see: ‘Translation of First Charter, granted to the President, Council, and Fellows of the Royal Society of London, by King Charles the Second, A.D. 1662’, royalsociety.org, accessed 16.09.2022. For a discussion of their methods of controlling print, see Adrian Johns *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 450-455. On Robert Boyle’s prominence, see: Michael Hunter, ed. introduction to *Robert Boyle Reconsidered* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 1-18.

Habitude of Raving, that he has scarce ever been their quiet Master since'.²⁶ It is significant that Boyle uses the term 'fabulous' here as a term to supersede 'Raving', suggestive of Bacon's description of irrational 'fabulous' speculation not based on observation, but applying it here to romance and its general impact on readers.²⁷ Boyle expanded on his theory that imaginative fiction, fancy and romance could lead to raving in another early manuscript essay, 'The Doctrine of Thinking'.²⁸ He specifies utopian fiction as a key example of sinful fictional writing:

these kind of Extrauagancys ... [show a] no[t] very Christian Impatience at the Condition God has been pleas'd to think first for us, and a Sawcy... Desire to be our own Carvers of a better... these thoughts do often serve to chaine vs...to the World, and heighten too much our Passions for erthly things, by representing to vs in their Ideas a Loveliness / Contentment far beyond that can be found in their religions.²⁹

For Boyle, then, fiction in which a world better than the world you are in is imagined – commonly a feature of utopian fiction – is the most sinful, most unprofitable form of fiction, and the one most likely to lead to raving thoughts. He argues that imagining a world which provides more physical contentment than can be found in religious hopes of heaven (or, perhaps, a millenarian return to paradise on earth) is blasphemous.³⁰ Boyle is not, here, talking about fiction as a philosopher's speculative view of the world not based on evidence as Bacon was, but instead about the utopian impulse in the literary process of world-building.

The distaste for fiction, and more specifically utopianism, did not stop Royal Society members from repeatedly drawing from utopian models and tropes. Boyle's dismissal of utopianism did not extend to personal descriptions of elation. In a letter to his sister on 31st August 1649 he wrote 'the Delights I tast in [alchemy], make me fancy my Laboratory a kind of Elizium as if the Threshold of it possest the Quality the Poets ascrib'd to that Lethe their Fictions made

²⁶ 'Account of Philaretus in his Minority', in *Robert Boyle by Himself and His Friends*, ed. Michael Hunter (London: Routledge, 1994), 8-9.

²⁷ Boyle's supposed condition of raving caused by reading fiction was a widely acknowledged phenomenon: it was commonly believed that reading, specifically of fantastical fiction, could cause blindness, derangement, or death (Johns, *The Nature of the Book*, 383).

²⁸ In *The Early Essays and Ethics of Robert Boyle*, ed. by John T. Harwood (Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1991), 185-202.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Millenarianism is discussed in more detail in the Introduction, 23-24 and in Chapter Two, 100-102.

men taste of before their entrance into those seates of Blisse'.³¹ Transferring the quality of poetic utopian narratives of Elysium, the Greek paradise, onto his experience in the laboratory could be said to exemplify the utopian impulse behind his scientific practice, though of course this private letter was not intended for public circulation. In a similar vein, John Evelyn (1620-1706), member of the Royal Society, wrote an unpublished treatise entitled *Elysium Britannicum* which began life as a scientific treatise on the knowledge and skills of gardening but became a discussion on the profound spiritual impact of the garden space on the soul, transcending far beyond the realms of factual scientific treatise into an exploration of the impact of what we may term a utopian garden space.³² Although these texts did not circulate in the author's lifetimes, evidence of experimental philosophers using utopian tropes and metaphors in public facing texts in order to communicate their ideas and the potential benefits of those ideas does abound.

In addition to the Royal Society being based on a utopian institution, the ways in which they presented themselves in print can be shown to be decidedly fictional and utopian. One example is Abraham Cowley's commissioned poem 'To the Royal Society' (1667).³³ Written in response to satirical ballads mocking the work of experimental philosophy, it reflects the intensity with which members of the Royal Society cared about its poetic and literary representation and of their recognition of the power and danger of fancy and fiction.³⁴ Cowley's poem sustains and demonstrates the cognitive dissonance that characterises experimental philosophy's relationship

³¹ Letter, 31st August 1649, quoted in Hunter, *Robert Boyle Reconsidered*, 98.

³² Graham Parry, 'John Evelyn as Hortulan Saint', in *Culture and Cultivation in Early Modern England: Writing and the Land*, eds., Michael Leslie and Timothy Raylor (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1992), 134-139; Peter H. Goodchild, "'No phantasticall utopia, but a reall place": John Evelyn, John Beale and Backburry Hill, Herefordshire', *Garden History* 19 (Autumn 1991): 105-127.

³³ Published as a paratext to *The History of the Royal-Society* at the request of John Evelyn (1620-1706), B1r-B3v.

³⁴ For a discussion of the commissioning of this poem by John Evelyn, see: Mary Elizabeth Green, 'The Poet in Solomon's House: Abraham Cowley as Baconian Apostle', *Restoration: Studies in English Literary Culture, 1660-1700* 10, no.1 (1986): 68-75. For the satires they are responding to, see Skouen and Stark's discussions of how performativity became a theme in satires against the Royal Society: representing its demonstrations as magic tricks, circus acts, and the tall tales of mountebanks (*Rhetoric and the Early Royal Society*, 21-24). Sarasohn has posited that Cavendish's infamous visit to the Royal Society in May 1667 can be read as a response to the performative nature of experimental philosophy, by making a spectacle of herself she is seen to be 'emphasizing the performative nature of experimental science... the scientists' theatre became her stage. The experiments became sideshow entertainers', *The Natural Philosophy of Margaret Cavendish: Reason and Fancy During the Scientific Revolution* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2010), 28. See also: Ian Lawson 'Bears in Eden, or, This is Not the Garden You're Looking For: Margaret Cavendish, Robert Hooke, and the Limits of Natural Philosophy', *The British Journal for the History of Science* 48, no.4.

with literature by arguing, in poetry about natural philosophy, that it was unproductive to mix verse and science:

With the Desserts of Poetry they fed him,
Instead of solid meats t' increase his force;
Instead of vigorous exercise, they led him
Into the pleasant Labyrinths of ever-fresh Discours [...]
They chose his Eye to entertain [...]
With painted Scenes, and Pageants of the Brain.³⁵

Cowley here represents fiction as insubstantial, misleading, and unprofitable. Cowley's text goes on to imagine Bacon as overthrowing fiction and its oppression of true natural philosophy, and teaching us to find nourishment from physical things rather than their fanciful equivalent.³⁶ Bacon leads us to the borders of 'the blest promis'd Land', says Cowley, but the members of the Royal Society are hand-picked by God to fight 'the glorious Fight' and bring the world into the new millennium by discovering 'New Scenes of Heaven' and 'Crowds of golden Worlds on high'.³⁷ Cowley, then, in his poetic and fanciful representation of the Royal Society and its achievements in vanquishing poetry and fancy, clearly depicts their aims and achievements as utopian methods of achieving paradise.

Indeed, utopia and science had long been intimately connected, with scientific discoveries inspiring utopian narratives. As Patrick Parrinder has pointed out, utopia is 'the search for the good society, or at least a much improved one' and science is the pursuit of knowledge 'for the betterment of human life'.³⁸ The scientific revolution of the Renaissance era and its relationship with utopia is particularly fertile. The astronomical discoveries of Nicolaus Copernicus (1473-1534), and Galileo Galilei (1564-1642), particularly the discovery that the landscape of the moon was similar to that of the Earth, suggested the controversial possibility of inhabited other-worlds, and resulted in corresponding utopian narratives which did not simply depart from an idea

³⁵ 'To the Royal Society', B1r-B1v.

³⁶ Cowley represents the ancient philosophers' use of fancy as birds trying to eat painted grapes ('To the Royal Society', B2r).

³⁷ Ibid., B2v-B3r.

³⁸ *Utopian Literature and Science: From the Scientific Revolution to Brave New World and Beyond* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 1.

suggested by science, but actually explored scientific hypotheses in fiction.³⁹ Johannes Kepler (1571-1630), a Copernican astronomer, philosopher of optics, and one of the first commentators on Galileo's telescopic discoveries is perhaps most famous for his pioneering utopian work of science-fiction *Somnium* (1634). Featuring the first depictions of extra-terrestrial life, *Somnium* was first written in c.1609 and widely circulated in manuscript form before posthumous print publication.⁴⁰ This work developed from a scholarly thesis aimed at justifying the Copernican theory by reconstructing what the motion of the planets would look like from the point of view of other planetary bodies.⁴¹ Francis Godwin (1562-1633), another Copernican who, like Bacon, believed in the need for a new form of natural history, wrote the utopian fiction *The Man in the Moone* (1638). John Wilkins, a member of the Royal Society who was later to advocate for universal language freed from literary embellishments and fictional notions, published *The Discovery of a World in the Moon. Or, A Discourse Tending to Prove, That 'Tis Probable There May Be Another Habitable World in That Planet*, also in 1638, the title of which indicates the dual nature of this text as it moves between scientific discourse 'Tending to Prove' and fictional lunar journey.⁴² Cyrano de Bergerac's (1619-1655) *Les Etats et Empires de la Lune* (1657), and *Les Etats et Empires du Soleil* (1662), known together as the *Histoire Comique* or *L'autre Monde*, influenced by Godwin's *The Man in the Moone*, are not simply satirical, fantastical and heretical works of fiction but also fiercely Cartesian and Copernican works which 'represent a serious exploration of ideas by an empirical scientist'.⁴³

³⁹ See Karl S. Guthke, *The Last Frontier: Imagining Other Worlds, from the Copernican Revolution to Modern Science Fiction*, trans. Helen Atkins (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990), 43-98.

⁴⁰ Edward Rosen, ed. and trans., introduction to *Kepler's Somnium: The Dream, or Posthumous Work on Lunar Astronomy* (New York: Dover Publications Inc., 2003), xviii-xix. For more detail on how *Somnium* reflects Kepler's ideas, see Gale E. Christianson, 'Kepler's *Somnium*: Science Fiction and the Renaissance Scientist', *Science Fiction Studies* 3, no.1 (March 1976): 79-90.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, xvii.

⁴² See 162n25.

⁴³ Guthke, *The Last Frontier*, 189.

Evidence of connections between the new scientists and more terrestrial utopias also exist.⁴⁴ In 1660, a continuation of Bacon's utopia was published which included 'A Pleasant intermixture of divers rare Inventions' written by R.H, taken most frequently to stand for Robert Hooke.⁴⁵ Another member of the Royal Society, Joseph Glanvill (1636-1680), despite his protestations against 'vulgar Tales and Romantick Accounts' of history also wrote a continuation of *New Atlantis* in 1676.⁴⁶ Despite privileging sensory evidence and fact over fiction, practitioners of the new science were often motivated by a utopian impulse and turned to fiction to express it. In a parallel move, writers of the new science frequently adopt the language of utopia in order to explain the significance of their discoveries.⁴⁷ For example, Hooke argued that the 'improvement of Telescopes or Microscopes' would not simply offer access to knowledge of our world, but also have the fantastical and generative power to begin 'producing new Worlds and Terra-Incognitas to our view'.⁴⁸ Michael Hunter and Frederique Ait-Touati have shown that Hooke borrows from the medieval 'Wonder Book' tradition, one closely associated with fictional travellers' tales and

⁴⁴ A further example of scientific utopianism which is not based on lunar travel is William Harvey's work on the circulation of the blood. Harvey's earlier treatise on anatomy, *Exercitatio Anatomica de Motu Cordis et Sanguinis in Animalibus* (Frankfurt: Guiljelmi Fitzeri, 1628) suggests that the heart is the foundation of all blood circulation and represents this circulation as an ideal body politic with the heart as the king supplying the bodily dependents with nourishment. *Exercitatio Anatomica de Circulatione Sanguinis*, published shortly after the death of Charles I, reverts this opinion (Cambridge: Rogeri Danielis, 1649). In this latter text, the blood has its own energy and moves itself around the body. The heart, in this version, is simply a place to store the blood but no longer has any control. Harvey was cited repeatedly by James Harrington in his political utopia as an analogical justification for shared power in the body politic between Parliament (the heart), and the people (the blood). Harrington writes 'So the Parliament is the Heart, which consisting of two Ventricles; the one greater and replenished with a grosser store; the other lesse and full of a purer; sucketh in, and gusheth forth the life blood of *Oceana* by a perpetuall Circulation', *The Common-Wealth of Oceana* (London: Livewell Chapman, 1656), 2C3v. In 'The Art of Lawgiving' (1659) he states it yet more clearly 'Certain it is, that the delivery of a Model of Government (which either must be of no effect, or imbrace all those Muscles, Nerves, Arteries, and Bones, which are necessary to any Function of a well-order'd Commonwealth) is no less than political anatomy', *The Political Works of James Harrington*, ed. J.G.A. Pocock (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 656. For a fuller discussion, see John Rogers, *The Matter of Revolution: Science, Poetry and Politics in the Age of Milton* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996), 17-32.

⁴⁵ R.H, *New Atlantis* (London: John Crooke, 1660). On authorship, see Edmund Freeman, 'A Proposal for an English Academy in 1660', *The Modern Language Review* 19, no. 3 (1924): 291-300; Johns, *The Nature of the Book*, 478-479; Price, *Francis Bacon's New Atlantis*, 16.

⁴⁶ *Plus Ultra; or, The Progress and Advancement of Knowledge Since the Days of Aristotle* (London: James Collins, 1668), 17r; 'The Summe of My Lord Bacon's *New Atlantis*', in *Essays on Several Important Subjects in Philosophy and Religion* (London: John Baker and Henry Mortlock, 1676).

⁴⁷ Campbell has also identified these aspects of scientific writing as utopian, but does so only in passing in order to link them to new world discoveries and actively disregards the utopian genre as a framework that is 'not particularly generative' for her analysis of Cavendish's text, whereas I aim to place this more broadly in the tradition and suggest that Cavendish was aware of and responding to the utopian impulse in scientific writing (*Wonder and Science*, 189, 199, 204 n.26, 215).

⁴⁸ *Micrographia*, e1r.

utopia, using *Micrographia* to represent a wonderous, magical new world that he has explored.⁴⁹ Nehemia Grew, botanist and fellow of the Royal Society, wrote in a dedicatory letter to the King that ‘there are *Terrae Incognitae* in *Philosophy*, as well as *Geography*’, and claimed to be the first to make ‘a Map of the Country’ of plant biology.⁵⁰ He argues that by looking in minute detail at a plant beneath the microscope ‘we come ashore into a new World, whereof we see no end. Some will say, into a new Utopia’.⁵¹ In spite of surface rejection of fanciful utopias, and even in highly factual texts, the utopian impulse persists and characterises both the language and style. Cavendish seems particularly attuned to this contradiction and arguably exploits it in order to strengthen her arguments and satirical treatment of the gendered assumptions behind male epistemologies.

The practices of male-centred experimental science were based on the use and abuse of passive feminine nature and an over-reliance on exterior observation. As has long been noted, the nature of the science at the heart of the works of Bacon, Hooke and the Royal Society relies upon a dichotomy that renders observed nature feminine and vulnerable. As Amy Boesky provocatively describes it:

It is a feminized and eroticized Nature that becomes the body upon which the scientist must turn his eye ... Bacon continually exhorts English readers to possess Nature, to ‘search out her secrets’ and ‘storm her castles’. Nature is not only a woman for Bacon but a woman bound and helpless, one who must be stripped and inspected, often by force.⁵²

As Lisa T. Sarassohn and others have noted,⁵³ the Baconian image of a helpless, passive, and inert female nature is counteracted vividly both in Cavendish’s poetic representations of agential nature,

⁴⁹ ‘Robert Hooke: The Natural Philosopher’, in *London’s Leonardo: The Life and Work of Robert Hooke*, eds., Jim Bennett, Michael Cooper, Hunter, and Lisa Jardine (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 149; *Fictions of the Cosmos: Science and Literature in the Seventeenth Century*, trans. Susan Emanuel (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011), 142-144.

⁵⁰ *The Anatomy of Plants*, (London: W. Rawlins, 1682), π2r.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, π3r.

⁵² *Founding Fictions: Utopias in Early Modern England* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1996), 67. For more on this, see: Carolyn Merchant, *The Death of Nature: Women, Ecology, and the Scientific Revolution*, 2nd edn (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1980); Merchant, *Ecological Revolutions: Nature, Gender, and Science in New England* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2010); Londa Schiebinger, *Nature’s Body: Gender in the Making of Modern Science*, 2nd edn (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2005); Katharine Park, ‘Nature in Person: Medieval and Renaissance Allegories and Emblems’, in *The Moral Authority of Nature*, eds. Lorraine Daston and Fernando Vidal (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2004), 50-73; Park, *Secrets of Women: Gender, Generation, and the Origins of Human Dissection* (New York: Zone Books, 2006).

⁵³ Sarassohn, *The Natural Philosophy of Margaret Cavendish*, 149-172; see also, for example: Aït-Touati, *Fictions of the Cosmos*, 152; Nicole Pohl, “‘Of Mixt Natures’: Questions of Genre in Margaret Cavendish’s *The Blazing World*”, in *A Princely Brave Woman: Essays on Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle*, ed. Stephen Clucas (London: Routledge, 2003), 51-69.

and in *Observations*, where Cavendish disclaims against those who ‘rail against Natures self-moving power, condemning her to an inanimate, senseless and irrational body’, calling them the ‘strange conceits of some men’.⁵⁴

This version of male scientific dominion over nature is described frequently, in utopian terms, as a conquest over a feminised ‘New World’. Hooke, for example, depicts himself as a ‘great Conqueror’, and Ait-Touati has suggested that *Micrographia* resembles that of a ‘Renaissance voyager’ collecting ‘exotic material from the foreign lands the microscope offered’.⁵⁵ Indeed, some fellows of the Royal Society were ‘colonial scientists’, based in colonised lands and in ‘constant intercourse’ with fellows of the Royal Society, whose ‘prime motive’ was the ‘accurate collection, classification, and interpretation of scientific data from all parts of the world’.⁵⁶ Creating conceptual links between the methodology of observation and colonial discoveries of ‘new’ lands is powerfully suggestive. It implies that whatever has been seen and catalogued through the lens has been dominated and is now possessed and controlled by the scientist, in the same way that explorers were seen to be capable of colonising landscapes through the technologies of navigation and cartography.⁵⁷ It is thus revealing that in William Cavendish’s dedicatory poem to the first stand-

⁵⁴ *Observations*, M2r-v. For poetry, see: ‘Nature Calls a Councell’, in *Poems and Fancies* (London: J. Martin and J. Allestrye, 1653), B1r-B2v; ‘Nature’s House’ in *Natures Pictures Drawn by Fancies Pencil to the Life*, 2nd edn (London: J. Martin and J. Allestrye, 1671), 4A1r-4A1v.

⁵⁵ *Micrographia*, e1r. For further discussions of Cavendish’s disagreements with experimental philosophy and its positioning of nature, see Sarasohn, *The Natural Philosophy of Margaret Cavendish*, 149-172; Ait-Touati, *Fictions of the Cosmos*, 152.

⁵⁶ Raymond Phineas Stearns, ‘Colonial Fellows of the Royal Society of London, 1661-1788’, *The William and Mary Quarterly* 3, no.2 (1946): 208.

⁵⁷ The ways in which the western scientific practices of cartography, cataloguing and classification contributed to race making are well documented. On Baconian methodology specifically, see Mauro Scalercio, ‘Dominating Nature and Colonialism: Francis Bacon’s View of Europe and the New World’, *History of European Ideas* 44, no. 8 (2018): 1076-1091. More generally, see: Seth Suman, ‘Putting Knowledge in its Place: Science, Colonialism, and the Postcolonial’ *Postcolonial Studies* 12, no.4 (2009): 373-38; Kapil Raj, *Relocating Modern Science: Circulation and the Construction of Knowledge in South Asia and Europe, 1650-1900* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007); Ayesha Ramachandran, *The Worldmakers: Global Imagining in Early Modern Europe* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2018); Neil Safier, *Measuring the New World: Enlightenment Science and South America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008); Schiebinger, *Plants and Empire: Bioprospecting in the Atlantic World* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004); Schiebinger and Claudia Swan, eds., *Colonial Botany: Science, Commerce, and Politics in the Early Modern World* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005); Antonio Barrera-Osorio, *Experiencing Nature: The Spanish American Empire and the Early Scientific Revolution* (Austin: The University of Texas Press, 2006); Harold J. Cook, *Matters of Exchange: Commerce, Medicine, and Science in the Dutch Golden Age* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007); James Delbourgo and Nicholas Dew, eds., *Science and Empire in the Atlantic World* (New York: Routledge, 2008); Roy Macleod, ed. *Nature and Empire: Science and the Colonial Enterprise*, special issue, *Osiris* 15 (2000).

alone edition of *Blazing World* (1668) he compares Cavendish with Columbus who ‘Onely discovered’ a land, as opposed to Cavendish whose ‘Creating Fancy, thought it fit / To make your World of Nothing, but pure Wit’.⁵⁸ Cavendish then surpasses the observational and experimental scientists who are depicted as explorers, because she does not categorise, catalogue, or map existing worlds: she creates them. As discussed in more detail below, at the end of *Blazing World*, the Empress also conquers worlds through a show of dazzling power and military strategy made possible by the utopian technology, but not through observational science. She puts the materials that her philosophers’ schools have merely observed to practical use in order to actually conquer, as opposed to assuming ownership through observing and knowing.

As a result of this conceit of dominating and owning the natural (female) landscape through observation, writers of the new science thus frequently adopt patriarchal utopian tropes in order to explain the significance of their discoveries. For example, Hooke’s *Micrographia* is unmistakably utopian in its aims, and it presents this utopianism in Edenic terms. In a well-ordered society based on observation and experimentation, Hooke suggests that one can rectify the fall and return to Eden by acquiring an Adamic knowledge of nature:

And as at first, mankind fell by tasting of the forbidden Tree of Knowledge, so we, their Posterity, may be in part restor’d by the same way, not only by beholding and contemplating, but by tasting too those fruits of Natural knowledge that were never yet forbidden. From hence the World may be assisted with variety of Inventions, new matter for Sciences may be collected, the old improv’d, and their rust rubb’d away; and as it is by the benefit of Senses that we receive all our Skill in the works of Nature, so they also may be wonderfully benefited by it, and may be guided to an easier and more exact performance of their Offices; ‘tis not unlikely, but that we may find out wherein our Senses are deficient, and as easily find ways of repairing them.⁵⁹

Nuancing his language to avoid making theologically controversial statements, Hooke posits that permitted knowledge, and not that which Eve gained by eating the forbidden fruit, could ‘in part’ restore their senses. Much like in Dryden’s *The State of Innocence*, it is here no longer the fertile ‘seed’ of Eve which can be said to rectify the fall but a masculine and scientific suppression and reversal

⁵⁸ ‘To the Duchesse of Newcastle, On her New Blazing-World’, in *The Description of a New World, Called the Blazing-World* (London: A. Maxwell, 1668), π3.

⁵⁹ *Micrographia*, b2r-b2v.

of female unruliness: Dryden suggested that God's punishment for Eve was to restrain her from any domestic dominance, and Hooke suggests that subjecting feminine nature to observation is a means of dominating it. There are thus similarities between this scientific claim to an improved futurity linked to a prelapsarian world and works claiming that Eden might be found in the New World, or millenarian claims that improving society could hasten the millennium and the development of paradise on earth (see Chapter Two).⁶⁰

Rebuking the Observational Method

Cavendish's criticism of the Royal Society in *Blazing World* can be read as a rebuttal of the experimental philosophers' methodological reliance on observation. Indeed, critics have long noted that *Blazing World* functions as a criticism of the experimental philosophy of the Royal Society, but these criticisms have rarely been linked to the utopian impulse of the text.⁶¹ Similarly, those who have focused on Cavendish's utopianism do not normally acknowledge that Cavendish is not only revising literary utopias but the utopianism that can be found in the philosophical literature. Dodds is one notable exception, as she recognizes that Cavendish's *Blazing World* enacts a rebuttal of the patriarchal assumptions of Bacon's *The New Atlantis*, and that these patriarchal assumptions are founded on the 'metaphorical embodiment of the scientific enterprise' in

⁶⁰ See Chapter Two, 100-102. Houston has also argued that Samuel Hartlib and his circle were 'attempting to realize the sort of idealized institution that Bacon had imagined in *new Atlantis*... using utopian literature as a blueprint' (*The Renaissance Utopia*, 138-139).

⁶¹ On *Blazing World* as critique or satire of the Royal Society, see for example: Lisa T. Sarasohn, 'A Science Turned Upside Down: Feminism and the Natural Philosophy of Margaret Cavendish', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 47 (1984): 289-307; Eve Keller, 'Producing Petty Gods: Margaret Cavendish's Critique of Experimental Science', *ELH* 64 (1997): 447-471; Anna Battigelli, who argues that her rebuke of science and repositioning of fancy offers an alternative scientific method and subjectivity 'Between the Glass and the Hand: The Eye in Margaret Cavendish's *Blazing World*, 1650-1850: *Ideas, Aesthetics and Inquiries in the Early Modern Era*, 2 (1996): 25-38; Sarasohn, *The Natural Philosophy of Margaret Cavendish*; Lawson, 'Bears in Eden', 583-605; Hutton, 'Science and Satire'. On the distinctions between fact and fiction, see Siegfried, 'Cavendish and the Novel', 351-372; Rosemary Kegl, "'The World I have made": Margaret Cavendish, Feminism, and the *Blazing World*', in *Feminist Readings of Early Modern Culture: Emerging Subjects*, eds., Lindsay M. Kaplan and Dypna Callaghan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 119-141; Ait-Touati, 'Making Worlds: Invention and Fiction in Bacon and Cavendish', in *The Palgrave Handbook of Early Modern Literature and Science*, eds., Howard Marchitello and Evelyn Tribble (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 489-504; Price, 'Journeys Beyond Frontiers: Knowledge, Subjectivity and Outer Space in Margaret Cavendish's *The Blazing World* (1666)', in *The Arts of Seventeenth Century Science: Representations of the Natural World in European and North American Cultures*, eds., Claire Jowitt and Diane Watt, 2nd edn (New York: Routledge, 2016), 127-145; Elizabeth Spiller, *Science, Reading and Renaissance Literature*, 167-169 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

Baconian practice.⁶² However, what I wish to add to this reading is that it is not merely Bacon who Cavendish is responding to, but the masculine utopian impulse found in philosophy more generally. I identify three key ways in which Cavendish's utopia functions as a rebuke of the utopianism of seventeenth-century male philosophers, the principles of objective observation which they were wedded to, and the subjectivity which they miss: the use of a highly subjective utopian narrative stance, the animation of the objectified creatures of science, and the alignment of those grotesquely objectified creatures with women.

Cavendish's use of genre in *Observations* and *Blazing World* offers direct response to the utopian elements of the scientific discourse of experimental philosophers. Cavendish acknowledged but appears to have had no qualms with the links between speculation and fancy that the experimental philosophers seemed to fear. Cavendish can arguably be seen to respond to Bacon's dismissal of philosophers who create 'mimic and fabulous worlds of their own' when, in the epilogue to *Blazing World*, she invites and encourages people to 'create Worlds of their own', replicating his language.⁶³ Further, she makes a deliberate point of explaining this relationship between philosophy and fiction with regards to the connection between *Observations* and *Blazing World*, arguing that both fancy and reason are 'made by the Rational parts of Matter' and that reason 'requires sometimes the help of Fancy, to recreate the mind, and withdraw it from its more serious contemplations'.⁶⁴ Indeed, for Cavendish, 'speculation soon leads to fancy' and her 'natural philosophy could be understood only by combining the philosophic and the fantastical'.⁶⁵ Cavendish seems keen to point out that experimental philosophy is also fantastical in its production, as discussed above. In *Observations*, for example, she suggests that the work of experimental philosophers would only begin to be profitable if they became 'Poetical Spinsters,

⁶² Dodds *The Literary Invention*, 140-141.

⁶³ 'The Great Instauration', 26; *Blazing World*, 211v.

⁶⁴ *Blazing World*, b*1v-b*2r. This connection between reason and fancy has been frequently commented on, see: Kegl, "'The World I have made'"; Ait-Touati, 'Making Worlds'; Price, 'Journeys Beyond Frontiers', 127-145; Spiller, *Science, Reading and Renaissance Literature*, 167-169.

⁶⁵ Sarasohn, *The Natural Philosophy of Margaret Cavendish*, 61, 39.

Weavers and Architects' or 'Painter[s]' and produce purely art or entertainment.⁶⁶ She thus refuses to allow her contemporaries any claim to an objective scientific practice.

In a paratextual letter addressed to her husband, Cavendish recognises the utopian bent of the work of experimental philosophy, particularly the works which describe discoveries enabled by the telescope or microscope, likening them to the utopian works of Lucian of Samasota's *A True Story* (2nd Century AD), and 'the *French-man*', Bergerac's, *Histoire Comique* (1657-1662).

the truth is, *My Lord*, That most men in these latter times, busie themselves more with other Worlds, then with this they live in, which to me seems strange, unless they could find out some Art that would carry them into those Celestial Worlds, which I doubt will never be; nay, if they did, it would be no better than *Lucian's* or the *French-mans* Art, with Bottles, Bladders, &c. or like the mans that would scrue himself up into the Moon: And therefore I confess, I have but little faith... in Telescopical, Microscopical, and the like inspections, and prefer rational and judicious Observations before deluding Glasses and Experiments.⁶⁷

Cavendish recognises the utopian bent of the work of experimental philosophy, particularly the works which describe discoveries enabled by the telescope or microscope, likening them to the utopian works of Lucian of Samasota's *A True Story* (2nd Century AD), and 'the *French-man*', Bergerac's, *Histoire Comique* (1657-1662). She thus displays an awareness of the way in which science and utopianism are interconnected. She suggests that the 'deluding Glasses' are more likely to produce fictional knowledge of the world in this utopian frame, likely referring to scientists such as Kepler, Godwin and Wilkins who, in response to telescopic discoveries, wrote fictional, utopian narratives about journeys to other worlds. In this ironic paratext to her own text, which is itself a merging of philosophy and utopian fiction, Cavendish highlights and offers a response to observational scientists' short-sighted pretensions to 'fact' devoid of fancy.

⁶⁶ *Observations*, D2r.

⁶⁷ *Observations*, b1v. This line regarding using the 'Bottles, Bladders, &c' as a metaphorical raft which will carry them into the new world is reminiscent of John Wilmot, Second Earl of Rochester's 'A Satyr against Reason and Mankind' where philosophers, led by 'Reason, an *ignus fatuus*' leave nature behind and fall into 'doubts boundless sea' trying 'to swim with bladders of philosophy', in *The Complete Poems of John Wilmot Earl of Rochester*, ed. David M. Veith (London: Yale University Press, 2002), lines 19-21. Both Cavendish and Rochester are here referring to Boyle's famous air pump as a bladder. Little has been written about Rochester and his relationship with the Royal Society, but these lines have been read as an ironic use of scholastic terminology in line with the practices of Hobbes, K.E. Robinson, 'Rochester and Hobbes and the Irony of 'A Satyr against Reason and Mankind'', *The Yearbook of English Studies*, 3. (1973): 112.

I am not the first to note that Cavendish's choice to adjoin a utopian fiction to her philosophical work was inspired by Bacon's *Sylva Sylvarum*, a philosophical work published in the same volume as the utopian fiction *New Atlantis*.⁶⁸ Cavendish's choice to align her work so closely with the Baconian text serves both to satirise the hypocritical or short-sighted way in which contemporary philosophy dismisses inherent connections with fancy and utopia. The Royal Society, the main proponents of observational and experimental methods, used Bacon as the foundation for their ideology and work.⁶⁹ Cavendish, in a characteristically tongue-in-cheek move, uses Bacon as a foundation for the textual construction of her satirical response to the experimental philosophy of the Royal Society.

Sylva Sylvarum was published posthumously in folio in 1626 and its popularity is highlighted by the fact that it went through eleven editions before 1676.⁷⁰ It tells of an ideal world built around scientific observation and experimentation; the same vision that Hooke postulated would bring about the Edenic state he describes above. Rawley's preface to the work states that he deliberately 'designed' his 'Fable' entitled *New Atlantis* 'for this Place; in regard it hath so neare Affinity (in one Part of it) with the Preceding *Natural History*'.⁷¹ Cavendish similarly argues that she 'chose such a Fiction [i.e utopian fiction] as would be agreeable to the subject I treated of in the former parts'.⁷² Cavendish also followed in Bacon's footsteps by publishing her combined fictional utopian narrative and scientific treatise on natural philosophy in folio format. The process of adjoining these texts for publication is reminiscent of, and perhaps an inversion of, the more typical utopian tradition of falsifying paratexts such as maps, alphabets, and letters which tend to create

⁶⁸ These connections have been noted by : Dodds *The Literary Invention*, 131; Hutton, 'Science and Satire', 161-178; Price, 'Journeys Beyond Frontiers', 21-50; Leslie, *Renaissance Utopias*, 123.

⁶⁹ Margery Purver, *The Royal Society: Concept and Creation* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1967), 1.

⁷⁰ On editions and popularity, see Gregory Claeys, ed. *Restoration and Augustan British Utopias* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 2000), xii-xiii.

⁷¹ Sarasohn, *The Natural Philosophy of Margaret Cavendish*, 19; *Sylva Sylvarum*, a2r-a2v.

⁷² *Blazing World*, b*1v-b*2r. Dodds has also commented on the similarity between these rationales and the bibliographical link between the two book structures, *The Literary Invention*, 131.

verisimilitude.⁷³ Rather than use paratexts to make claims for the veracity of their fictional utopian lands, Cavendish and Bacon instead use fictional utopian spaces to shed light on and lend validity to their natural philosophy. Cavendish thus highlights male scientists' reliance on fiction and reflects an awareness that, as discussed above, utopian fiction in particular is intrinsically bound up with philosophical or scientific thought. Unlike those who protested against this connection, Cavendish accepted it and actively situated her work within a recognised utopian tradition, allowing her both to mock the hand-wringing of the experimental philosophers and to set up a competing view of natural philosophy.

I further contend that Cavendish's narrative style serves to actively rebuke the pretensions to indisputable objective fact projected by the Royal Society, and that she finds and rejects its parallels in the utopian tradition's attempts at verisimilitude. Lee Cullen Khanna and Rachel Trubowitz have suggested that the new utopian subject positions *Blazing World* offers to women challenges some of the assumptions of utopian texts because it allows for an increased attention to the intimate relationship between women and notions of sorority.⁷⁴ Jane L. Donawerth and Carol A. Kolmerten have similarly argued that in this sense, Cavendish's *Blazing World* is 'a precursor to a whole set of feminist utopias in England and France during the next century and a half that estrange the reader from her ordinary world, teach her that the good life consists of education of women along with seclusion from the world of men, and offer her a subject position in that separate world'.⁷⁵ I echo the feminist positions of these readings, but I further suggest that Cavendish's revision of utopian protagonists is in fact more radical than the gendered reversal. It is also the active style of participation in utopia here, the romance narrative tropes which Cavendish maintains, and the representation of agential female subjects editing and altering utopia, which serves as the biggest revision to the patriarchal utopian impulse which characterized her

⁷³ On utopian paratexts, see: Terrence Cave, ed. *Thomas More's 'Utopia' in Early Modern Europe: Paratexts and Contexts* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2008); Maczelka Csaba, 'The Uses of Paratextuality and Dialogicity in Early Modern English Utopias' (PhD Thesis: Szeged University, 2014).

⁷⁴ Trubowitz, 'The Reenchantment of Utopia', 229-245; Khanna, 'The Subject of Utopia', 15-34.

⁷⁵ *Utopian and Science Fiction*, 4-5.

contemporaries' political, experimental, and literary utopias. These more active subject positions can be read as a revision of what she deemed to be the static and observational utopian mode of her contemporaries.

The Royal Society attempted to curate a plain style due to its need to accurately record the processes of experiments or their geographical discoveries. Simon Schaffer and Steven Shapin have argued that the society collectively came up with what they call a 'technology' of writing, 'virtual witnessing', which refers to the publication and dissemination of detailed descriptions of experiments in order to multiply the number of witnesses by including their readers.⁷⁶ Ait-Touati has similarly shown that Hooke was able to adopt rhetorical strategies for a 'poetics of proof', a method through which Hooke uses both rhetoric and images in *Micrographia* to present his artistic renderings of a heretofore invisible world – still invisible to the many people who do not have access to a microscope – as scientific evidence.⁷⁷ Further, the Royal Society also issued guidelines for travel writing so as to ensure that the information reported back was factual, and as Nicole Pohl has noted, these guidelines are deliberately flaunted in Cavendish's imaginary voyage.⁷⁸

This same notion of 'virtual witnessing' can be seen to parallel the narrative style of traditional male-authored travel utopias. Indeed, Christopher S. Ferns seizes on the same term when referring to the traditional utopian frame narrative which explains how the narrator 'obtains the opportunity to witness [utopia's] distinctive excellencies'.⁷⁹ The characters in utopian texts who deliver the news about utopia either directly to the reader, as in Bacon's *New Atlantis*, or via a dialogue, as in More's *Utopia*, are situated as outside observers of a utopian society. These characters do not tend to be actively involved in the reforming and set-up of a utopian state or

⁷⁶ *Leviathan and the Air-Pump*, 60-65

⁷⁷ *Fictions of the Cosmos*, 133. Spiller has also shown that 'imaginative literature and natural philosophy borrow from one another, as they convert accounts of personal experience into new stories of universal truth' (*Science, Reading, and Renaissance Literature*, 15).

⁷⁸ On the Royal Society directives to travellers, see: Daniel Carey, 'Compiling Nature's History: Travellers and Travel Narratives in the Early Royal Society', *Annals of Science* 54, no. 3 (1997): 269-292; Jacob Pollock, 'The Voyage Account, the Royal Society and Textual Production, 1687-1707', *Studies in Travel Writing* 17, no.3 (July 2013): 281-299. I build on Pohl's argument here, and where Pohl deals with the rhetorical strategies I focus on narrative ones, ("Of Mixt Natures", 61-63).

⁷⁹ *Narrating Utopia: Ideology, Gender, Form in Utopian Literature* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1999), ix.

citizens of it. Though they may present the narratives of people who were – such as the inclusion of George Pines’s narrative within Henry Neville’s *The Isle of Pines* (1668), discussed below – the relaters of the utopian narrative tend to maintain a façade of distance in an attempt to pertain to verisimilitude. They record and relay the truth of the utopia they or their interlocutor have visited, and they claim to present the evidence to the audience to judge the society for themselves. Of course, in utopian texts this is done with a wink: in a letter from More to Peter Giles attached as a paratext to utopia, More states that he is glad that he ‘only [has] to rehearse those things which you and I together heard Master Raphael tell and declare’, as otherwise ‘the invention or the disposition of this matter might have required of a wit neither base neither at all unlearned’.⁸⁰ Hythloday is by no means an objective narrator, but he does not interfere in the running of utopia, nor does the unnamed narrator of *New Atlantis*. In contrast, Cavendish’s protagonists, the Empress and the Duchess, arrive in the utopian landscape and the narrative follows their active involvement in its formation and development, and, indeed, the formation and development of new utopias.

The Empress takes on the role of the leader of utopia, akin to Utopos of More’s *Utopia* or King Solamona of Bacon’s *New Atlantis*. However, the male-authored predecessors are revealed to us through layers of distancing. Utopus barely features in More’s text, mentioned only three times.⁸¹ Although the island is of course named after him and his conquest of the land previously known as Abraxa, his influence over the land is diluted: ‘he left all that belonged to the ornament and improvement of it to be added by those that should come after him, that being too much for one man to bring to perfection’.⁸² Similarly, for King Solamona we are told that he ‘reigned in this land, about nineteen hundred years ago’, distancing him through time.⁸³ Further, he is a figure the text admits is symbolic. The naming of Salomon’s House is ‘a little corrupted’ in its representation of Solamona’s name, and we are told by the governor that he thinks the reason is that ‘our king,

⁸⁰ *Utopia*, in *Three Early Modern Utopias: Utopia, New Atlantis and The Isle of Pines*, ed. Bruce (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 5.

⁸¹ *Utopia*, 50, 54, 108-109.

⁸² *Utopia*, 54.

⁸³ *New Atlantis*, C3r

finding himself to symbolize in many things with that king of the Hebrews (which lived many years before him), honored him with the title of this foundation... And I am rather induced to be of this opinion'.⁸⁴ Readers do not get direct access to the thought processes of Solamona or Utopus in the moments of utopian creation or reformation; we observe only the evidence that is left behind.

In contrast, Cavendish's narrative gives us direct insight into the thoughts of the utopian construction of Cavendish's Empress. The Empress makes schools for philosophy and engages in debate regarding their findings, giving her personal opinions in sentences that foreground her active position and her changeable mindset: 'This answer the Emperess liked much better', and 'The Emperess was so wonderfully taken with this discourse of the Worm-men, that she not onely pardoned the rudeness they committed in laughing at first at her question, but yielded a full assent to their opinion, which she thought the most rational that ever she had heard'.⁸⁵ She also establishes a new religion, finding theirs 'very defective', builds churches, instructs them, and creates a 'Congregation of Women' to serve in it.⁸⁶ She can also lie and deceive her husband and her subjects, leaving a spirit to inhabit her body while she and the Duchess's soul leave the Blazing World to visit the Duchess's world, and she gives her opinions on the sites she sees on her travels.⁸⁷ She is a far cry from the distant rulers of utopia in More and Bacon.

As previously noted, the introduction of the character of Cavendish mirrors the metafictional inclusion of Morus as a character in More's *Utopia*. However, rather than working to ironically critique or purposefully undermine the utopian construction of the text, as Morus does,

⁸⁴ *New Atlantis*, C4r.

⁸⁵ *Blazing World* G1r, M2r.

⁸⁶ Q2v. Although she ultimately dissolves these reforms, as Dodds has argued, this only represents a rejection of the archaic or static utopian form. Dodds also recognises two other 'ends' of utopianism in the text, the second is the imaginary worlds which the Empress completes but subsequently finds she has 'nothing else to do', and the third being the utopian conquest narrative which is somewhat dystopian (*The Literary Invention*, 144-148). Dodds suggests that this text reflects on the limitations of the utopian form and its tendency towards static qualities, but I here posit that the static construction functions purely to satirise the more traditional conventions of utopian style and their association with male-authored philosophy and that the subjectivity of the female characters serves to suggest the possibility of a new agential form for utopian narratives.

⁸⁷ 2D2r-2D2v

Cavendish's Duchess's character serves to proliferate and endorse the process of utopian world-building.⁸⁸ The Duchess does not simply reflect abstractly with the reader or with a traveler about whether or not the specific utopia described is of any value; instead she actively critiques and participates in the Empress's governance, advising her to reform the utopia she had worked on, becomes the creator of multiple imaginary new worlds herself, and is the chief military advisor in the conquering mission of the second part.⁸⁹

In addition to the agential protagonists, the other characters of *Blazing World* demonstrate a broader subjectivity than that granted by the experimental philosophers. As Mary Baine Campbell has noted, the grotesque monsters that emerged from underneath Hooke's microscope and spilled out beyond the pages of his expensive folio are dismissed by Cavendish as futile fancies wrought by the tools of a masculine scientific practice that can never penetrate beneath the surface.⁹⁰ Thus, the fictional rendering of the epistemological failures of experimental science enable Cavendish to point out what is missing: a recognition of interiority or subjectivity.⁹¹ Throughout *Blazing World*, Cavendish shows that the small domestic creatures blown up via microscopes are distortions of reality created by male-practiced experimentalism.⁹² Her pronounced dislike of the idea that knowledge could be generated by the observation of an exterior object and aided by artificial glasses is echoed in the Empress's statement to the bear-men that their 'Glasses are false Informers, and instead of discovering the Truth, delude [their] senses'.⁹³ The microscopes 'make a Lowse appear as big as an Elephant, and a Mite as big as a Whale' and are used to show 'the Emperess a Flea, and a Lowse; which Creatures through the Microscope appear'd so terrible to

⁸⁸ See Introduction, 3-4.

⁸⁹ 2H2r, 2C1v-2D1r, 2B1r-B2v.

⁹⁰ *Wonder and Science*, 204.

⁹¹ Campbell first posited that one of Cavendish's central issues with Hooke and the experimental philosophers was that in their quest for inner meaning, all they find 'is further surfaces', whereas Cavendish privileges the 'immaterial interior of the person' (*Wonder and Science*, 182-183). In a similar vein Battigelli suggests that Cavendish privileges interiority in opposition to the micrographers (*Margaret Cavendish and the Exiles of the Mind*, 104). For an alternative view, Rogers has argued that this interest in the interior was a defensive mechanism or retreat from making broader scientific claims (*The Matter of Revolution*, 210).

⁹² Sarasohn has similarly argued that Cavendish suggests that experimental philosophy 'produces artificial monsters and is essentially useless' (*The Natural Philosophy of Margaret Cavendish*, 147).

⁹³ *Blazing World*, H2r.

her sight, that they had almost put her into a swoon', but they do not provide any helpful information regarding the inner natures of what they observe or how to prevent their bites / put this knowledge to use.⁹⁴ In a disorienting duplication, Cavendish casts those observed creatures under the microscope as hybrid lice-men and fly-men who populate the *Blazing World*. Cavendish thus seems to suggest that the images reported from the microscope and drawn by Hooke are equally as fictional as the inhabitants of her fantastical utopia.⁹⁵

Where Hooke and Cowley, amongst others, felt that the Baconian programme of natural history and the use of experimental philosophy would revert the fall and return society to its Edenic state, Cavendish sets *The Blazing World* in 'Paradise' itself, and populates it with the creatures over which experimental philosophers supposed they had dominion simply because they had observed them.⁹⁶ Where Hooke felt that he could best read the book of nature in the bodies of the creatures under his microscope, Cavendish has those creatures becoming scientists themselves, and discussing natural philosophy with an Empress.⁹⁷ I thus agree with Bronwen Price who has argued that they:

destabilise Bacon's differentiation between knower and known, combining both man and beast. They are identified as being integral to their very areas of enquiry, the birdmen explore the atmosphere; the fish and mermen, marine life; the worm-men resemble the maggots they study. The object of knowledge is not something which is extractable from those who examine it, but merges with them. The hybridisation of the scientists themselves unsettles the process of identification and classification with which they seem to be engaged.⁹⁸

⁹⁴ Ibid., I1r, I2r-I2v. For a more detailed discussion of the relationship between these hybrid creatures and Hooke's *Micrographia*, see: Lawson, 'Hybrid Philosophers: Cavendish's Reading of Hooke's *Micrographia*', in *The Palgrave Handbook of Early Modern Literature and Science*, 467-488. For analysis of their cultural significance, see: Sarasohn, *The Natural Philosophy of Margaret Cavendish*, 164-172. See also Ait-Touati, *Fictions of the Cosmos*, 180. See also: Lawson, 'Bears in Eden'; Elizabeth Scott-Baumann, *Forms of Engagement: Women, Poetry, and Culture 1640-1680* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 67.

⁹⁵ Prior to *Observations* and *Blazing World* Cavendish had already argued that non-human creatures had sentience and knowledge, and that 'though they have not the speech of Man, yet thence doth not follow, that they have no intelligence at all', *Philosophical Letters* (London: A. Maxwell, 1664), L2v-M1r.

⁹⁶ *Blazing World*, T2v.

⁹⁷ Hooke compares the small bodies of the creatures in his microscope to the individual strokes of letters that compose a sentence: 'We must first endeavour to make *letters*, and draw *single* strokes true, before we venture to write whole Sentences, or to draw large Pictures... we must endeavour to follow Nature in the more *plain* and *easie* ways she treads in the most *simple* and *uncompounded* bodies' (*Micrographia*, B1r).

⁹⁸ 'Journeys Beyond Frontiers', 131-132.

To this I would also add that Cavendish's hybrid and unnatural creatures are reflective of Bacon's fears of the imagination discussed in *The Advancement of Learning*:

Poesy is a part of Learning in measure of Wordes for the most part restrained; but in all other points extreamley licensed; and doth truly referre to the Imagination: Which being not tied to the Lawes of Matter, may at pleasure joyne that which Nature hath severed, and sever that which Nature hath joined, and so make unlawfull Matches and Divorces of things.⁹⁹

Cavendish's hybrid monsters, which are half animal and half human, are a direct dramatization of the imagination which can sever and conjoin where nature cannot. They suggest, humorously, that a similar severance occurs when a microscopic lens magnifies a flea to the size of an elephant and a scientist draws the result based on his perception. She presents both modes as equally fictitious and highlights the perceived hypocrisy of Hooke's attempts to present his drawings of dead fleas and flies as factual representations of the reality of an objectified nature.

Cavendish further applies her arguments for the unknowable interiority of observed subjects / creatures to the unknowable interiority of women.¹⁰⁰ One passage in *Observations* wittily collapses her discussions of the limitations of the microscope, the subjectivity of the observed, and the gendered implications of masculine practices of philosophy.

Art must attend Reason as the chief Mistris of Information, which in my time may make her a more prudent and profitable servant then she is; for in this age she is become rather vain then profitable, striving to act beyond her power, as I do undertake to write beyond my experience, for which, 'tis probable Artists will condemn me; but if I err, I ask their pardon, and pray them to consider the Nature of our sex, which makes us, for the most part, obstinate and wilful in our opinions, and most commonly impertinently foolish: And if the Art of Micrography can but find out the figurative corporeal motions that make or cause us to be thus, it will be an Art of great fame, for by that Artists may come to discover more hidden causes and effects; but yet I doubt they will hardly find out the interior nature of our sex by the exterior form of their faces or countenances, although very curious, and full of variety of several beauties; nay, I dare on the contrary say, had a young beautiful Lady such a face as the Microscope expresses, she would not only have no lovers, but be rather a Monster of Art, then a picture of Nature, and have an aversion, at least a dislike to her own exterior figure and shape; and perchance if a Lowse or Flea, or such like insect, should look through a Microscope, it would be as much affrighted with its own exterior figure, as a young beautiful Lady when she appears ill-favoured by Art.¹⁰¹

⁹⁹ *The Two Bookes of Francis Bacon. Of the Proficience and Advancement of Learning, Divine and Humane to the King*, (London: Henrie Tomes, 1605), Q3v.

¹⁰⁰ Campbell, *Wonder and Science*, 213.

¹⁰¹ 2D2v-E1r.

Cavendish here argues that micrography and other artificial means of producing knowledge, which she refers to as the female figure of ‘Art’, meaning artificial, should not strive ‘to act beyond her power’. She likens this striving to her own act of writing ‘beyond [her] experience’ and suggests that the vanity that those who wish to dismiss her philosophical opinions will accuse her of, is the same vanity that micrographers display in thinking their artificial lenses can overcome rational sense. She asks them to pardon her, because – as they must of course agree – this vanity and stupidity is in the nature of women, which she has now deftly associated with experimental philosophers through ironic self-deprecation. Adroitly, she turns this accusation of vanity and folly back on them again, pointing out that their microscopes and experiments could never prove this gendered distinction of intelligence and discover ‘the interior nature of our sex’, because they are only capable of producing ‘a Monster of Art’. She ends by likening the observed women with the ‘Lowse or Flea’ of Hooke’s *Micrographia*, giving them an aligned subjectivity that rejects the pictures drawn of them by the male gaze.

Similarly, as Campbell has noted, the glittering Empress of the *Blazing World* identifies with the observed rather than the observer, with the similarly bejewelled, pearl-like eye of the fly beneath the microscope, and not the eye of the scientist fruitlessly searching for answers.¹⁰² For Campbell, the link between the Empress’s stone encrusted armour and the fly’s pearly eyes supports Cavendish’s assertion that, despite men’s prying eyes, the ‘interior is not to be reached that way – observational detail is always detail of the surface’.¹⁰³ It is perhaps unsurprising that Cavendish, a female figure in society who was constantly observed and discussed by men, would react negatively to a practice of science that utilised an aggressively misogynistic rhetoric, assumed knowledge of interiority from exterior observation, and denied subjectivity to that which it observed.¹⁰⁴ Her

¹⁰² Campbell, *Wonder and Science*, 213. See also Battigelli, *Margaret Cavendish and the Exiles of the Mind*, 95-96.

¹⁰³ Campbell, *Wonder and Science*, 215.

¹⁰⁴ Mona Narain, ‘Notorious Celebrity: Margaret Cavendish and the Spectacle of Fame’, *The Journal of the Midwest Modern Language Association* 42, no.2 (Fall 2009): 69-95; Samuel I. Mintz, ‘The Duchess of Newcastle’s Visit to the Royal Society’, *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 51, no.2 (April 1952): 168-176; Rebecca D’Monté, ‘Making a Spectacle: Margaret Cavendish and the Staging of the Self’, in *A Princely Brave Woman*, 109-126.

insistence on the sentience of all things is related to her vitalist materialism, and in this she was at odds not just with experimental philosophers but also with speculative mechanistic philosophers.

Mechanism, Vitalism and the Material Female Body

Cavendish's vitalist materialism, the assertion that sentient self-moving matter had to work cooperatively and democratically in order to generate motion, change, or evolution, amounts to what John Rogers has called a 'micro-utopia' — a radically utopian representation of even the smallest parts of matter as having an internal sentience, where different parts of matter — rational, sensitive, and inanimate — naturally work together to produce motion and life.¹⁰⁵ This view of vitalist materialism ran directly counter to the popular mechanistic philosophy in which all animated material can be viewed as a mechanism consisting of matter set into or prevented from motion by the collision of forces.¹⁰⁶ Cavendish was very familiar with mechanistic philosophy and knew Descartes and Hobbes, some of its chief proponents, personally.¹⁰⁷ Indeed, this mechanistic philosophy was the ground upon which Hobbes built his political philosophy, described in *Leviathan, or, the Matter, Form, and Power of a Common-wealth Ecclesiastical and Civil*, arguing that 'life is but a motion of Limbs, the beginning whereof is in some principall part within' and justifying his image of the body politic, which contractually agrees to place its power in one supreme ruler 'that great LEVIATHAN... which is but an Artificiall Man'.¹⁰⁸ I wish to suggest that Cavendish rejects Hobbesian theory both philosophically and politically, and does so in gendered terms by reimagining reproduction and the power of the female body.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁵ *The Matter of Revolution*, 193. Cavendish explains this most succinctly in *Philosophical and Physical Opinions*, B1r-B2r.

¹⁰⁶ Simon Blackburn, 'Mechanism', *A Dictionary of Philosophy*, ed. Blackburn, (Online: Oxford University Press, 2016), accessed via www.oxfordreference.com.

¹⁰⁷ On the Cavendish circle, see for example Lisa T. Hopkins, introduction to *A Companion to the Cavendishes*, ed. Hopkins and Tom Rutter, (Leeds: Arc Humanities Press, 2020), 6; Hopkins, 'Epicurus and Gender in the British Newcastle Circle: Charleton, Hobbes and Margaret Cavendish', in *A Companion to the Cavendishes*, 181-198; Neil Ankers, 'Paradigms and Politics: Hobbes and Cavendish Contrasted', in *A Princely Brave Woman*, 242-254.

¹⁰⁸ (London: Andrew Crooke, 1651), A4r.

¹⁰⁹ For more on Cavendish's rejection of Hobbesian mechanism, see Battigelli, *Margaret Cavendish and the Exiles of the Mind*, 90-108.

Much like her resistance to the view of a passive and inert body of nature poked, prodded, and poured over by the experimental scientists, Cavendish arguably rewrites the body politic of *Leviathan* by undermining the gendered assumptions on which it was based. As Rogers puts it:

Mechanism provided masculine dominance with a powerful organizational sanction, and ... it was precisely the untenable nature of such conclusions that impelled Cavendish to distance herself from the mechanical explanation of natural change and the negative conception of liberty it seemed logically to imply.¹¹⁰

In her 1664 *Philosophical Letters* Cavendish makes this notion of mechanistic force and strength explicitly masculine and denies its practicability, stating:

actions of nature are not forced by one part, driving, pressing, or shoving another, as a man doth a wheel-barrow, or a whip a horse; nor by reactions, as if men were at foot-ball or cuffs...if man (who is but a single part of nature) hath given him by God the power and a free will of moving himself, why should not God give it to Nature?¹¹¹

Instead, Cavendish asserts that nature, a figure consistently gendered female, must consent for a part of her to be moved. As Neil Ankers has argued, Cavendish's removal of the mechanical aspect of nature reinscribes it with mystery and paints it as an individual living being, thus allowing for fanciful exploration of a subject.¹¹² For Cavendish, there is no natural relationship between action and reaction, instead, the very building blocks of matter have awareness, self-determination, the right to choose to enact any kind of motion, and the ability to resist any motion forced upon it from without.

Even in Cavendish's earlier works an animated, vitalist view of matter is expressed in explicitly feminine terms and with an interest in the small and overlooked. In particular, Cavendish explores these representations of her vitalist materialism in fanciful ways. For example, her 1653 poem 'Motion *directs, while* Atomes *dance*' represents motion as dancing atoms who 'by consent, they altogether joyne'.¹¹³ Later in the same collection of poems the atoms find a new parallel in the figures of minute female fairies, governed by a matriarchal 'Fairy Queen'.¹¹⁴ Cavendish argues for

¹¹⁰ *The Matter of Revolution*, 188.

¹¹¹ (London: s.n., 1664), Bb2r.

¹¹² 'Paradigms and Politics', 242-254.

¹¹³ *Poems, and Fancies*, D1r.

¹¹⁴ Cavendish, 'The Fairy Queen', in *Poems and Fancies*, 2B2v-2B4r.

the existence of fairies by explicitly suggesting that they are much like matter or atoms: Fairies are ‘only small bodies, not subject to our sense... For Nature can as well make small bodies, as great, and thin bodies as well as thicke. We may as well think there is no Aire, because we cannot see it’.¹¹⁵ As critics such as Sarashon have shown, Cavendish’s penchant for the small is not simply a fanciful feminine interest in fairy tales, but instead deeply imbued with her philosophical and scientific stance regarding infinite and sentient matter and reflective of the generative power of fancy:

In *Poems, and Fancies*, creation is conceived as the product of a female Nature. In its companion piece, *Philosophicall Fancies*, the malleability of matter can produce other worlds where people are made of flowers or iron and where rocks and animals may possess reason...In creating other worlds, Cavendish defined a space where her fancy could discover and envision nature.¹¹⁶

Small items of matter are throughout Cavendish’s work imbued with incredible potential; they are feminised; and they are treated and understood in terms of fancy and invention as well as natural philosophy. Her fiction and her philosophy thus suggest that those small items which the microscope simply enlarges contain vast interiors of potential that can only be expressed by creative subjectivity and fancy, and which are missed by both experimental and mechanistic views of living beings.

Cavendish’s utopian fantasies of other worlds, be they fairy land, dancing atoms, or a land of enlarged microscopic beings, refute contemporary science’s reductionist views. The idea that the experimental scientists gain knowledge and ownership through observation of natural bodies, and the idea that power is derived through the mechanistic interactions of strong and weak bodies are both denied. She puts forth instead a feminist science of unobservable potentiality, and a body of nature which is not competitive but civil and cooperative. Cavendish suggests it is the small feminine parts of matter, consenting to behave naturally and making up the powerful governing body of Nature itself, which maintain order.

¹¹⁵ *Poems and Fancies*, 2A2r-2A2v.

¹¹⁶ *The Natural Philosophy of Margaret Cavendish*, 34-35.

The animals and hybrid animal-men crossovers who are characterised as sentient beings are thus representative of Cavendish's view that all matter has subjectivity and potential; a subject which is used by Cavendish to reflect more broadly on the minds of women. Not only are the women of this text capable of conquering and governing multiple worlds as the Empress does in her journey to the *Blazing World* and return to ESFI, they are also alerted to the innate power they have to create worlds within their minds, leading the Duchess to 'despise all the worlds without me, and create a world of my own'.¹¹⁷ In a prolonged episode of world-building, the Duchess comically discards the worlds built from the minds of men who champion the aforementioned mechanistic view. The philosophies of Hobbes, Epicurus, Aristotle, and Descartes result in, respectively, unsustainable, chaotic, impossible or dizzying worlds and thus fail, resorting instead to a 'world of her own'.¹¹⁸ In this she also highlights that she believes their philosophical ideas to be just as fanciful as the microscopic creatures of the experimental philosophers.

This world, based upon Cavendish's own natural philosophy, is found to be conducive to and supportive of these imagined worlds. This is perhaps because Cavendish suggests that fancy and the imagination are formed with rational matter, and because it is in fact material it can be materially productive: her philosophy enables her own fancy to actually create, whereas that of the other philosophers fails to do so.¹¹⁹ The *Blazing World* thus suggests that all philosophies create imaginary 'pattern[s]' for the world.¹²⁰ Her utopia plays home to the illusory outputs of experimental philosophy and the depiction of multiple worlds generated by the ideas of mechanistic philosophers and treats all philosophy as similarly fictive and fanciful, and similarly incapable of recognising or supporting female subjectivity. Cavendish uses an experimental laboratory of the mind and its fanciful speculations to justify her philosophy's functionality in

¹¹⁷ *Blazing World*, 2C1v.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 2C1v-2C2v.

¹¹⁹ This argument has been made by Leslie, 'Mind the Map: Fancy, Matter, and World Construction in Margaret Cavendish's *Blazing World*', *Renaissance and Reformation* 35, no. 1 (2012): 85-88. The materialism of imagination also informs Sophia Richardson's reading of Cavendish's self-fashioning of her own afterlife, 'Resurrection Reading: Margaret Cavendish Drafts the Afterlife', *English Literary Renaissance* 53, no.2 (2023): 280-304.

¹²⁰ Bacon, 'The Great Instauration', 32

contrast to that of other thinkers. This relates directly to her proto-feminist position on the equality of women's intellectual capacities, expressed when justifying her scientific methods in a paratext to the first edition of *Philosophical and Physical Opinions* (1655): 'for though nature hath made the active strength of the effeminate sex weaker then the masculine, yet perchance she may elevate some fancies, and create some opinions, as sublime, and probable in effeminate brains as in masculine'.¹²¹ Cavendish's critique and satire of philosophy thus makes room for the feminine practice of science she advocates for in *Blazing World*: practised by women, engaging in fancy, and alive to the vitalist subjectivity of all matter.

Reimagining Reproduction: Fertility and Politics.

Cavendish is also radical in her refusal of the productive power most readily associated with and frequently feared in women: childbirth.¹²² Hobbes's philosophy allows women only one natural sphere within which they have significant power, that of maternity. The mechanistic philosophy of Hobbes insisted on the equality of mankind in a state of nature, and this relative equality of strength and intelligence results in perpetual war that could never be won.¹²³ However, this equality does not, for Hobbes, seem to be equally applicable to men and women. His conventional views of gender difference tend to result in contradictory opinions: despite saying that 'there is not always that difference of strength, or prudence between the man and the woman', he also states that 'men, are naturally fitter than women, for actions of labour and danger', and that women display a

¹²¹ *The Philosophical and Physical Opinions* (London: J. Martin and J. Allestrye, 1655), A2v.

¹²² I am indebted to Dodds and Leslie for the following argument regarding the radically reimagined depictions of reproduction in *Blazing World*. I build here upon Dodds' analysis of Bacon's 'Feast of the Family' as a patriarchal institution of Bensalem which provides immortality for the male subjects through paternal legacy. She further argues that *Blazing World* rejects this reproductive centrality through its introduction of immortality, (*The Literary Invention*, 142-143). I also build on Leslie's argument that *Blazing World* shifts the focus of utopia from the productive capacity of the maternal body to the productive capacity of a woman's mind, (*Renaissance Utopias*, 140-141). However, I differ from both. Dodds suggests that this is an example of Cavendish's anti-utopianism, and that the text fundamentally rejects the format, ultimately presenting the collapse of utopia and its aims. Conversely, Leslie argues that all of the power gained for women is based in the mind or imagination and its creative capacity. I instead place stress on the utopian capacity for women's bodies and minds generated in *Blazing World*. I also read the reproductive discussions in *Blazing World* in relation to Restoration gender politics and other Restoration texts.

¹²³ *Leviathan*, 11v.

‘naturall timorousnesse’ which if found in men is unacceptable cowardice.¹²⁴ The one area in which women can, in Hobbes’s philosophy, wield power, is in child-birth:

Whereas some have attributed the Dominion to the Man onely, as being of the more excellent Sex; they misreckon it...the question lyeth now in the state of meer Nature; where there are supposed no lawes of Matrimony; no lawes for the Education of Children; but the Law of Nature...If there be no Contract, the Dominion is in the Mother.¹²⁵

This recognition of potential female power over the production and education of children reflects anxiety in early modern politics over successional lines and monarchic stability, especially in the utopian writing of the 1670s and 80s which I discussed in chapters two and four.¹²⁶ As noted in the Introduction to this thesis, control of what Hobbes calls an ‘Artificiall Eternity...the Right of *Succession*’ is a matter of deep concern for utopian writing: particularly utopian writing by men.¹²⁷ Utopian fiction is interested in its institutionalised methods of production, and the most important material of production is subjects, produced through child-birth.¹²⁸ Almost all utopias have a distinctive way of managing this production through laws regarding marriage, modesty, and female behaviour to minimise dissatisfaction in marriage, adultery, and questionable lines of succession. In effect, they refuse to leave the dominion in the realm of the mother.

A clear example of the utopian obsession and management of childbirth is the ‘Feast of the Family’ in Bacon’s *New Atlantis*. This ‘most natural, pious, and reverend custom... is granted to any man that shall live to see thirty persons descended of his body alive together, and all above three years old’.¹²⁹ The celebration focusses predominantly on the *Tirsan*, the father of the family, who celebrates his achievement through a verbal recognition of his many offspring, whilst ‘the mother from whose body the whole lineage is descended’ is ‘placed in a loft above on the right hand of the chair, with a privy door, and a carved window of glass, leaded with gold and blue;

¹²⁴ Ibid., O3r, O2r, P3v.

¹²⁵ Ibid., O3r.

¹²⁶ See Chapter Two, 128-154; Chapter Four, 256-257.

¹²⁷ Hobbes, *Leviathan*, O1r; Introduction 28-30.

¹²⁸ Introduction, 12-16.

¹²⁹ Bacon, *New Atlantis*, d1r.

where she sitteth but is not seen'.¹³⁰ This ceremony emphasises the ways in which paternity relies on displays, emblems, and speech acts whilst embodied maternity is represented as hidden, wordless, yet omnipresent and unavoidable, spatially above the male. The continuation of *New Atlantis* by R.H (1660) adds even more laws to the policing of women's maternal bodies: they insist on a mother breastfeeding her own child, they forbid women from sleeping with their husbands once pregnant, and, most revealingly, they 'judge it unfitting the Woman...should so much as appear in public after her womb is visibly pregnant'.¹³¹ Much like in the Feast of the Family, the maternal body is physically hidden and removed from celebrations of heritage. In R.H's adaptation, the female body of this negotiation is displaced. People of noble families do not have heraldry but instead a '*Hieroglyphic* of that virtue he is famous for', and the majority of these hieroglyphics are a female body holding a symbol:

If for Temperence, a slender *Virgin*, girt, having a bridle in her mouth: If for Justice, she holds a *Sword* in the right, and a *Scales* in the left hand: If for Prudence, she holds a *Lamp*: If for meek Simplicity, a *Dove* in her right hand: If for a discerning Innocence, she holds a *Lilie*: if for Glory or Victory, a *Garland* of *Baies*... and so of the rest.¹³²

The mothers of these utopian texts, then, and their procreative capacities are a necessity to the state, but the process of production needs to be tightly governed and their bodies hidden from view. In male-authored utopias mothers are denied the natural power of dominion, as Hobbes suggests, through entering into contracts of subservience and, ultimately, disappearing from view. Another utopian text from this same period, Neville's *The Isle of Pines* (1668), uses the Hobbesian view of producing patriarchal authority over natural maternal dominion to satirise Charles II's monarchy as a paternal mechanism gone wrong.

¹³⁰ Ibid., d1v.

¹³¹ C8v-D1r

¹³² Ibid., C4v. Glanvill's 1676 continuation of *New Atlantis* is focused on the impact of religious factions and makes explicit references to the Civil Wars, in which 'after many Revolutions...the Pious Prince was depos'd and murder'd; the Government usurp'd by the prevailing Tyrants: And, not to mention the disorders of the *Civil* State that follow'd, the *Ecclesiastical* was most miserable' ('The Summe of My Lord Bacon's *New Atlantis*', 2M4r). Women are conspicuous by their absence in Glanvill's text. In a list of the impacts of fanaticism he writes that men were 'worse, in all relations, worse Governors, and worse Subjects, and worse Parents, and worse Neighbours' (2P2r).

The Isle of Pines is considered one of the most successful literary hoaxes ever orchestrated, still fooling people as late as 2012.¹³³ The full narrative was published in separate pamphlets over a few months in the summer of 1668 in a clever attempt to replicate fragmentary news reporting and thus appear more believable: George Pine's retrospective narrative of his founding of the island was published first in June 1668 as *The Isle of Pines, or, A late Discovery of a Fourth Island in Terra Australis, Incognita*, and Cornelius Van Sloetten's framing narrative telling of the Dutch sailor's discovery of the island and of George Pine's narrative was published separately in July of the same year entitled *A New and Further Discovery of the Islle of Pines*.¹³⁴ In early August 1668 a new version appeared, conflating the pamphlets into one coherent narrative using the same title as the first pamphlet, but stating on the title page that it is 'BY Henry Cornelius Ven Sloetten'.¹³⁵

Some have read this division between the two pamphlets as consisting of an initial utopian dream completely undermined by the second pamphlet's dystopian unravelling, but I would argue that the seeds of this unravelling are already found in the initial narrative.¹³⁶ The first pamphlet tells the story of an accountant (George Pine) and four women (Sarah English, Mary Sparks, Elizabeth Trevor, and Philippa) shipwrecked on a temperate island which, like most utopian islands, provides ample food and resources for an easy life. With very little to do, 'Idleness and a fullness of everything' leads to 'a desire for enjoying the women', and George initiates sexual encounters with three of the four women in order of a class hierarchy: beginning with his master's

¹³³ J. C. Davis considers it among the greatest hoaxes of English literature in *Utopia and the Ideal Society: A Study of English Utopian Writing, 1516-1700*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 24-25. An article entitled 'Journal reveals details of 16th-century "sex colony" of castaways', which treats the story as if it is a genuine account, was published in *Metro*, 29.10.2012. See also: Nat W. Hardy, 'The Naughty Pines: Henry Neville's *The Isle of Pines* as Literary Hoax' (PhD Thesis: McMaster University, 1993); Gaby Mahlberg, 'The Publishing History of *The Isle of Pines*', *Utopian Studies* 17, no.1 (2006): 93-98.

¹³⁴ The first pamphlet, (London: Allen Banks and Charles Harper, 1668), Wing N505; The second pamphlet, (London: Allen Banks and Charles Harper, 1668), Wing N509.

¹³⁵ The compounded narrative, (London: Allen Banks and Charles Harper, 1668), Wing N506. Subsequent references are to this version. For a detailed account of the publishing history, see Worthington Chauncey Ford, *The Isle of Pines 1668: An Essay in Bibliography* (Boston: The Club of Odd Volumes, 1920).

¹³⁶ Seth Denbo suggests the utopian/dystopian juxtaposition in 'Generating Regenerated Generations: Race, Kinship and Sexuality on Henry Neville's *Isle of Pines*' in *Gender and Utopia in the Eighteenth Century: Essays in English and French Utopian Writing*, eds., Nicole Pohl and Brenda Tooley (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 158-159. Susan Bruce suggests that Neville may have written the second half to prevent assumptions that the initial text was pure pornotopic wish fulfilment (introduction to *Three Early Modern Utopias*, xli).

daughter, Sarah English, and moving on to the two servants, Mary Sparks and Elizabeth Trevor.¹³⁷

Philippa, a Black woman who was enslaved to his now drowned master, sexually assaults him 'with the consent of the other [women]' while he sleeps, after which he also begins sleeping with her regularly.¹³⁸

The inclusion of this detail about his sexual encounter with Philippa has, I wish to suggest, a significant impact on the patriarchal positioning of George. That she has sex with him while he is asleep is a rape. George attempts to skim over this fact and take back control, saying that he woke up and was 'willing to try the difference', but the fact of Philippa's rape of George and her decision to gain consent from the women who he was sleeping with and not him indicates that George's narrative may be blind to the realities of the situation in which he is outnumbered and overpowered by the women.¹³⁹ Similarly, Cavendish writes directly about the way in which female power goes unrecognised:

we are no subjects, unless it be to our Husbands, and not always to them, for sometimes we usurp their Authority... if Nature had not befriended us with Beauty, and other good Graces, to help us to insinuate our selves into men's Affections, we should have been more inslaved than any other of Nature's Creatures she had made; but Nature be thank'd, she hath been so bountiful to us, as we oftener inslave men than men inslave us; they seem to govern the world, but we really govern the world, in that we govern men.¹⁴⁰

The issue of unruly women who analogically use their sexuality and disturb patriarchal rule was thus considered more pragmatically by Cavendish as a mode through which women use their physical beauty to gain freedom, avoid subjection, and rule men.

The women of the *Isle of Pines* believe that it is they who own and can consent to the exchange of the man and act accordingly, which undermines George Pines's authority. George attempts to turn the process of sleeping with these women into a regimented programme for production not dissimilar to the rules outlined in the male utopias discussed above, but his

¹³⁷ *Isle of Pines*, B4v.

¹³⁸ Ibid. Denbo has pointed out that although Philippa is no longer a slave and '[d]istinctions of class and status are mostly erased by the shipwreck' there remains 'an unconscious sense that the Black woman is a lesser being, not subject to the same sensitivities and sensibilities as the rest' ('Generating Regenerated Generations', 152).

¹³⁹ *Isle of Pines*, B4v.

¹⁴⁰ *Sociable Letters*, D2r.

continued relations with Philippa, despite his racist aversion to her, also undermine the principle of imagined control: ‘my custom being not to lie with any of them after they were with child till others were so likewise; and not with the black at all after she was with child... (which was in the night and not else, my stomach would not serve me)’.¹⁴¹ He seems to be continuing with the arrangements against his inclinations, and his need to qualify his relations with Philippa in ways that make their continuation palatable suggests that he perhaps had little choice in the matter. Eventually, having had forty-seven children with the initial four women, George finds that his eldest child is also ready to have children, and begins to pair them up and marry them. Sixty years later, at a general assembly of George’s offspring which resembles Bacon’s Feast of the Family, they number 1,789.¹⁴² They are given family names which include and openly acknowledge the maternal line: though all are known collectively as the English Pines, the families are the Englishes, the Sparks, the Trevors, and the Phills after their mothers.¹⁴³ Thus, although this at first might seem a pornotopic vision of patriarchal power and control over the powers of sex and production, Neville paints George not as a priapic emblem of male virility but instead as an effeminate sovereign, in the Restoration sense of the word referring to a man who is governed and controlled by women and his sexual desires: George’s control is limited to the domestic arrangement of marriages between his offspring.¹⁴⁴

In the frame narrative we learn that after George’s death, despite the appointment of his son Henry as future leader, conditions deteriorate:

in multitudes disorders will grow, the stronger seeking to oppress the weaker, no tie of religion being strong enough to chain up the depraved nature of mankind, even so amongst them mischief began to rise... they fell to whoredoms, incests, and adultery; so that what my grandfather was forced to do for necessity, they did for wantonness. Nay, not confining themselves within the bounds of any modesty, but brother and sister lay openly together; those who would not yield to their lewd embraces, were by force ravished, yea, many times endangered of their lives.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴¹ *Isle of Pines*, C1r.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, C2r.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, C2v.

¹⁴⁴ On the Restoration use of the term effeminate, see Susan J. Owen, *Restoration Theatre and Crisis* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 9.

¹⁴⁵ *Isle of Pines*, C3r.

Henry goes to war with the misbehaving faction and sentences to death ‘the greatest offender of them all... John Phill, the second son of the Negro-woman that came with my grandfather into this island’.¹⁴⁶ Thus, the racism of this assumption that disorder comes from a non-white member of society is intersected with the fact that John takes his name from his mother, thereby undermining patriarchal authority. The subtext clearly argues that George Pine’s effeminacy and subjection to Philippa’s sexual power has resulted in sexual depravity, crime, and war in future generations. In other words, they have sunk back to the natural state, with no sovereign, and in which dominion is in the mother. This is further exemplified when, in spite of newly established laws against rape and adultery ‘the chief ruler of the tribe or family of the Phills...had ravished the wife of one of the principal of the family of the Trevors’ causing a civil war which cannot be resolved by the governor who ‘found his authority too weak to repress such disorders; for where the hedge of government is once broken down, the most vile bear the greatest rule’.¹⁴⁷ Neville, a Republican and severe critic of Charles II’s government, is suggesting that under the reign of a monarch like Charles II, who is ruled by women, the line of succession descends into disarray, further supported by Neville’s use of racist and eugenicist depictions of Black people to suggest that concentrating patriarchal authority in one lusty and effeminate male results in degeneracy, chaos and disorder.

The failed investiture of authority in one sovereign is contrasted with the orderly exemplum of the Dutch sailors, from a Republican nation, who, having found the Isle of Pines, begin to hunt the wildlife, map the landscape, exploit its riches and improve the housing; colonial developments which three generations and thousands of offspring of English Pines have failed to achieve and which are clearly outlined by the text as desirable and necessary means of controlling

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., C3r.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., D3r-D3v

society.¹⁴⁸ The inherent misogyny and fear of female dominion intersected with this racism is consistent with the Hobbesian narrative, growing political fears for the succession as outlined in other chapters, and Neville's other satirical utopian texts: a sequence of pamphlets published in 1647 and 1650 depicting a farcical female parliament to represent the impotency of Interregnum parliaments, which are discussed alongside other parliament of women narratives in Chapter Four.¹⁴⁹ Neville's text thus serves to dramatise the King's unwieldy sexuality which produced many illegitimate offspring, but the stress on these children taking their mother's name may also refer to the fact that, in spite of Charles's well-publicised virility, he had produced no legitimate heir with his wife, Catherine of Braganza, and thus the issues surrounding succession – or 'Artificiall Eternity', as Hobbes called it – were increasingly fraught.¹⁵⁰

Cavendish's depiction of female power in her Empress of the *Blazing World* is thus set against a backdrop of utopian narratives in which women's power is located solely in child-rearing and, if unrestrained, generates chaos, a growing political concern regarding the fertility of the Queen and the Stuart succession. Leslie and Dodds have argued that by presenting female power as abstracted from the realities of female bodies, Cavendish is able to subvert the standard use of a female body as a resource for producing children in utopian texts.¹⁵¹ Cavendish achieves this by giving the inhabitants of the new utopia, specifically the Imperial family to whom succession would be important, access to a gum of immortality which an individual takes and is, essentially, reborn nine months later from a scab-like cocoon as a younger version of themselves; a process which

¹⁴⁸ Mahlberg has suggested that the succession of rulers in the texts corresponds to the succession of English Government: George Pines with the easy enjoyment and luxuriating which sow the seeds of his downfall is the early Stuarts, Henry who institutes strict laws is Oliver Cromwell and the Interregnum regimes, and the hapless William Pines who has no authority is Charles II. She reads this text as a warning to Charles II that all was not well in his kingdoms and that uprisings would be likely. She further suggests that the contrast with the Dutch outlines the way in which the islanders have failed to exploit the utopian potential of their island as a reflection of the loss of England's utopian potential as an international trading and naval power, 'An Island with Potential: Henry Neville's *The Isle of Pines*, in *Utopian Moments: Reading Utopian Texts*, eds. Miguel Angel Ramiro Avilés and Davis (London: Bloomsbury, 2012), 60-66.

¹⁴⁹ Chapter Four, 211n25.

¹⁵⁰ Hobbes, *Leviathan*, O1r; Introduction, 28-30.

¹⁵¹ Dodds, *The Literary Invention*, 142-143; Leslie, *Renaissance Utopias* 140-141; Leslie, 'Gender, Genre and the Utopian Body in Margaret Cavendish's *Blazing World*', *Utopian Studies* 7, no. 1 (1996), 10. For an in-depth discussion of the science behind the gum of immortality, see Arnaud Zimmer, 'Silkworms and Panaceas: Margaret Cavendish, Infinite Nature, and the Progress of Utopia', *ELH* 89, no.1 (Spring 2022): 89-113.

makes ‘the natal analogy explicit’.¹⁵² Cavendish thus frees her Empress from the requirement of child-rearing, and, unlike her male contemporaries, her utopia does not need to outline the rules of marital practice or gendered behaviour and virtue.¹⁵³ This, I wish to argue, is specifically related to political discussions of fertility which were beginning to emerge in the 1660s, in conjunction with Cavendish’s own struggles with fertility.

By 1666, Restoration England was already beginning to express concerns about the infertility of Catherine of Braganza, Charles’s Queen, who he had married in 1662. Upon her arrival there had been excitement at the prospect of their marriage and subsequent heirs, with epithalamic poems treating her fertility as a given.¹⁵⁴ Concerns regarding her fertility crept in very quickly. In mid-October 1663, following a visit to the spas of Tunbridge Wells which was supposed to help conception, she became ill, and in the wake of this illness suffered from a delirium which led to her believing she had given birth. Samuel Pepys records that:

This morning she talked mightily that she was brought to bed, and that she wondered that she should be delivered without pain and without spueing or being sick, and that she was troubled that her boy was but an ugly boy. But the King being by, said, ‘No, it is a very pretty boy.’ ‘Nay,’ says she, ‘if it be like you, it is a fine boy indeed, and would be very well pleased with it’.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵² *Blazing World* describes the effect of the gum extensively, at the end of which ‘the Patient is wrapt into a sear-cloth, prepared of certain Gums and Juices, wherein he continues until the time of nine Months be expired from the first beginning of the cure, which is the time of a Childs formation in the womb’ (O1r-O1v). Leslie, ‘Gender, Genre and the Utopian Body’, 19.

¹⁵³ It has been argued that this use of the alchemical gum reminds us that it is a deliberately fantastical impossibility and thus is an ‘anti-utopian or at least ‘a-utopian’ textual crux (Dodds, *The Literary Invention*, 123). However, Zimmern has recently shown that whilst Cavendish frequently rejected the ideas of panaceas, cure-alls, and particularly the philosophers stone, she presents her gum of immortality as a naturally occurring element and an example of the infinite variety of nature, depicting it as a rational and realistic element of her philosophy (‘Silkworms and Panaceas’, 89-113). This imagining of alternative fertility technologies is a distinctly feminist utopian practice. I would thus argue that Cavendish can be seen as a precursor to feminist science-fiction’s reimagining of fertility in works such as Charlotte Perkins-Gilman’s *Herland* (1915) and *With Her in Ourland* (1916), where the female only society reproduce without men through a natural process of parthenogenesis; Joanna Russ’s *The Female Man* (1970), where in a land called Whileaway, all the men died and the women learned to reproduce through genetically merging their eggs; or Doris Lessing’s *the Cleft* (2007), in which a community of women give birth naturally based on the lunar cycles.

¹⁵⁴ See, for example, Samuel Holland, *The Phaenix, Her Arrival and Welcome to England*, (London: Printed for the Author, 1663).

¹⁵⁵ *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, eds., Robert Latham and William Matthews (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 26th October 1663, 4.348. For more on Catherine’s visit to Tunbridge Wells and its impact on public perceptions of her attempts to conceive, see Susannah Lyon-Whaley, ‘Queens at the Spa: Catherine of Braganza, Mary of Modena and the Politics of Display at Bath and Tunbridge Wells’ *The Court Historian* 27, no.1 (2022): 24-41. Rochester’s poem ‘Tunbridge Wells’ satirises the idea of the waters impacting fertility: ‘I’m informed these wells will make a barren / Woman as fruitful as a cony warren’ suggesting that the spa ‘got the reputation’ of curing infertility because of the infidelity that takes place there where men ‘with brawny back and legs and potent prick, / Who more substantially will cure thy wife’, in *The Complete Poems*, lines 125-126, 147, 144-145

Pepy's recording of these details shows that it was the gossip at court and was likely bringing her issues with fertility into sharper focus. A poem by Dr. Edmund Cooper about the Queen's illness and recovery demonstrates the intense interest in her fertility generated by this illness. He writes in his dedication to her:

upon the word Fertility, give me leave to tell your Majesty, that I have a strong Presumption, that this your late Sickness will conduce much thereto in your own temperament. Your Body of *Portugall* is all wasted and consumed. If you shall now betake you to an *English* Dyet, so brave an alteration will be made in your Majesties Constitution, that we shall have a Prince built out of You like His Father, to make Us up a long lasting happiness here.¹⁵⁶

By 1664, Pepys wrote in his diary that the King 'loves not the Queen at all, but is rather sullen to her; and she by all reports incapable of children'.¹⁵⁷

This public scrutiny of Catherine's fertility is not likely to have been missed by Cavendish, who had also struggled with her fertility. She received fertility treatment from Théodore de Mayerne, the premier physician in England, from as early as 1649, but remained childless and can be seen to use her literary production as a means of discussing and reflecting on the assumed maternal role of women.¹⁵⁸ Cavendish repeatedly returns to maternity in her texts. In 1664, Cavendish's writes about the needlessness of becoming a mother for women:

Woman hath no such Reason to desire Children for her Own Sake, for first her Name is Lost as to her Particular, in her Marrying...Also she Hazards her Life by Bringing them

¹⁵⁶ *On the Recovery of Our Most Gracious Queen Katharine from her Late Grievous and Deplorable Fit of Sicknesse* (London: s.n., 1664) A4v.

¹⁵⁷ In the same entry he also contrasts the Queen's infertility with the King's fondness of his illegitimate heirs, specifically the Duke of Monmouth, and states that the Duke had been claiming that the King had married his mother making him a legitimate heir, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, eds., Robert Latham and William Matthews (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2000), 22nd February 1664, 5.56.

¹⁵⁸ For a discussion of the contents of the letters between the Cavendishes and de Mayerne and the treatments he offered, see Daphna Oren-Magidor, *Infertility in Early Modern England* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017) and Oren-Magidor, 'Literate Laywomen, Male Medical Practitioners and the Treatment of Fertility Problems in Early Modern England', *Social History of Medicine* 29, no.2 (2016): 290-310. For the ways Cavendish can be seen as resistant to Mayerne's medical advice in these letters, see Lara Knoppers, 'Gender, Knowledge and the Medical Marketplace: The Case of Margaret Cavendish', in *The Routledge Companion to Women, Sex and Gender in the Early British Colonial World*, eds., Kimberly Ann Coles and Eve Keller (Milton Park: Routledge, 2019), 270-285. For more on how Cavendish's experience of infertility impacted her writing, particularly her Romance writing, see Marianne Micros, "'Thus did he make her breeding his only business and employment': Absent Mothers and Male Mentors in Margaret Cavendish's Romances", in *Maternity and Romance Narratives in Early Modern England*, eds., Karen Bamford and Naomi J. Miller (London: Routledge, 2016), 155-174.

into the World, and hatht he greatest share of Trouble in Bringing them up; neither can Women assure themselves of Comfort or Happiness by them.¹⁵⁹

More strikingly, in Act 3 of *The Convent of Pleasure* (1668) Cavendish writes a masque depicting, amongst other ills that women face, pregnancy (scene three), labour (scene seven), death in labour (scene nine), child loss (scene five) and childrearing (scene eight) as disasters which only cause women misery, culminating with a short epilogue stating ‘Marriage is a Curse we find / Especially to Women kind’.¹⁶⁰

Further, childlessness is deployed, in a letter to the reader in *Poems and Fancies*, as a rationale for literary pursuits: ‘first, I have no Children to imploy my Care and Attendance, and my Lords Estate being taken away had nothing for Huswifery or thrifty Industry to imploy my selfe in’.¹⁶¹ She also suggests that her book has physically become her child, ‘Condemne me not for making such a coyle / About my *Book*, alas it is my *Childe*’.¹⁶² In this way, it has been argued, Cavendish ‘gain[ed] a measure of control over her body, her tongue, her gestures, her language; she produce[d] surrogate “paper bodies”’.¹⁶³ By materialising her material thoughts into printed books she was, in a way, giving birth to physical bodies with lives, and afterlives, of their own.¹⁶⁴

Cavendish was thus well-placed to recognise the cruel centrality of the means of reproduction to utopian texts – especially in her Baconian source material – its relevance to politics, and its impact on women in the seventeenth century. I would thus argue that in her depiction of the Empress, a foreigner who arrives in a new world and is made its ruler, there are clear analogues to Catherine of Braganza. Indeed the Queen features in *Blazing World*, and on seeing her the Empress states that ‘Vertue sate Triumphant in her face, and Piety was dwelling in her heart, and

¹⁵⁹ *Sociable Letters* (London: William Wilson, 1664), Z4r-Z4v.

¹⁶⁰ In *Plays, Never Before Printed* (London: A. Maxwell, 1668), G1r-H2v.

¹⁶¹ A6r.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, A8v.

¹⁶³ Sylvia Bowerbank and Sara Mendelson, eds., introduction to *Paper Bodies: A Margaret Cavendish Reader* (Ontario: Broadview Press, 2000), 14.

¹⁶⁴ For more on Cavendish’s material afterlife, see Richardson, ‘Resurrection Reading’. For a broader treatment of Cavendish’s representations of death, and the afterlife, see Joanne H. Wright, ‘Darkness, Death and Precarious Life in Cavendish’s *Sociable Letters* and *Orations*’, in *God and Nature*, 43-58.

that all the Royal Family seemed to be endued with a Divine splendor'.¹⁶⁵ Cavendish's text provides an alternate role for a female ruler, one which is severed from its associations with fertility, and which could be said to demonstrate her empathy for the pressure that the Queen was under to produce an heir, as well as Cavendish's reaction to the way in which female fertility was tied to their worth in utopian fiction and political discourses.¹⁶⁶ She writes back with the image of an incredibly generative and productive brain which can create whole worlds, as discussed above, but also and fundamentally with the depiction of an armoured, powerful, and impenetrable female body.

Cavendish could be said to reassert the monarchic queen figure in her text and to celebrate her potential for power outside of fertility politics. The second part of *Blazing World* in which the Empress conquers her home world has been read in line with utopian Restoration panegyrics and public spectacle. As Trubowitz has argued the 'magic' of monarchy is depicted in association with 'God-like power to wrest order from chaos'.¹⁶⁷ Accordingly, Cavendish's Empress is identified as a 'goddess' by the Emperor immediately upon her arrival, tellingly by sea as at Charles II's restoration, and she immediately rules uniformly over a landscape of one government, with one language, one religion, and no factions. The devotion of her subjects is absolute, we are told 'she was so wearied with the Petitions of several others of her Subjects who desired to wait on her Majesty, that she could not possibly deny them all; for some would rather chuse to be drowned, then not tender their duty to her'.¹⁶⁸

The text has thus invited assessments of what might be considered an idealised, feminine monarchy. In an influential essay, Catherine Gallagher, aiming to address the disjunction between Cavendish's royalist conservatism and proto-feminism, asserted that the ideals of patriarchalism

¹⁶⁵ 2E1r.

¹⁶⁶ For the ways the seventeenth century political discourse and medical discourse around infertility intersect, see: Mary E. Fissel, *Vernacular Bodies: The Bodies of Reproduction in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); Oren-Magidor, *Infertility in Early Modern England*; Oren-Magidor, 'Literate Laywomen'. For further discussions of the politics of Catherine of Braganza, see Introduction, 32-34; Chapter Three, 194-198; Chapter Four, 256-257. For Mary of Modena, see Introduction, 33-34; Chapter Two, 128-154.

¹⁶⁷ 'The Reenchantment of Utopia' 236

¹⁶⁸ *Blazing World*, 2C1r

and absolute monarchy enabled Cavendish to assert the ideals of the absolute self: a notion displayed most directly in the representation of a female absolute leader of the *Blazing World*.¹⁶⁹ Similarly, Trubowitz argues that this representation of the monarchic self ‘reclaimed the genre [of utopia] for the Royalist side as an instrument by which the magic of monarchy, custom, and tradition, which the Puritans had tried to eradicate through utopian visions of rationalized politics, culture, and religion, could be reinstated’.¹⁷⁰ As such, the successes of Cavendish’s Empress responds to the failures of George Pines, an effeminate monarch undermined by women is rebuked by a spectacularly powerful (though desexualised) female figure who wields her power to support her male counterparts, maintaining the Emperor’s rule over the *Blazing World*, and handing an entire world to the King of ESFI.¹⁷¹

Further, by liberating the utopian narrative from the constraints of reproduction, women in Cavendish’s *Blazing World* are no longer defined by male-authored theories (be they political, philosophical or physical) about female bodies and their uses or capabilities. Cavendish’s text traces the transition of a woman from a world in which she is subject to those views, to a world in which she breaks away from them. It is not coincidental that the narrative begins with an attempted rape. A merchant who is in love with the Lady of ESFI, soon to be Empress, kidnaps her and sails away, but divine intervention causes the ship to sail into another world, a world in which, it seems, the mechanistic strength of men which enabled them to overpower her no longer holds true; the sailors freeze to death, and she lives to become the Empress over the microscopic beings come to life and granted subjectivity. The freezing trope which kills her captors has been noted as an inversion of Galenic humoral theory, and a ‘reworking of the Petrarchan poetics of an icy feminine virtue

¹⁶⁹ ‘Embracing the Absolute: Margaret Cavendish and the Politics of the Female Subject in Seventeenth-Century England’, in *Early Modern Women Writers 1600-1720*, ed. Anita Pacheco (New York: Longman, 1998), 133-146.

¹⁷⁰ ‘The Reenchantment of Utopia’, 236. Sujata Iyengar has argued that, instead of an absolutist monarchic self, Cavendish uses the monarchic order to affirm ‘the supremacy of distinctions of rank above all other categories – race, gender, or religion’, Sujata Iyengar, ‘Royalist, Romancist, Racialist: Rank, Gender, and Race in the Science and Fiction of Margaret Cavendish’, *ELH* 69, no.3 (2002), 649-672. Jowitt reads the Empress in line with Elizabeth I, ‘Imperial Dreams? Margaret Cavendish and the Cult of Elizabeth’, *Women’s Writing* 4, no. 3 (1997): 383-399.

¹⁷¹ F1v-F2r.

which Cavendish displaces onto the romance landscape'.¹⁷² I would suggest further that rather than simply displacing this trope, Cavendish here, upon entry into the feminine world of her fanciful philosophy, is able to weaponise feminine stereotypes of male invention, and turn them against her captors: her icy virtue is literalised as a fatal blow. As Brandie R. Siegfried points out, after the death of the sailors, we transition away from the omniscient perspective of the 'romancical' part, focusing on masculine action, and adopt instead a female perspective, a female who has transitioned from helpless victim to all-powerful heroine and who goes on to gain the ultimate subject position as Empress of Paradise.¹⁷³ Though she achieves her position as Empress through marriage, the Emperor is subsequently all but evacuated from the text, and the marriage can be read merely as an 'alibi' or false front for smuggling in the narrative of female power.¹⁷⁴ It is also a literalisation of Cavendish's assertion, quoted earlier, that men only 'seem to govern the world, but we really govern the world, in that we govern men'.¹⁷⁵

In making a world of her own, based on a philosophy of her own, Cavendish's fancy generates a space expanding beyond the bounds of the *Blazing World* itself in which female bodies do not make apologies for themselves and are not observed merely for signs of fertility. At the end of *Blazing World* the Empress re-enters the realm of ESFI where she had previously been easily kidnapped, however she returns not as victim but as conqueror. The Empress orchestrates the spectacle of her first appearance to the people of ESFI who she wishes to help, and carefully maintains the illusion of a supernatural feminine body:

The Emperess appear'd with Garments made of the Star-stone, and was born or supported above the Water, upon the Fishmens heads and backs, so that she seemed to walk upon the face of the Water... Which sight, when her Country-men perceived at a distance, their hearts began to tremble; but coming something nearer, she left her Torches, and appeared onely in her Garments of Light, like an Angel, or some Deity, and all kneeled down before her, and worshipped her with all submission and reverence: But the emperess would not come nearer then at such a distance where her voice might be generally heard, by reason

¹⁷² Leslie, 'Gender, Genre and the Utopian Body', 13. For a further discussion of the inversion of Galenic theory, see, Cottagnies, 'Utopia, Millenarianism, and the Baconian Programme of Margaret Cavendish's *The Blazing World* (1666)', in *New Worlds Reflected*, 74-75.

¹⁷³ 'Cavendish and the Novel', 358.

¹⁷⁴ Lilley, 'Blazing Worlds', 127.

¹⁷⁵ *Sociable Letters*, D2r.

she would not have that of her Accoutrements any thing else should be perceived, but the splendor thereof.¹⁷⁶

Her demonstration of female power here is a mechanism that, whilst asking people to look at her, enables her to keep distance and protect an interior self from observation: her self-representation acts as an armour refusing to allow access to interior knowledge.

Cavendish's Empress is able to refute the masculine tendency to achieve ownership and knowledge through close observation, and instead uses her exterior to dazzle and confuse them:

Good Lord! what several Opinions and Judgments did this produce in the minds of her Country-men; some said she was an Angel; others, she was a Sorceress; some believed her a Goddess; others said the Devil deluded them in the shape of a fine Lady.¹⁷⁷

Nevertheless, her country men allow her to protect them, and she appears to the enemies in a very deliberate guise:

The Emperess appear'd upon the face of the Waters, dress'd in her Imperial Robes, which were all of Diamonds and Carbuncles; in one hand she held a Buckler, made of one intire Carbuncle, and in the other hand a Spear of one intire Diamond; on her head she had a Cap of Diamonds, and just upon the top of the Crown, was a Star made of the Star-stone, mentioned heretofore, and a Half-moon made of the same stone, was placed on her forehead; all her other Garments were of several sorts of precious Jewels; and having given her Fish-men directions how to destroy the Enemies of her Native Country, she proceeded to effect her design.¹⁷⁸

Her military appearance causes further confusion, explicitly because of her power: 'when the neighbouring Nations and Kingdoms perceived her power, they were so discomposed in their affairs and designs, that they knew not what to do'.¹⁷⁹

This use of diamonds, carbunkles, starlight and moon symbols to create her baffling costume is revealing. Hooke has two sections of his *Micrographia* dedicated to 'Stars discoverable by the Telescope' and 'the Moon' and draws 'seven Starrs, void...[and] one small *specimen* of the appearance of the parts of the Moon' on the final plate of his book, identifying stars that had never before been seen by the naked eye and indicating that the mountains on the moon could be craters,

¹⁷⁶ *Blazing World*, 2C2v-2D1r.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 2D1v.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 2D2v.

or vice versa, because the lens makes it hard to distinguish.¹⁸⁰ He also describes how under the microscope, sand is ‘figur’d like Crystal, *Cornish* Diamants, some Rubies’, and how a Diamond observed in and out of the water results in varying qualities of reflection.¹⁸¹ I argue that Cavendish designed her Empress’s military costume out of the very things which proved dazzling and confusing through the lenses of telescopes and microscopes. For Cavendish’s Empress there is no need for an Elizabethan qualification and apology for the body of a weak and feeble woman, nor for the label of virginity to excuse her having no children. Instead, when her enemies underestimate her, she uses her body and her feminine dress as a canvas to amaze them into submission, once again reflecting back at them, literally, the shortcomings of experimental philosophy and, more broadly, the male gaze.

This demonstration of female power further enters into the Duchess’s seventeenth-century London. The blazing composition of the Empress’s body as theatrical spectacle is designed to elicit amazement and showcase her power and superiority, and when the Empress asks the Duchess similarly why she dresses and behaves in a spectacular way she explains that:

she confessed that it was extravagant, and beyond what was usual and ordinary; but yet her ambition being such, that she would not be like others in any thing if it were possible; I endeavour, said she, to be as singular as I can; for it argues but a mean Nature to imitate others; and though I do not love to be imitated if I can possibly avoid it; yet rather than imitate others, I should chuse to be imitated by others; for my nature is such, that I had rather appear worse in singularity, than better in the mode.’¹⁸²

The Duchess, who does not live in the *Blazing World* and does not have the Imperial powers of the Empress is thus participating in the poetic construction of herself as another blazing glory, and, we are told, the same is true of her plays which she says are not liked by critics: ‘then my Playes may be acted in your Blazing-World, when they cannot be acted in the Blinking-World of Wit’.¹⁸³

The description of the Duchess’s London as a ‘Blinking-World’ is a damning representation of the

¹⁸⁰ Hooke, *Micrographia*, 2K1r-2K1v.

¹⁸¹ Ibid., N1r, N1v-N2r.

¹⁸² *Blazing World*, 2G1r-2G1v.

¹⁸³ Ibid., 2H1v.

blindness of her contemporaries, despite their magnifying lenses: they are blind to fancy, to her poetic genius, and to the potential power of women.

Cavendish's use of utopia as a vehicle for satire and creation is in-keeping with the genre, as Leslie has pointed out, 'Cavendish is nowhere more orthodox a utopian than in her revisions of others' utopian models'.¹⁸⁴ What is more striking is Cavendish's ability to see the utopian impulse in texts which are not utopian travel narratives, but works of science, and to use this interaction to her own creative advantage. In this, Cavendish shows herself to be a true 'theorist of form'.¹⁸⁵ In a mode which is characteristically tongue-in-cheek and full of mocking jibes at philosophers, Cavendish satirises the principles and specific functions of experimental and mechanistic philosophy in particularly detailed ways, but satire for satires sake is not the aim. Cavendish's *Observations* and *Blazing World* work together to highlight the fact that fancy, and utopian fiction specifically, is an essential ingredient to natural philosophy. Similarly, Cavendish's depiction of powerful women detached from their reproductive capacity reflects on both her own issues with fertility and political and philosophical discourse which positioned women as powerful only in relation to their wombs. Thus, the utopian impulse, when recognised and used by a woman, can generate new philosophies, new worlds, and new modes of knowing in which femininity is not inhibited or forced to serve the utopian philosophies of masculine science or the political imperative of guaranteeing male lega

¹⁸⁴ Leslie, *Renaissance Utopias*, 124.

¹⁸⁵ Dodds, 'Form, Formalism and Literary Studies', 137.

Chapter Four: The World Turned Upside Down: Bad Husbandry and Women-on-Top in 1680s Pornotopia.

This, my final chapter, analyses utopian writing produced in response to the political turmoil of the late 1670s and early 1680s. It focuses on a selection of parliament of women pamphlets; Thomas Durfey's *A Commonwealth of Women* (1686); and Charles Cotton's *Erōtopolis. The Present State of Betty Land* (1684), texts that reflect renewed and heightened anxieties surrounding gender, politics and the utopian impulse in the late 1680s.¹ The chapter thus builds on the exploration, found in earlier chapters, of female sexuality as political metaphor, and the pressure put on this metaphor by the presence of politically problematic women at the Stuart court – namely Mary of Modena, Catherine of Braganza and Louise de Kérrouaille (sometimes anglicised to Carwell). I focus on the 'Restoration Crisis' of 1678 to 1683, in which one sees earlier fears over 'popery' and 'arbitrary government' resurface, old genres recycled and adapted, and an increased prevalence of pornotopian texts. Women and fertility occupied a central role in the utopian tradition but, by the 1680s, pornotopian texts depict a total breakdown of gender relations, suggesting that the political instability had led to a crisis point for the relationship between male-authored utopian texts and the control of women.²

The Restoration Crisis evoked in popular memory the crisis of the Civil Wars and threats to monarchic patriarchy.³ As Jonathan Scott has pointed out, 'the crisis the government endured from 1678-83 was largely a repeat screening of the crisis of the reign of Charles I'.⁴ The Restoration Crisis is a term used to refer to distinct but interconnected political crises that revolved around

¹ (London: R. Bentley and J. Hindmarsh); (London: Thomas Fox). Subsequent references appear parenthetically.

² For my use of the term pornotopia, see Introduction, 16-17. For the centrality of fertility and the control of women to utopias, see Introduction, 11-14.

³ For ways in which these texts generated fear of another Civil War, see Mark Knights, *Politics and Opinion in Crisis, 1678-81*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 3-4, 10; Susan J. Owen, *Restoration Theatre and Crisis* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 1-2; Jonathan Scott, 'Radicalism and Restoration: the Shape of the Stuart Experience', *Historical Journal* 31, no.2 (1988): 459.

⁴ 'Radicalism and Restoration', 459.

fears over Catholicism, arbitrary government and increased French influence at court.⁵ Anti-Catholic feeling was intensified during the Popish Plot (1678-1781), which takes its name from a lie spread by Titus Oates claiming that Jesuits planned to assassinate Charles II and replace him with his brother, James, Duke of York.⁶ This would enable a Counter Reformation and James would rule, it was suggested, with the help of a standing army sent by Louis XIV.⁷ The Exclusion Crisis (1679-1681), named after attempts to introduce legislation barring James II from the succession, polarised the nation over the question of James's birth right.⁸ The Rye-House Plot (1683) and the Monmouth Rebellion (1685), two conspiracies to assassinate Charles and James, followed the defeat of the third Exclusion Bill. The Rebellion took its name from Charles's illegitimate Protestant son, the Duke of Monmouth, who some exclusionists championed as an alternative to the Catholic James.⁹

Charles's decision to repeatedly prorogue Parliament to prevent exclusion legislation from being passed led to renewed fears about arbitrary government that had plagued his father's reign.¹⁰ Exclusionists mobilised print publication to 'systematically... put the maximum pressure on the King by organising petitions which called for the immediate assembly of the new Parliament', and old debates about the consent of the people were rehearsed.¹¹ For James's supporters (who started to be referred to as 'Tories'), James's birth right was not dissimilar to their own and if he were to be disinherited then this would pose an analogous threat to their own rights of inheritance and the

⁵ Scott, *Algernon Sidney and The Restoration Crisis 1677-1683* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991). I differ from Scott, though, in that I include the 1685 Monmouth Rebellion within the crisis.

⁶ This is discussed in more detail in the Introduction, 34n141.

⁷ Scott, *Algernon Sidney*, p. 28.

⁸ See Introduction, 34.

⁹ For further discussions of the Duke of Monmouth and his part in the Monmouth rebellion, see: Laura Brennan's biography, *The Duke of Monmouth: Life and Rebellion* (Barnsley: Pen and Sword History, 2018); W. MacDonald Wigfield, *The Monmouth Rebellion: A Social History* (Bradford: Moonraker Press, 1980); Robin Clifton, *The Last Popular Rebellion: The Western Risings of 1685* (London: St Martin's Press, 1984).

¹⁰ Scott, *Algernon Sidney*, 57.

¹¹ J.R. Jones, *The First Whigs: The Politics of the Exclusion Crisis, 1678-1683* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1961), 115-118.

rules of primogeniture on which it was based.¹² Anti-Exclusionists therefore claimed that those who wished to bar James from the succession sought to invert the natural order and incite rebellion and (renewed) Civil War. My previous chapters have focused on literary adaptations which chart responses to the perceived effeminacy and inadequacy of Charles II's rule, with increased disillusionment about the ability to control women. This chapter contends that the adaptive mode of the utopian impulse in the Restoration Crisis demonstrates a movement away from attempts to reassert control over female unruliness, either literally or as political metaphor, and a shift towards advocating sexual disinterest in women.

Although many of the concerns were repeated from the 1640s and 1650s, the Restoration Crisis was characterised by an added focus on gender, women's bodies, and female fertility. The origin of the Restoration Crisis was Charles's failure to produce a legitimate heir. His wife, Catherine of Braganza, was accused of infertility, and accordingly blamed for the succession crisis, as discussed in Chapter Three.¹³ In Chapter Two I noted that James (later James II) Duke of York's Catholicism and his marriage to the Catholic princess Mary of Modena contributed to these growing fears.¹⁴ Also embroiled in the crisis was one of Charles's Catholic French mistresses, K  rouaille.¹⁵ However, it was not until the late 1670s and the Popish Plot that these fears reached a crisis point. Political debate became more closely associated with gender relations than ever before, and related to this was the threat of the royal Catholic women's supposed rule over the effeminate Stuart monarchs. These crises demonstrated the extent to which patriarchal governance depended on female bodies for its stability and longevity, as well as the failure of men to control

¹² See Jones, *The First Whigs*, 115-116; Scott, *Algernon Sidney*, 163. The use of 'Whig' and 'Tory' to identify the political factions can be seen in the early 1680s, but I am not suggesting that this represents the emergence of organised political parties. For more on this, see Robert Willman, 'The Origins of "Whig" and "Tory" in English Political Language', *Historical Journal* 17 (1974): 247-264. The term 'Whig', applied to the liberal republican side, comes from "Whiggamore", meaning a Scottish Presbyterian rebel. See Tim Harris, *Restoration: Charles II and his Kingdoms* (London: Penguin, 2005), 241. The term 'Tory', coming from the Irish word *t  rai* for an outlaw which through extension began to be applied to 'an outlawed or rebel supporter of the Royalist cause' (*OED*, 1651).

¹³ See Chapter Three, 194-198.

¹⁴ On ways in which James's marriage to Mary of Modena, a Catholic princess, was represented as opening the floodgates for Catholic ascendancy, see Chapter Two, 128-154.

¹⁵ For discussions of K  rouaille's ascendancy in relation to the Anglo-Dutch wars, see Chapter One, 66-67.

female influence. The crises, I wish to suggest, directly impacted the kinds of utopian writing published in the late seventeenth century.

In this chapter I read utopian texts of the 1680s in the context of the gender politics of the Restoration crisis. This thesis has argued that the mid-to-late seventeenth century had a profound impact on texts containing the utopian impulse, particularly on the way in which utopian texts manage gendered relations and reproduction. I wish to suggest that the family analogy on which this notion of an ideal state and ideal gender relations was built reached a breaking point in the 1680s, and that this is reflected in the production of pornotopian writing which parodies or burlesques this central aspect of the utopian impulse, and depicts it as flawed.¹⁶ I argue that pornotopias bring the sexual elements of utopian texts centre stage, and that in the 1680s they do so to satirise political patriarchy and parody and burlesque its depictions in traditional utopias. I begin by analysing parliament of women narratives, which were first used in England in the build-up to (and during) the Civil Wars, but flourished again in the 1680s, in what James Grantham Turner has called a 'double peak'.¹⁷ The narratives were modified in the 1680s to reflect heightened political tensions surrounding women and power.

I read Durfey's adaptation of John Fletcher and Philip Massinger's *The Sea Voyage* (1622) into *A Commonwealth of Women* in parallel with these parliament of women texts to suggest that *A Commonwealth of Women* can also be seen as a pornotopian political satire about female dominance.¹⁸ Durfey adapts Fletcher and Massinger's text in line with contemporary political concerns regarding gender, politics and proto-feminist discourse. As another play which can be seen to adapt William

¹⁶ For the family analogy, see Introduction, 28-30.

¹⁷ *Libertines and Radicals in Early Modern London: Sexuality, Politics and Literary Culture, 1630-1685* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 42.

¹⁸ *The Sea Voyage* was first published in 1647 in the folio *Comedies and Tragedies* (London: Humphrey Moseley, 1647). Subsequent references will be parenthetical and from Claire M. L. Bourne's edition of the play in *The Routledge Anthology of Early Modern Drama*, series ed. Jeremy Lopez (Abingdon: Routledge, 2020), 1017-1078.

Shakespeare's *The Tempest* (1611),¹⁹ Duffey's text also reflects on concerns regarding patriarchal control which I outlined in Chapter One, but here not only are women and their fertility key to controlling a utopian space, they are explicitly the rulers of it, and they subject men to their will. Indeed, the renewed emphasis on performances of masculinity and emasculation lead me to conclude that Duffey's text parodies ideas of male sexual control of women in ways reminiscent of Thomas Duffett's *The Mock-Tempest* (discussed in Chapter One). Duffey's text goes further than the *Mock-Tempest*, however, and the characters Du Pier and Boldsprite are used to suggest that the only way to escape female domination is through sexual disinterest, a kind of anti-effeminacy. Similarly, Cotton's *Erōtopolis*, an innovative burlesque of the pornotopian genre, suggests that, by the 1680s, the utopian illusion of control of reproduction is no longer sustainable.

The texts discussed in this chapter may all be labelled pornotopias in that they depict fictional commonwealths, kingdoms or lands where sexual relations form the central means by which the society, institution, or physical landscape, is organised.²⁰ These pornotopian texts render visible the fact that the political patriarchalism in masculine-authored utopias positions women and their bodies as resources and objects, rather than as subjects. In the case of parliament of women narratives or Amazon narratives, the texts turn this positioning on its head and present utopias in which the inverse is true, with women-on-top. Conversely, somatopias / erotic cartographies – in which the landscape becomes a female body which requires management in order to be productive – literalise the resource metaphor and bring it to the centre of the description. As I have pointed

¹⁹ Heidi Hutner, for example, argues that the adaptations discussed in Chapter One and *The Sea Voyage* and Duffey's adaptation all constitute adaptations of *The Tempest*, *Colonial Women: Race and Culture in Stuart Drama* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 45-64). John Dryden and William Davenant also considered *The Sea Voyage* to be inspired by William Shakespeare's *The Tempest*. Dryden writes 'our excellent Fletcher had so great a value for it [*The Tempest*] that he thought fit to make use of the same Design, not much varied, a second time. Those who have seen his *Sea-Voyage*, may easily discern that it was a Copy of *Shakespear's Tempest*: the Storm, the desert Island, and the Woman who had never seen a Man, are all sufficient testimonies of it'. *The Tempest, or, The Enchanted Island* (London: Henry Herringman, 1670), A3r. An adaptation of *The Sea Voyage*, entitled *The Storm*, was staged by The King's Company in 1677. Dryden refers to it as 'The Storm which vanish'd on the Neighb'ring shore' in the prologue to *The Enchanted Island* (A4r). He is here likely referring to its short performance run of just three days between Wednesday 25th October 1667 and Friday 27th October 1667. William Van Lennep, ed. *The London Stage, 1660-1680: A Calendar of Plays, Entertainment and Afterpieces Together with Casts, Box-Receipts and Contemporary Comment*, Part One 1660-1700 (Illinois: Southern Illinois University Press, 1965), 118.

²⁰ For more on definitions of pornotopia, see Introduction, 16-17.

out in my introduction, pornotopian imaginings have classical antecedents and the continued relationship from antiquity onwards arguably demonstrates how the utopian impulse and utopian texts were consistently being read and responded to in connection with gender relations.²¹ I intend to argue that this relationship reaches a peak in the 1680s in response to the Restoration Crisis. Scenes of emasculation proliferate in pornotopian texts of this period, reflecting tensions surrounding female power and, ultimately, the redundancy of patriarchal, royalist ideology.

Politics, Pornography and Parliaments of Women 1640-1680.

Parliament of women narratives were one of the most popular forms of women-on-top satire. Stemming from Aulus Gellius's narrative of Papirus Praetextatus in *Attic Nights* (second century AD), these English texts were short pamphlets or ballads depicting matriarchies or female characters attempting to establish a ruling class, Parliament, or other political institution, and set down laws for a society which fulfils their needs.²² The depicted female parliaments focus on their ability to make changes to what might be considered domestic issues, gender relations, marital laws and sexual satisfaction. Their attempts are usually thwarted because they succumb to their (supposed) sexual need for men, or because their inclusion of women from across the social strata results in anarchy.²³ The narratives tend to dwell on the titillating bawdy details of insatiable female desire and their need for more and more men to satisfy their appetites. The pamphlets dramatise the breakdown of the traditional family that occurs when these desires are able to govern society: the women frequently call for multiple husbands, an end to punishment for adultery, the allowance of extra-marital sex, and the penalising of husbands who fail to satisfy them sexually.²⁴ Female governance in these pornotopian texts, which frequently results in chaos, is thus intrinsically bound

²¹ See Introduction, 16-17.

²² Ibid.,

²³ For further discussions on anarchy and the genre, see Gaby Mahlberg, 'The Parliament of Women and the Restoration Crisis' in *Democracy and Anti-Democracy in Early Modern England 1603-1689*, eds. Cesare Cuttica and Markku Peltonen, (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 279-297.

²⁴ For a text with all of these tropes, see: *The Parliament of Women with the Merry Lawes by them Newly Enacted* (London: J[ohn] O[kes], 1640), STC 19306.

up with male anxiety about insatiable female desire and women's (perceived) transgression of the private or domestic sphere into imagined political environments.

As mentioned above, previous scholars have identified dual peaks in the proliferation of pornotopian parliament of women narratives in the 1640s and 50s and the 1670s and 80s. The significant divergences between texts of the 40s and 50s and those of the 70s and 80s offer crucial insight into ways in which the utopian impulse was reshaped in relation to the Restoration Crisis. The pamphlets are largely anonymous, but the majority served as royalist satire of parliamentarians.²⁵ However, in the wake of Parliament's victory in the 1650s, the representation could no longer be simply laughable allegory and playful Royalist satire of foolish political rebellion.²⁶ Though the mocking tone is still there, the texts begin to represent these female parliaments as insurgencies with the potential to oust and outlast traditional authority. Arguably this parallels the transformation of female political power which was no longer linked only to the female petitioners of the 1640s and 50s, discussed below, who could be dismissed as impoverished

²⁵ Not all of the parliament of women pamphlets are royalist leaning. For example, Henry Neville, a republican, wrote a series of these pamphlets which satirised both the cavalier court at Oxford, called the 'Mongrill parliament', and the Parliamentary court as disorderly women who prioritised their own sexual needs: *The Parliament of Ladies. Or Divers remarkable passages of ladies in Spring-Garden*; (London: s.n., 1647) Wing N512A, quotation from A3r; *The Ladies Parliament*; (London: s.n., 1647) Wing N508; *The Ladies, a Second Time, Assembled in Parliament* (London: s.n., 1647), Wing N507; *News from the New Exchange*; (London: s.n., 1650) Wing N510. For analysis of these pamphlets see Mahlberg, *Henry Neville and the English Republican Culture in the Seventeenth Century* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009), 89-109. The only pamphlet which serves as purely anti-Royalist satire is *An Exact Diurnall of the Parliament of Ladies* (London: s.n., 1647) Wing N504. *An Exact Diurnall* specifically deals with Ladies sitting as a court at the King's new headquarters in Oxford and their judgment of prominent Royalists as failures. The Royalists include Prince Rupert of the Rhine (1667-1671), a Royalist cavalry officer, Lord George Digby, (1612-1677) 2nd Earl of Bristol and Lieutenant General of Charles I's forces since 1645, and Lord Capell, another Royalist leader in the Second Civil War. The women accuse them of treason and cowardliness during the Civil Wars. The accused men in *An Exact Diurnall* are depicted as grovelling against the charges of their cowardice or failures. For example:

Prince Rupert was called in, and falling on his knees, heard his charge read against him, that he hath been the chief cause of their designes miscarrying by his plundering at *Edge-Hill*, his wilfulness at *Marston-moore*, and his cowardliness at *Bristoll*. To all which he pleaded not guilty noble Amozons. Then the Lord George Digby was called to the Barr, and charged for a Machivilian, when he was Secretary: A coward when he was Generall, and an Asse when he went Irish *Empassadour*; To which his Lordship pleaded not guilty my Ladyes (*An Exact Doiurnall*, A3v).

This pamphlet thus positions Royalist men as degraded and bowing down to female governance, embarrassing, and emasculating them. It does not depict the female parliament as particularly sexualised and presents women as more effective in governance and judgment than the Royalist men. The pamphlet thus tacitly accepts the analogy of parliament as wife and refuses to align parliament and women with unruliness, chaos, and disorder.

²⁶ For a similar point about the need to revise ideology in the wake of the regicide, see Paul Hammond, *The Making of Restoration Poetry* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2006), 107-136.

‘oyster wives’ or a ‘civill-sisterhood of Oranges and Lemmons’.²⁷ Figures of female power now included Catholic princesses, Queens, and royal mistresses who shared (to some, ‘infiltrated’) the beds of the King and heir presumptive. By focusing on the contrast between these pornotopian narratives, produced during two very similar moments of crisis, circa forty years apart, I intend to highlight the changes that become discernible in the position that women played in utopian writing and the political landscape.

Parliaments of Women in the 1640s and 1650s

In the build-up to the Civil Wars, authors used the genre of parliament of women narratives to provide commentary on political upheaval. Scholars have drawn attention to their emergence in the 1640s, suggesting that they proliferated in reaction to the threat which parliamentarians and radicals posed to royal, patriarchal stability.²⁸ Satirical pamphlets about female parliaments and women-on-top were based on the metaphor of the world-turned-upside-down and on notions of the family analogy, the traditional rationale for monarchic government, with Parliament depicted as

²⁷ These terms were used to describe female petitioners between 1642 and 1653 in *Mercurius Pragmaticus*, (23rd -30th April 1649), quoted in Ann Marie McEntee, “‘The [Un]Civil-Sisterhood of Oranges and Lemons’: Female Petitioners and Demonstrators, 1642-53”, in *Pamphlet Wars: Prose in the English Revolution*, Ebook, ed. James Holstun, (London: Frank Cass, 1992), 208. At a 1643 demonstration, a pamphlet degraded the women as ‘of the poorer sort’ claiming that ‘some 500 of them were whores’, *The Parliament Scout* (3rd -10th August 1643) quoted in McEntee, “‘The [Un]Civil-Sisterhood of Oranges and Lemons’”, 198; See McEntee more generally for a further discussion of the representations of the female activists “‘The [Un]Civil-Sisterhood of Oranges and Lemons’”, 192-229.

²⁸ Sharon Achinstein focuses specifically on the representations of radical sects in pornographic satire, ‘Women on Top in the Pamphlet Literature of the English Revolution’, *Women’s Studies* 24 (1994): 131-163; Diane Purkiss argues that pamphlets in the ‘women debate’ genre which purported to be written by women were actually satirical reflections on the symbolic unruly female which ‘signified and to some extent legitimated social and political criticism’. ‘Material Girls: the Seventeenth-Century Woman Debate’, in *Women, Texts and Histories 1575-1760* eds. Clare Brant and Purkiss (London: Routledge, 1992), 83; Melissa M. Mowry argues that the figure of the prostitute was used to reflect both political and economic concerns regarding the destabilisation of traditional hierarchy. *The Bawdy Politic in Stuart England, 1660-1714* (Hampshire: Ashgate, 2004); Susan Wiseman contends that porno-political rhetoric revolves around the family analogy. “Adam The Father of All Flesh,” *Porno-Political Rhetoric and Political Theory In and After the English Civil War*, *Prose Studies* 14, no. 3 (1991): 134-157; Lynn Hunt has also argued that these 1640s pamphlets were preceded in sixteenth-century ‘academy pornography’, which was ‘designed for limited distribution to an educated elite, in which local politics were dissected in sexual terms’. Introduction to *The Invention of Pornography: Obscenity and the Origins of Modernity, 1500-1800* (New York: Zone Books, 1996), 25; see also Mary E. Fissell for work on how political metaphor and the sexualised body became intertwined in the period *Vernacular Bodies: The Politics of Reproduction in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); Purkiss recognises that ‘in the Restoration, it is impossible to hive off pornographic writing as a separate genre; rather, writings about sex are writings about politics, and *vice versa*...the process of understanding politics through narratives about sex and gender and the instability of both begins well before 1660. It arises from the combination of the genres of court scandal, classical satire and the print culture of news... The result is a political imaginary so marked by concerns about the body and sexuality and masculinity that these concerns spill over into texts which are not overtly about these things at all’. *Literature, Gender and Politics During the English Civil War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 6-7.

the wife of the King.²⁹ They thus offered satirical microcosmic representations of what parliamentarians allegedly wished to see in the macrocosm, an empowered parliament, the wife, and a disempowered king, or husband. Political resistance was accordingly aligned with the conduct of an unruly wife, specifically a sexually unruly one. Additionally, as Melissa M. Mowry has argued, these porno-political satires often focused on prostitutes, and linked them – ‘through the conventional synecdoche between household and kingdom’ – to radicals working to overthrow the monarchy.³⁰ In the seventeenth century, the pornographic body therefore ‘functioned as a royalist emblem of democracy’, perhaps even anarchy.³¹ The focus on publicly sexual women is explained by the fact that women who worked in the sex industry were commonly referred to as ‘common women’ in the period and, as Mowry puts it, “‘common women’ elided easily into “‘women of the commons’”.³² For Gaby Mahlberg, these narratives thus ubiquitously link those creating anarchy in the political sphere with women vocalising their desires.³³ Those wishing to undermine the arguments of Parliament thus, by extension, suggested that stability was dependent on the control and containment of women.

Increased female activity in the political sphere in the 1640s and 50s, which included the writing of utopian texts, is another reason cited for the emergence of these narratives, indicating that pornotopian fiction was being used to undermine not just the arguments of parliamentarians, but also genuine female engagement with politics. Turner has argued that the porno-political writing of this period developed in response to acts of female public speaking, including preaching, petitioning, and utopian depictions of entirely new constitutions.³⁴ Mass female petitions were viewed with suspicion, and ‘embodied male fears about the return of [Thomas] Hobbes’s “natural” woman – an autonomous, Amazonian creature fully equipped for “War”, with the additional

²⁹ See Introduction, 28-30.

³⁰ *The Bawdy Politic*, 1.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 2.

³² *Ibid.*, 6. For more on the term ‘common women’, see Ruth Mazo Karras, *Common Women: Prostitution and Sexuality in Medieval England* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 3.

³³ ‘*The Parliament of Women and the Restoration*’, 279-297.

³⁴ *Libertines and Radicals*, 74-118.

capacity to exercise “Dominion” through the voice’.³⁵ Female figures such as Elizabeth Poole (c.1622-c.1688), Anne Fairfax (1617/18-1655), and Anna Trapnel (1642-1660) became infamous for their political activism.³⁶ Further, women in the period also authored serious utopian texts regarding the set-up of ideal commonwealths in the millenarian vein, two examples of which are Mary Pope’s *A Treatise of Magistracy* (1647) and Mary Cary’s *A New and More Exact Mappe or Description of a New Jerusalem* (1651).³⁷ In response, as Diane Purkiss has noted, the parliament of women narratives attempted to ‘replace women’s agency with woman as a sign; the women

³⁵ Ibid., 88.

³⁶ Poole became a ‘kind of consultant prophetess’ in 1648-1649 when she spoke twice at plenary sessions of the council of officers to offer advice and published her account of this in *A Vision* (1648). Manfred Brod, ‘Poole, Elizabeth’, ODNB, Last modified 23rd September 2004, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/47110>. A pamphlet from 1660 emphasises that her legacy was not forgotten after the Restoration, although they seem to have ignored the fact that she advised explicitly against regicide: *The English Devil: or, Cromwel and his Monstrous Witch Discover’d at White-Hall* (London: George Horton, 1660). For more on Poole, see: Manfred Brod, ‘Politics and Prophecy in Seventeenth-Century England: The Case of Elizabeth Poole’, *Albion* 31, no.3 (Fall 1999): 395-412; Wiseman, *Conspiracy and Virtue: Women, Writing and Politics in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 143-175; Marcus Nevitt, ‘Elizabeth Poole Writes the Regicide’, *Women’s Writing* 9, no.2 (2002): 233-248. Fairfax was married to the parliamentarian Thomas Fairfax, was ‘widely believed by contemporaries to have considerable influence over her husband’s actions during the civil wars’, and attended the first day of the trial of Charles I and publicly voiced her aversion to the proceedings. Jaqueline Eales, ‘Fairfax [née Vere], Anne, Lady Fairfax’, ODNB, last modified 23rd September 2004, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/66848>. See also Wiseman, *Conspiracy and Virtue*, 78. Trapnel was a Fifth Monarchist and something of a celebrity prophetess who printed her prophecy, *The Cry of a Stone* (1654) and also published a spiritual autobiography, entitled *A Legacy for Saints* (1654). For more on Trapnel, see: Stevie Davies, ‘Anna Trapnel’, ODNB, last modified 23rd September 2004, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/38075>; Wiseman, *Conspiracy and Virtue*, 126-129, 134-137; Kevin Killeen, “‘People of a Deeper Speech’: Anna Trapnel, Enthusiasm, and the Aesthetics of Incoherence”, in *The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern Women’s Writing in English, 1540-1700*, ed. Danielle Clarke (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 203-216. Other female political activists of the period include Katherine Chidley and Sarah Wight. See also Rachel Trubowitz, ‘Female Preachers and Male Wives: Gender and Authority in Civil War England’, in *Pamphlet Wars*, 229-272.

³⁷ Pope’s approach, like Poole’s and Fairfax’s, is rather conservative: she is fiercely anti-regicide, and she addresses her text to both the King and the Parliament, claiming that God has shown her the way forward out of the troubles and she has set it down in her treatise in order to act as their ‘Handmaiden’ who shall bring forth a ‘child of joy and rejoicing’ (London: s.n., 1647, B4r). For more on Pope, see Nevitt, *Women and the Pamphlet Culture of Revolutionary England, 1640-1660* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 64-69. Cary’s text has an alternative title, *The Little Horns Doom and Downfall*, and is an exegetical prophecy claiming to have been written before the execution of the King, predicting his death, and prophesying the millennium. For more on Cary, see David Loewenstein, ‘Scriptural Exegesis, Female Prophecy and Radical Politics in Mary Cary’, *Studies in English Literature: 1500-1900* 46, no.1 (Winter 2006): 133-153; Jane Baston, ‘History, Prophecy and Interpretation: Mary Cary and Fifth Monarchism’, *History, Theory, Criticism* 21, no.3 (1998): 1-18; Rachel Warburton, ‘Future Perfect?: Elect Nationhood and the Grammar of Desire in Mary Cary’s Millennial Visions’, *Utopian Studies* 18, no.2 (2007): 115-138. The focus of this thesis is on secular politics with an interest in Religion insofar as it impacts major political thinking between 1660-1685. However, much valuable work has been done on the impact of female authored prophetic and millenarian utopias in the 1640s-50s on the utopian tradition, arguing for the importance of these texts as pre-cursors to Margaret Cavendish’s *Blazing World* (1666). See for example: Lisa K. Brewer, ‘Paradise Negotiated: Early Modern Women Writing Utopia, 1640-1760’, (PhD Thesis: West Virginia University, 2005), 93-131; Warburton, ‘Mobility and Desire: Seventeenth-Century English Women’s Travel and Utopian Writings’, (PhD Thesis: University of Alberta, 2002), 78-112; Erin Long Bonin, ‘Worlds of their Own: Seventeenth-Century British Women Writers Envision Utopia’, (PhD Thesis: University of North Carolina, 1998), 104-120; Lyman Tower Sargent, ‘Millennium and Revolution: Two Themes in Seventeenth Century British Utopianism’, *Utopian Studies* 2 (1989): 38-49.

demonstrators are represented in carnivalesque inversion'.³⁸ These female activists were politically disparate; some, such as Pope, Poole and Fairfax were fiercely anti-regicide, later petitioners were frequently associated with Levellers and Diggers, but the responses to these actions even from those who supported their cause or agreed with their position reveals a distinct uneasiness with any female participation in politics.³⁹

Further, the physical presence of women preaching or presenting petitions to Parliament caused alarm, and attempts to quash female involvement or render it fictionally absurd exemplify anxiety about the political power of women and their bodies.⁴⁰ A group of around 400 petitioning women arriving at Parliament prompted the Duke of Lennox to mockingly say: 'Away with those women, we were best to have a parliament of women', indicating an attempt to fictionalise and render the female political activity symbolic.⁴¹ Parliament of women narratives were thus by this point so well known that Lennex alludes to them and tries to undermine female petitioners by aligning them with merely satirical caricatures. However, the Duke's attempt to send them away failed, as did his attempt to paint them as farcical fictions with no real impact: the women reportedly seized and broke his staff in an attempt to have him receive the petition, and eventually their petition was presented to the Lords, debated, and twelve of the petitioners were 'called into the House, to declare their grievances'.⁴² The physical presence of women bringing their petitions

³⁸ *Literature, Gender and Politics*, 59.

³⁹ McEntee, "The [un] civill-sisterhood", 192-229.

⁴⁰ Ann Hughes, 'Gender and Politics in Leveller Literature', in *Political Culture and Cultural Politics in Early Modern England: Essays Presented to David Underdown*, eds., Susan Amussen and Mark Kishlansky (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), 162; See also Hughes, *Gender and the English Revolution* (London: Routledge, 2012).

⁴¹ *True Diurnal Occurrances or The Heads of the Proceedings of both houses of Parliament*, 31st January - 7th February 1642 (London: John Hammond, 1642), A2r.

⁴² *Ibid.*

to Parliament thus forced Parliament to reckon with the bodily presence of women and their written demands.⁴³

Newsbooks frequently aligned female political activity with sexual activity and with Amazons. An edition of *Mercurius Pragmaticus* describes a 1649 women's petition as follows:

Amazons... came in their warlike posture taking hold of their *Tayle* in stead of their *Targets*, and marching with confidence to encounter *Tyrannie*, and with abundance of courage exceeding the ordinary sort of *Women*... and as the proverb goes of the *Female Sex*, they make use of their *Tongues* (as their best weapon), against *tyranny*, and their *Tayles* for propagation of the now Saynted Fraternity.⁴⁴

The Amazonian women here use their 'Tayles', i.e. their genitals, in an attempt to propagate, i.e. breed or give birth to, their cause. Thus, as McEntee has noted, this account, along with many others, portrays female public action as sexually deviant and 'this deviancy, demonstrated historically by the Amazons, was culturally unacceptable... Essentially, according to this author, women petitioned Parliament for sexual gratification'.⁴⁵ The Amazons who, as noted in my introduction, were said to engage in sexual practices in which they negotiate sexual relations with men but maintain a society in which they do not need male governance, are here repurposed to depict female political resistance.⁴⁶ This collapses the idea of the overturned patriarchal ideology and family analogy in the wake of the Civil Wars into the utopian narrative of the Amazon, and I argue Durfey's depictions of Amazons, discussed below, adapts this narrative conceit. I share Susan Wiseman's view that the sexual slander in porno-political satire likely had more to do with

⁴³ In May 1642 and December, January, February and August 1643, women peace petitioners demonstrated at Parliament. The Leveller women petitioned Parliament in May 1649, when their petition was presented to the House of Commons, and again in 1654 on behalf of John Lilburne. In response to the earlier petitions, Parliament passed an order sanctioning violence: *De Veneris, 15 Octob. 1647. Ordered by the Commons Assembled in Parliament, that the Seargent at Arms attending on this House be required by himself for his servants to apprehend all such women or other persons... who clamor about the Houses, and speak any scandalous words against the Parliament* (London: Edward Husband, 1647). For details on these petitions, see: Ellen McArthur, 'Women Petitioners and the Long Parliament', *English Historical Review* 24 (1909): 698-709; Patricia Higgins, 'The Reactions of Women, with Special Reference to Women Petitioners', in *Politics, Religion and the English Civil War*, ed. Brian Manning (London: Arnold, 1973), 179-222; Margaret George, *Women in the First Capitalist Society: Experiences in Seventeenth-Century England*, (Brighton: The Harvester Press, 1988), 37-112. See also Bernard Capp, 'Separate Domains? Women and Authority in Early Modern England' in *The Experience of Authority in Early Modern England*, ed. Paul Griffiths, Adam Fox and Steve Hindle (London: Macmillan, 1996), 117-145, for discussions of female involvement in legal / judicious issues in the period.

⁴⁴ (24th April - 1st May 1649), quoted in "'The [Un]Civil-Sisterhood'", 209.

⁴⁵ "'The [Un]Civil-Sisterhood'", 210.

⁴⁶ See Introduction, 20-21.

the positioning of women as a symbol of disorder in relation to the radical politics, as discussed above, than with the actual actions of petitioning women: but it is important to note that, as female political activity became more public and apparent, this symbol had real world analogues that were hard to ignore.⁴⁷

The first parliament of women pamphlet produced in English adapted its Roman source to enact a royalist satire of parliamentary rebellion in the build-up to the Civil Wars. *The Parliament of Women with the Merry Lawes by them Newly Enacted* of 1640 was based on Gellius's text about Pretextatus, and it replicates its source's tone of mockery for the foolish women, and certainly does not seem to consider them a credible threat.⁴⁸ However, it makes additions which relate it to contemporary politics. The pamphlet satirises Parliament by presenting it as a group of women foolishly attempting to set up an assembly, falling into disarray, and ultimately being dismissed by the men at the end of the text. That the assembly of women are named 'parliament' makes parallels impossible to ignore. Further, the mother of Pretextatus at first sends for the 'chiefe Matrons in Rome' to debate the proposal that women should have two husbands but, as word spreads, women of lower social status, 'Tradesmens wives', join and demand that they be heard. The latter's rationale echoes contemporary rhetoric calling for the extension of the franchise:

no Parliament could be held, but there must be a lower House as well as a higher, and Speakers for both: and further, that nothing could be concluded in the higher, but it must first bee debated in the lower: upon which Reasons they were admitted, and a great Parlour serving for a Parliament House, every one tooke their place, according to their degrees.⁴⁹

As Mahlberg notes, 'the lower orders forcing their way into the assembly reflect the fears of contemporary royalists and aristocrats that their privileged existence might be threatened by calls for equality and popular sovereignty'.⁵⁰ Thus, the adaptors introduce contemporary analogues in order to render parliamentarian demands farcical.

⁴⁷ Wiseman, "'Adam The Father of All Flesh'", 135.

⁴⁸ See Introduction, 17-18.

⁴⁹ *The Parliament of Women with the Merry Lawes*, A2r-A2v.

⁵⁰ 'The Parliament of Women and the Restoration', 283.

The concerns about parliamentary rebellion are played out satirically and are easily dismissed and this is likely due to the relatively peaceful context (from a Royalist perspective) in and for which it was produced. The first edition was published in the same year as the dissolution of the Short Parliament on 5th May 1640, and the pamphlet has thus been read as ‘a suitable admonition to parliamentarians to know their place and stop transgressing on matters that were none of their business, such as the prerogative powers of the King’.⁵¹ In this text, parliamentarians are likened to women in terms of their foolishness, disorderliness, and ineffectiveness, and the pamphlet does so in order to belittle Parliament. The men’s reaction at the end of the text, when the parliament of women present their concerns to the senate is telling: ‘some laught, some lowred, some it served for pleasure, to others for perplexity: but in conclusion they greatly covered their wives levity and inconstancy’.⁵² The text was popular – it went through further editions in 1646, 1656, and was reissued in 1685, corresponding to those peaks identified by Turner –⁵³ but it is also notable that some of the more radical Protestant sects showed a particular dislike for this pamphlet, along with other texts which might be deemed to laugh at parliamentary shutdown.⁵⁴

The Parlament of Women with the Merry Lawes associates Parliament with women in order to diminish them by transforming their concerns into bawdy, frivolous ones. The title page declares that the women want:

to live in more Ease, Pompe, Pride and wantonnesse: but especially that they might have superiority and domineere over their husbands: with a new way found out by them how to cure any old or new Cuckolds, and how both parties may recover their credit and honesty againe.⁵⁵

⁵¹ Mahlberg, ‘*The Parliament of Women* and the Restoration’, 283-4.

⁵² *The Parlament of Women with the Merry Lawes*, B4r

⁵³ STC 19306; Wing P505; Wing P506; and Wing P506Aa. Subsequent references will be to the first edition unless otherwise stated.

⁵⁴ A petition to Parliament condemned the publication of the *Parliament of women* along with the ‘swarming’ of other ‘lascivious, idle, and unprofitable books, pamphlets, play-books and ballads...’, which came out at the dissolving of the last Parliament’, ‘The Root and Branch Petition’, in *Documents Illustrative of English Church History* eds. Henry Gee and William John Hardy (New York: Macmillan, 18960, 537-45.

⁵⁵ *The Parlament of Women with the Merry Lawes*, A1r.

Their demands are therefore equated with the justification of adultery and polygamy and it is suggested that they want to break up the ‘natural’ familial hierarchy.⁵⁶ The text of the pamphlet is vulgar in tone and dwells on crude depictions of female sexual frustration, with one woman arguing that when husbands are away at sea women are left ‘sighing and groaning, as if [their] very twatling strings would break; making [them] moan to the curtains: fumbling and biting or tearing the Sheets’; such women, we are told, ought to ‘have two or three Husbands’.⁵⁷ The laws they issue, printed on the final page of the pamphlet, are similarly bawdy, decreeing, for example, ‘that women may twang it [i.e. masturbate] as well as their husbands’.⁵⁸ The appeal of the pamphlet thus seems to rest in both its satirical description of parliamentarians and in its misogynistic and pornographic descriptions of female sexuality.

In the aftermath of the regicide, the parliament of women pamphlets become more threatening in tone. In *Now or Never: Or, A New Parliament of Women* (1656), issued around the time of the sitting of the second Protectorate Parliament, the women position themselves as subjugated and second-class citizens who have risen up against tyranny using the language of republicanism:

We do and shall disclaim that Tyrannical Government which men have over us, and to the utmost of our powers abolish, abrogate, and destroy it, by being not subject and subordinate to it. Therefore we do invite all women who have any spark of valour, or a desire of freedom, to be aiding and assisting us in this great work: as also it is, and shall be lawful for all. Women, Widows, and Maids, to make their grievances known, whereby they may have redress; that so hereafter they and we may all enjoy such priviledges as are fit for free-born women.⁵⁹

The women justify their capacity for governance in ways that ominously recall the regicide:

I must confess, the work is difficult to get the Prerogative out of mens hands, but let us not be faint-hearted, but take courage and joyn altogether, and it will be done. Let us look back into former ages, and we shall find women to have performed great atchievements. I onely mention one, the which was Judeth; what a great deliverance did she bring to her Countrey, by cutting off *Holofernes* head. Truly, we have many *Holofernes*’s to deal withal; who have made an inroad into our Liberties! And have taken away all our freedoms.⁶⁰

⁵⁶ One woman argues that women should have several husbands, ‘one for week days, to drudge within doors, another for Holidayes to walk abroad with her, and usher her in his best cloathes; keeping one for her delight, the other for her drudgery’. *The Parlament of Women with the Merry Lawes*, A2r.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, A34.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, B4v.

⁵⁹ *Now or Never: Or, A New Parliament of Women* (London: George Horton, 1656), A2r.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, A2v.

Read in the light of Charles I's execution in 1649, it would have been hard not to equate Judith with more extreme parliamentarians and Charles I with Holofernes.⁶¹ Judith, a Biblical figure who became increasingly sexualised and violent in representations of the late-seventeenth century, represented an ambivalent seducer-murderer figure.⁶² Royalists seemed to wish to point out that the unruly female petitioners who were troubling Parliament were a threat to political stability caused by the breakdown of patriarchy which the parliamentarians had engendered through the regicide. They suggested that in overthrowing the monarchy, republicans had set a dangerous precedent, whereby women or other oppressed classes could adopt the same logic and apply it to their husbands, or the 'many *Holofernes's*' referenced above. In a pamphlet entitled *The Man in the Moon, Discovering A World of Knavery under the Sun* (1649), the author threatens the parliamentary leader Thomas Fairfax with female violence and links this to female sexuality: '*Holofernes Fairfax* look to thy head, for *Judeth* is a coming, the women are up in armes, and vow they will tickle your Members'.⁶³ Pamphlets of the 1640s and 1650s thus repeatedly make use of the female parliament trope, and its connotations with unruly sexuality and self-interested rebellion, in order to comment on the disorder of the Civil Wars and Interregnum periods.

Parliaments of Women in the 1670s and 1680s

The crisis of the 1670s and 80s inspired a return to the genre of parliament of women pamphlets, which had previously been used to satirise both political disorder and infighting, as well as publicly

⁶¹ Judith was a Jewish widow living in a city called Bethulia, which was besieged by Babylonian military forces sent by King Nebuchadnezzar. Judith decides to use her beauty to infiltrate the soldiers' camp and attract the attention of their general, Holofernes, a loyal soldier to the King. She is successful, and he plans to have sex with her, but as he lays drunk on the bed, she beheads him with his own sword (*The Book of Judith*). The Judith narrative thus yokes together rebellion against the King and the beheading of a male authority figure with feminine sexuality, wiles, and deception. Although in the Judith narrative God is on her side, against a tyrannical king, in many representations of Judith 'the means – deception and seduction – take precedence over the ends'. Renate Peters, 'The Metamorphoses of Judith in Literature and Art: War by Other Means', *Dressing Up for War: Transformations of Gender and Genre in the Discourse and Literature of War*, ed. Andrew Monnickendam, (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2001), 115.

⁶² Ibid., 111-126.

⁶³ *The Man in the Moon, Discovering of a World of Knavery under the Sunne; Both in the Parliament, the Counsell of State, the Army, the City and the Country. With Intelligence from all parts of England, Scotland and Ireland.* (s.l.: Crouch, 16th - 23rd April 1649), B2r. A later issue of this pamphlet series states that female 'Furies' will avenge 'glorious *Charles* that they have slaine', *The Man in the Moon, Discovering of a World of Knavery under the Sunne; Both in the Parliament, the Counsell of State, the Army, the City and the Country. With Other Intelligence from all parts of England, Scotland and Ireland* (s.l.: Crouch, 26th December - 2nd January, 1650) 2N1r.

active and unruly women. Cries of ‘No Popery’ and ‘no arbitrary government’ are not the only thing from the 1640s which were recycled, as production of these pamphlets also peaked in the 1670s and early 80s.⁶⁴ The genre’s resurgence is symptomatic of the fears generated by the crises of 1678-1686. Political factions which sought to dictate the terms of rule and succession and threatened to overthrow the monarchy evoked in contemporary memory cries for popular rule and democracy, and therefore generated fears that the internecine horrors of 1642 would be repeated. Authors thus returned to old modes to express renewed concerns and these included depictions of parliaments of women.

Pamphlets of this period are less confident in their dismissals of female political disturbance and this lack of confidence goes on to characterise Durfey and Cotton’s texts discussed below. The parliament of women genre largely disappears after 1656, and does not reappear until 1679, at the height of the frenzy caused by the Popish Plot.⁶⁵ The texts retain the political and sexual relevance of the previous pamphlets but, as Mahlberg points out, the parliaments increase ‘in confidence over time’, particularly during the Exclusion Crisis, ‘as the real-life English Parliament was becoming more assertive as the site of serious constitutional debate and party strife’.⁶⁶ Unlike *The Parliament of Women with the Merry Lawes* in 1640, where the narrative ends with the reassertion of male power and the mockery of the women, texts like *An Account of the Proceedings of the New Parliament of Women sitting at Gossips-hall, near Knock*, and *The Parliament of Women: or, A Compleat History of the Proceedings and Debates, of a Particular Junto, of Ladies and Gentlemen, with a Design*

⁶⁴ I here build on the work of Turner and Mahlberg, see Turner, *Libertines and Radicals*, 42; and Mahlberg, ‘The Parliament of Women and the Restoration’.

⁶⁵ Examples include *A List of the Parliament of Women* (London: T.N., 1679), Wing L248; *An Account of the Proceedings of the New Parliament of Women sitting at Gossips-Hall, near Knock* (London: J. Coniers, 1683) Wing A370; *The Parliament of Women: or, A Compleat History of the Proceedings and Debates, of a Particular Junto, of Ladies and Gentlemen, with a Design to Alter the Government of the World*. (London: John Holford, 1684) Wing P506A; *Great News from a Parliament of Women, Now Sitting in Rosemary Lane, Mother Damnable the Labourers Wife being Chair-Woman of this Assembly* (London: A. Chamberlain, 1684), Wing G1714.

⁶⁶ For this argument I am indebted to Mahlberg, and have only added further examples, ‘The Parliament of Women and the Restoration’ 286, 287.

to *Alter the Government of the World* instead contain promises of future meetings.⁶⁷ Indeed, the latter ends with the arrival of a doctor who has found out how to enable men to breastfeed and ‘so swell out their Breasts and Nipples after the manner of Women’ which ‘would be a great ease to The Women, and take a world of trouble o’ their hands’.⁶⁸ This suggests that the women would be able to exit the domestic sphere, leaving children with their fathers, so that women could be free to focus on public political matters. The final line of the pamphlet, ‘the rest is to come’, implies that the doctor’s suggestions will be discussed at the next meeting of parliament and that the next parliamentary action will be to emasculate the men completely.⁶⁹

The pamphlets also become far more conscious of their utopian connections. For example, *A List of the Parliament of Women* begins with the rational that:

having also read of the famous *Amazonian* Kingdom, on the Bankes of *Thermodoon*, and how well they were able to rule and manage the Affairs of the Common-wealth;...And now seeing the many miscarriages of late of the Men of this Kingdom, and that they have not ordered their Affairs to the content of all; and believing they could manage Matters much better, they have, with one Consent, laid their Heads together, and resolved to congregate themselves, and to meddle with the Affairs of the Common-wealth, and to place themselves at the Helm of Government, and to endeavour to regain their long lost Liberty. And having lately searched all the Records of *Utopia*, they found an Ancient Writ of Queen *Mabs*, which they have sent to all Parts, both of the City and Countrey, for the Women to choose their Representatives.⁷⁰

By 1679, this author thus directly suggests that it is the late mismanagement of men which has resulted in the need for a female parliament, and they, like the women of *Now or Never* discussed above, look for historical precedents of female authority and find not the Biblical – and seventeenth-century image of – Judith, as executioner, but instead Amazons and the fictional, utopian, fairy-tale Queen Mab. These are fanciful referents, and the pamphleteer obviously wishes to position them as such, but the pamphlet again fails to dissolve the parliament, ending with the

⁶⁷ *An Account of the Proceedings* discusses how one petitioner is ‘waiting with a great deale of impatience for the next sitting’, implying that the house meets regularly and consistently (A4v); *The Parliament of Women: or, A Compleat History* ends with the ominous ‘the rest is to come’ G10v.

⁶⁸ *The Parliament of Women: or, A Compleat History*, G10v.

⁶⁹ Ibid. For this argument about the ending of the pamphlet I am indebted to Mahlberg, ‘*The Parliament of Women and the Restoration*’, 140.

⁷⁰ *A List of the parliament of women*, b.s.

ominous promise that they have ‘Adjourned till the next Week: What Acts, Speeches, Remonstrances, Bills and Orders, may be performed, made and done by them, Time will produce’.⁷¹ Thus the disordered state is here depicted as opening the flood-gates for utopian visions of women-on-top, displacing men, analogous to the utopian visions of parliament to displace the king.

Whilst the parliament of women narratives of the 1640s predominantly featured fictional female petitioners,⁷² by the 1680s even real-life figures, such as Charles II’s French Catholic mistress, Louise de K  rouaille, were depicted.⁷³ Most of the 1680s pamphlets contain no direct references to the Catholic women who were at the heart of the Restoration crisis, but a mock-utopian political text entitled, *A Pleasant Battle Between Two Lap Dogs of the Utopian Court* (1681) depicts K  rouaille’s ascendancy at court.⁷⁴ The text is a surreal account of a dog fight between

⁷¹ *A List of the Parliament of Women*, b.s.

⁷² Mock-petitions were also common in the 1640s in response to groups of female petitioners. See for example *The Petition of the Weamen of Middlesex* (1641), *Resolution of the Women of London to the Parliament* (1642), *The virgins Complaint for the Losse of Their Sweet-Hearts, by these Present Wars* (1643), *The Humble Petition of Many Thousands of Wives and Matrons of the City of London... for the Cessation and Finall Conclusion of These Civill Wars* (1643), *The Widowes Lamentation for the Absence of Their Deare Children and Suitors* (1643), *The City-Dames Petition, in the Behalfe of the Long Afflicted but Well-Affected Cavaliers* (1647) and *A Remonstrance of the shee-Citizens of London, and of Many Thousands of Other Free Borne Women of England* (1647). One 1640s pamphlet of a parliament of women inspired a direct mock-petition: *To the Right Honourable, the Ladies Ordinary and Extraordinary, Assembled in Parliament, now Sitting in Spring Garden* (1647) responds to Neville’s pamphlets, *The Parliament of Ladies* and *The Ladies, a Second Time Assembled*. In the 1670s, mock-petitions directed to imagined parliaments of women became more common. Petitions like *The Cuckolds Petition to the Parliament of Women, Setting Forth their Many Grievances* (1684) offer a response to the typical content of parliament of women narratives: their setting up societies which enable them to have multiple sexual partners, multiple husbands, and general domestic and sexual satisfaction. There are also ballad petitions to imagined female parliaments which are in dialogue with one another: *The Young Mans Answer to the Ladies of London’s Petition to the Parliament of Women, Shewing that it is not Reasonable, that they should be Fined, or Forced to Marry against their Inclinations* (1680) is clearly a response to *Ladies of Londons Petition, or their Humble Address to the Parliament of Old Women for Husbands; signed by Threescore Thousand Hands, and Never a Crackt Maiden Head nor Widow amongst them* (1680).

⁷³ She was thought by some to be a spy sent by Louis XIV and was accused of various crimes. The *Articles of High-Treason, and Other High Crimes and Misdemeanours, against the Dutchesse of Portsmouth* lists twenty-two of her supposed crimes (London: s.n., 1680). They include deliberately infecting the King with venereal disease; attempting to ‘introduce Popery and Tyranny... by her Counsels’; maintaining ‘that fatal and destructive Correspondency and Alliance between England and France’; creating ‘a disbelief in the King of the Plot against his Royal Person’; ‘subversion of the Protestant Religion and Government’; meddling ‘in matters of the highest moment and importance in Government as Peace and War, several Dissolutions and Prorogations of Parliament’; using her ‘ascendan[cy] over the King, that in her own Apartment she prevailed with the king, there to Sign and Seal Warrants for Grants of vast Summs of Money’; spreading a rumour that she has married the King in order to position her son, the Duke of Richmond, as the legitimate heir to the throne and to create a Catholic ascendancy; attempting to poison the King with a ‘Broath’ she made; and having a ‘high and dishonourable absolute Dominion and power over the Kings Heart [meaning] she has opportunity to draw from him the secrets of his Government, [and] opportunity by her self, or other Engines of hers, to Poyson, or otherwise destroy the King’ (b.s. r-v). This text therefore treats as deadly serious the political influence of a French Catholic who has access to the King and court.

⁷⁴ (London: R.B., 1681).

Snap-short, Kérouaille's lap-dog, and Tutty, the lap-dog of Nell Gwyn (c.1651-1687), another infamous, but Protestant,⁷⁵ mistress of Charles II. The dogs voice defence of their owners, before a fight in which Tutty emerges victorious. Tutty repeatedly accuses Kérouaille of involvement in contemporary political turmoil, and praises Gwyn as 'a good Common-wealths woman', in contrast to Kérouaille who is described as the direct cause of 'the Condition of these miserable times'.⁷⁶ The response – 'A Lady undo a Nation? This I dare boldly say; If she undo a Nation, Its only to advance another' – clearly echoes accusations that Louis sent her to advance French Catholic interests in England.⁷⁷ The title of this pamphlet and its reference to a 'Utopian court' arguably implies that the author of the satirical pamphlet saw a connection between pornotopian ideas of the parliament of women narratives and Kérouaille's position and influence over the King.⁷⁸ At the very least the author considered a mistress reigning over a King and his country to be a satirical, pornotopian notion.

Parliament of women pamphlets in the Restoration Crisis therefore show a resurgence of interest in the pornotopian genre, depicting women on top and their sexual needs and manipulations at the centre of government. They do so in part to symbolise a return to the 1640s and fears of the world-turned-upside-down. However, in the late-seventeenth century, imagining female sexual power at the centre of government has more relevance and, thus, is harder to ignore. At least one pamphlet was also more direct in its depiction of the female political agent deemed to be behind it: Kérouaille. I contend that this text indicates a shift in the genre in relation to concerns

⁷⁵ Alison Conway argues that, although at first Nell Gwyn was considered a problematic symptom of Charles' effeminacy, which eroded class distinctions and hierarchy and allowed someone of low birth to advance to the royal bed, in the 1670s and 1680s she was looked on as the lesser of two evils, and thus began to receive support as a supposed 'Protestant Whore', "Let us be governe'd by an English C---t": Reading Nell Gwyn', *Restoration: Studies in English Literary Culture, 1660-1700* 29, no.1 (Spring 2005): 47-63. See also: Conway, *The Protestant Whore: Courtesan Narrative and Religious Controversy in England, 1680-1750* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010); and Turner, who argues that Gwyn is 'transformed from absolutist nose-slitting termagant to loyal Protestant Whore', *Libertines and Radicals*, 252.

⁷⁶ *A Pleasant Battle*, A1v.

⁷⁷ *A Pleasant Battle*, A1v.

⁷⁸ Conway has also pointed out that calls for England to be 'governe'd by an English C---t' 'imagine an alternative to Charles II's French-infected rule, drawing on both the satiric and utopian literature of women's parliaments that appeared in the Interregnum and Restoration periods', "Let us be governe'd by an English C---t", 53.

about Charles's effeminacy, from parliaments of women to monarchies of mistresses. It is in the context of these two strands of pornotopian satire – which on the one hand satirised anti-monarchic rebellion as symbolically in line with unruly and sexually voracious women, and on the other depicted the ominous threat posed by real women in court – that I wish to read Durfey and Cotton's pornotopian texts.

Adapting Amazons in Thomas Durfey's *A Commonwealth of Women* (1686)

This section focuses on Durfey's *A Commonwealth of Women*, which premiered in 1685 and was published in 1686.⁷⁹ It is an adaptation of Philip Massinger and John Fletcher's *The Sea Voyage*, first performed in 1622.⁸⁰ I argue that in this text Durfey focuses on the politico-sexual desires and domineering tendencies of a group of self-governing women to provide satiric commentary on the central role women had in the Restoration Crisis. As with *The Tempest* and its adaptations, analysed in Chapter One, there are clear links between *The Sea Voyage* and various utopian narratives. These include travel, Arcadia, Golden Age and Cockaigne, but *The Sea Voyage* and *A Commonwealth of Women* include an Amazon community with laws based on sex and gender relations, aligning it with pornotopian texts.⁸¹ I contend that *A Commonwealth of Women* strives to align the Amazons, the parliamentarians, and contemporary Whig politics. The Amazons voice proto-feminist discourse in diametrical opposition to men of the play who exhibit Tory leanings. Gender is thus used to distinguish sides of the two-party political system that began to emerge in response to the Exclusion Crisis. I further suggest that, although inspired by parliament of women pamphlets, the dramatisation of female domination of men found in the play offers a more developed

⁷⁹ For first performance details, see Van Lennep, *The London Stage*, 338.

⁸⁰ For publication, performance and adaptation details of Fletcher and Massinger's play, see 42n5. Durfey adapted two other Fletcher plays, *Trick for Trick* (1678) from *Monsieur Thomas* (1615), and *A Fool's Preferment* (1688) from *The Noble Gentleman* (1626). Christopher J. Wheatley has argued that his adaptations of Fletcher serve to undermine critical assumptions that Durfey's plays were either ethical or bawdy, and that they could in fact be both, 'But Speak Everything in Its Nature: Influence and Ethics in Durfey's Adaptations of Fletcher', *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 95, no.4 (October 1996): 515-533. Robert D. Hume suggests that *A Commonwealth of Women* 'adds farce and foolery at the expense of serious elements in a romantic tragicomedy. A fine romance becomes a rather odd jumble. Durfey's Amazons are incongruously sex mad... Altogether the plot is patchy, the characters feeble, the bits of satire lacking in conviction', *The Development of English Drama in the Late Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), 370.

⁸¹ For more on Amazons and their history, see Introduction, 20-21.

consideration of the social impact of female dominance than could be achieved in the pamphlets. Ultimately, Durfey's text appears to advocate indifference to and avoidance of relations with women. By analysing political allusions, images of emasculation, and male sexual reticence, I illuminate how Durfey burlesques utopian notions of patriarchal political control and suggest that, by the 1680s, the relationship between politics, utopia and control of fertile women had reached a peak moment of tension.

The utopian setting of *The Sea Voyage* is directly linked to the play's depictions of gender and themes of procreation. The plot of *The Sea Voyage* revolves around the relationship between a French pirate, Albert, and his erstwhile prisoner, Aminta, whom he violently kidnapped but subsequently fell in love with (1.1.87-113). The crucial back story of *The Sea Voyage* is that Albert's and Aminta's piratical fathers had together attacked a Portuguese settlement, chasing a noble Portuguese family and court to sea. The Portuguese leave on two ships, one carrying the men of the family – Sebastian and Nicusa – and their wealth, the other carrying the women: Rosella, Clarinda, Sebastian's wife and daughter, and their maids of honour Crocale, Hippolita and Julietta. During a storm both ships are shipwrecked on separate but nearby islands: the men and the gold on a barren, uninhabited one, the women on a fertile, utopian one inhabited by Amazons (2.2.205-206). 'Many years' have passed between this initial set up and the beginning of the play (1.3.126), but the male and female parties are unaware of each others' survival. It is across these two islands that most of the action of the play unfolds. The men, furnished with gold that is of no use in their new surroundings, inhabit a 'most wretched island' where there is 'nothing but cold rocks and barrenness' (1.3.127; 1.2.25). The women occupy a 'pleasant isle' with 'fertile earth' which provides 'abundance' but is ultimately still lacking male counterparts for the purposes of pleasure and procreation which is 'the misery' of their condition (5.4.37-45; 2.2.19-20).

In the intervening years the women have become 'shaped like Amazons' (5.4.44), and in both plays they follow the stereotypical Amazonian rules of sexual engagement as a regimented means by which they may procreate and keep their female offspring (2.2.210; 238-252). As

discussed in the introduction, in texts stemming from John Mandeville's *Travels*, Amazons were associated with sexual practices in which they either briefly contract men for sexual engagement in order to procreate or keep male slaves for this purpose, with any male offspring killed or sent back to their fathers as they are not permitted to live amongst the Amazons who maintain strict gender segregation.⁸² However, whilst *The Sea Voyage* conforms to Kathryn Schwarz's assessment that Amazon narratives attempt to resolve and domesticate Amazon figures, and that they take 'Amazonian domestication as proof that those structures work', I would argue that Durfey's play fails to effectively re-absorb the Amazons into the supposedly natural order.⁸³ This is not to say that Durfey suggests Amazonian segregation, or that the Amazonian society is in fact ideal – indeed the women of the society seem to be unhappy with the situation that leaves them sexually unsatisfied – but rather that men will never successfully be able to maintain domestic order. As will be discussed below, the intensified images of emasculation at the hands of the Amazons and the increased uncertainty offered by Durfey's comic resolution can be seen to suggest that relationships between men and women will always result in turmoil and perhaps advocate for avoiding them.

Fletcher and Massinger's play seems to celebrate the end of the unproductive gender segregation. Although *The Sea Voyage* depicts the interactions between the inhabitants of these two islands as nearly disastrous, the comic resolution serves ultimately to rectify gender relations through marriage. Albert, having set sail to seek forgiveness from Aminta's brother Raymond for her kidnap, and his blessing for their marriage, ends up shipwrecked with a motley crew on the

⁸² See Introduction, 20-21; *Mandeville's Travels*, Early English Text Society, Original Series no. 153 (New York: C. Scribner and Co., 1919) 102-103. See also: Mario Klarer, 'Women and Arcadia: The Impact of Ancient Utopian Thought on the Early Image of America' *Journal of American Studies* 27, no.1 (1993): 1-17; Lorna Hardwick, 'Ancient Amazons – Heroes, Outsiders or Women?' *Greek and Rome* 37, no.1 (April 1990): 14-36; Kathryn Schwarz, *Tough Love: Amazon Encounters in the English Renaissance* (London: Duke University Press, 2000).

⁸³ Schwarz, *Tough Love*, 2. Schwarz does point out that the domestication in earlier narratives is only partly successful: 'As a strategy of consolidation, the domestication of Amazons subsumes a threat to social order, but it also leaves it there: Amazonian wives do not lose the adjective when they acquire the noun, and the spectacle of Amazonian domesticity is at least as disconcerting as it is triumphant. I argue throughout this book that the point is not whether Amazons "win" or "lose" in their battles with men, but rather the difficulty of telling the difference, as incorporation into the social makes the line between conquering Amazons and being invaded by them indecipherable' (3).

barren, male island with Sebastian and Nicusa. The Portuguese men offer them their treasure in return for safe passage off the island (1.3.162-167), but the chests of gold stir up a mutiny in Albert's crew which results in Sebastian and Nicusa stealing Albert's ship and Albert and his crew being stranded on the island. The remaining castaways make contact with their neighbouring island and put themselves at the mercy of the Amazonian Portuguese women, who convince their leader, Rosella, that rather than kill the men, they ought to use them for procreation; they offer the men refuge and food on their utopian island in exchange for their participation in a month-long sexual contract (2.2.212-218; 238-252).

The sexual exchange goes awry, however, when the women find Sebastian and Nicusa's gold in the sailors' possession. Rosella orders the men to be imprisoned to await execution, which is stayed at the last second by the discovery that Sebastian and Nicusa are still alive and in the company of Raymond, who arrives in the nick of time (5.4.59-60). Sebastian is restored as patriarch, gives Clarinda to Raymond in marriage, and blesses the union of Albert and Aminta, declaring the plot resolved through the transformation of enemies into friends. In this way the text has been seen to create equivalencies between the exchange of both gold and women.⁸⁴ Further, Simon Shepherd suggests that Fletcher and Massinger's play is used to naturalise heterosexual relations between men and women and thus depoliticise the 'tradition of the warrior woman',

⁸⁴ The interaction between the islands and the exchange of both gold and women has led to productive readings of the equivalency created between the exchange of women and mercantile trade, reflecting on notions of value and productivity in a globalised economy and satirising domestic, mercantile and colonial irresponsibility. See Claire Jowitt, "Her flesh must serve you": Gender, Commerce and the New World in Fletcher and Massinger's *The Sea Voyage* and Massinger's *The City Madam*, *Parergon* 18, no.3 (2001): 93-117; Patricia Akhimie, 'Travel, Drama and Domesticity: Colonial Huswifery in John Fletcher and Phillip Massinger's *The Sea Voyage*', *Studies in Travel Writing* 13, no. 2 (2009): 153-166; Gitanjali Shahini 'Of "Barren Islands" and "Cursèd Gold": Worth, Value, and Womanhood in "The Sea Voyage"', *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies*, 12, no.3 (2012): 5-27; Zachary Lesser, 'Tragical-Comical-Pastoral-Colonial: Economic Sovereignty, Globalization, and the Form of Tragicomedy', *ELH* 74, no.4 (2007): 881-908; Anthony Parr, ed. introduction to *Three Renaissance Travel Plays: The Travels of Three English Brothers, The Sea Voyage, The Antipodes* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), 1-50, specifically 20-33. Alison Brown and Jason Denman, 'The Sea Voyage and Accounts of Famine in Colonial Virginia', *Notes and Queries* 65, no.1 (March 2018): 119-122; Jane Feerick, "Divided in Soyle": Plantation and Degeneracy in "The Tempest" and "The Sea Voyage", *Renaissance Drama* 35 (2006): 27-54.

denying them a rational for setting up a separate social government, and celebrating natural patriarchal order.⁸⁵

Durfey clearly recognised the gender politics and utopian features of his source text and increased the cast to intensify them.⁸⁶ He retains the play's focus on separate groups of shipwrecked characters, each with intersecting back stories, stranded across two islands, one of which is barren and the other of which is fertile and ruled by Portuguese women who have adopted Amazonian living practices. Roselia's position as leader is maintained and is given more credibility and political rational. Albert, now called Captain Marine, is no longer a pirate who kidnapped Aminta, but instead her lover, who helps her to escape from a villainous French pirate, La Mure, who kidnapped her in her youth and left the rest of her family stranded. Thus, the villain of the play becomes a French man. He is supported by Du Pier (adapted from Fletcher and Massinger's Tibalt Du Pierre) and Boldsprite, (based on their Master), two violent men who are disinterested in women. The cast of foolish gallants is also changed: Franville, Morillat and Lamure become Franvil, Frugal and Hazard, and, instead of joining the crew for colonial gain, as in *The Sea Voyage*, the cast list tells us that they are 'Three wild Fellows of the Town that Ramble to Sea, and desert their wives'.⁸⁷ The cast of Portuguese women listed as 'Amazonians', exempting Clarinda and Roselia, is also doubled from three (Crocale, Hippolita, Juletta) to six (Menalippe, Julietta, Hippolita, Ariadnes, Aglaura, and Clita). Durfey's play is not unlike other Restoration adaptations of pre-1642 plays in augmenting the number of roles for women, but he also makes changes to character: overtly politicising the Amazon's in line with the parliament of women pamphlets' depictions of parliamentarians and female petitioners as Amazonian radicals, adding scenes of emasculation in which the men are not just imprisoned but set to undertake female work, and

⁸⁵ *Amazons and Warrior Women: Varieties of Feminism in Seventeenth-Century Drama* (Brighton: The Harvester Press, 1981), 133, 136.

⁸⁶ Peter Holland notes that Durfey's text requires twenty-two actors, nine of whom were women, and suggests that this was made possible only because of the Union of actors and the United company (1682-1695), *The Ornament of Action: Text and Performance in Restoration Comedy*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 78.

⁸⁷ John McVeagh argues that this change debases Fletcher and Massinger: 'what had been a romantic comedy about piracy on the high seas is now a domestic farce about London sneaks running away from their bad marriages', *Thomas Durfey and Restoration Drama: The Work of a Forgotten Writer*, Ebook, (New York: Routledge, 2017), chap. 5.

presenting the male characters who escape this emasculation as doing so through their disinterest in women.

Party Politics in A Commonwealth of Women

As with adaptations of *The Tempest*, the additional female bodies on stage may have been intended to offer sexual titillation, but their presence also serves to prove how the dramatisation of gender relations was increasingly popular and tied to contemporary politics. In this regard I disagree with John McVeagh, who suggests that the play ‘implies but does not declare an analogy between power struggles on a desert island halfway round the world and political issues here and now’ and that while misgovernment ‘makes an appearance’ it is ‘kept sufficiently in check’.⁸⁸ As I intend to argue, the characters are more specifically aligned with the party divisions of the 1640s and 80s. *A Commonwealth of Women* was first performed in mid-August of 1685, following the death of Charles II (February), the coronation of James II (April) and the short-lived Monmouth Rebellion (11th June - 5th July). It was a time of increased tension in the political landscape and the development of two-party politics begun during the Exclusion Crisis. Although easily quashed, the fact that Monmouth and the rebels were able to generate an army of non-conformists spoke volumes about the threat facing the monarchy and the group loosely defined as Tories.⁸⁹ The premiere of *A Commonwealth of Women* in August coincided with the beginning of The Bloody Assizes on August 25th, a series of trials and executions for the 1,000 rebels imprisoned for their roles in the Monmouth Rebellion.⁹⁰ In other words, Dufey’s play was first staged at a time of continued if not augmented partisan conflict.

⁸⁸ Ibid., 90-91, 94.

⁸⁹ Harris has pointed out that between 1683 and 1685 there was little action in London against James II, playing down the importance of the Monmouth Rebellion which was, of course, easily resolved, *London Crowds in the Reign of Charles II: Propaganda and Politics from the Restoration until the Exclusion Crisis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 223-227.

⁹⁰ Although seldom discussed today the Monmouth Rebellion led to many deaths for those implicated, an estimated 320 in total. For a discussion of the executions, see E.S. de Beer, ‘Executions Following the “Bloody Assize”’, *Historical Research* 4, no. 10 (June 1926): 36-39. For ways in which the punishments from these trials were used by Whigs to garner support for future rebellions, see Melinda Zook, “‘The Bloody Assizes:’ Whig Martyrdom and Memory after the Glorious Revolution’, *Albion* 27, no.3 (1995): 373-396.

Contemporary political strife is referenced – albeit ambiguously – in paratexts to *A Commonwealth of Women*. The text is dedicated to Christopher Monck, the Duke of Albemarle, and son and heir of George Monck, the general renowned for orchestrating the Restoration of the monarchy in the guise of Charles II. The dedication praises Albemarle for his ‘late Loyalty...against the Rebels’, meaning his involvement in putting down the Monmouth rebellion (A2r-A2v). However, the praise seems suspect, as it is immediately qualified by a recognition that a disappointed Albemarle never actually encountered the rebels in the field, despite marching his troops up and down to meet them. Indeed, rumours circulated about Albermarle’s military incompetence and his own troops were rumoured to have joined the rebels.⁹¹ Durfey then goes on to compare Albemarle’s disappointment with his father’s ‘Rage for the ill success’ of his failed military encounter with Michel Du Ruyter’s Dutch naval forces, and to do so he quotes satirical lines from Andrew Marvell’s ‘The Third Advice to a Painter’, describing Monck as ‘swoln with Sense of former Glory won’ (A3r).⁹² Durfey was the author of many satires on the Whigs but these references suggest that he was also willing to poke fun at figures associated with the Tories.⁹³ Indeed, McVeagh labels Durfey a ‘Trimmer’, meaning a person who hedged their bets rather than taking a clear partisan stance in the 1680s.⁹⁴

⁹¹ The most memorable is perhaps the retreat of the Somerset Militia at Axminster on 15th June, 1685, which occurred because when Albermarle’s Devonshire militia arrived the Somerset troop thought that they were there to join the rebels rather than to support them. Trial documents support the idea that people thought the Devonshire militia were likely to be loyal to the Monmouth rebels, suggesting that rumours circulated that Albemarle himself was killed by his own troops who had refused to shoot at Monmouth’s forces. See *The Trial of Henry Baron Delamere for High-Treason, in Westminster Hall, the 14th Day of January, 1685* (London: Dorman Newman, 1686), N1r. Christopher L. Scott has recently reviewed the actions of Albemarle and other militia leaders throughout the Monmouth rebellion and discovered that the narrative of their inefficiency and ineffectiveness is largely inaccurate, but nevertheless these stories impacted his reputation in 1685 just before the printing of *A Commonwealth of Women* in 1686, *The Maligned Militia: The West Country Militia of the Monmouth Rebellion, 1685* (New York: Routledge, 2016).

⁹² *The Second and Third Advice to a Painter* (Breda: s.n., 1667), ²B1v-²B2r. Marvell’s poem satirises Monck’s ambitious and ill-advised decision to engage with the Dutch troops despite being vastly outnumbered, highlighting his poor military strategy.

⁹³ Examples of Thomas Durfey’s satires of Whigs might include *Sir Barnaby Whigg: or, No wit like a womans* (1681), *The progress of honesty: or, a view of a court and city* (1681); ‘Advice to the city or the Wiggs loyalty explained’ (1682). However, Whig sympathies can be seen in some of his works, including *A Commonwealth of Women* and *The Campaigners* (1698).

⁹⁴ *Thomas Durfey and Restoration Drama*, chap. 1. For more on Trimmers, see Mark N. Brown, ‘Trimmers and Moderates in the Reign of Charles II’, *Huntington Library Quarterly* 37, no.4 (1974): 311-336.

Durfey's allegiance in the dedication is ambiguous, but his portrayal of gender politics, which is drawn from the parliament of women pamphlets and their symbolic use of women to refer to republican disruption, offers a clearer indication of the play's politics. The prologue depicts 'Mr. *HAINS* with a Western Scyth in his hand', announcing that 'This Godly Weapon first invented was / By Whigs, to cut down Monarchy like Grass' but it is here being used instead to 'mow down Fools', who he calls 'City Critticks' and 'Cuckolds' who might criticise the play (A4v).⁹⁵ Durfey suggests that Cits (London citizens), associated with Whigs, will object to the play, and thus turns their own weapon – the scythe – on them. The prologue ends by threatening to 'lop off' the heads of critics with 'Scythians yet unseen' and the scythes of the 'Female Common-wealth within' (A4v). The play thus firmly situates the female commonwealth in the context of two-party politics whilst inviting links back to the English Civil Wars, especially as Roselia is no longer a Governess, as in *The Sea Voyage*, but instead a 'Protectress', a clear reference to Oliver Cromwell's role as Lord Protector.

Durfey's Amazonian women become directly aligned with Cromwell and the Protectorate and contemporary Whiggish politics by extension. Roselia, the Protectress, names her daughter, Clarinda, as her heir in the play's opening lines, thereby further linking her to Cromwell, whose son, Richard, was named his heir despite filial succession smacking of royalism.⁹⁶ The women object to the resolution, support the use of free elections and reject hereditary monarchy (D4r).

⁹⁵ For Cits as Whigs and their association with cuckoldry, see Douglas Canfield, 'Tupping your Rival's Women: Cit-Cuckolding as Class Warfare in Restoration Comedy', in *Broken Boundaries: Women and Feminism in Restoration Drama*, ed. Katherine M. Quinsey (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1996), 113-128. The connection between Whigs and scyths has several contexts. The royalists had long been associating the republican faction with scyths. Payne Fisher portrays Oliver Cromwell on the battlefield as an unfeeling 'Husbandman' with a 'sickle' mowing down 'those Plants which did so glorious stand', *Marston-Moor* (1650) quoted in Nigel Smith, *Literature and Revolution in England, 1640-1660* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 285; Similarly Richard Lovelace's 'The Grasshopper' depicts Cromwell and the Republicans as scythe-wielding saturnalian reapers who have come to chop down the corn and bring with them a wintry frost, *Lucasta: Epodes, Odes, Sonnets, Songs, &c.* (London: Thomas Harper, 1649), D2r. This association is likely drawn from the fact that the Whigs grew out of the Country Party, and, as Abigail Williams has pointed out, this was an association that the Whigs themselves encouraged, *Poetry and the Creation of a Whig Literary Culture, 1681-1714* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 75; For more on the earlier divisions of town and country parties, see R.C. Richardson, ed., *Town and Countryside in the English Revolution*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992)

⁹⁶ Owen, *Restoration Theatre and Crisis*, 34-61; Laura Knoppers *Constructing Cromwell: Ceremony, Portrait, and Print 1645-1661* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 10-31.

The rebellious factions promptly criticise her for acting ‘as if she were Immortal, / Or as the Sun’, a clear reference to divine monarchic pretensions. Significantly, Hippolita’s response is ‘We’ll have no Arbitrary proceedings’ (D4v), thereby echoing the rallying call of republicans, Exclusionists, and Whig writers like Marvell.⁹⁷ This exchange is Durfey’s addition, it has no precedent in *The Sea Voyage*, where Rosella’s rule is considered tyrannical and fosters rebellion and dissent solely because she rules against engagement with the opposite sex. As discussed above, parliament of women pamphlets frequently featured women using political language, but their use of it was always coupled with discussions of their sexual desires in order to satirise and diminish such political concerns. The same approach is, I would argue, taken by Durfey here, but because Hippolita’s reference to arbitrary government is divorced from her concerns regarding Roselia’s abstinence ruling, we are left with the image of a female warrior figure credibly and rationally voicing Whig concerns about government and succession.

Durfey’s changes to Roselia and her speeches also make her a more politically topical figure. Fletcher and Massinger’s Rosella is defined by her age, widowhood, tyranny and misandry, culminating in the execution scene in which she seems to relish the thought of killing the men. Despite the repetition of some of these misogynistic assumptions about Roselia,⁹⁸ and her links to the Cromwellian protectorate, Durfey also makes Roselia’s case for female governance far more compelling. She voices the arguments of proto-feminist writers in a verse monologue which has no parallel in *The Sea Voyage*:

They that say Women are not fit to Govern,
Betray their weakness, and their want of knowledge:
For what Perfection is there in the Male?
That is not in the Female: Grant, their Composure stronger,
Their Bodies Courser, and more fit for Wars,
Which some of us, do haply contradict:
I cannot yet Conceive, why this shou’d bind us
To be their Slaves; our Souls are Male as theirs;

⁹⁷ For the ubiquity of accusations of ‘Arbitrary’ government in Whig rhetoric, see Owen, *Restoration Theatre and Crisis*, 34-61.

⁹⁸ The young women she governs are disaffected with her rulings, threatening trouble, and calling her too severe, suggesting it is her age that enables her disinterest (D4r).

And that we have hitherto forborn t'assume,
 And manage Thrones: I say, 240lthough' we have not
 Challeng'd a Sovereignty in Arts and Arms;
 And writ our selves Imperial, hath bin
 Mens Tyranny, and our Modesty – not defects,
 Or want of Judgment: Blest be then the hour
 That threw me on this Shore, inhabited by Warlike Women,
 That keep men in Subjection: And by them, chosen to rule:
 Where, since I lost *Sebastian*, and *Nicusa*;
 My Husband, and dear Son, by those *French Pyrates*;
 All others of their Sex have met my hate (D4v).

It is significant that male tyranny is also cited by the women in the 1656 pamphlet, *Now or Never*, as a rationale for their parliament of women.⁹⁹ Although this speech and its link to the parliament of women genre indicates satire, Durfey's choice to give Roselia space to articulate in detail her political position regarding female sufficiency to govern is undeniably compelling.

This questioning of the naturalness of male superiority and the representation of women as slaves under patriarchy has significant parallels in proto-feminist writing of the seventeenth century. For example, Margaret Cavendish writes:

our Sex make great complaints, that men from their first Creation usurped a Supremacy to themselves, although we were made equal by Nature: which Tyrannical Government they have kept ever since; so that we could never come to be free, but rather more and more enslaved; using us either like Children, Fools, or Subjects, in flattering or threatening us, in alluring us or forcing us to obey; and will not let us divide the World equally with them; that is, to Govern and Command, to Direct and Dispose, as they do.¹⁰⁰

Other proto-feminist tracts published in the period proposed that female capability was much more than had been anticipated by men, though they did not often boldly suggest the potential for female pre-eminence or fitness to govern as Roselia does here, and as Cavendish did in her *Blazing*

⁹⁹ A2r.

¹⁰⁰ *The Worlds Olio* (London: J. Martin and J. Allestrye, 1655), A4r. This extract is actually positioned in *The Worlds Olio* as something which she is arguing against, but I agree with recent readings that this positioning is ironic, allowing her to ridicule the absurdity of arguments against female capability and to centralise the arguments for it, see David Cuning 'The Feminist Worlds of Margaret Cavendish' in *World-Making Renaissance Women: Rethinking Early Modern Women's Place in Literature and Culture*, eds. Pamela S. Hammons and Brandy R. Siegfried, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2021), 184-198. Cavendish also pens a sequence of 'Femal Orations' between women debating whether to 'Unite in Prudent Counsels, to make our Selves as Free, Happy, and Famous as Men', and, as Roselia does, one of the orators questions whether there is even physical superiority: 'Strength is increased by Exercise... Let us Hawk, Hunt, Race, and do the like Exercises as Men have, and let us Converse in Camps, Courts, and Cities, in Schools, Colleges, and Courts of Judicature...all which will make our Strength and Wit known', *Orations of Divers Sorts*, (London: s.n., 1662), 2G2r, 2G3r. Lisa T. Sarasohn has noted that Cavendish's writing frequently exhibits the features of a women-on-top writing, 'A Science Turned Upside Down: Feminism and the Natural Philosophy of Margaret Cavendish', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 47, no. 4 (1984): 289-307.

World.¹⁰¹ However, an English translation of Francois Poulain De La Barre's 1673 text, entitled *The Woman as Good as the Man; or The Equality of Both Sexes*, and published in 1677, argued that women were not subservient but equal, that they should be allowed to undertake public roles – including state governance – and, strikingly, 'that both Sexes are alike, both as to Body, and Soul'.¹⁰² De La Barre's position that the souls and bodies are alike is to my mind starkly reflected in Roselia's assertion that 'our Souls are Male'.¹⁰³ Roselia is thus no longer merely a representation of a vengeful and misandrist widow, but a character steeped in contemporary political referents and proto-feminist language: the utopian figure of the Amazonian leader yokes together the issues of gender and politics in the utopian landscape in which she is placed to rule.

A Commonwealth of Women is thus revealing about the positioning of proto-feminist ideas in terms of contemporary politics. Durfey's purpose in using such arguments may well have been to criticise the rhetoric itself, taking it further than many of the tracts suggested by showing women as governors of their own separatist society, and thus positioning it as foolish in line with the earlier the 1640s pamphlets. The fact that the society is doomed to failure due to its inability to produce a future generation and that Roselia's speech undermines itself by ending on the note of misandry, rather than equality, further emphasises the play's ridicule of this position. Nevertheless, Durfey's inclusion of these notions, which draw on proto-feminist discourse, shows that he was aware of them, that he expected audiences to be aware, and thus recognised their political currency. Further, it suggests that he aligned this radical proto-feminism with the positions of republicans and Whigs in their anti-monarchic, anti-patriarchal stances and with utopian narratives. Durfey's play, then, is not simply a reproduction of earlier satirical women-on-top narratives but rather a new post-

¹⁰¹ See for example Bathsua Makin's *An Essay to Revive the Antient Education of Gentlewomen, in Religion, Manners, Arts and Tongues* (1673), Anna Maria Von Schurman of Utrecht, *A Learned Maid, or Whether a Christian Maid may be a Scholar* (1659), and the later work by Mary Astell, *A Serious Proposal to the Ladies* (1694).

¹⁰² (London: N. Brooks, 1677), B3r, B10v-B11r.

¹⁰³ de La Barre specifically refers to Amazons in his text on a number of occasions, saying that the only reason for our current gender hierarchy is circumstantial, saying that misandrist assumptions of men being the weaker sex would likely exist in societies where women have all the power such as 'the Empire of the *Amazons*' (D9v). Interestingly, he also mentions parliament of women pamphlets, noting that men frequently rely on Gellius's narrative to make serious arguments against female involvement in politics which, he says, 'miss the mark', because 'these Famous Ancients... but said [it] in Drollery' (I8v-I9r).

Restoration articulation informed by the writings of proto-feminist authors, the issues of Civil War and the threats to monarchic stability that had plagued the Stuarts since the Restoration. In conjunction with Roselia's (seemingly) reasonable political actions elsewhere in the play – including Durfey's introduction of a democratic voting scene when the women discover the existence of men on the other island and petition to have access to them (which Roselia grants) (E3r) – the use of proto-feminist language in a text where women show themselves to be capable of managing land, hunting, and governing themselves arguably underscores the possibility that female authority is not entirely ludicrous.

Having established that the Amazonian women represent a combination of Cromwellian / Whiggish politics, Durfey's adaptation also aligns the male characters with Royalist / Tory positions. One of Durfey's more significant changes – given that the calling card of *The Tempest*, *The Sea Voyage*, and all of their Restoration adaptations was the opening storm scene – is that he relocates the storm to the second act and instead opens his play in Covent Garden, thereby allowing for reflections on the recent violence of the Monmouth Rebellion.¹⁰⁴ Du Pier and Boldsprite arrive on stage in Act 1 Scene 1 declaring they have killed 'a damn'd huffing fellow yonder, a Rebel, Whiggy Buffle head' because he had been disparaging 'our great Master the admiral' (B2r), linking the affront to King James II, the newly restored Admiral.¹⁰⁵ Du Pier laments that 'A *Brummingham* Son of a Whore, [would] affront the Noble Admiral!', stressing the challenge to hierarchy and nobility, much like the opening scene to *The Tempest*.¹⁰⁶ Indeed, despite a violent attack in which Du Pier 'Clapt him through the Guts – Ham-string'd him; broke out six or seven of his Teeth with the Pummel of [his] Sword, or so', Du Pier hopes that the Whig will 'live to be hang'd, for all this' (B2v). Du Pier here parallels Gonzalo's joke from *The Tempest* – when he suggests that the Boatswain cannot die at sea because his 'complexion is perfect gallows' – and

¹⁰⁴ Mcveagh allows that 'politics do in fact surface here', *Thomas Durfey and Restoration Politics*, 92.

¹⁰⁵ Which he had lost in 1673 in relation to The Test Act. See Introduction, 33; Chapter Two, 136.

¹⁰⁶ This may even be a reference to Monmouth's low birth which was a theme of criticism against him, Brennan, *The Duke of Monmouth*, 1.

repurposes it for audiences of the 1680s.¹⁰⁷ The Covent Garden scene thus establishes male sailors as roughly aligned with Tory politics. This conjunction is further supported and, perhaps, satirised by the fact that although Dufey is keen to assure readers / audiences that his cast of men are, in fact, English, he retains the French name 'Du Pier', drawing perhaps on the associations between the Stuarts and Catholic France that was so vehemently exploited by Whig pamphleteers.¹⁰⁸

The political leanings of the foolish gallants, Franvil, Frugal and Hazard are slightly harder to read. The easy associations of the 1670s which, as Canfield has argued, saw the 'portray[al of] cits as silly, cowardly, impotent Whigs who meddle in politics; Cavaliers as handsome, witty, libertine, potent Tories who are worthy to dominate' do not hold true in this 1685/6 play.¹⁰⁹ Franvil, Frugal and Hazard are introduced as 'three young Blades' who Du Pier knows and invites on their adventure for 'Diversion' (B3r), and their alignments are uncertain, not uncomplicatedly Whiggish. Hazard, a gambler, is identified with a disregard for religion when he throws his prayer book overboard, an action which is heartily approved of by the Tory Du Pier (C3r), and Franvil's addiction to his wardrobe and luxury items identify him as a fop, but it could also suggest Tory /

¹⁰⁷ William Shakespeare, *The Tempest*, ed. Virginia Mason Vaughan and Alden T. Vaughan, Revised edition, The Arden Shakespeare, third series, rev. edn. (London: Bloomsbury Arden Shakespeare, 2011), 1.1.29.

¹⁰⁸ Aside from the aforementioned discussions of their home politics in the opening scenes in Covent Garden, they also sail under English flags (C4r).

¹⁰⁹ Canfield, 'Tupping your Rival's Women', 115.

Royalist leanings.¹¹⁰ As the play had no issue with directly calling out a ‘a Rebel, Whiggish Buffe head’ in the first scene, the ambiguity about their political allegiance makes it difficult to read them in the guise of satire on the Whigs (B2v).¹¹¹ However, as I aim to show, the positioning of these Tory-ish men against the Whiggish women does not result in a patriarchal Tory domination and usurpation of a foolish parliament of women. Instead, Durfey’s focus is drawn to ways in which men fail to subdue unruly women and are, in some cases, ruled by them.

‘These Signs of Men’: Bad Husbandry and Emasculation / Dehumanisation

The central crisis of Durfey’s play, and the culmination of the majority of his additions and adaptations to Fletcher and Massinger’s text, is an increased focus on masculinity and images of emasculation. Roselia’s first impression of the men is telling as she calls them ‘jewels’ (sarcastically), ‘shrivel’d poor stuff Eel-skins’, ‘Jack-a-Lents’ – straw caricatures of men – and ‘these signs of Men’ (F4r). In other words, the men she sees are outward shells, signifiers of male bodies, with no substance of masculinity, virility, or life. Roselia’s dehumanising description of the men as mere ‘signs of Men’ is compounded by other emasculating and dehumanising images throughout the

¹¹⁰ For example, Du Pierre mocks Franvil’s loss of his items by suggesting that he will see a dog-fish wearing his doublets, a haddock wearing a beaver hat, a mermaid in a waistcoat, or a dolphin in a point cravat; the waistcoat and cravat, in particular, were associated with the royal court and the highest degrees of luxury. On Charles II’s introduction of the vest or waistcoat into English dress in 1668, see Diana de Marly, ‘King Charles II’s Own Fashion: The Theatrical Origins of the English Vest’ *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 37, no. 1 (1974): 378. A ‘point cravat’ would be made with gross point de venise lace, a foreign lace that in 1662 had been banned from importation with the exception only of the royal family themselves: Victoria and Albert Museum, ‘Cravat, ca. 1670s’. Accession no. T.41-1947. Record created 27th March, 2003. <https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O78853/cravat-unknown/>. David Kuchta has argued that there was a masculine ‘fashion crisis’ in the Seventeenth Century, suggesting that republican criticism of the flamboyance of courtly dress was ‘one of the means by which English elites lost their cultural hegemony, lost control of the meanings of consumption, lost their ability to command respect and deference – and thus it was a key component in the outbreak of the Civil War. Portraying conspicuous consumption as inherently feminine undermined the old sartorial regime’s public image: there was no better assault on patriarchal authority than an attack on its masculinity’, *The Three-Piece Suit and Modern Masculinity: England, 1550-1950* (London: University of California Press, 2002), 52. Kuchta further suggests that despite the significant changes in political factions, dress and attitudes towards luxury, display, and consumption remained stable, with royalists on the side of flamboyance and parliamentarians on the side of restriction up until the ‘post-revolutionary era’, meaning after 1688, when Tories began to use ‘the same rhetoric of manly simplicity for their own political promotion’ (99). G.A. Pocock, however, discusses this shift in earlier texts written by royalist / Tory-leaning Charles Davenant, the son of William Davenant, who linked luxury with trade, particularly globalised trade, as potentially introducing luxury which lead to corruption, slavery, and war, as early as 1656, *The Machiavellian Moment: Florentine Political Thought and the Atlantic Republican Tradition* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975), 444-447. Even so, it is doubtless that fashion and dress had political significance, and that luxury and foppishness was more readily associated with the royalist side.

¹¹¹ I by no means wish to suggest definitive alignment between the foppish gallants and the Tories but, in a play so concerned to outline characters such as Du Pier and Roselia in line with party divisions it seems as though the fops of the play do tend to lean more to the royalist / Tory side of the equation by association.

play. The three gallants, for example, are repeatedly associated with animals. In Act 1 Franvil complains that without his finery he may as well 'lead the life of a Dog' (B3v). During the cannibalising scene in which the gallants and the surgeon debate eating Aminta, Durfey extends a short reference in *The Sea Voyage* to Franvil's well-fed dogs (3.1.5-8), and the others respond by wishing they 'were but amongst 'em', claiming that they would 'snarl for a short Dinner with 'em' (E4r). Later, when imprisoned, Julietta describes them as: 'fearfull Sheep-hounds' 'Apes' and horses: she claims she can 'saddle 'em, ride 'em, do what [she] will with 'em' (H1v). These animalistic descriptions emasculate and dehumanise the men and, spatially, place them underneath women.

Durfey's text is highly critical of the three reckless men of the town and their foolhardy desertion of their wives, however, it also seems to suggest that their fears of being dominated by women were not unfounded. In the play, Franvil, Frugal and Hazard wish to leave London in order to desert their domineering wives for a period of three years, long enough for their partners and children to feel detrimental financial effects, which Franvil voices and relishes when saying 'let them stay at home, keep Lent, and chew the Cud' (B3v).¹¹² Having run away from one set of women whom they cannot seem to contain, the gallants are then immediately trepidatious about the Amazonian women and fear further emasculation.¹¹³ Franvil asks 'What will become of us now? All Women! What! Ne're a Man amongst 'em to get 'em Children; and do such Drudgery', expecting to be reduced to the status of sexual slave or drudge, and recognising their own

¹¹² Husbandly desertion and its impact was a real danger for women and children. Lawrence Stone has shown that 'the financial results for a wife and children suddenly deprived of the main wage-earner could be catastrophic, and many ended up on the poor relief rolls', and ultimately that 'desertion by their husbands drove them down to the extreme depths of degradation, poverty, and despair', Lawrence Stone, *Road to Divorce: England 1530-1987* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990, 142. Their oath to desert and have no contact with their wives and children for three years, which they seal by kissing 'the Book', supplied by the stage property of a woman's shoe, is thus farcical but not unheard of (B3v). It is also reminiscent of the discussions of divorce in the Restoration adaptations of *The Tempest* discussed in Chapter One, 89-92.

¹¹³ Wheatley suggests that their inability to escape 'from the dominance of women' implies an inability to escape from their nature, and reads them in parallel to the Amazon's who despite living without men are still shown to be driven by a need for sex with men, 'But Speak Every Thing', 530-531.

powerlessness in the face of women (F3r).¹¹⁴ Similarly, the Surgeon asserts: 'For my part I expect to be unman'd within these two days, so prefer'd as a Chamber-maid to one of 'em, an daily employ'd in the most Heroick Exercises of washing and starching' (F3r). Du Pier, sure of his masculinity, laughs at them and states instead that they will be degraded far lower than a sex worker or maid: they will 'be prefer'd to be Gentleman-Usher in ordinary to her Ladships Lap-Dog', and lashed and punished for poor behaviour (F3v). Du Pier's mocking suggestions turn out to be prescient. In the final act, after Roselia has ordered the men to be imprisoned, a scene '*Discovers Franvile washing in a Tub, Hazard sowing, and Surgeon Spinning, with Waiters looking over them with Whips*' (G3v). Further, Frugal becomes servant to Juletta's pet monkey, her 'pretty Dear Jewel', and we see her beating Frugal repeatedly whilst giving him instructions to care for the monkey she dotes on (G4v). The text thus suggests that increased female dominance results in men occupying traditionally female roles.

The figure of the monkey takes on additional meaning in terms of the world turned upside down which Durfey depicts. Whilst awaiting the men's arrival and their selections, the Amazons have a discussion about bestiality in which they talk of a woman who desired to be married to 'a Monkey' and to an extent justify the choice; Menalippe responds 'Why really the Masculine Creature comes so near the Nature of Humanity, that really one would wonder.' (F2v). In the same conversation, Hippolita and Clita discuss how they 'long to make a Fool of a Man strangely' and assert that 'that's a general longing amongst us', linking this initial discussion of the men as akin to animals to their emasculating visions of relationships in which they hold the power (F2v). The emasculation of Frugal as a servant to Juletta's pet monkey, whom she dotes on, thus suggests that Juletta may have a sexual relationship with the monkey, thereby positioning Frugal as less masculine and worthy of female attention than an ape.

¹¹⁴ At this point they have not met the women and do not fear them because they are Amazonian and therefore particularly mannish, they fear women in general.

Durfey's use of the monkey to emasculate and dehumanise the foppish white gallants also draws on racist imagery.¹¹⁵ The assumption that humans were rational and animals irrational, compelled by instinct and impulse as opposed to possessing reason and restraint, was a commonplace in early modern England. Hamlet, for example, argues that 'Beastial oblivion' is the result of a lack of 'godlike reason' and Rochester suggests he would rather be 'a dog, a monkey, or a bear, / Or anything but that vain animal / Who is so proud of being rational'.¹¹⁶ This assumption was expanded, though, 'to distinguish white humans from Black as early as the fifteenth century' and this also applied to other categories of difference: 'women, actors, sodomites, and criminals, just for starters'.¹¹⁷ As Ania Loomba and Jonathan Burton point out, the comparison of non-white peoples to primates was already 'common enough' in the 1680s.¹¹⁸ Thus, the dehumanising discussion of men as animals, and indeed as servants to animals, particularly a primate, draws on the language used to differentiate white, male Europeans from non-white and non-male people. It is noteworthy that the women who subject the men to this dehumanising treatment are Portuguese, at a time where the Transatlantic slave trade was 'dominated by the Spanish and Portuguese'.¹¹⁹ Fletcher and Massinger's play is often read as aligning the Portuguese women with indigenous peoples in an effort to contain and eradicate the threat of native populations,¹²⁰ but Durfey's world

¹¹⁵ The play contains other racist imagery. For example, during the escape of Aminta, Du Pierre sets the Constable on Lamure by telling the Constable that he is a 'disguis'd Turk' who would have raped Aminta, and the Constable states that he will not 'suffer Mahomet under my Nose', shouting 'A Mufti! Down with him, down with him, I say' (C1v).

¹¹⁶ Shakespeare, *Hamlet: Prince of Denmark*, eds., Barbara A. Mowat and Paul Werstine, Folger Shakespeare Library, 2nd edn (London: Simon and Schuster, 2012) 4.4.42;40.; 'A Satyr against Reason and Mankind', in *The Complete Poems of John Wilmot Earl of Rochester*, ed. David M. Vieth (London: Yale University Press, 2002) 94-101.

¹¹⁷ Francesca Royster, "'Working Like a Dog": African Labor and Racing the Human-Animal Divide in Early Modern England', in *Writing Race Across the Atlantic World: Medieval to Modern*, eds. Phillip Beidler and Gary Taylor (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 114.

¹¹⁸ Jonathan Burton and Ania Loomba, eds., introduction to *Race in Early Modern England* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 28. See Edward Topsell's 'The Historie of Foure-Footed Beastes' (1607) which compared the physical features and libidos of African primates and black people (in *Race in Early Modern England*, 165-169); Thomas Herbert's *A Relation of some years travaile begunne anno 1626. Into Afrique and the greater Asia* (1634) explicitly stated, in a derogatory fashion, that Africans descended from monkeys (in *Race in Early Modern England*, 228). See also Kim F. Hall's discussion of seventeenth century usage of ape imagery to represent Black people as wild and unrestrained, "'Troubling Doubles": Apes, Africans, and Blackface in *Mr. Moore's Revels*' in *Race, Ethnicity, and Power in the Renaissance*, ed. Joyce Green McDonald (Madison: Farleigh Dickinson University Press, 1997), 122.

¹¹⁹ Royster, 114. See also: Hall, *Things of Darkness: Economies of Race and Gender in Early Modern England* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995) 16-21.

¹²⁰ Jowitt, "'Her flesh must serve you'", 93-17. See also Akhimie, 'Travel, Drama and Domesticity', 153-166; Shahini, 'Of "Barren Islands"', 5-27.

upside down rearranges the hierarchy so that it is women on top, followed by non-humans and, by racist extension, Black and non-white people, with emasculated white European men placed firmly at the bottom of the hierarchy. This is even more relevant considering the recently deceased King, Charles II, was married to a Portuguese woman who was then a still living Queen consort. This highlights how fears of female authority and autonomy and threats to the patriarchy were tied to anxieties about the integrity of masculine and national identities. By positioning women on top not only in relationships between the men but also in terms of coloniser and colonised, Durfey shows the devaluation of European, perhaps specifically English men, as a direct consequence of their inability to gain authority over women and effectively husband them.

Durfey's much reduced and more cowardly Sebastian character seems an inadequate patriarchal figure to re-establish gender roles in a world where women wield whips and force men to serve monkeys.¹²¹ Sebastian's character is significantly altered in Durfey's version of the play, and the changes degrade his importance, his masculinity, and make his assumption of a patriarchal role at the end of the play highly suspect. His lines are cut significantly and Durfey diminishes his back story and casts doubt on his reason for leaving Portugal. In Fletcher and Massinger, Sebastian evacuates the island completely, including his wife, children, and court, but separates these precious valuables on different ships which are then sundered and shipwrecked on distinct islands, allowing the play to reflect – wittily and misogynistically – on the value of sterile gold as opposed to fertile women.¹²² In Durfey, Sebastian and Nicusa leave their women behind. Aminta tells us in the opening act that, when their 'large Plantations in the Happy Islands' are threatened by the arrival of La Mure and his crew, Sebastian is mostly concerned about his treasure: 'My Father, in this distress, willing to save his Treasure with the help of my Brother, and a Party of Negro Slaves, secretly Convey'd his Plate, Money, and Jewels into a small Vessel, and put to sea, with design to

¹²¹ I disagree here with Hutner, who reads Sebastian as an ultimate patriarch figure who 'establishes harmony in the political and familial order' because Durfey's play removes the figure of Raymond and so there is only one patrilineal line (*Colonial Women*, 59-60). This reading ignores the actual character of Sebastian in the play.

¹²² See 224n84.

return, when they were gone, and comfort us with his Fortune and Policy' (B1v). Captain Marine believes this to have been a prudent strategy but Aminta immediately corrects him: 'Oh it was fatal! [...] not knowing how to pursue him, [La Mure] turn'd his rage upon my poor Mother, my Sister, and my self', resulting in their kidnap, the desertion of her mother and younger sister on the island, and Aminta being kept by La Mure because of her beauty (B1v). The text aligns this poor husbandry and his choice of jewels over both the fertile land of the 'Happy Islands' and the women of his family, and parallels him with the foolish gallants who deserted their wives in Act 1.

I would argue that the reduction of Sebastian's character is insufficiently redeemed by the extended conclusion scene which serves to restore Sebastian's power. The additions by Durfey of extended speeches from Roselia to express her joy and love for her long-lost husband do aim to present the final scene as a happy restoration, perhaps recognising that in Fletcher and Massinger's rather hasty conclusion they depict Rosella as somewhat unwilling to give up her role: she says only five lines to him, and four of them are the formal resignation of her power (5.4.94-97). By contrast, Durfey's Roselia speaks forty-seven lines in the closing scene, some of which are celebrations of her happiness, but a large chunk of which are her continuing to give orders and dominate the scene. She orders the imprisonment and torture of La Mure, she questions Bourcher, she sets the other captives free, she gives Captain Marine her blessing to wed Aminta, flirts with Du Pier, offers him a wife, and orders a banquet and entertainment (H2v-H4r). Indeed, even the resignation of her power is sandwiched between her continuing to give orders, and it is revealing that these orders and her promise that she has 'miracles to tell' are reminiscent of the closing scenes of *The Tempest* and its adaptations, thus aligning her with Prospero:

Rosel. Convey those Pyrates straight away to Prison,
Till we consider of their punishment:
For times are alter'd now, so is the Government,
Whilst my *Sebastian* lives: 'Tis he must rule it.
Prepare a Banquet, and let Musick wait us,
For now we have all the Blessings Fate can give. (H4r).

Durfey's text therefore remains uneasy about Sebastian's assumption of political patriarchal power at the end of the text, even including the somewhat ominous caveat that Sebastian will rule only whilst he lives.¹²³ Although Roselia does resign sovereignty to Sebastian upon his reappearance, the play seems uncomfortable with his assumption of power and it seems unlikely that an audience would feel Sebastian's elevation to patriarch was smooth or justified.

Anti-Effeminacy and Manly Sexual Apathy

Durfey's play's options for avoiding emasculation consist of either disinterest in / abstinence from women or an assured ability to control them, and I would argue that this underlines anxieties about female control in light of Charles II's perceived effeminacy.¹²⁴ *A Commonwealth of Women* does proffer male characters who are not fully emasculated by the Amazonian women. Captain Marine, Boldsprite and Du Pier avoid most of the emasculating positioning of the world turned upside down. They are of course still captured, disarmed and imprisoned by a group of ruling women, but they avoid the extremes of emasculation indicated above. The women can be seen to distinguish between the men who they put to feminine drudgery and the other men who they allow liberty and luxury. For example, Du Pier and Boldsprite enter the scene in which Frugal, Franvil, Hazard and the Surgeon are positioned as feminine drudges drinking wine, and Franvil complains that 'I thought they would free him [Du Pier] – ah these Women love a strong Fellow strangely', clarifying the rationale for the distinction (G3v). Interestingly, however, the men do not escape this emasculation through being sexually dominant. Captain Marine manages it through marriage to Aminta, though, as discussed below, this is not without its problems. Boldsprite is similarly excused by his age; he indicates he has no interest in women because he is 'past these things' (B3r).

¹²³ Wheatley similarly suggests that 'Roselia's dissolution of the "Commonwealth" when her natural ruler appears probably seemed like an excellent theme to a Tory like Durfey in 1685, but this comment also suggests disbelief at the rapidity of Roselia's conversion', 'But Speak Every Thing', 529.

¹²⁴ Bridget Orr, conversely, argues that *A Commonwealth of Women* 'satirizes any dream or project of sexual separatism' because the play focuses on satirising 'masculine domestic irresponsibility', *Empire on the English Stage, 1660-1714*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 201. I agree that domestic irresponsibility is certainly the butt of the joke here, but I contend that the play is less certain about their being any means of men controlling their wives and thus suggest that, in fact, separatism seems to be one solution that the play proposes.

The real challenge to assertive masculinity is seen in Du Pier's negotiation of the female commonwealth. Much like in Cotton's *Erōtopolis*, analysed below, his chief means of escape is through the avoidance of relationships with powerful women, a facet of the play which I attribute to anti-effeminacy, and which reflects on the fears of female power that had plagued the Stuart Monarchy.

Although Captain Marine is certainly the primary heroic protagonist and his relationship with Aminta allows for him to negotiate the Amazons without needing to assert dominance, his position as thoroughly in control of women is undermined by the play. The notion of gender reversal which Durfey uses in his depiction of the imprisoned gallants has precedent in *The Sea Voyage* when Albert, wounded, is tended by Aminta who cuts off her hair to bind his wound and Albert states 'sure we have changed sexes / You bear calamity with a fortitude / Would become a man; I, like a weak girl, suffer.' (2.1.8-10). The cutting of her hair to bind Albert's wound has been read as a gendered inversion, the hair representing Aminta shedding her femininity, and the wound representing a vaginal opening in Albert.¹²⁵ Durfey removes all notions of Aminta and Albert's role reversal and thus any questions regarding Albert's masculinity, much like he removes Albert's connections to illicit piracy and the kidnapping of Aminta. Durfey thus seems keen to more firmly establish his Captain Marine as a virtuous masculine hero. Nevertheless, because Marine's love interest is not an Amazon, he does not need to assert himself against an unwieldy and powerful woman but is rather with a woman who was brought up in England, guarded by a French pirate, with little worldly experience.¹²⁶ However, the Amazonian Clarinda's interest in him and his inability to manage her and maintain his relationship with Aminta result in Clarinda encouraging his execution, which is nearly achieved (H1r).

Resistance to marriage and reproduction is present in Fletcher and Massinger's play in which Tibalt is lusty but restrained. Tibalt represents himself as self-sufficient and disinterested in

¹²⁵ Jowitt, "Her flesh must serve you", 100-101.

¹²⁶ Durfey removes, for example, Aminta's railing at Albert on the ship for kidnapping him: 'O Monsieur Albert, how am I bound to curse ye, / If curses could redeem me. How to hate ye' (*The Sea Voyage* 1.1.87-98).

marriage and procreation, using this as the justification for selecting for himself ‘a barren one’, Rosella, a fifty year old widow (3.1.324 ; 340). When the Amazon’s give the men the option of selecting a mate, he justifies his choice of Rosella in spite of his love of ‘the sport’ because he does not ‘love / to father children’, depicts himself as a ‘Grand Signor’ in his ‘seraglio’ making a sage choice (3.2.325-330), and he also suggests that his lack of desire for an older woman will save him from ‘fevers’, meaning both sexual desire and venereal disease (3.2.341-353). Tibalt celebrates his own freedom from sexual labours in comparison to the other men who have been paired with younger women, and despite describing himself as ‘in my nature a notorious wench’ he shows what Fletcher and Massinger seem to suggest is admirable restraint rather than emasculated disinterest against the Amazon’s lusty advances because he finds their immodesty unattractive:

Tibalt: Well, ye may hang, or starve us,
 But your commanding impudence shall never fear us.
 Had ye by blushing signs, soft cunnings, crept into us,
 And showed us your necessities, we had met your purposes,
 Supplied your wants. We are no saints, ladies.
 I love a good wench, as I love my life,
 And with my life I will maintain my love.
 But such a sordid impudence I’ll spit at – (4.3.65-72)

Fletcher and Massinger thus repeatedly insist on Tibalt’s supposedly natural, heterosexual urges and, in the aforementioned scene, celebrate his restraint and resistance to emasculation in the face of warrior women who have imprisoned them and tried to seduce them.

For Fletcher and Massinger, though, the complete resistance to procreation in a balanced relationship seems to be Tibalt’s major flaw. By the end of the play his independent piratical waywardness needs to be rectified by him becoming a husband to Crocale, the woman who had previously pursued him to no avail, thus fulfilling his masculine patriarchal duty. Having successfully navigated courtship and avoided the thorny issues of emasculation and the fevers of both excessive lust and venereal disease, Tibalt relents but remains wary of the need to maintain his masculinity and carefully manage his strong-willed Amazonian wife:

Tibalt: Here I fix. She’s mettle,
 Steel to the back, and will cut my leaden dagger,

If not used with discretion (5.4.105-107)

This can be read as Tibalt's need to shift from his previous piratical behaviour to more settler-colonial behaviour, becoming a productive member of society through good husbandry and the intersection of domestic and colonial patriarchy.¹²⁷ Tibalt's behaviour is also in line with how Shepherd has read the play as 'an ideal vehicle for Fletcher's explorations of instinctive sexuality, for his assertion that there is in nature an essential form of social behaviour which is consequent upon biological gender'.¹²⁸ Tibalt's acquiescence to the gendered order is seen to be a natural, harmonising solution to rectify the upside down hierarchy.

In contrast, however, Durfey's Du Pier does not stress his sexual abilities at all. Durfey seems to insist on the sexlessness of Du Pier, perhaps even creating him as a model of virginal masculinity. Fletcher's text relishes Tibalt's masculine disregard of luxury and worldly things and his self-sustaining masculinity:

Tibalt: ha' nothing byt my skin,
And my clothes; my sword here, and my self;
Two crowns in my pocket; two pair of cards;
And three false dice. I can swim like a fish,
Rascal, nothing to hinder me. (1.1.148-152)

Durfey's Du Pier adds one thing to this list, 'my Maidenhead' (C3r), explicitly characterising him as a virgin.

The restrained abstinent position of Du Pier is contrasted starkly with the gallants who failed to achieve it. In the opening act, Franvil, Frugal and Hazard swear not only to leave their wives, but also to swear off women more generally: they 'resolve to forget and despise that Vexatious and Impertinent Sex' (B4r). Almost immediately upon arrival in the barren island of the new world, though, the men begin to wish they had stayed with their wives: 'Would I were at home agen with my dear Matrimony, I begin to be weary of rambling' (D1v), and when they discover the female commonwealth Hazard realises they are once again under the control of women: 'like

¹²⁷ See Akhimi, 'Travel, Drama and Domesticity', 153-166.

¹²⁸ *Amazons and Warrior Women*, 133.

Flounders, leapt out of the Frying Pan into the Fire: Fled from a Female Fiend or two at home, to be plagu'd here with a whole Nation of Devils' (F3r). Although Frugal, Franvil, and the Surgeon all express fear at their first sight of the Amazonian women, they do become sexually interested in them after Roselia has given the men 'that Power' to choose their mate from amongst the women (F3v-F4v). They are thus represented as both passive in their relationships with women and incapable of performing Du Pier's restraint.

The text does end by attempting to pair Du Pier with a wife, but this pairing continues to reflect Du Pier's disinterest in sexual relations. Roselia teases Du Pier that he is no longer going to be able to have sex with her, and then offers him an alternative partner as a consolation prize:

<i>Roselia:</i>	But to make thee full amends, for the loss of my self – if this Lady can creep into thy heart – Take her, she's thine; she's rich, but a little foppish.
<i>D. Pier.</i>	With all my heart, by this light; she's rich you say – I'll marry her, that I may beat her, and make her Loyal (H4r).

Du Pier's allocated wife is unnamed and seemingly unimportant, with no stage direction indicating to the reader who Roselia might gesture to on stage. It might be possible to infer that the lady promised is Clarinda, as it is Clarinda whose love for Marine has been thwarted and whose romance narrative is thus unresolved at the end of the play, but there is no solid evidence for this and it seems unlikely that Roselia would refer to her beloved warrior daughter as 'foppish' or that she would not respond to his threat to 'beat her'. Du Pier's overtly masculine strength finds its ultimate expression not, as in Fletcher and Massinger, in the representation of good husbandry and balanced matches, but in his pairing with a woman who he has no sexual interest in or rapport with, but from whom he can obtain money, obedience, and loyalty through violent authority. The play thus disturbingly suggests, in the wake of the troubles seemingly caused by the perceived effeminacy of the Stuarts, that the only sure-fire way to escape a loss of masculinity is to establish a disinterest and distaste for the women with whom you share a bed, and to violently assert your dominance over them.

Charles Cotton's *Erōtopolis* (1684) and Emasculation

Cotton's *Erōtopolis*, first published in 1684, occupies an important place in the utopian tradition. The prose text is divided into two parts: the description of a landscape called Betty Land, which is equated with the female body, and a mock-utopian travel narrative into the brothels of a city that is reminiscent of the prison and brothel of Thomas Duffet's *The Mock Tempest* (1675). *Erōtopolis* is frequently considered a pornographic text.¹²⁹ As such it has not often been treated seriously by critics, or else discussion has been limited to the title's place in the history of pornographic or erotic writing.¹³⁰ However, *Erōtopolis* actually constitutes a combination of a pornographic text with utopianism in order to produce new genres: the 'erotic cartography' of part one, as well as a pornotopian mock travel narrative which burlesques the tradition.¹³¹ The text also contains political references which are bound up with the pornotopian tradition. The text is thus reflective of the argument of this thesis that throughout the late seventeenth century representations of gender, politics and the utopian impulse were intrinsically linked. I wish to argue that the depiction of gender relations in *Erōtopolis* suggests that, by the 1680s, political patriarchy was so under threat that any hope of improved relations between the sexes was compromised. The only potential escape presented by this text, even more so than Durfey's, is for men to avoid any and all sexual relations with women.

¹²⁹ We can consider the second part of *Erōtopolis* pornographic in its most literal sense, meaning writing about prostitutes. It is not particularly graphic in terms of depictions of sex acts, however, for the most part making ploughing puns. The sex scenes do give us some images which might be considered explicit: 'she drew the Curtain gently up that was before it, and showed the Prospect of a very fair Garden plot of Maiden-hair', however, this immediately becomes agricultural again, the hair is 'growing like a kind of black Fern, or rather a spot of ground looking like a sieve of black Cherries, covered over with the tops of russet Fennel. The Fields about were embroidered with white Daisies and yellow Pissabeds' (E3r-E4r). For the history of the term pornography, see Hunt, 'Introduction: Obscenity and the Origins of Modernity'; Mowry, *The Bawdy Politic*, 6-9; Sarah Toulalan, *Imagining Sex: Pornography and Bodies in Seventeenth-Century England* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 35-36; and Turner, *Libertines and Radicals*, 1;

¹³⁰ Toulalan, recognises it as a 'spoof travel narrative' but focuses on how pornographic texts such as *Erōtopolis* position reproduction as an intrinsic part of the sexual pleasure and thus as a pornographic trope (*Imagining Sex*, 90-91). One notable exception is of course Turner who reads it alongside other political satires, but still catalogues it within the supposedly 'low-brow' or pornographic satires and does not discuss it at length (*Libertines and Radicals*, 31, 163, 198, 211, 233, 262, 282); Orr positions *Erōtopolis* alongside other pornotopian / women-on-top utopian texts but does so only briefly and does not analyse the text in this context in *Empire on the English Stage*, 189. Elsewhere, she places it within the pornographic genre and reads it as a means of engaging with the history of gender construction without linking it to the utopian impulse, 'Whores' Rhetoric and the Maps of Love: Constructing the Feminine in Restoration Erotica', in *Women, Text and Histories*, 204-205.

¹³¹ 'Whores' Rhetoric and the Maps of Love', 205.

Erōtopolis demonstrates a need, in the late-seventeenth century, to reimagine pornotopia. *Erōtopolis* has been identified as a 'somatopia' (from soma = body, topos = place) by Darby Lewes, which she defines as 'a pornographic text which presents women's bodies (or more accurately, a generalized female body) as a site of male pleasure: a utopian sexual landscape'.¹³² She describes *Erōtopolis* as:

the earliest, longest, and dullest of three lengthy prose somatopias... Cotton's narrative covers an extremely wide range of metaphorical terrain. A misogynistic attack on the manners and moral of the time, women appear as typical agricultural landscapes, demanding constant plowing and seeding; as game preserves ripe for hunting (although the animals here are a devious sort, and frequently ensnare the hunters); and as fortresses yearning to be conquered. In addition, Cotton provides a history of the place, which places the responsibility for virtually all the vices and misfortunes of humankind literally in the laps of women.¹³³

Erōtopolis marks an important development in the genre. Although Lewes misdates *Erōtopolis*, likely in a typographical error, listing it as printed in 1648 as opposed to 1684, her assertion about it being the earliest fictional prose somatopia is accurate: the earlier examples were predominantly ballads, poems, and occasionally extracts from travellers' narratives which describe discovered lands as female bodies. Further, as Lewes argues, in somtopia 'female landscapes are for the most part docile and passive, the male organ of generation retains an all-powerful and all-conquering nature'.¹³⁴ For Bridget Orr, Cotton's text is the first text of its kind to be produced, a type she defines as 'erotic cartography'. She argues that:

erotic cartographies construct an account of femininity as a unified natural phenomenon which negates cultural and social distinctions, differentiating solely on the basis of biological functions such as fertility. Construed as unknown territory, farm property and landscape, which require discovery, survey, enclosure, ownership, cultivation and representation, 'woman' does figure in these texts as Barker describes her - as a specifically sexed, emphatically natural 'sub-discursive corporeal matter'.¹³⁵

¹³² 'Utopian Sexual Landscapes: An Annotated Checklist of British Somatopias', *Utopian Studies* 7, no.2 (1996), 167. For further discussion of pornotopias, see Introduction, 16-21.

¹³³ Ibid., 173.

¹³⁴ Ibid., 168.

¹³⁵ 'Whores' Rhetoric and the Maps of Love', 204-205.

However, as Orr has pointed out (and as I expand upon below) in *Erōtopolis*, female bodies, even when turned into landscapes, are agential and dangerous causes of ruin.¹³⁶ Orr's definition is more discerning than Lewes's in suggesting that for a work to be considered an erotic cartography the landscape has to be a totalising image and the thrust of the narrative, rather than a text which contains examples of extended metaphors in which bodies become landscapes. Nevertheless, both Lewes and Orr suggest that Cotton's text represents a generic development and departure from that which came before.

Cotton uses his pornotopian text to burlesque depictions of gender relations in classical sources, specifically drawing on depictions of dangerous or treacherous women. *Erōtopolis*'s erotic content does not mean that the text should be considered 'low-brow', rather, Cotton can be seen to be burlesquing classical literature within his utopia, and his burlesque implies an educated audience. Cotton's 'reputation was in the main based on his standing as an initiator and practitioner of classical burlesque'.¹³⁷ Classical burlesque is a type of parody of a literary work or genre which either uses undignified language and imagery to discuss a serious subject (as in travesties), or applies an elevated style to a trivial subject (as in mock-epics or mock-heroics). He wrote three burlesques in his lifetime, *Scarronides: or, Virgile travestie* (1664), *Burlesque upon burlesque* (1675) and *The Wonders of the Peake* (1681).¹³⁸ Cotton also burlesques classical narratives within *Erōtopolis*, as he travesties quotations from ancient sources, specifically as they pertain to gender relations. Sometimes he

¹³⁶ Ibid., 193-214.

¹³⁷ Paul Hartle, 'Charles Cotton's *Burlesque upon Burlesque: Or, The Scoffer Scoff'd*', *Restoration Studies in English Literary Culture 1600-1700* (1987): 3.

¹³⁸ Hartle has pointed out that these all enjoyed significant commercial success and inspired imitations ('Charles Cotton's *Burlesque upon Burlesque*', 3). *The Wonders of the Peake* is actually a burlesque travelogue which begins by describing the landscape of the peak district as 'A Country so deform'd, the Traveller/ Would swear those parts Natures *pudenda* were', a style which anticipates the somatopian aspect of *Erōtopolis*, though the poem goes on to focus on more positive aspects, (London: Joanna Brome, 1681), A1r. Jess Edwards has contended that *The wonders of the peake* is a burlesque of Hobbes's *De Mirabilibus Peccu Carmen* or *Songs of the Wonders of the Peak* (1627), suggesting that Cotton uses the format to burlesque Hobbes' theories of nature, science and government in line with the political climate of 1681. 'Thomas Hobbes, Charles Cotton and the "wonders" of the Derbyshire Peak', *Studies in Travel Writing* 16, no.1 (February 2012): 1-15. Edwards posits that in 1681, the final year of the Exclusion Crisis, Hobbes's notion of a natural state of warfare and contest was problematic, and that Cotton rewrites it to support patriarchal right and deliver 'a sharp rebuke to those who would seek to channel and constrain the natural power of a king' (10). This suggests that Cotton was paying close attention to the political crisis and its implications for patriarchalism and social contract theory.

quotes from Greek or Latin and leaves the lines untranslated (B7r; C1r; C4r; C5v), implying that his audience would recognise the quotations. At others, he provides burlesqued translations of the classical literature. For example, he draws from various classical sources for his discussion of the history of ‘decoy ducks’ in Betty Land. A decoy duck is in reality a man-made duck used in waterfowl hunting to attract other fowl. In Betty Land, decoy ducks become women who use their beauty in the same way: as false bait for male victims. He discusses at length the beautiful decoy ducks of ancient history, such as Circe, Medea, and Juno, quoting from ancient poets such as Orphic, Nicander, Apollonius of Rhodes, Hesiod, Virgil and Aratus in the process (B3v-B4v; B4v; B6r-v, B8r; B7r; B7r; B7v).¹³⁹ Cotton draws particular attention to his acts of translation, too, in the mock-utopian travel narrative, when our narrator translates the siren scene from Book XII of *The Odyssey* as sex-workers calling for clients:

Here, Chuck Ulysses, here come in and see;
 What Pots of jet, what nut brown Ale have we:
 For never Mariner return'd on shore,
 But he came here to look him out a Whore
 Come in then Joy, and spend thy Pot with us
 We'l sometimes sing a Song, and sometimes buss (D1r-D1v)

After this, we are told that ‘As these words were translated, in comes *Eumolpus*, views them and swears there could be no other Interpretation of the words’ (D1r-D1v).¹⁴⁰ I argue that his practice of burlesque extends beyond the travesty of these quotes. Although Cotton does not have a direct utopian source which he burlesques in *Erōtopolis*, I would argue that his inclusion of travesties and his penchant for burlesque more generally enables us to read *Erōtopolis*’s treatment of a utopian subject in these pornographic ways as a kind of burlesque on the genre itself. It is also an indication of his recognition that sex and reproduction are fundamental to the utopian genre.

¹³⁹ He also calls Homer’s *Iliad* a ‘Book of Betty-land Agriculture’ (C10r), suggesting that these classical epics are no better than his erotic cartography.

¹⁴⁰ The section in Homer has been translated as ‘Famous [Ulysses], great glory of Achaea, draw near, and bring your ship to rest, and listen to our voices. No man rows past this isle in his dark ship without hearing the honeysweet sound from our lips. He delights in it and goes his way a wiser man’ Homer, *The Odyssey*, trans. A. S. Kilne, *Poetry in Translation* (Updated 2004) https://www.poetryintranslation.com/PITBR/Greek/Odyssey12.php#anchor_Toc90268047.

The first section of Cotton's text represents the first sustained erotic cartography, in which the landscape described is, emphatically, a female body, and thus the text attempts to represent women as passive, inert, and a resource for men to use. As such, it is what Lewes would call an agricultural somatopia.¹⁴¹ Much is made of puns about husbanding and ploughing the landscape in order to have a fruitful harvest and produce children. This is a literalisation of the Aristotelian 'one seed' theory, in which only men produce seeds, i.e. sperm, and female bodies are configured as the dirt into which the seed was planted, although this concept had been replaced in the popular imagination by this point.¹⁴² Returning to this theory and its inaccurate representation of conception is, thus, a deliberate strategy to devalue woman's role in maternity and her active participation in any sexual encounter – something which, perhaps, appealed during a moment of crisis surrounding female influence and fertility. Given these terms, it would be expected that the text's misogyny would completely eradicate female agency and empower masculine activity. Harold Weber has argued that texts concerning sex and politics in the 1680s frequently depict a sexual degradation of women which erases their subject position and results in a reassertion of patriarchal domination, with texts like Rochester's *Sodom or The Quintessence of Debauchery* (1684), reflecting a desire not simply to 'marginalize' but instead 'to exile, erase, and annihilate the female body'; the same might be anticipated of the erotic cartography of *Erōtopolis*.¹⁴³

The text's puerile analogy of female bodies as landscapes and, therefore, resources to be owned and exchanged, makes the degradation of women to economic resources in male-authored utopian narratives visible. In discussing the management of Betty Land, particularly in the part of Betty Land that is 'in the island of *Britannia*', the author complains that they have been mismanaging the female resource through the association of women with inherited wealth, or a

¹⁴¹ 'Utopian Sexual Landscapes', 167.

¹⁴² See for example Nancy Tuana, 'The Weaker Seed: The Sexist Bias of Reproductive Theory' *Hypatia* 3, no. 1 (1998): 35-59; Sara Mendelson and Patricia Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England 1550-1720* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 18-30.

¹⁴³ Harold Weber, 'Carolinean Sexuality and the Restoration Stage: Reconstructing the Royal Phallus in Sodom', in *Cultural Readings of Restoration and Eighteenth-Century English Theater*, eds., Deborah Payne Fisk and J. Douglas Canfield (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1995), 69.

dowry, causing an unnatural inflation, when their real market value should be as a resource for production:

it is the greatest Inconvenience in the world to a *Betty-land* Farmer, for he understanding that there lies a Silver or a Gold Mine in such a Farm, or such an Hesperian Orchard is laden with golden Apples, will have at them by hook or by crook... [but] when all comes to all, neither Orchard nor Farm are agreeable to his mind, or fit for Tillage: nay many times the ground proves barren, marshy, unwholsom, rank, and mountainous; so that there is no profit nor pleasure in manuring or dressing it: whereas if those Allurements lay not before the Eyes of the Husbandman, he would choose the most delightful Prospects, the most fruitful Soyls: and the substance of the Country being contracted into the hands of the husbandmen only, would make the Farmers more able to maintain their husbandry (B10r-B11r).

Linking the failure of economic exchange and valuation of women with false utopian visions of a treasure-laden island or Hesperian orchard seems to reflect the tendency, in male-authored utopias, to manage the women in accordance with their resource status and physical value.¹⁴⁴ However, in *Betty Land*, what is stressed is the failure of this management, and the text continuously insists on the impossibility of containing and managing the landscape.

Cotton does not reduce female bodies and their fertility to passive soil. Indeed, the landscape in *Erōtopolis* is hostile, poisonous, and threatening:

but touch it [the soil] sometimes and you shall lose a Member; it is worse than the Church-yard in Paris, which consumes dead Carcases in four and twenty hour, for if a man make a hole in some part of the mould, and put but an inch of his flesh in, it will raise such a flame in his body, as would make him think Hell to be upon Earth: to say truth, the nature of the Soyl is very strange, so that if a man do but take a piece of it in his hand, 'twill cause (as it were) an immediate Delirium, and make a man fall flat upon his face upon the ground, where if he have not a care, he may chance to lose a limb, swallowed up in a whirl-pit, not without the Effusion of the choicest part of the blood: But for Tillage the Soyl is so proper, and so delightful it is to manure, that be it fruitful, or be it barren, men take the greatest pleasure in the world to plow it and sow it, nay there are some men that take it for so great a pastime, that they will give some a thousand some two thousand pound a year for a little spot in that Country, not so big as the palm of your hand (A3v-A4r).

The text is full of bawdy puns and the sexual analogies are hard to miss. Cotton implies that men risk severe venereal disease because of the pleasure they take in having sex with women, that they pay significant amounts to maintain their women, and that they are fools to do so. However, as

¹⁴⁴ For more on the Hesperides, see Introduction, 27.

Orr has argued, the way that the effects of the female body (and the venereal diseases they are said to carry) on the male are described seems to undermine any notion that the female landscape is somehow inanimate or passive.¹⁴⁵ It is given agency to raise flames, create immediate delirium, make a man fall flat upon his face, dismember him, swallow him up inside of its own whirling pit, or cause him to bleed out the ‘choycest’ part of his blood.¹⁴⁶ The conceit of the woman as land and the man as farmer should have given the farmer authority, control, and dominance, but the text is riddled with passages in which the men become subservient to the land which they are forced to maintain: they are ‘drudges’, ‘tyed to excessive hard labour’, and seem slavishly addicted to the ploughing of fields and their maintenance of such land, however costly it may be (B9r; A12r; B11v). Further, alongside the landscape which is troped as female, Betty Land also has female inhabitants – Shepherdesses and Syrens – undermining the conceit designed to dehumanise and pacify the female body.¹⁴⁷

In addition to this depiction of slavish masculinity and poisonous but agential femininity, the text also unfeelingly discusses fertility and miscarriage and relates it to the current political crises. *Erōtopolis* was first published in 1684, at a point where people had given up hope of Charles producing a legitimate heir. There had by this point been multiple attempts to prevent the Catholic succession of his brother, James Duke of York, including attempts to replace James with Charles’s illegitimate son, Monmouth, or of settling the crown on his Protestant daughter, Mary of Orange.¹⁴⁸ I suggest that due to the crises of the 1680s and their basis in paternity, Cotton’s text frequently references the prospect of infertility. Early in the narrative the text performs incredulity

¹⁴⁵ ‘Whores’ Rhetoric and the Maps of Love’.

¹⁴⁶ These effects could also refer more broadly to the effects of lust or love, which Cotton disparages elsewhere as a frenzy or madness (G9r-G9v).

¹⁴⁷ Stereotypically, they are defined by unbridled sexual desire and deceitfulness, once again with utopian references: ‘The native Shepherdesses of *Betty-land* desire vehemently, Love but indifferently and very unconstantly: yet whether they Love, or whether they hate, they will dissemble with the most politick Shepherd that ever was known in all *Arcadia*’ (*Erōtopolis* C7r-C7v).

¹⁴⁸ See: Carolyn Andervont Edie, ‘Succession and Monarchy: The Controversy of 1679-1681’, *The American Historical Review* 70, no.2 (January 1965): 350-370; David Ogg, *England in the Reign of Charles II*, 2 vols, 2nd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972), 2. 615.

regarding the idea that men will continue to plough a barren field, or analogically persevere in a relationship which does not produce children:

If the Soyl be barren, all the dung in the world will never do it any good, yet the more barren it is, the more will the Soyl cleave and gape for moisture, the sands of *Arabia* are not so thirsty, and yet as if there were a kind of witchcraft in the Soyl, there are thousands of Husbandmen so strangely besotted that when they have hap'ned upon such a barren spot as this, yet they will not stick to lay out their whole stock upon it, tho they know it to be all to no purpose, whereby many Husbandmen come to ruine (A4v-A5r).

The text also discusses miscarriage:

it were far better for a provident Husbandman to have 3 or 4 or half a dozen farms one under another than to spend so much time, toyl and labour altogether in vain, for thereby many times the Crop comes to nothing, and tho it may be very well got off the ground and seem fair for the time, yet when you think to have the benefit of it, you shall see it afterwards come to nothing, and moulder away like a rotting Orange (A4r-A4v).

This image of a crop which had 'got off the ground and seem[ed] fair for the time' before coming to 'nothing' but a 'rotting Orange' could be seen as an unfeeling way of discussing miscarriage.

The disillusionment in male virility and female fertility here is configured as intense misogyny, blaming it on the woman, and suggesting polygamous relations to resolve the issue – and this need to shift blame onto women is also found elsewhere in the text.¹⁴⁹ It is also, I would like to suggest, a politically motivated image. Catherine of Braganza suffered several miscarriages in the first decade of her marriage to Charles II.¹⁵⁰ As a result of her perceived infertility, from as early as 1667, there was increasing pressure on the King to divorce her.¹⁵¹ Some of the plots to circumvent

¹⁴⁹ In part two there is a discussion of women who seek help for infertility from other women and medical professionals. The narrator thinks it is distasteful for women to discuss their sexual health with doctors, stressing that the doctors would be titillated by the pornographic discussions, and is further disdainful that in these discussions 'the poor Shepherds Back [is] agreed to be the weaker, and yet the whole burthen and weight of miscarriage is laid upon it' (G10v).

¹⁵⁰ One in 1666 is presumed, but subsequent miscarriages in 1668 and 1669 were confirmed, and the pregnancies had been publicly announced. This is discussed in more detail in Chapter Three, 194-198. See also S.M. Wynn, 'Catherine [Catherine of Braganza, Catarina Henriqueta de Bragança], ODNB, last modified 3rd January 2008), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/4894>; David Johnson, 'The Life and Times of Catherine of Braganza: Infanta of Portugal and Queen of Great Britain and Ireland', *British Historical Society of Portugal Annual Report* 22, (2013) www.bhsportugal.org; Sarah-Beth Watkins, *Catherine of Braganza: Charles II's Restoration Queen* (Winchester: Chronos Books, 2017).

¹⁵¹ Rumours about Charles divorcing Catherine began in 1667 and in 1669 the Duke of Buckingham claimed to have discussed it with the king, in 1673 and 1679 one of the chief members of the opposition, Shaftesbury, offered to reconcile with Charles if he would consent to a divorce, but he refused. Shaftesbury finally introduced a divorce bill in the House of Lords on 17th November 1680, Wynn, 'Catherine [Catherine of Braganza, Catarina Henriqueta de Bragança]'; see also L.K.J. Glassey, 'Shaftesbury and the Exclusion Crisis' in *Anthony Ashley Cooper, First Earl of Shaftesbury 1621-1683*, ed. J. Spurr (Surrey: Ashgate, 2011), 207-231.

a Catholic succession revolved around displacing James II and passing the throne along to his daughter, Mary II, who had married the Dutch and Protestant William of Orange in 1677.¹⁵² In 1681, a bill was proposed, which was ‘in Lieu’ of the former Exclusion Bill, and called for the banishment of the Duke of York so ‘that the *Regent* be the *Princess of Orange*, and in case of her Decease without Issue, or with Issue in Minority, then the *Lady Anne*’.¹⁵³ It is noteworthy that the Exclusionists here planned ahead for possible issues arising from the fertility of another female figure they were planning to place in a position of power. This 1684 image of a rotting Orange, a capitalised Orange, no less, that is the result of a husband being too insistent on retaining a relationship in spite of (perceived) infertility, can thus be read as an obscene way of referring to the King’s perseverance with his marriage to Catherine. Because of infertility, the text suggests, Charles and Catherine produce not an heir, but the threat of a rotting Orange: Mary of Orange, and her husband William, who were already troubling the Stuart legacy from 1681.

Part 2 of *Erōtopolis* functions as a burlesque of a Renaissance utopian travel narrative to see the so-called ‘Syrens’, by which Cotton means the sex workers (D1v). The signalling for the division of the text is not announced by a separate title page, but instead by the introduction of a character, Eumolpus, who says he will tell us about his travels to Betty Land and embarks on his story. We thus see a shift from erotic cartography to fictional travel narrative in the first person, a traditional utopian format which, in conjunction with the imagined somatopian landscape of part one, indicates a continued utopian connection. This is also where the text becomes more concretely pornographic, as the term pornographic etymologically means writing about prostitutes, something Cotton did in other writing projects too.¹⁵⁴ This narrative structure turns the sex-workers described in the text into erotic objects who are visited, marvelled at, and exoticized by

¹⁵² See Scott, *Algernon Sidney*, 107-109 and Harris, *London Crowds*, 96.

¹⁵³ *Heads of the Expedient Proposed in the Parliament at Oxford, In Lieu of the former Bill for Excluding The Duke of York* (London: F.Collins, 1681), A1r-A1v.

¹⁵⁴ Hunt, *The Invention of Pornography*, 1; See Cotton’s epitaph for a prostitute who he calls ‘the sucking *School-Mistress of Love*’ who was ‘designed [to be] a whore’, ‘An Epitaph on M.H’, *Poems on Several Occasions* (London: Thomas Basset, 1689), 2A2r-2A2v.

the male explorers, with the land that was waiting to be ploughed now transformed into a foreign land containing people waiting to be explored and conquered. In Lewes's terms, this indicates a shift from an agricultural somatopia to a historical somatopia (British explorers conquering the 'New World') or imperial somatopia (women as foreign lands in need of domesticating and civilising).¹⁵⁵

However, once again, this certainty about male dominance in the travel narrative quickly gives way to anxiety about male virility. The sexual scenes that are narrated between the Syrens and the men are ones which are voyeuristically observed by the travelling companions. In one brothel, we see an old man on a pair of crutches visit a sex worker, but instead of engaging in sexual activity he merely dyes her pubic hair black with soot and observes her, talking about sex until he is 'satiated with the Prospect and his Discourse' (E4r-E4v). At another establishment, the sex workers who are entertaining Eumolpus and Eucolpius are called away by 'the Syren Government' in order to entertain a more important shepherd (E6v). Once again assuming a voyeuristic position, the travellers watch through peep holes and see a banquet table, laden with food, around which Syrens are sitting naked, whilst the man is beneath the table enacting the role of a dog:

by and by we discovered him by the noise he made under the Table, upon all four, picking up the Bones which the Syrens threw down, yelping and snarling like an Izeland Cur, and biting at the Legs and Shins of that Syren which threw him down his desired Food. This violent humor continued all along the time of Supper (E7r-E7v).

As Turner has pointed out, this dog fetish occurs repeatedly in pornographic literature throughout the period, and it is consistently related to the inversion of natural hierarchies and the debasement

¹⁵⁵ Lewes, 'Utopian Sexual Landscapes', 167-168. The shift to the explorer narrative is confirmed by the first Syren of Betty Land who we meet, Quartilla who, is depicted as a monstrous figure with clear racial signifiers. She is 'as black as a Lobster before 'tis boil'd, and instead of hands had such kind of Claws, and her head lookt like a *Gorgons* Perriwig with Snakes, she lookt as if she had been eaten and spew'd up again' (D2v-D3r).

of male power.¹⁵⁶ Going beyond simple gender inversion and emasculation, the dog fetish also implies dehumanisation, just as Durfey's text dehumanised the foppish gallants as well as emasculating them. *Erōtopolis* thus represents masochistic men who seem happy to be dominated by women. That they are so passive when visiting brothels – traditional sites where men purchase sexual services from women – calls into question male dominance in the sexual arena.

The voyeuristic character of Eumolpus is depicted as a virgin, and his travelling companions also abstain from sex, thereby enabling them to escape the emasculation which they witness elsewhere. When he arrives on the scene, he says that his journey into Betty Land in his youth began because of 'the great desire I had to know the Country of *Betty-land* of which I had heard and read so much' (D1v-D2r). Eumolpus, then, knows nothing of the female sex and is depicted as a 'very young' virginal figure who travels with 'Husbandmen of large Experience' in order to leave virginity behind and learn about sex. Eucolpius and Trimalay, the experienced men, thus take him to a brothel to learn about sex by paying for the pleasure (D2r). What is significant is that at no point do Eumolpus, or any of the men in the text, actually engage in sexual activity. Their failure, again and again, to actually have sex with any of the Syrens is presented not as an emasculating blunder, however, but rather as an escape from the kinds of emasculation which they witness occurring to other men. It is also significant that their abstinence is not depicted as moral, spiritual, or guided by some higher reasoning. Their behaviour in other regards is that of typical debauched rakes. They fight with the city watch (D9r), run out on their liquor bills (D5v-D6r), and mock the other men's degradation at the hands of women (E4v). Their depiction as hectors in the street is arguably a sign of their continued expression of aggressive masculinity, unmarred by the

¹⁵⁶ Turner, *Libertines and Radicals*, 162-163. It is also seen in Thomas Otway's *Venice Preserved, or, a Plot Discovered* (London: Jod. Hindmarsh, 1682). Here it takes on more political resonance. Antonio enacts the fetishised role of the dog with Aquilina in 3.1. After asking her to spit in his face he becomes a dog, growling and barking under the table, begging to be kicked, until Aquilina goes to get a whip and a bell and he begins to regret the role play (E2r). Aquilina, however, thoroughly engages with the role: 'Nay, none of your fawning and grinning; But be gone, or here's the discipline: What, bite your Mistress by the Legs, you mungril? Our of Dore – hour, hour, to kennel sirra! Go' (E2r). This interaction can and has been read as satirically representing the inversion of hierarchy caused by the rebellious characters in *Venice Preserved* who plot to overthrow the Duke, representing political rebellion as an inversion of gender hierarchy which emasculates men to the role of beasts (Turner, *Libertines and Radicals*, 163).

relationships with sexually dominant women which they are allegedly there to pursue. The traditional rake hero 'derive[s] his definition primarily from his eroticism', but Cotton can be seen to remove this from his rake-ish heroes: much like Dufey's Du Pier.¹⁵⁷ The men of the narrative escape Betty Land unscathed because of their practice of abstinence throughout the text.

Cotton's *Erōtopolis*, which has not previously received significant attention, is thus of great value to utopian scholarship. Travesty and burlesque are always useful lenses through which to view a literary genre, as they reveal the tropes and characteristics that contemporary authors distinguish and believe would be identifiable by their intended audience. That Cotton chose to burlesque the utopian mode, that he focused on the pornotopian trope of the management of gender relations, and that he presented those relations as foundering in 1684, is thus reflective of the argument I have made in this chapter: that the Restoration crisis was a critical moment and breaking point for the utopian impulse and its association with gender.

Taken together, the resurgence of the parliament of women genre, *Erōtopolis* and *A Commonwealth of Women* paint a stark picture of the crisis point of gender and politics in relation to utopian texts. Each utopian space reflects fears of gendered upheaval in relation to political revolution and the more public roles of women. They depict the emasculation that this could be seen to effect, and present the only way of avoiding it as the positioning of a violent masculinity which demonstrates a lack of any affection, interest, or attraction to women and thus avoids the risks of effeminate lust which were seen to plague the Stuart legacy.

¹⁵⁷ Harold Weber, *The Restoration Rake Hero: Transformations in Sexual Understanding in Seventeenth-Century England* (Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1986) 3.

Conclusion: Gender, Politics and the Utopian Impulse Beyond the Late Seventeenth Century

This thesis has demonstrated that utopian literary production was not in decline but instead continued to flourish in the period 1660 to 1686. Indeed, these years mark a critical moment in which the utopian impulse can be seen to develop. I have argued that late seventeenth-century texts which contain a utopian impulse consistently depict gendered relations as a point of contention which threatens utopian stability, particularly with regards to fertility, marriage, and women's function in securing patriarchal legacy. I have focussed on textual adaptations and rewritings as well as on modified genres – like parliament of women pamphlets and pornotopia – to indicate changes between the pre- and post-1660 period.

In Chapter One I analysed Shakespeare's *The Tempest* and versions of the play produced between 1667 and 1675 in order to demonstrate ways in which the utopian spaces, representations of sailors and travel, and relations between the sexes were modified in response to contemporary concerns about Britain's disastrous performance in the Second and Third Dutch Wars and Charles II's dissolute behaviour to reflect a loss of monarchic authority in the case of William Davenant and John Dryden and Thomas Duffett's adaptations or, in the case of the operatic *Tempest* attempts to reassert it. In Chapter Two I posited that John Milton's use of utopianism in *Paradise Lost* – likely conceived of in the 1650s but first published in 1667 – was fundamental to the politics of the text and that it functions in ways that help to characterise Satan, the devils and Eve. I compared the treatment of the character of Eve as an analogue for a sufficient body politic in *Paradise Lost* and her transformation in Dryden's *A State of Innocence* – which circulated in manuscript from the early 1670s and was published in 1677 – into a manipulative and assertive woman who is solely responsible for the fall of the oldest patriarch. I have suggested that Dryden uses Eve to offer a satirical depiction of a specific historical figure, Mary of Modena, and that he does so in response to contemporary fears surrounding the heir to the throne's Catholicism and the threat of Catholic

ascendancy that his marriage to Catholic Mary presented. In Chapter Three I demonstrated Cavendish's astute awareness of and response to the utopian impulse beyond the realm of utopian fiction, and argued that she should be read as a woman writing back to natural philosophers who were (unwittingly) participating in this tradition with an alternative view of philosophy and female power. In Chapter Four, I suggested that the need within utopian texts to control women and fertility reached a breaking point during the Restoration Crisis of 1678 to 1686, and that parliament of women texts – the sources of which stem from antiquity but which first printed in England in the 1640s and then flourishing again in the period of the Restoration Crisis – and other pornotopian narratives begin to demonstrate a turning away from engagement with the opposite sex. I wish to further suggest that this breakdown could be the reason why what might be termed 'separatist utopias', as in all-female or all-male utopias that do not conclude with restored heteronormative relationships, began to emerge in England at the end of the seventeenth century.

Whilst fictional narratives of female parliaments, female commonwealths, and Amazonian commonwealths had circulated in England throughout the seventeenth century, the narratives depicted (predominantly sexual) interactions between these communities and men and, in most cases up until the 1680s, the women's decision to abandon segregation in favour of a mixed-gender society. Edward Howard's *The Six Days Adventure or the New Utopia* (1671), for example, depicts temporary female rule which is dissolved through marriage and women acquiescing to the natural rule of men, as does his *The Womens Conquest* (1670).¹ In Amazon narratives, 'any effort to re-organise the existing state of relations between men and women is... doomed to failure' and the status quo of men on top must be re-established.² Even Margaret Cavendish's *The Convent of Pleasure*

¹ See Bridget Orr, *Empire on the English Stage, 1660-1714* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 191.

² Simon Shepherd, *Amazons and Warrior Women: Varieties of Feminism in Seventeenth-Century Drama* (Brighton: The Harvester Press, 1981), 135. Dufey's *A Commonwealth of Women* still participates in this tradition of resolving gendered conflicts with a return to the status quo, to an extent, as its tragi-comic ending resolves in marriage. However, as I illustrate in Chapter Four the comic fops who had abandoned their wives remain unmarried, the allocation of a bride to the abstinent masculine character is vague and presented only as an opportunity for him to force a woman into subservience rather than for fruitful reproduction, and the reunification of the female Protectress Roselia with her husband does not curtail her power as she continues to wield control, resulting in a conclusion which suggests gender balance is unresolved and unresolvable.

(1668) and other depictions of female communities in convents, which, as Nicole Pohl suggests ‘redefine the convent as an emancipatory space’ in which female society flourishes, always seem to need to ‘end with happy marriages replacing sisterly friendship with marital companionship and domesticity’.³ The texts I analysed in Chapter Four also participate in this tradition, but the textual focus was still placed on the interaction of female and male communities with the aim to resolve their differences, even if that resolution was not achieved.

In contrast, separatist gendered utopias begin to appear after the end of the Restoration Crisis and move away from satirical representations of women-on-top narratives. In 1688, Richard Ames’s *Sylvia’s Revenge, or; A Satyr against Men* depicts a group of women who have ‘rigg’d out a Female *Man of War* ... with 30 Guns of a side’, live separately from men and look forward to the day ‘when to Hell by Shoals the *Men* are hurl’d / *Women* will Reign as Monarchs of the World’.⁴ As Felicity A. Nussbaum puts it Ames’s text ‘reverses the traditional accusations against women to accuse men of inconstancy, madness, and bribery’ and women ‘deny their procreative function and ... prove their independence from men’.⁵ Similarly, Delariviere Manley’s *Secret Memoirs and Manners of Several Persons of Quality, of both Sexes. From the New Atlantis, An Island in the Mediterranean. Written Originally in Italian* (1709) includes within it ‘the new cabal’, a separatist city of women who have excluded men and become ‘a quasi-communist, lesbian and separatist as well as aristocratic commonwealth’.⁶ Alessa Johns discusses four feminist utopian categories which emerge in the eighteenth century, two of which – the intimate utopia and the educational utopia – are defined by their novel depictions of separate female communities.⁷ The period following 1660-1686 witnessed

³ *Women, Space and Utopia 1600-1800* (London: Taylor and Francis, 2006), 11; 99. Indeed, Pohl argues that ‘Lady Mary Wroth, Countess of Montgomery’s *Urania* (1621) depicts the ‘retreat to a pastoral environment... [as] the return to a Golden Age of female self-determination and selfhood, to a natural existence unfettered by social conventions’, but also concedes that this is a momentary hope for an Arcadian distancing from violent men which is undermined within the text (27-28).

⁴ (London: Joseph Streater, 1688) A1r; D3r

⁵ *The Brink of All We Hate: English Satires on Women, 1660-1750* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1984). Ames also wrote a sequel to this text, *Sylvia’s Complaint of Her Sexes Unhappiness. A Poem* (London: Richard Baldwin, 1692), which continues with the theme of idealising female separatism and scorning male moral failure.

⁶ Pohl, *Women, Space and Utopia*, 72.

⁷ Alessa Johns, *Women’s Utopias of the Eighteenth Century* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2003) 9-11. See also Johns, ‘Feminism and Utopianism’.

the publication of Mary Astell's *A Serious Proposal to the Ladies* (1694), Clara Reeve's *The School for Widows* (1719), Eliza Haywood's *The British Recluse: or, Secret History of Cleomira Supposed Dead* (1722), Sarah Scott's *A Description of Millennium Hall* (1762) and many more.⁸

I posit that this development results from the demise of the family analogy and patriarchalism and in its impact on utopian fiction, a relationship which has been delineated in this thesis. For Michael McKeon, John Locke's *Second Treatise of Government* (1690) 'formalized, in terms of a liberal political theory... that the world of the family and that of the state were regulated by fundamentally different – respectively customary and contractual – principles'.⁹ Locke used this to justify the continuation of primogeniture and patriarchal dominion domestically even whilst discrediting it as a system of government, but he was not entirely successful.¹⁰ As McKeon notes, in 1700, Mary Astell directly questions this double standard: 'if absolute Sovereignty be not necessary in a State, how comes it to be so in a Family? Or if in a Family why not in a State; since no reason can be alleged for the one that will not hold more strongly for the other?'.¹¹ It is unsurprising, then, that Mary Astell's *A Serious Proposal to the Ladies* advocated the establishment of an all-female educational community outside of these illogical assumptions. Whilst feminist separate sphere utopias were of course influenced by an array of societal changes – privatisation, the cult of domesticity, and the Bluestockings movement to name a few – I propose here that paying closer attention to the utopian impulse in the late-seventeenth century provides a richer view of the connective tissue between those earlier and later texts,¹² the pressure which was put on the family analogy, and the breakdown of notions of control of women.

⁸ Ana M. Acosta, in looking at late eighteenth century plays, asserts that freedom from gender determinism and the objectification of women and sex in terms of reproductive value can only be attained at the expense of sex in separatist utopias, 'Transparency and the Enlightenment Body: Utopian Space in Sarah Scott's *Millennium Hall* and Sade's *The 120 Days of Sodom*' in *Gender and Utopia in the Eighteenth Century: Essays in English and French Utopian Writing*, eds. Pohl and Brenda Tooley (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 107-120; Jan Relf presents separatism as a necessary strategy of undermining patriarchy, though not the solution, 'Women in Retreat: The Politics of Separatism in Women's Literary Utopias' *Utopian Studies* 2, no.1 (1991): 131-146.

⁹ 'Historicizing Patriarchy: The Emergence of Gender Difference in England, 1660-1760', *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 28, no.3 (1995), 297.

¹⁰ McKeon 'Historicizing Patriarchy', 297-298.

¹¹ *Some Reflections Upon Marriage* (London: John Nutt, 1700); 'Historicizing Patriarchy', 278.

¹² Johns, *Women's Utopias*, 3-4.

Overall, this thesis has demonstrated the need to pay closer attention to the utopian impulse in the period of 1660-1686, and to avoid aligning utopianism with the top-down social organisation models favoured by republican-leaning writers. Doing so, I argue, illuminates not only our understanding of the genre's development, but of the socio-cultural and political history of the late seventeenth century, and its impact on the literary imagination.

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