Baconian Epistemology and the Test for Vocation in George Herbert's *The Temple*

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For all my teachers,

formal and informal,

living or dead:

Thank you for showing the way.

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Acknowledgements

Dissertation research can seem a daunting forest and the writing of it a heroic act complete with dragon and in want of the hero. Such was my experience until I discovered with a start that this particular challenge is my own to confront. Learning how to traverse the landscape courageously and not be overcome by growing recognition of personal inadequacy in the face of so much to do and the very real accomplishments of those who have gone before is to a large degree the product of those whose kindness undergirds any successful attempt. For that I have many people to thank within a circle of professors, friends, and family, whose generous courtesy, compassion, and commitment have been extended far too long without public acknowledgement. Without the wise and patient guidance of my Dissertation Committee Chair, Dr. Kevin Donovan, whose keen eye caught many deficiencies in organization and infelicities of style, this paper would never have left the draft stage. "Coraggio," he would write by way of encouragement as I toddled off for yet another round of writing. To him I owe much of what I've managed to do right in this paper, not least of which is putting key texts in my way and listening as I learned to articulate what I had discovered. Indeed, the dissertation began as a product of several courses he teaches so well that I felt compelled to consider the intellectual and spiritual environment of seventeenth-century English literature as the focus of my dissertation research. His nominating me for a Peck Award gave me a renewed sense of ability and the desire to match the faith he had in my work.

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Abstract

While Francis Bacon's *The Advancement of Learning* was being translated into the elegant Latin of *De Dignitate et Augmentis Scientiarum*, a translation credited to George Herbert, Herbert was composing a series of religious English lyrics that would be published posthumously as *The Temple*. Public Orator for Cambridge University and Fellow, George Herbert was a candidate for Francis Bacon's call to begin the great instauration of learning that Bacon believed would ultimately usher in the Solomonic society that Bacon hoped would be established in England during the reign of James I. Part of his call was to open the experimentation to all who would be willing to share their results for the mutual advancement of knowledge.

In addition to being a deeply spiritual and highly trained poet, Herbert was interested in the provocative academic issues of his day and was personally dedicated to furthering intellectual and scholarly inquiry. Although Herbert scholarship has focused largely on issues related to his confessional tradition and religious context, his position on Bacon's philosophy has received little interest. Some conclude that Herbert distrusted and eventually rejected the Baconian agenda. Over the past decade, the paradigm of a scientific revolution that irrevocably split objective scientific method from religious belief has been challenged by sociologists and historians of science and philosophy who recognize that at the core of Bacon's rhetorical argument is a Protestant worldview that believes it is fulfilling a divinely ordained mission to provide the autonomy and method needed in science to root out superstition and ignorance and promote human progress in light of the anticipated millennium. As one of the probable translators of the *De*

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Augmentis, Herbert was very familiar with Bacon's epistemology. After establishing the historical context, the following Baconian concepts identified in Herbert's *The Temple* are considered: avoiding the "idols" of the mind, living out one's vocation in service to God and the state in charity, uses of encryption and codes to unlock the secrets of God's two books (nature and sacred scripture) in providential time and space, matter theory, and the consequences of these ideas for literary form and function.

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Introduction

Not long ago I found myself intrigued by the vague attribution in 1678 by Thomas Tenison that Francis Bacon had used George Herbert's skills as translator to translate his two-book treatise, *On the Dignity and Advancement of Learning* into the much enlarged Latin text, *De Augmentis Scientiarum* (24). This alleged collaboration (Tenison only identifies this individual as "Mr. Herbert") was initially incongruous to my mind, which had neatly separated the saintly, orthodox, other-worldly Church of England poet and priest from the very worldly, ambitious, statesman and quite probably atheist, philosopher and herald of the modern scientific revolution who forced a split between the Western cultural paradigms of reason and faith, science and religion. So, beginning with Herbert's writing, I began recording evidence of his very diverse intellectual interests and active engagement with current ideas. I was surprised also to discover in his writings a persona whose temperament was not retiring, but quite actively engaged in both the sacred and secular public affairs and issues of his day, at all levels of society: extended family, the church, the university, the shire, and the state. Moreover, I realized that Herbert had developed an intellectual friendship with Bacon that continued until the older man's death in 1626 and that Herbert's writings could be interpreted from the standpoint of key Baconian concepts without misrepresenting either author's stated intent.

I turned to Bacon's *On the Dignity and Advancement of Learning* and *De Augmentis Scientiarum* and found that even though Bacon is sometimes interpreted to be, at minimum, disingenuous when he refers to the importance of keeping a religious outlook in political and philosophical undertakings, such a reading doesn't adequately explain his arguments or

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rationale. Bacon was a prolific writer on many subjects, and his total output on religious matters constitutes a number of texts in several genres and on the basis of volume alone surely offers a reasonable claim that the author at least found his engagement with the subject of religion of vital interest. I also began to realize that many of the men with whom Bacon conducted significant personal correspondence beyond that of patron and client, or matters of the court and official duties, were men whose religious convictions were without question, Catholics like Toby Matthews and Fr. Fulgentio, and Protestant Divines other than Herbert, or Bacon's own chaplain William Rawley, like Lancelot Andrewes, whose intelligence, education, and refinement made them excellent potential combatants for any evidence of hypocrisy on Bacon's part. I found that while he had developed his share of enemies during his lifetime, they were primarily political in nature, and when confronted with his ideas, his argument for natural philosophy and developing new categories for distinguishing the disciplines, those who could grasp his concepts intellectually were willing to collaborate with his investigations or were at least eager to hear more from Bacon about them.

Desirous to test my own reading of Bacon against current scholarship, I began by turning to standard university compendiums, such as the two-volume *Cambridge History of Seventeenth-Century Philosophy* and those volumes from the ongoing *Oxford Bacon* series that have been published to date. I found, as I fanned out from introductory texts to scholarly sources on which they relied, that over the last fifteen years or so, cross-disciplinary studies of the early modern era have led to revisionist histories of science, philosophy, and law that seek to place Bacon's thought within the rhetorical tradition of humanistically trained statesmen and jurists of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century who worked

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diligently for strong centralized government in Britain, which meant support for the monarchy and the state church. I began to see that Bacon and Herbert may well have seen each other as allies and their respective vocations as complementary of one another, living in an era in which the emerging professional class developed out of university educated virtuosi with time and gifts on their hands that life as a courtier did not entirely consume. Made up of younger sons of distinguished and titled families, this class was supportive of the monarchy and the patronage system that supported them and their extended families. Seeing Herbert from this vantage point, as one among a larger group of like-minded men, broadened my appreciation for his varied interests and his large capacity for friendship. I even thought that it might be helpful for others to consider him from this wide-angle lens.

However, upon researching how modern literary scholars have interpreted the interaction between the two men, I learned that the path before me was not unmarked; others had paved a way of comparing the quite dense and prolific writings of Bacon with the much smaller, but equally respected and influential corpus of Herbert. Two scholars in particular, Martin Elsky and Harold Toliver, had written extensively on differences between the writings of the two men, which seemed for them to be in insurmountable opposition. For Elsky, the chief difference lies in their use of language. Elsky points to Herbert's affinity for hieroglyphic language in opposition to what he sees as Bacon's more modern use of language as arbitrarily composed units intentionally arranged to create an agreed meaning. For Toliver, the difference is religious. He argues that Herbert, being a devout Christian, deliberately rejected the Baconian project, preferring an other-worldly perspective over the decidedly this-worldly focus of Bacon's natural philosophy. Other scholars have been less sure that the

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two were in opposition with each other's ideas and polity. Even those who accept the probability of a meaningful and friendly intellectual exchange between the two, such as Kenneth Alan Hovey, William A. Sessions, Charles Whitney, and Cristina Malcolmson, have not addressed the issue in an extended way. Hovey argues for an interpretation of Herbert that appreciates his learning and admiration for Bacon, noting that several of Herbert's poems suggest a close reading of Bacon, such as "Diuinitie," "Providence," and "The Pearl," that both men admire the open-ended aphoristic writing style, and that emphasize a non-sectarian doctrine of God (" 'Diunitie, and Poesie, Met': The Baconian Context of George Herbert's Divinity"). Sessions recognizes a significant connection between the writings of the two in their separate handling of a metaphorical use of the image of chalk marks, referring to a passage in scripture; Cristina Malcolmson provides a summary position for interpreting the relationship between the two men that acknowledges historical evidence for their friendship (*Literary Life*); and Charles Whitney introduces the idea that Herbert and Bacon can both be considered "modern" in the separateness of their respective fields, but sees their work as symbolic of the mutual exclusivity of modern science and the humanitie

Despite significant differences among the arguments of these scholars, cumulatively they helped me to refine my interpretation. Although I had originally compartmentalized the two men as separate, opposing contemporaries in the small circle of people that encompassed Jacobean courtiers and intellectuals, seeing them brought together by recent scholarship made me increasingly aware that Herbert, at least, was not yet adequately defined by the results of this scholarship. Other scholars, such as Patricia Fumerton, caused me to see that interpretation of Herbert's poetry could be enriched by wider cultural study of his interests in

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material artifacts, and Anna K. Nardo's study of ludic elements in Herbert's poetry helped me to recognize how Herbert used concepts of the game and cultivated wonder to incorporate his widely diverse interests into his devotional poetry. In short, I began to see evidence in *The Temple* of a sophistication more wide-ranging than Toliver's narrowly religious boundaries had identified and an intelligence in Herbert's facility with language that allowed for so many kinds of linguistic experiments, which he delighted in exploiting for his own purposes, that caused me to find unconvincing Elsky's all too constricting cabalistic argument. While it is evident that Herbert had deep respect for symbolic language as displayed in hieroglyph and emblem, I believed that I also saw in Herbert's poetry and prose a critical detachment toward language and an acceptance of the more modern understanding of language regarding the function of signs and symbols that Bacon espoused. Additionally, although I agree with Whitney that Herbert and Bacon are modern in their willingness to focus on their respective disciplinary subjects, their modernity may be more instructive for readers of the early twenty-first century precisely because they recognized the value of both subjective and objective modes of thought and considered their vocations as complementary, not mutually exclusive.

Arguments for Herbert's theological orthodoxy and assimilation of classical rhetoric have been thoroughly researched over the past fifty years, and although it may never be satisfactorily concluded where precisely Herbert stood along the theological spectrum of pre-Laudian conforming priests of the Church of England during the 1620s until his death in 1633/34, I accept in large part the evidence that has been presented by scholars such as Cristina Malcolmson. Instead of focusing on the profoundly spiritual and theologically rich

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nature of Herbert's poetry, I would rather offer for additional consideration that within those poems resides evidence of a poet quite willing to test the boundaries of conventional thought, linguistically and as a matter of poetic form and function, using methods heralded in Bacon's *De Augmentis*. Moreover, his correspondence with Bacon and long-term association with the man, both in favor and out, shows a willingness to know his own mind.

Chapters one and two establish the intellectual relationship between the two men and argue for a shared belief in the importance of serving the state in charity. They demonstrate that Bacon sought Herbert's skills as a translator and editor and admired Herbert's technical mastery as well as the "pains" that he took in producing Bacon's work so consciously revised for the widest possible influence and for posterity. In addition to collecting the documentary evidence for their collaboration of the translation of *De Augmentis*, chapter two also examines the documentary evidence of Herbert's admiration for Bacon's work and his sustained respect for the man, despite the vicissitudes of political fortune. Chapter two closes with a discussion of how Bacon responded creatively to Herbert's friendship by dedicating to him a work that many find incongruous to the rest of Bacon's oeuvre, but which is quite telling considering Herbert's later seventeenth-century reputation as a Psalmist; I refer to Bacon's verse translations of *Certaine Psalmes*.

Chapter three considers how Bacon's need for an editor and translator was fulfilled by Herbert and establishes how Bacon and Herbert agree on two key issues related to Bacon's epistemology: avoiding the "Idols of the Mind" and the need for a rational approach to socially divisive religious controversies that threaten the peace of the state. After having examined how Herbert concurs with Bacon's epistemology, Chapter three considers in more

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detail Bacon's redefinition of charity as the operative virtue necessary to carry out one's service to the state. The arguments of Graham Rees, Stephen Gaukroger, and Julian Martin have guided my interpretation of Bacon in this chapter, and for his in-depth "close reading" of Bacon's theory of charity as related to statecraft in *The Advancement of Learning*, I rely heavily on the work of Jerry Weinberger, although I find points for disagreement in particulars of his analysis as they relate to Bacon's use of biblical narrative and classical mythology. The chapter concludes with a discussion of how Bacon and Herbert viewed their respective public vocations and the politics of their service to the monarchy.

Chapter four considers how Herbert and Bacon shared views on the uses of encryption and the significance of codes and why the act of unlocking the secrets of God's two books (nature and sacred scripture) is to be considered important and worthy. The chapter will show that Herbert and Bacon both tried to convince their audiences of the value of the enigmatic for teasing the mind in a way that would prompt creative thought and collected and employed a number of techniques, including aphorisms, for this purpose. The concept of providential time is considered to be an important factor in Bacon and Herbert's understanding of codes. The chapter lays the foundation for discussing key early modern theories common to Bacon and Herbert that are investigated in more detail in chapters five and six.

Chapter five discusses how matter theory and space theory are related to the concept of encryption and codes in nature and scripture and the role of institutional secrecy, and it looks at time in relation to history and the consequences of these theories for literary form. Bacon and Herbert both show a guarded interest in alchemy and the cosmology of vital

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spirits as advocated by followers of Paracelsus. One important departure from Paracelsus, however, lies in the way the two Englishmen work with symbols and metaphors, sustaining the quality of ambiguity for the codes, which also retains their distance as distinct objects so that the meanings do not collapse into mere identification. Discussion of unlocking the secrets of space and matter according to early modern theories known to Bacon and discussed by him (thereby providing a link to Herbert) leads to a discussion of how these theories are related to religious traditions revolving around concepts regarding Divine creation and traditional Christian beliefs regarding providential time as distinct from cyclical or linear time. Additionally, Bacon and Herbert shared a cultural belief in an imminent millennial intervention of God into the events of human history, and this belief can be seen clearly in Bacon and Herbert's choice of literary forms. For Herbert this can be seen particularly in those English poems that discuss ecclesiology, such as "Church Militant" and poems such as "Musae Responsoriae" and "The Jews," which discuss groups of religious non-conformity within society, such as the Puritans and the Jews. Bacon, too, writes significantly of the role of providential time and the need for working out how to treat non-conformist groups in light of religious expectation of the imminent end of time, a topic receiving significant treatment in his imaginative fiction, *New Atlantis*.

Building on the findings of the previous chapters, chapter six discusses how the two men's views of language and the function of poetry are more alike than Martin Elsky's interpretation would have it. It shows that Herbert and Bacon were intentionally participating in a socio-political agenda that promoted Stuart monarchical claims of divine authority and absolute control from a centralized government that they perceived as benignly

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patriarchical. In addition to reviewing the way language is used in the writings discussed in the previous chapters, chapter six adds as evidence the importance of poetry as a didactic tool for moving the audience toward a common goal. In short, the dissertation demonstrates that what Bacon has encouraged in the *De Augmentis* was in many significant ways enthusiastically embraced by Herbert.

On the heels then of the four hundredth anniversary of Bacon's original publication of the *Advancement of Learning* in 1605 and the resultant outpouring of Baconian reassessment, I believe the time may be right for this extended consideration of a long-lived and quite fruitful intellectual collaboration and friendship that I believe existed between these two men. Although the following pages include some argument for reconsidering Bacon's writings with regard to religious faith, what follows is offered primarily as a vise to widen the niche that was so successfully carved for Herbert's place in posterity by his seventeenth-century admirers but which has unnecessarily constricted our appreciation of his wide interests and his importance to the larger social and political issues of his day. Herbert's contemporaries and their successors at the close of the century saw in his poetry and prose the gifts of a spiritual teacher whose moral and ethical didacticism was admired far more than we tend to today. While didacticism is a characteristic that quite likely put him in touch with Bacon temperamentally, it has hindered the efforts of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century writers to recognize for him a wider role of an early modern virtuoso. Herbert remains to my mind a devoutly religious poet of exceptional skill, but he now also is someone whose conversation ranges easily over a number of diverse topics from the role of diet in health to architectural styles and agricultural advancements in technology, from antiquarian books and

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music to the role of didactic and narrative poetry, in addition to the need to test experience rationally, faithfully, and unflinchingly with "open eyes," as he writes in his poem, "The Pearl." Reading Herbert's poetry in light of Bacon's call for a pragmatic philosophical approach to the pressing needs of society has been quite fruitful. The result of this research finds that George Herbert's legacy is the richer for thus attending to the generosity of his friendship, the breadth of his imagination, and the catholicity of his message. It provides additional kinds of evidence for his wide appeal across the ensuing centuries and despite what might otherwise be potential cultural and disciplinary divides.

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Chapter I:

Establishing the Intellectual Relationship between Bacon and Herbert

Arguing for an implied intellectual relationship between Sir Francis Bacon and George Herbert may seem a tenuous project at first. Bacon was a well-known figure during his life, whose slow rise to national power as a legal expert for the crown and spectacular fall from royal favor for bribery in 1620 is of a different order from Herbert's less precipitously climactic life trajectory. Furthermore, Francis Bacon's legacy as the chief legal counsel for the Crown and advocate for ushering in a new method of scientific research through his voluminous writings, which he intentionally published for the widest audience during his lifetime, and which came to ascendancy after his death, is quite different from the legacy of the contemplative pastor of Bemerton who wrote religious verse, the bulk of which was not published until after his death. Nonetheless, Herbert and Bacon depended upon each other to boost their respective careers, and their relationship went further than professional networking for career advancement. Faced with documentary evidence from both men that Herbert and Bacon associated professionally, twentieth-century literary scholars, used to pigeonholing the two men in opposing camps of faith and science, often found the relationship inexplicable, to be interpreted as a peculiarity, "an interesting quirk of literary history" to use Martin Elsky's phrase (*Authorizing Words* 168). Others, such as Harold Toliver, conclude that Herbert rejects the Baconian project, in order to remain faithful to his Christian faith (*George Herbert's Christian Narrative*). Such an interpretation has not always been the norm, and more recently the writings of both men have been reevaluated to allow for a more nuanced

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understanding of their shared participation in a national agenda to promote the Stuart monarchy that was predicated on a state religion within a larger European Christian cultural context.

Cristina Malcolmson's recent biography, *George Herbert: A Literary Life*, explores Herbert's initial relationship with the more established Lord Chancellor as one of a younger client seeking the patronage of an influential man, but which evolved into a loyal friendship that continued even after Bacon was charged with bribery in 1621 (82-83). Christopher Hodgkins's position is that "Herbert's quarrel with learning is a lovers' quarrel" and that his varied scholarly interests are merely subordinated relative to his faith (23, 31). Historians interested in the history of early modern science, philosophy, and sociology have also contributed to the reappraisal by repositioning Bacon's attempt to establish natural philosophy as a professional discipline distinct from metaphysics and religion within a context less polarizing than the mid-century paradigm of the scientific revolution.[1] This study will seek to build upon the groundwork provided by the revisionist scholarship of these and other scholars[2] who see the two men cooperating as complementary rather than opposed figures within the Stuart court culture of the early seventeenth century.

In the seventeenth century, Herbert and Bacon were known to be associated with each other in print, directly commenting on each other's respective careers and publicly

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[1] Compare, for example, Thomas Kuhn's seminal work, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* and his *Essential Tension: Selected Studies in Scientific Tradition and Change* with more recent portrayals of this paradigm, such as in Steven Shapin's *Scientific Revolution* and *Social History of Truth: Civility and Science in Seventeenth-Century England.*

[2] See Elizabeth Clarke, who takes the supposition that Herbert "helped to translate" *The Advancement of Learning* for granted as she connects the intellectual relationship between these two scholars.

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on record as admiring of each other's work. So close was their association in the minds of seventeenth-century book editors and owners that one of Herbert's poems to Bacon was published as a frontispiece to Bacon's *On the Dignity and Advancement of Learning* (Hutchinson 436n). One industrious owner even pasted a copy of Herbert's poem into a copy of Bacon's versified psalms, a book Bacon had dedicated to Herbert (436n).[3] It is instructive to begin discussion of the mutual respect the two men had for one another and the interest they expressed personally in each other's respective careers as important aspects of the intellectual mentalité that resulted in Herbert's remarkable collection of poems. Furthermore, considering their relationship within the context of the excitement surrounding the publication of Bacon's *Instauratio Magna* and the *De Augmentis* promotes a new way of reading of Herbert's poetry as an affirmative response in accord with the intellectual thought of his society so profoundly shaped by Bacon. Such a way of reading Herbert challenges presuppositions that would erect a barrier between the writings of these two men and their respective quests.

Although Bacon was more than thirty years Herbert's senior, they had much in common. Both were younger sons of fathers whose deaths before their children had reached the age of majority had threatened to hamper their children's fortunes. Both Herbert and Bacon had learned to operate within the intricate patronage system of the seventeenth century. Existing letters describe their mutual dependency upon each other's good will when, at various times during their lives, one or the other was temporarily in

[3] The Latin title is "In Honorem Illustr. D.D. Verulamij, S^{ti} Albani, Mag. Sigilli Custodis post editam ab eo Instaurationem Magnam" (*Works* 436). McClosley and Murphy translate the title as "In Honor of the Illustrious Baron Verulam, Viscount St. Alban, Keeper of the Great Seal, after the publication of his Instauratio Magna" (169).

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the more influential position. In 1620, very briefly, it was Bacon who as Lord Chancellor was in a position to seek out the talents of the best Latin scholar available to work on a new edition of his *Advancement of Learning*. According to the son of a Cambridgeshire curate, Thomas Tenison (later Archbishop of Canterbury from 1694-1715), whose *Baconiana* (1678) would favorably assess the scientific contributions of Sir Francis Bacon for a new generation, Bacon selected Cambridge University's newly installed Public Orator and M. A. Fellow, George Herbert, for the task of translating the work (24, cited in Spedding 1: 420).[4]

While no direct evidence has been found to substantiate the specific attribution, a notebook of miscellaneous memoranda in Bacon's hand dating from 1608 shows his interest in making sure the translation continued apace. The entry reads, "Proceeding wth ye translation of my book of Advancem^{t} of learnyng; harkenyng to some other yf playfere should faile" (Spedding 11: 64). Originally, Bacon had obtained the service of the St. Margaret Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, Dr. Playfer, for the translation. By July 1608, it was apparent that Dr. Playfer, suffering poor health, was not up to the challenge. Regarding Bacon's growing fears that the scholar was not able to perform the task, Spedding notes that Playfere died the next February (1608/09) amid rumors that his mental capacities were not up to their former level (10: 302). According to Archbishop Tenison, who possessed the notebook in which the memorandum is penned, Playfere's style did not suit Bacon, who wanted his work to be represented in a style that was "not

[4] Future references to Bacon's *Works* as edited by Spedding will be cited using volume and page number. All other references to Bacon's *Works* will come from those volumes of the *Oxford Bacon* that have been published as of the date of this writing, and are cited by the respective editors' names.

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so much neat and polite, as clear, masculine, and apt expression" (*Baconiana* 26). Herbert did not matriculate in Trinity College until December of that year.

In 1609, Bacon had completed his Latin *Sapientia Veterum*, a short work on fables from antiquity, and presented it to his Catholic friend in exile, Sir Matthew Toby, the son of the Archbishop of York. In his cover letter, Bacon thanks Toby, who was in Salamanca, for his last letter and gives in return this little book (11: 145). An excerpt from the letter follows, illustrating his desire to produce a good Latin translation:

> I do heartily thank you for your letter of the 24th of August from Salamanca; and in recompence thereof, I send you a little work of mine that hath begun to pass the world. They tell me my latin is turned into silver, and become current. Had you been here, you should have been my inquisitor before it came forth: but I think the greatest inquisitor in Spain will allow it. But one thing you must pardon me if I make no haste to believe, that the world should be grown to such an ecstasy as to reject truth in philosophy, because the author dissenteth in religion; no more than they do by Aristotle or Averroes. My great work goeth forward; and after my manner, I alter ever when I add. So that nothing is finished till all be finished. (11: 145)

Bacon is composing in Latin for publication, a task about which he registers some insecurity. He would have preferred that someone like Toby, whom Bacon believes to be a good judge of good Latin, had first read and approved Bacon's style. It is also apparent from the letter that Bacon is currently without a separate Latin translator for his "fables"

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and for his "great work," the *Instauration* (11: 145). He is still resourceful, however, having completed his fables in Latin himself, although he is somewhat self-conscious about his translation. In an attempt at self-deprecatory humor, Bacon tosses the compliment toward his friend, "the greatest inquisitor," and he immediately turns his direction to his larger unfinished project, translating the *De Augmentis*, which he continues to edit, even as he writes.

By the time the first part of the Latin translation of the *Instauratio Magna* was finally published in 1620, Herbert had been graduated M.A. and was a noted Latin scholar. The nine-book *De Augmentis* finally came out in 1623. Apart from Bacon's dedication to Herbert of the versified psalms translation that he had published in 1624, the extant correspondence between the two men is dated between 1620-23. Bacon refers to his use of translators for the *Advancement of Learning* in a 1625 letter to a Father Fugentio, who was a Venetian correspondent, according to Tenison:

> Volo Reverentiae tuae nota esse consilia mea de scriptis meis, quae meditor et molior: non perficiendi spe, sed desiderio experiundi; et quia posteritati (saecula enim ista requirunt) inservio. Optimum autem putavi ea omnia, in Latinam linguam traducta, in tomos dividere. Primus tomus constat ex libris 'De Augmentis Scientiarum:' qui tamen, ut nosti, jam perfectus et editus est, et partitiones scientiarum complectitur; quae est 'Instaurationis' meae pars prima. (14: 531)[5]

[5] The Spedding edition translates this passage as "I wish to make known to your Reverence my intentions with regard to the writings which I meditate and have in hand; not hoping to perfect them but desiring to try; and because I work for posterity; these things requiring ages for their accomplishment. I have thought it best, then, to have all of them translated into Latin and divided into volumes. The first volume consists

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Considering Tenison's family connections to Cambridgeshire, his own service there as priest for the town and University at St. Andrew the Great from 1662 (*DNB*), his interest in Bacon's life and works (it is he who identifies the recipient of the above letter), Bacon's own admission that a translation was in order for posterity's sake, and Herbert's reputation as a Latin scholar, the attribution to Herbert of responsibility for the Latin translation of *De Augmentis* is plausible at the very least. Herbert had recently been named as Orator for Cambridge in January 1619/20, presumably for his high reputation for learning and Latinity. The text referred to in this correspondence would become an ornate and much expanded version of the original English two-part work of 1605. Coming to print after the grand 1620 edition of Bacon's *Novum Organon*, this impressive new edition was published with an eye to establishing an international reputation and cementing Bacon's court hopes as advisor to the King. Markku Peltonen, in his introduction to the *Cambridge Companion to Francis Bacon*, emphasizes the ambitious nature of the publication: "It was printed by the king's printer and dedicated to the king and Bacon's post in the royal government is mentioned in the title" (11). The text succeeded in establishing the need for a distinct discipline of natural philosophy for posterity (what is now called science) by setting the stage for Cambridge's furtherance of seventeenth-century philosophical thought through the theologians and philosophers who saw Bacon as the founder of a school of thought whose members came to be known as the Cambridge Platonists. However, it was less successful in advancing Bacon's political

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of the books concerning the 'Advancement of Learning:' and this, as you know, is already finished and published, and includes the partitions of the sciences; which is the first part of my 'Instauration.'" (14: 552-53n2).

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career. James I died in March 1625, and a year later, in April 1626, Bacon died, never having regained political office.

In the meantime, in December 1625, two years after the *De Augmentis* had been published, at a time when Bacon's public career was in shambles, Bacon wrote Herbert once again, but this time as a supplicant to a potential patron. The letter, a dedication to his collection of English verse translations of some psalms, is a pretty compliment to Herbert's growing religious reputation, some four years before he was ordained priest and assigned a parish. The text presents a more humble, reflective Bacon who, in the wake of his professional disaster has sought to learn the virtues that come from instructive chastisement. By selecting some psalms for verse translation, Bacon has chosen a genre popular for all manner of gentle persons, male and female, university educated or not. Moreover, it was a text that cut across several doctrinal minefields and was a good choice if intended as a quick financial fix in desperate times, a dubious motive, but one that is convincingly argued by Lisa Jardine and Alan Stewart in their biography of Bacon, *Hostage to Fortune*. For Jardine and Stewart, Bacon's pressing financial need is the most plausible reason for the publication of such an otherwise meritless book, the profits of the publication going "to help pay back debts to his printer and bookseller" (497). Jardine and Stewart, in fact, dismiss any nobler goal by Bacon, such as genuine religious sentiment, choosing instead to quote a letter of court gossip from John Chamberlain to his friend Dudley Carleton that the versified psalms demonstrate that "he grows holy toward his end" (qtd. in Jardine and Stewart 496). However, Bacon's introductory letter and dedication also reveal that Bacon prided

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himself on his sensitivity toward audience for various kinds of texts. As his subject this time is poetic versions of some psalms, he fittingly dedicates them to his religious friend, George Herbert.

In addition to validating George Herbert's reputation as a Latin scholar and future divine, Bacon's public acknowledgement of Herbert demonstrates that he trusted Herbert with a task that he anticipated would be integral to his own crowning intellectual accomplishment: *The Instauratio Magna*. If indeed Herbert translated into Latin a much expanded version of *On the Dignity and Advancement of Learning*, the *De Augmentis*, it would also demonstrate that Herbert was thoroughly familiar with Bacon's philosophical argument and methodology, providing a starting point for investigating areas of Herbert's thought that have not been examined closely before now. Such an intellectual relationship is worth considering even without definitive evidence that Herbert served as Bacon's translator, although Bacon pointedly admits to Herbert in the dedication of the versified psalm translations that "[t]he paines, that it pleased you to take, about some of my Writings, I cannot forget" (A3). Herbert had already penned a significant amount of poetry in Latin and in English in the years of his early adulthood before and possibly during the time in which the *De Augmentis* was being translated (Malcolmson, *Literary Life* 21-50). The important collection of poems known as the Williams manuscript (named for the library that owns it), contains early copies of numerous poems in both English and in Latin; most of those in the English collection were later included in *The Temple*. Herbert's biographer Amy Charles dates the poems in this volume to Herbert's

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Cambridge days.[6] Hutchinson argues that Herbert was admired by "men of widely different churchmanship and political attachments (Hutchinson xliii). Robert H. Ray ("Seventeenth-Century Reputation") and Elizabeth Clarke[7] have both contributed to establishing that Herbert's reputation for sanctity and as an important religious poet was already high in the seventeenth century among contemporaries, on all sides of the religious doctrinal issue. Ray and Clarke show that Herbert appealed to conforming and non-conforming Protestants and also to Catholics in England.

In the dedication to his published psalm verse translations, Bacon remarks that Herbert is the ideal dedicatee for a text that joins theology and poetry, as in him are united "Diuinitie and Poesie." Although Amy Charles argues that this dedication does not indicate whether Bacon had known of Herbert's English verse, it is certainly possible that he did (78). On the other hand, Charles believes that it is quite likely that Herbert had knowledge of Bacon's philosophical project well before his possible stint as translator for the Lord Chancellor, even from the time that he was a child. John Aubrey records that Bacon was a "frequent visitor" at the Chelsea home of John Danvers and his wife, George's mother, Madeline Herbert Danvers (9, qtd. in Charles 64), and Bacon had known Edward, Lord Cherbury, George's older brother, whose published *De Veritate*

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[6] Along with the Bodleian manuscript (Tanner 307), which Charles believes to be a fair copy by a scribe at Little Gidding who created it within a year of Herbert's death for the purpose of preparing Herbert's poems for publication, these two manuscripts have been invaluable in the twentieth century for dating certain developments in Herbert's spirituality and theology. To this end, poems that appear in one manuscript but not the other have been examined for clues to Herbert's public career moves as well as his less visible opinions regarding spiritual, doctrinal issues, such as predestination or the sacraments, for example. This study acknowledges Charles's rationale for dating the two manuscripts and will also compare the poems, but for evidence of philosophical, not primarily of religious, beliefs held by the poet at particular stages in his adulthood.

[7] Both Clarke's book and article help to support the claim, q.v.

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established his reputation as one of the early Cambridge Platonists, and who was a poet in his own right (Hill, *passim*).

The first edition of the *Dignity and Advancement of Learning* was published in 1605, about the time that Herbert matriculated at Westminster school, according to Izaak Walton, who states that he entered the school at around twelve years of age (Walton 262). According to Amy Charles, Herbert probably entered Westminster as a day student as early as 1604 (52). This would put Herbert briefly under the care of Sir Lancelot Andrewes, who was Dean of Westminster Abbey until being named Bishop of Chichester on October 31, 1605. Bacon and Herbert remained life-long friends of the erudite and influential Andrewes, once a fellow of Pembroke College in Cambridge, and later Bishop of Ely, then Winchester, and finally Dean of the Chapels Royal until he died in 1626. In 1605, for example, Bacon had invited his friend Andrewes to join him at his Twickenham refuge a few miles outside London during an outbreak of plague, the retreat which Jardine and Stewart surmise to be Bacon's choice location to "think, write, and conduct experiments" in the relative peace of country life (137). According to Walton, Herbert would later join the two older men in an extended dialogue that led to lasting friendships for all three men. In his effort to convince his readers of Herbert's vast learning and "great Abilities" (272), Walton recounts that during one of the royal visitations to Cambridge by James I and his court, the King, the Lord Verulam, and the Bishop of Winchester, were much taken by the new Orator's scholarship. The year in question would have been most likely 1620, as Bacon was created Viscount St. Albans in January 1620/1621. Walton writes:

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> [James I] was attended by the great Secretary of Nature, and all Learning, Sir Francis Bacon (Lord Verulam) and by the ever memorable and learned Dr. Andrews Bishop of Winchester, both which did at that time begin a desir'd friendship with our Orator. Upon whom, the first put such a value on his judgment, that he usually desir'd his approbation, before he would expose any of his Books to be printed, and thought him so worthy of his friendship, that having translated many of the Prophet Davids Psalms into English Verse, he made George Herbert his Patron, by a publick dedication of them to him, as the best Judge of Divine Poetry. And for the learned Bishop, it is observable, that at that time, there fell to be a modest debate betwixt them two about Predestination, and Sanctity of life; of both which, the Orator did not long after send the Bishop some safe and useful Aphorisms, in a long Letter written in Greek; which Letter was so remarkable for the language, and reason of it, that after the reading it, the Bishop put it into his bosom, and did often shew it to many Scholars, both of this, and forreign Nations; but did always return it back to the place where he first lodg'd it, and continu'd it so near his heart, till the last day of his life. (273)

According to Walton, the eager young orator made quite an impression on his elders on several points, his facility as author and translator in Latin and Greek, his religious insight, and his skill as a poet. Linking Bacon and Herbert with Andrewes, as Walton does, highlights the particular genius of his primary subject. Andrewes is known as one of the foremost Divines of the Church of England, a respected translator for the King James Bible, and a devoted scholar. In a narrative evocative of the teaching of the

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youthful Christ in the Temple according to the Gospel of Luke, Bacon is categorized as the "Secretary of Nature and all Learning," and Andrewes is the "ever memorable and learned Doctor," but both men are taught by the young Orator. Bacon, in addition, discovers in Herbert the answer to his desires for a linguistic scholar to review his writings and a patron for his versified psalms. The devout Andrewes is taught the finer points of Protestant doctrine of predestination and sanctity of life. He is given a letter by Herbert that is treated like a holy relic, to be read and reread for the rest of his life, placed next to his heart and shared with numerous scholars, both from England and abroad, but never let out of his hands and ever returned "into his bosom" for safekeeping in his bosom for life. Clearly Walton and Tenison have received a strong tradition linking Herbert and Bacon as intellectual equals and friendly competitors in the close knit circle of the elite intelligentsia of seventeenth-century England, with Herbert in full possession of intellectual and religious powers sufficient to impress Bacon to defer to his linguistic skills. If such tales were restricted to apologists for a high Church of England aligned closely with the court, the tales would still have value, albeit of a more limited nature, given the possibility that the tellers' fervor may have contaminated their objectivity in their desire to present the relationship in a particular way. It is not only their tradition that links the two men, however, but the linkage is also evidenced in numerous seventeenth-century publications of Bacon's and Herbert's works.

Both Bacon and Herbert shared the prevailing conventional wisdom of seventeenth-century Europeans that Latin was still the universal language of all civilized persons, so it is not surprising that the Lord Chancellor should want to see his work

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translated into the universal Latin of *De Augmentis* by a translator, moreover, who could move readers with his persuasive force of a rhetorical skill that is "clear, masculine, and apt" (10: 302). Herbert would be well suited for this task. By virtue of his reputation as a clearly respected religious person of outstanding credentials (university fellow, linguist, poet, and rhetor), he serves as an example of how Bacon's three categories of human learning, history, poetry, and philosophy (with its distinction between physics and metaphysics in natural philosophy) can be united in one person. Thus Herbert serves as a linchpin, maintaining the connection that Bacon wanted to develop in his classification of knowledge as described in the *De Augmentis*. Understanding Herbert's relevance to Bacon's writing is a key component in recognizing how natural philosophy and religion are related categories for Bacon, a concept that has been lost in the twentieth century. While modern science has variously credited or qualified Bacon's contribution to the separation of the two kinds of learning, human and divine, thereby inaugurating the onset of an inductive investigation into the natural world, one can see that Bacon's own categories are more pragmatic rhetorical appeals for a shift in method for the promotion of human understanding rather than a divorce between the two categories. Thus, the traditional Aristotelian association between poetry and the disciplines of history and philosophy is not displaced in Bacon's scheme but "augmented" for scientific purposes. For example, Bacon argues that the history of learning needs to be written. In the Latin translation of *De Augmentis*, Bacon urges greater funding for university lectureships and library acquisition as a necessary spur to encourage such an important enterprise. He also softens his earlier stance on the prerogative and responsibility of selective secrecy among

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scientists, which had been enjoined in *The Advancement of Learning*. In the *De Augmentis*, Bacon stresses the communal contribution of science, urging a broadly based association of intellectuals to pursue their projects with an eye to providing a comprehensive compendium of learning.

According to Julian Martin, Bacon's main philosophical and scientific agenda as described, for example, in *De Augmentis*, is to put philosophy in the service of the state. Martin explains this desire as part of Bacon's own identification as civil servant of the King. Furthermore, Martin points out that Bacon's argument for the *New Organon* (the second part of the *Great Instauration* of which the *De Augmentis* formed the first), is strikingly similar to his proposal to reform the law codes (81-82), which had developed over time by case law into an overgrown mass of barely governable and frequently repetitious if not contradictory findings. Bacon argues for a reform that will establish an objectively meted justice that is not based on the uneven rhetorical ability of lawyers and judges to recite common law, much of which was unwritten and subject to the collective memory (Gaukroger, *Transformations* 61-62).[8] His detractors in the legal system, such as Sir Edward Coke, feared that Bacon's proposal was designed to weaken Britain's long-standing tradition of passing down judgment according to the precedent of case law and recognized that Bacon's argument would tend to weaken the independence of judges in handing down rulings in favor of legislation that favored the monarchy (65-66). In fact, early seventeenth-century England was more supportive of professionalism which eroded the control of traditionally recognized authorities such as the guilds and the

[8] Unless otherwise specified, all citations for Gaukroger will refer to his book *Francis Bacon and the Transformation of Early-Modern Philosophy*.

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schoolmen than may be realized at first. For example, the cultural impetus for this shift was already well underway in the underwriting of Protestant theology fellowships for the training of learned priests for the state-sponsored church at Trinity College Cambridge, where Bacon had matriculated in the 1570s and where Herbert was to follow in 1609. Although Bacon did not complete his degree but went abroad to France instead, in the service of Sir Amias Paulet, and then sought to follow the path of the legal system (Jardine and Stewart 70), throughout his career he nevertheless maintained interest in the well being of the two universities. As Chancellor, he sponsored both Oxford and Cambridge, leaving instructions in his will to create a University chair if funds would allow it. If not, the will called for annual lectures at least. Unfortunately, his outstanding debts prohibited fulfillment of this long-standing desire. Herbert, on the other hand, did advance through the B.A. and M.A., eventually becoming a priest in the Church of England, thus fulfilling the stated purpose of the theology degree he sought.

It was not only the education of Protestant, state-sponsored churchmen that had been transformed by the increased attempts to professionalize work. By the early decades of the seventeenth century, Renaissance educational theories had long established methods for training the upper crust of English men and, for leading families, women as well. Higher educational expectations translated into a more structured measurement of the attainment of essential skills for a variety of learned professions from physicians to attorneys and to university professors. Both Bacon and Herbert were products of humanist educational theory that sought to influence society through rhetorical principles. In that effort, the young Masters at Cambridge during Bacon's

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youth saw the need to differentiate themselves from the ideals of Aristotelian rhetoric with its emphasis on disputation and logic. Advancing to Cambridge a generation before Herbert, the young Francis Bacon was sensitive to arguments circulating among advanced scholars that criticized the older Aristotelian curriculum. According to these young bloods, society's pressing needs were not being met by an outmoded educational system that prided itself on the endless production of sterile debate practices, content to recast old theories in grandiloquent language, dazzling audiences with displays of memory (Gaukroger 39-49) .[9] When he returned to the problem of the university curriculum in his first edition of the *Advancement of Learning*, Bacon did not forget the highly charged intellectual atmosphere he encountered at Trinity College, where, according to Stephen Gaukroger "the questions of demonstration and discovery were the disputed questions . . . that occupied the minds of" Cambridge scholars such as Bacon's own tutor, Whitgift (43). John Whitgift was a humanist scholar and ecclesiastic for the established Church of England who went on to become Vice Chancellor of Cambridge in 1570 and Archbishop of Canterbury in 1584 (Jardine and Stewart 79, 95). Even though Whitgift himself was more conservative than the Ramist theorists,[10] the sheer force of the controversy that animated the intellectual climate had to have some effect on Bacon. Jardine and Stewart support the consensus theory that because of Bacon's young age (he

[9] See Curtis for further research on the transitions that Cambridge and Oxford experienced from 1558-1642.

[10] Petrus Ramus was a French Protestant rhetorician of the sixteenth century whose simplification of Aristotelian rhetoric for a greater emphasis on the role of persuasion. Among those killed during the St. Bartholomew's Day massacre, Ramos's death was viewed by many Protestants as a martyrdom, which contributed to his celebrity in early modern England. The debates between Ramist William Temple and Aristotelian Sir Evert Digby at Oxford beginning in 1580 are often cited as the best example of the competing schools of thought, handily summarized in Gaukroger 42. Although occurring after Bacon's student days, Gaukroger notes that they were merely the published spillover of hostilities that had been brewing over the previous decade.

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entered when he was only thirteen) during his two years at Cambridge, he was not deeply influenced by the heated debates of intellectual life, preferring instead to be preoccupied by the acquisition and displaying of fashionable clothes and fancy meals, not to mention frequent trips to family in London (34-37), but Gaukroger disagrees. Pointing to the 1625 letter by Bacon to Father Fulgentio quoted above, Gaukroger suggests that the mature Bacon, at the close of his life, remembers a work of juvenilia he titled "Temporis Partum Maximum" ("Greatest Birth of Time") and which Gaukroger postulates may be an early draft of his "rabidly anti-Aristotelian" "Temporis Partum Masculus," or "Masculine Birth of Time," which was published in 1602 (Gaukroger 43). Whether or not Gaukroger is correct in this particular, it is helpful to look once more at the letter to Father. Fulgentio. After reviewing his philosophical and historical writings and plans for future works in the same vein, Bacon concludes with great emphasis on his projection of unwavering commitment to the affairs of the intellect from the time of his youth:

> in eo tantum spem ponentes, quod videntur ista a Dei providentia et immense bonitate profecta. Primo, propter ardorem et constantiam mentis nostrae, quae in hoc instituto non consenuit, nec tanto temporis spatio refrixit. Equidem memini me, quadraginta abhinc annis, juvenile opusculum circa has res confecisse, quod magna prorusus fiducia et magnifico titulo 'Temporis Partum Maximum' inscripsi. Secundo,

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> quod propter infinitam utilitatem Dei Opt. Max. auctoramento gaudere videatur. (14: 532)[11]

Clearly, as the older Bacon reminisces on the energetic optimism and virtuosity of his youth, he is quietly amused by the sheer audacity of the title, but he also reflects that even from that age the intellectual issues that would propel him into adulthood, the arguments with which his generation would wrestle to further the philosophical ideals of their educational training, are so evidently useful that they are blessed to succeed by Providence.

As seen above in Bacon's letter to Father Fulgentio, this new beginning for assimilating knowledge went far beyond the claims of nationalism, to enlist the energies of a global intelligentsia. For Bacon, scientists can overlook the niceties of religious doctrinal differences to focus on what he believed to be truly lasting things of the natural order. Of this largesse of tolerance, he reassures his Catholic friend Sir Toby in his letter of 1609 (referred to above). A decade later again finds Bacon, ever the optimist, still pushing his agenda to a younger, enthusiastic generation of scholars. In a 1622 letter responding to one such interested professor of philosophy and mathematics, Father Redemptus Baranzano of Anneci, Bacon assures him, "De Metaphysicâ ne sis sollicitus. Nulla enim erit post veram Physicam inventam; ultra quam nihil praeter divina" (14:

[11] "But my hope is this, --that these things appear to proceed from the providence and infinite goodness of God. First because of the ardour and constancy of my own mind, which in this pursuit has not grown old nor cooled in so great a space of time: it being now forty years, as I remember, that I composed a juvenile work on this subject, which with great confidence and a magnificent title I named 'The Greatest Birth of Time.' Secondly, because it seems, by reason of its infinite utility, to enjoy the sanction and favour of God, the all-good and all-mighty." (Spedding transl. 14: 532-33, n2)

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375).[12] Baranzano had apparently been concerned over Bacon's dismissal of the Aristotelian syllogistic method and the enormity of the inductive experimental agenda that Bacon was proposing. Bacon assures him that syllogism has its place, especially in mathematics, but that in physics, "post notiones primae classis, et axiomata super ipsas, per inductionem benè eruta et terminate, tuto adhiberi syllogismum, modo inhibeatur saltus ad generalissima, et fiat progressus per scalam convenientem" (14:375).[13] Bacon is quite confident that his method of inductive experimentation will be less overwhelming than the voluminous product that classical philosophy had already amassed in libraries over time; in fact, inductive experimentation of natural history has the benefit of narrowing the parameters of investigation. But the difference, he tells his correspondent, is that Bacon's method will actually produce practical results to the betterment of humanity, if only he had enough qualified assistants. Baranzano, whose subject is astronomy would be a particularly desirable partner. Bacon invites him to join his project: "neque huic rei deero, quantum in me est; utinam habeam et adjutores idoneos. Neque in hâc parte mihi quidpiam accidere possit felicius, quam si tu, talis vir, primitias huic operi praebeas, conscribendo historiam coelestium, in quâ ipsa tantum phaenomena, atque unà instrumenta astronomica . . ." (14: 376).[14] It is particularly important to Bacon that the recording of exact planetary observations be made, without leaping to premature theory.

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[12] "Be not troubled about the Metaphysics. When true Physics have been discovered, there will be no Metaphysics. Beyond the true Physics is divinity only" (Spedding transl. 14: 377n).

[13] "[A]fter the Notions of the first class and the Axioms concerning them have been by Induction well made out and defined, Syllogism may be applied safely; only it must be restrained from leaping at once to the most general notions; and progress must be made through a fit succession of steps" (Spedding transl. 14: 377n).

[14] "[N]or shall I be wanting in the work, so far as in me lies. I wish I may have fit assistants. Nor can anything in this department fall out more happily than that you, being what you are, should contribute the first-fruits of the work, by composing a history of the Heavens" (Spedding transl. 14: 377n)

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Perhaps to show the viability of his great vision, Bacon next relates that his long awaited translation of the *Advancement of Learning* should be complete by the summer: "Librum meum de progressu scientiarum traducendum commisi. Illa translation, volente Deo, sub finem aestatis perficietur: eam ad te mittam" (14:376).[15] In June 1622, when this letter is dated, Bacon projects that his long awaited *De Augmentis* will be completed that same summer. His plans are once more delayed by more than a year. In October 1623, the nine-book *De Dignitate et Augmentis Scientiarum* finally appears.

By the time George Herbert arrived at Cambridge in 1609 the famous debates of the 1580s on rhetoric and the curriculum that raged between the proponents of the older Aristotelian and the pragmatic Ramist theorists were history. Herbert's own rhetorical training was closer to what was the provenance of the avant-garde in Bacon's school days. Although the undergraduate curriculum Herbert undertook was still based on the older Aristotelian models that stressed logic over rhetoric, the tutorial system was now firmly in the hands of those former students who had discovered for themselves the benefits of the pared down models of rhetoric preferred by Ramist scholars. If the disputed questions for Bacon's generation had been those of demonstration and discovery, as Gaukroger argues (43), for Herbert's generation they were focused on building what theorists had only dreamed and projected as a visionary ideal.

Mark H. Curtis argues that in order to understand the transition that took place within English universities during the life spans of Bacon and Herbert, one must first understand the relationship between the mandated curriculum and its variously funded

[15] "I am getting a translation made of my book of the *Advancement of Learning*. It will be finished, please God, by the end of this summer; and I will send you a copy" (Spedding transl. 14: 377n).

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lecture series on the one hand and the tutorial system that grew up for upper-class undergraduates on the other. The historical definition of the university that was still operable for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, is that it is a stable repository of knowledge to be passed to a new generation, not that is is a seedbed for new knowledge to be discovered and created (227). As such, the formal lecture series and student debates remained the bedrock method of ensuring that the contents of the curriculum were being transmitted to each successive generation of undergraduates. Simultaneously, however, new theories, including those challenging the traditional curriculum, were transmitted to the next impressionable generation through the quasi-official tutorial system that grew up between the Masters and the frequently early-teenaged undergraduates. It may be that the shrill rhetoric against academicians that Bacon employs in *The Advancement of Learning* results as much from his memory of the humanist agenda that swirled around Cambridge among the Masters as it is a ringing cry for revolutionary change. Certainly the Latin version, *De Augmentis*, softens the tone. A modern reader may surmise that Bacon, always sensitive to his intended audience, realized that academic culture had mellowed since his own undergraduate days and that his chosen translators of the *De Augmentis* may have helped to apprize him of the current intellectual climate.

The delay of the translation of Bacon's *Advancement of Learning*, frustrating as it appears to have been for the author, may explain the change in content and tone of what appeared in the October 1623 publication, *De Dignitate et Augmentis Scientiarum Libri IX*. Between December 1609, when Herbert matriculated in Trinity College, and October 1623, when the established Public Orator gave his most impressive rhetorical address to

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the heir apparent Prince Charles and Buckingham, the adult George Herbert had established his reputation as a classical scholar and rhetorician. Amy Charles notes that Herbert was also writing Latin poetry that year, as he had done for several years by that time, as previously discussed above (90-94). Two poems in particular address the bellicose tenor of the day. They are arguments on behalf of peace from the satirical and epigrammatic series known as *Lucas*: *In pacem Britannicam* and *Triumphus Mortis*. Most modern studies of Herbert's writings dwell, understandably, on the spiritually concerned English collection. There is however, another side to Herbert's writing that warrants research; his Latin writings, for which he was renowned in his lifetime, provide evidence of the professional rhetorician who tries to sway public opinion. The satirical nature of these two poems for civil peace may point to a more resolute poet who, once he has fully matured, cannot remain naïve to empty formulae to visiting dignitaries once he has fully matured. Little remains in the official record to account for Herbert's activities at Cambridge. Charles believes that Herbert's duties around 1622 probably included serving as a tutor, but there is no direct evidence (93). He might just as easily have been translating from Latin for the one-time Lord Chancellor, using a language and style that his contemporary poetry would support.

Whether or not he served as a direct translator for Bacon, Herbert was certainly no longer willing to remain a facile spokesman for the university. After suffering from a serious illness in 1622, he tried a stint as MP for Montgomery borough in 1623, the same period that the Virginia Company's charter is revoked by the Crown, an entrepreneurial

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endeavor partially funded by family and friends, such as his father-in-law, John Danvers, and Nicholas Ferrar, the man who would later see *The Temple* go to press.

Other signs of the general sense of over-ripening may be seen in how Herbert responded to the death of James I and the installation of the new King, Charles I, after his polemical speech to the same in 1622. Although Herbert had once participated in the collections of poetic tributes to the memory of Prince Henry, who died in 1612 (Herbert would have been about ten at the time), and Queen Anne, who died in 1619, there is no record of him memorializing the King's death in 1625 with poetic tribute. However, when Bacon died shortly thereafter in 1626, never having regained his position at court, Herbert was instrumental in seeing that the once powerful man be remembered in poetry, contributing his own moving elegy and possibly coordinating the effort of the collection (Hutchinson xxx). Herbert, always conscious that his own birthday fell on April 3 (he once wrote a Latin poem meditating on a birthday that coincided with Good Friday), writes tenderly that it is no wonder that the aging Bacon should at last expire in this month, a time of cold, moist misery in England, most reminiscent of Ovid's depiction in *Fasti* of Flora being transformed from Chloris by the breath of the Zephyr to the sorrowful warbling of the nightingale, which in England means the onset of weepy (*lacrymis*) and melancholy (*querelis*) precipitation:

> Dum longi lentíque gemis sub pondere morbi
>
> Atque haeret dubio tabida vita pede,
>
> Quid voluit prudens Fatum, iam sentio tandem:
>
> Constat, Aprile vno te potuisse mori:

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Vt Flos hinc lacrymis, illinc Philomela querelis,

Deducant linguae funera sola tuae.[16]

At this point, Herbert turns away from seeking attention of the court and begins a new chapter as parish priest in the ancient environs of Sarum. Biographers have long sought a rationale for Herbert's decision to become a parish priest at this particular juncture, often citing Walton's claim that the deaths of "two of his most obliging and most powerful friends Lodowick Duke of Richmond, and James Marquess of Hamilton, and not long after him King James" were responsible for dashing "all Mr. Herbert's Court-hopes" (276). Significantly, Walton, the Royalist, does not notice that Herbert writes no elegies for these men as he does for Bacon.

Herbert's respect for Bacon may be directly evidenced in the few extant letters that have survived the passage of time. The correspondence that passed between the two men is consistent with mutual professional understanding and cordiality, sometimes bordering friendship, but usually characterized by studied courtesy rather than a friendly intimacy based in mutuality, such as Bacon displays in letters to his long-time friend, the recusant Matthew Toby, or as Herbert conveys to Nicholas Ferrar. The three official University letters that are extant are written the first two years that Herbert is Orator, 1620-21, which also coincides with the apex of Bacon's career. Bacon was named

[16] McCloskey and Murphy translate this poem as follows:

While you groan beneath the weight of long-
Drawn-out illness, and with a tottering foot
Life, wasting away, hangs on, I see at last
What discreet destiny has willed: it is
Certain there has never been a choice: April
Has always been the month for you to die in, that here
Flora with her tears, and Philomela there
With her lamentations, may conduct
Your idiom's lonely funeral cortege. (173)

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Attorney General in 1620 and in January of 1621 was created Viscount St. Albans (*Works* 460, 463, 467). Herbert's letters, written by a newly appointed Orator, bear the marks of officialdom, but occasionally, even in such dry matters, a hint of personal interest is glimpsed, as Hutchinson notes regarding Herbert's cautious admission to Bacon of the paucity of the Cambridge library holdings compared to the newly established Bodleian at Oxford (605n). Of course, Bacon, having attended Cambridge in his youth, should hardly be unaware of the situation, although the forty years that had elapsed between his tenure there and Herbert's gentle complaint to the University Chancellor is a considerable passage of time.

The other two official Latin epistles to Bacon on behalf of the University are part of a larger epistolary campaign that Herbert spearheaded to support the University's interests in the matter of draining the fens that surround Cambridgeshire (*Works* 460) and the rights of the University regarding printing privileges in response to some practices of the Stationers Company in London (467). In each of these poems, Herbert appears as a competent administrator for the University, one whose service to the state is discharged with sympathy and vigor. Furthermore, each of the subjects argued for by his public persona in the above discussed epistles also appears in one or another of his personal writings, showing integrity of purpose and wide-ranging interests. His personal interests in authorship, translations, publication, as well as irrigation and drainage technology, are well attested in his later works.[17]

[17] Prose evidence of his interest in authorship and translation will be discussed more fully below. For further reading on his interest in authorship and technology to control water over land mass, see Herbert's poem "The Quidditie" and "The Water-Courser." Also, see Cooley for Herbert's interest in water

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In addition to the previously discussed letters of Herbert to Bacon, which perhaps because of their formal nature, one should rather describe as from the University Orator to the University Chancellor, six poems written around the same period, five in Latin and one in English, reveal a closer relationship between the two men. Two short Latin poems written by Herbert to Bacon in recognition of his recent publication of the *Instauratio Magna* and the University's reception of a donated copy to the library, are simply formal, occasional poems, which substantiate the excitement and gratitude that Cambridge scholars must have felt for Bacon's accomplishment and the presentation copy that was sent to the library (*Works* 435). As the formal Latin thank-you letter also demonstrates, the poem underlines that the speaker of the poem feels keenly the want of a satisfactory library, such as is currently being established as the Bodleian. Bacon, now recognized as among the more illustrious scholars and government officials of the nation, is also an alumnus, and as such, it may be understandable that the University wants to capitalize on that celebrity and to remind Bacon of his Alma Mater. Although the poet is writing on behalf of his employer, it is not unlikely that he is also writing from a more closely held position as well, such as that of fellow alumnus and scholar, or if Izaak Walton is correct, as friend (273). Herbert's interest in promoting a well-stocked library is not new-found or dependent upon his current position. In a rare, candid, personal complaint to his beloved step-father, Sir John Danvers, in a letter of March 18, 1617/18, Herbert pleads for funds to stock his own library with the books he needs now that he is "setting foot into Divinity" so that he will not be continually borrowing from his friends: "I want Books

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technology in use on the fields of Wilton House, the seat of the Earls of Pembroke, Herbert's relative, and for a perceptive reading of that poem.

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extremely . . . [w]hat Trades-man is there who will set up without his Tools?" he asks Danvers (364). Once again, he finds himself using his gifts of rhetoric on behalf of increasing the holdings of a library, this time for Cambridge rather than his personal holdings. Hutchinson's note showing that Herbert's persuasive rhetoric is calibrated differently, depending on his intended primary audience (605n), is important because it shows that Herbert has marked the Chancellor as a book lover who is likely to support efforts to increase holdings because of his historic association with the University.

The depth of Herbert's understanding of Bacon's accomplishments in the *Instauratio* is more evident in a longer poem of effusive praise for the author's celebrity status, which is published in the 1637 edition of *On the Dignity and Advancement of Learning* (436). As Hutchinson notes, the poem was so popular in the seventeenth century as to be published both in editions of Bacon's works, including his 1637 edition of *On the Dignity and Advancement of Learning,* and in *Herbert's Remains*, as well as surviving in manuscript form and in a copy pasted for safe-keeping in a 1625 edition of Bacon's *Certaine Psalms*. In this poem, Herbert uses Bacon's own terms to celebrate the older man's accomplishments:

> Qvis iste tandem? Non enim vultu ambulat
> Quotidiano! Nescis, ignare? Audies!
> Dux Notionum; veritatis Pontifex;
> Inductionis Dominus, & Verulamij;
> Rerum magister vnicus, at non Artium;
> Profunditatis pinus, atque Elegantiae;

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Naturae Aruspex intimus; Philosophiae

Aerarium; sequester expèrientiae,

Speculationísque; Aequitatis signifier;

Scientiarum, sub pupillari statu

Degentium olim, Emancipator; Luminis

Promus; Fugator Idolûm, atque nubium;

Collega Solis; Quadra Certitudinis;

Sophismatomastix; Brutus Literarius,

Authoritatis exuens tyrannidem;

Rationis & sensûs stupendous Arbiter;

Repumicator mentis; Atlas Physicus,

Alcide succumbente Stagiritico;

Columba Noae, quae in vetustis artibus

Nullum locum requiémue cernens perstitit

Ad se suaéque matris Arcam regredi:

Subtilitatis Terebra; Temporis Nepos

Ex Veritate matre; Mellis alueus;

Mundíque & Animarum sacerdos vnicus;

Securis errorum; ínque Naturalibus

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Granum Sinapis, acre Alijs, crescens sibi:

O me probè lassum! Iuuate, Posteri![18]

This enthusiastic piling up of definitive descriptors for Bacon, the rhetorical technique known as copia, is a device that Herbert will also use to greater effect and control in his English poem from *The Temple*, "Prayer I," which begins, "Prayer, the Churches banquet, Angels age" and is famous for creating and sustaining a complete unit of thought without the use of a single predicate. In this text, the speaker's ecstasy is that of a naïve impressionable *vates*, inspired to proclaim on behalf of a great personage, a devotee effusing, pardonable only because he is among friends, fellow members of Cambridge, who are honoring one of their own. Herbert manages to include all the current buzzwords from Bacon's own writings and possibly add a few from the general talk at the University: he calls him, among other things: a Pontifex of truth, Lord of the Inductive (method), Master of the unified (sciences) not Master of Arts (Herbert had in a separate letter noted that Bacon had declined to pursue that degree); the timelessly elegant, protector of experiment, bane to idols, a literary Brutus who disdains sophistry and the tyranny of (outmoded) texts, an astonishing arbiter between the rational faculty and the senses; an Atlas over the physical world to whom Aristotle is made subject, who like Noah's dove could not find a place to light in the arts and returned to the Mother Ark. Bacon is called subtlety's hole-borer, and descendent of Time, from Mother-Truth, honeycomb, the one priest of both Earth and Spirit; secure regarding error; a Mustard Seed in Nature, acrid to others, but according to one's own knowledge of self like the

[18] In order to provide a meaningful discussion of Herbert's Latin poems, they will be followed by textual analysis along with an English paraphrase.

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mustard tree fully grown. This final metaphor alludes to a prophetic parable of Jesus from the Gospels to show Christians that Divine Providence will grow beyond its humble beginnings to become something enormous and cosmic in scope. At this point, the speaker asks posterity to take up the task of praising Cambridge's national hero. The poem demonstrates something of the excitement and celebrity of the great man of science, and it enjoyed a distinguished publication history in the seventeenth century probably because it articulated what contemporaries were indeed saying about Bacon.

A more intriguing short poem because it is so rich in allegorical ambiguity, much admired and alluded to among contemporaries, may shed further light on Herbert's desire to be accepted by Bacon as an equal or at least among his admirers. Because of the complex use of allegorical myth and ambiguous relationship of "Aethiopissa ambit Cestum" ("An Ethiopian Maiden to Cestus"), the English version excerpts will be taken from a bilingual translation of Herbert by Mark McCloskey and Paul R. Murphy, in *The Latin Poetry of George Herbert.*

Quid mihi si facies nigra est? hos, Ceste, colore
Sunt etiam tenebrae, qua stamen optat amor.
Cernis vt exustâ semper sit fronte viator;
Ah longum, quae te deperit, errat iter,
Sit nigro sit terra solo, quis despicit aruum?
Claude oculos, & erunt omnia nigra tibi:
Aut aperi, & cernes corpus quas proijcit vmbras;
Hoc saltem officio fungar amore tui.

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Cùm mihi sit facies fumus, quas pectore flammas

Iamdudum tacitè delituisse putes?

Dure, negas? O fata mihi praesaga doloris,

Quae mihi lugubres contribuere genas! (*Works* 437)

According to F. E. Hutchinson, the editor of Herbert's *Works,* this poem circulated among contemporaries, and authorial attribution is not certain, although Hutchinson includes it among the "Alia Poemata Latinae" ("other Latin poems") in the collection. Hutchinson cites it first appearing with clear attribution to Herbert in James Duport's 1662 edition of *Ecclesiastes Solomonis* (437n, 416n).[19] Since Duport, Master of Trinity College until 1664 (Clarke, "Cambridge Scholars" 43), knew Herbert, his attribution provides a stronger case for Herbert's authorship than does the English poem, which does not. Early examples of the poem (Hutchinson 597n) include with it with an English poem written to Bacon, which Hutchinson placed with other English works of "doubtful" Herbert authorship, "To the Right Hon. The L. Chancellor (Bacon)" (209, 551n). Hutchinson shows that the record indicates that the two poems were sent to Bacon together, appear to be written by the same person, and shed light on each other (597-98n).[20]

In the Latin poem, the speaker, an Ethiopian maid seeks to win to herself her beloved, Cestus, who is not black. She enumerates the benefits of the dark, arguing that

[19] See Elizabeth Clarke's article on the significance of fellow scholars from Cambridge who had known Herbert for discussion of the publishing of Herbert's works shortly before the Civil War, when the Laudian faction of the Church were reluctant to do so, and before Herbert became associated with the pro-Laudian "Anglicanism" that occurs during the Interregnum and increases after the Restoration.

[20] Malcolmson suggests that the poem, if attributed to Herbert, can provide insight into how Herbert participates in "coterie topics, and clarify that his analysis of spiritual states developed not in private but in relationship to a group of writers and an audience" (*Literary Life* 15).

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lovers naturally seek the dark (2). Since travelers experience sunburn, the scorched forehead is naturally darkened (3). Rich tilled soil is black; eyes closed shut only see black and when open can distinguish the body's own shadow (5, 6). The speaker then declares that her action is prompted by love, and her face, which of itself is smoke, is so because of the smoldering fires she has hidden within. But in the final two lines, the speaker inquires whether her beloved will continue to negate her gift, a consequence of the Fates who, by giving the speaker "praesaga doloris" (11) have produced sorrow, which in turn "mihi lugubres contribuere genas" (12). This curious poem makes most sense to this reader if understood as a play on the color of ink. If Herbert were seeking to translate for Bacon, then the poem could be an offering of some of his work to Bacon, accompanied by this self-reference. Bacon was known to be interested in the nature of color, and in the *Valerius Terminus*, an early work, he takes as his starting point Aristotle's sufficient conditions for whiteness and concludes that "inequality in compound or respective order or proportion produceth blackness" (3: 236, qtd. in Gaukroger 144). But Gaukroger points out that Bacon's method for distinguishing between whiteness and blackness is not a thorough inductive experiment for a reason: Bacon is interested in using this as an example for showing his reader how to proceed along the guidelines that he has laid out (145). Malcolmson argues that contrasting blackness with whiteness could be an example of the common school debate exercises over disputed questions to demonstrate rhetorical virtuosity (Literary Life 14). If so, such a display would fit with the services of someone who is translating an important work for Bacon. The feminine speaker in Herbert's poem, by proclaiming her desire to be

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accepted by her beloved, is making a leap from the examples she provides of good uses of black to convince her beloved of her usefulness to him. If her beloved says, "No," as the speaker fears, she is reduced to being black out of rejection. Her being is without doubt; how it will be appreciated is up to Bacon.

An anecdote of 1605, the year that *The Advancement of Learning* was published, regarding the courts of James I and Queen Anne may provide an additional clue to the attribution of this poem to Herbert and its intended recipient as Bacon. In 1605, Ben Jonson wrote *The Masque of Blackness* for the Queen, which called for the Queen and some of her English ladies-in-waiting to be costumed and painted as "blackamoors," representing nymphs, daughters of the Niger. Among the participants were Lady Anne Herbert, daughter of the poet Mary Sidney Herbert, Countess of Pembroke, and the poet Lady Mary Sidney Wroth, both nieces of the late Sir Philip Sidney, and relatives of Herbert. In the course of the festivities, some of the Queen's black ink rubbed off on one of the ambassadors when he went to pay his respects, causing a wrinkle in international relations (Herford and Simpson 2: 265-67; 7: 175; and 10: 448). If Herbert had heard of the masque, which is quite likely, even if he did not attend, the episode may help to explain some of the anxiety associated in the poem with the rubbing off of black ink.

Such a reading of the above Latin poem is also to be borne out in an English poem which F. E. Hutchinson, the editor of Herbert's *Works*, places among the poems of "doubtful" authorship (206). In this poem, the speaker addresses "My Lord" in response to the gift of a precious gem, a diamond. By way of reply the lord is promised some

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small favor in return, a "Blackamore," that is, on the literal level, an attending servant from Islamic Northern Africa:

> My Lord. A diamond to mee you sent,
> And I to you a Blackamore present.
> Gifts speake their Givers. For as those Refractions,
> Shining and sharp, point out your rare Perfections;
> So by the Other, you may read in mee
> (Whom Schollers Habitt & Obscurity
> Hath soild with Black) the colour of my state,
> Till your bright gift my darknesse did abate.
> Onely, most noble Lord, shutt not the doore
> Against this meane & humble Blackamore.
>
> Perhaps some other subject I had tryed
> But that my Inke was factious for this side. (*Works* 209)

In this poem, the speaker compares his response to the beloved as a self-reflection of his abilities, just as the original gift of the diamond speaks of the giver (3). The Lord's gift has produced a series of refractions that are "[s]hining and sharp," and which point out the maker's "rare Perfections" (4). Also learned in the black maiden poem is that the maid has made herself dependent on the judgment of Cestus. In the encomiastic poem to the author of the *Instauratio Magna*, the poet praises Bacon for his penetrating ability to be "Subtilitatis Terebra" (22). Here in this English poem, the speaker praises the effect of Bacon's clarity to both "read in mee / (Whom Schollers Habitt & Obscurity / Hath soild

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with Black) the colour of my state, / Till your bright gift my darknesse did abate" (5-8). Again, the meaning of the poem is quite possibly connected with Herbert's interest in supplying this famous personage with some written work that both reveals the former darkened condition of the speaker and his subsequent illumination via the workings of the original. Just as in the encomiastic poem, where the speaker identifies the Lord Verulam (line 5) and the ancient thinker, Aristotle, known here merely as the "Stagirite" (18), Herbert tips his hand by revealing the key to the riddle, this time in the last line: it is that "my Inke was factious for this side" (12). He requests that Bacon "shutt not the doore/ Against this mean & humble Blackamore" (9, 10). Even though one might think Herbert the poet is likely to choose another subject, the speaker admits that "my Inke was factious for this side" (12). The common interpretation of this poem is to interpret it as a thank-you for receiving the gift of a diamond (whether literal or figurative) from Bacon (Hutchinson 551n) and the return gift is this poem (written in ink, of course, and therefore black). It seems quite reasonable to conclude that the blackamore being offered is a book and that this book is written in response to a former work by Lord Bacon.[21] If the diamond were a book, whatever book is being exchanged is no longer known, but this much is certain: Herbert is in full command of his ability to compose for his audience and to provide sophisticated poems of various length and complexity in a wide spectrum of subject matters current in his own day. He should not be artificially limited in the scope

[21] Hutchinson notes that in 1818, "Fry suggests that the diamond refers to an edition of Bacon's *Essays*, but the only work published by Bacon when he was chancellor (cf. poem's title) was *Instauratio Magna* (1620) a date that would more closely connect Herbert with the authorship of the poem than Andrew Melville, Fry's putative suggestion. Fry's association of the poem with Melville also supports Herbert's authorship in a roundabout way, as Herbert did write a much lauded poetic refutation of Melville, which Hutchinson dates to around 1620. Significantly, Duport's *Ecclesiastes Solomonis* is also responsible for this attribution as it is "Aethiopissa ambit" (Hutchinson 588).

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of his interests or abilities based on one collection of religious poetry, nor should he be tamed for public consumption. He is publicly, as he emphatically claims in the final couplet, "factious for this side," regardless of what others may expect. Perhaps the poem originally was attached to another text, possibly the *De Augmentis* or the *Instauratio Magna* (Hutchinson 588). If a book is meant, then the poem's allusions to refracting Bacon's own rare perfections and comparing the diamond of Bacon's English original writing with his own editorial inkhorn contribution would make greater sense. It would show that Herbert is pleased to have the opportunity to be drawn out of his obscurity as a university scholar into the more public light of Bacon's patronage. Assuming Herbert's authorship of this poem, it would also support an interpretation of Herbert that aligns him philosophically with Bacon, as he elsewhere insists he is.

Furthermore, this English poem may also have reference to another image in Jonson's *Masque of Blackness*, that of the diamond, tying the two poems more closely to Bacon's original *Advancement* and the Latin translation, *De Augmentis*. Jonson's masque calls for the analogous comparison of England's natural brilliance as a diamond set in the surrounding sea, revealed in the central revelation scene of the masque "as the universal gem atop the circle of the globe [and] enhanced by the light of the monarchy shining down upon it, a 'light sciential' that glowed both day and night, with the power to cure defects and 'revive a corse'" (Kogan 29, quotations from Orgel, *The Jonsonian Masque* 234, 233). Usually, when scholars (e.g., Hutchinson) discuss the Latin poem, they assume the diamond in Herbert's poem is a literal gem, while the "blackamoor" is figurative, but since the two images are conveyed so vividly together in the masque as

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figurative of realizing the ideal harmony of the Platonic form of governance (Kogan 28) in the year of Bacon's original publication of the *Advancement*, it is quite possible that both the poem's "diamond" and the "blackamoor" may be meant figuratively, honoring the man whose proposed scheme would cause England's brilliance to be revealed in its most resplendent light under the reign of the new Solomon. Finally, even if the diamond were a literal gem, the attribution of Herbert's authorship of the poem would, if nothing else, provide additional evidence of Bacon's regard for Herbert.

By way of concluding this consideration of the intellectual relationship in which Herbert and Bacon participated and the contours of their personal relationship with one another, one should also consider the reputation that both enjoyed in the seventeenth century as fellow poets, particularly as psalmists. In her monograph on the subject of Herbert's reputation as a poet, Elizabeth Clarke points out in *Theory and Theology in George Herbert's Poetry* Herbert's surprising reputation as a transformative author, a poet who was respected by his Puritan contemporaries no less than by court sympathizers as a Protestant psalmist, a new David. This chapter has already shown how Bacon sought Herbert's approval, patronage, and respect by dedicating his versified psalms to the younger man, and it has discussed how Walton treats of Herbert's reputation as a spiritual genius whose almost mystical apprehension of the heart of faith satisfies as holy a man in the Church of England as Sir Lancelot Andrewes. Clarke argues that Herbert's poems in *The Temple* offer a kind of bridge that the Puritan elements in the Church of England can appreciate as literature, that Herbert is "construct[ing] the role of the Reformation Poet" (1) at a time when poetry itself was suspect by this audience. According to Clarke,

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"Herbert's lyrics were received as divinely inspired, perhaps because they were seen as a version of the biblical compendium of emotional discourse that is the Psalms" (150). By writing versified psalms, both Herbert and Bacon were participating in a cultural phenomenon that, according to Rivkah Zim, "led directly to the growth of a literary tradition" (*English Metrical Psalms* 205, qtd. in Clarke, *Theory and Theology* 150n). Between the time of William Tyndale's translation of the bible in 1526 and the King James Version in 1611 (KJV),[22] reformist Christians had witnessed and participated in a widening appreciation of English for literary pursuits that were also intended to be morally instructive and spiritually informing. Although Herbert foreswore composing secular love lyrics in the Petrarchan convention, he did not deem it necessary to refrain from writing poetry altogether; instead he dedicated himself to writing lyrics that had a spiritual focus. When Bacon tested his own hand in versified psalms, he too was participating in a larger tradition that had included noted Protestant members of the Herbert family tree, older distant cousins to George, namely Sir Philip Sidney and Mary Sidney Herbert, Countess of Pembroke. Their insistence that Protestant piety did not rule out intellectual pursuits, particularly literary appreciation, set the stage for Herbert's expanding the approved literary forms for the more conservative members of the reformist tradition within the Church of England and what came to be known as the dissenting sects.

For his part, Francis Bacon showed his respect and appreciation for Herbert's skills as a poet and student of theology seeking the priesthood, by trying his hand at

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writing versified English psalms and dedicating his collection to George Herbert as someone carefully chosen to appreciate and sponsor the deed. For Amy Charles, Bacon's attribution of Herbert as one in whom he finds "Divinitie, and Poesie, met" provides evidence that the older man was familiar with at least some of Herbert's English psalms (qtd. in *Williams Manuscript* xix). Esssentially, Bacon's book of psalm translations represents a personal selection of choice hymns. Christians have traditionally read and recited psalms in corporate and private liturgical devotions. Private prayer books, largely made up of psalms, continued to be printed in seventeenth-century England (Duffy 68). For Protestants in England, the official Psalter, found in the *Book of Common Prayer,* was the one composed by Miles Coverdale, and since liturgical singing for the Church of England was strictly psalter singing, the psalms continued to be a large part of an individual's devotional life (Daniell 189). During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, English versification and translation of the psalms was a popular pastime for both men and women of Protestant communions. Among the more famous translators and versifiers were Sir Philip Sidney and his sister Mary Sidney Herbert, distant relatives of George Herbert, whose own collection went through several editions in Bacon's lifetime.

The volume of seven versified psalms was printed in December 1624, according to Jardine and Stewart (521), although the printing date reads 1625. Jardine and Stewart (522) concur with Spedding (7: 265-66) that Bacon may have rushed this book to press to help defray debts to his printer and bookseller. It is a very modest book; even with an epistle dedicatory, it is only twenty-two pages. Perhaps the rush to print caused the error in pagination that occurs in the middle of the longest selection, Psalm 104, whereby the

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page numbers skip from ten to fifteen.[23] The choice of psalms is interesting, perhaps even predictable, considering Bacon's own interests and career. The numbering follows the Protestant canon. Psalm 1, which opens the canonical collection, stands as a preface and summary. It describes the two paths of life, that of the blessed man who walks in the ways of God and the way of the wicked, which leads to destruction. Next is Psalm 90, a prayer for deliverance. Psalm 104 is a hymn of praise to the Creator and celebrates the wonders of the created order. Psalm 126 is another prayer for deliverance, opening with nostalgic memories of past deliverances and closing with a hopeful image of deliverance harvested. Psalm 137 is a prayer of anguish in exile requesting vengeance upon enemies. Psalm 149, the penultimate in the canon, is a hymn of praise and invitation to festival dance. Together the collection can be seen to express an exercise in personal devotion from initial commitment through misfortune and anger to hope in ultimate deliverance and festivity.

The central selection, Psalm 104, the longest, might be considered an especially good choice for someone famous for his interest in natural philosophy, as its subject is appreciation of the Creator God in light of his marvelous works. The following passage as edited by Spedding (7: 282-83) is characteristic of Bacon's poetic ability and interests; the meter is regular and end-stopped, the rhymes not particularly inspired. At times, Bacon borrows clauses from the KJV, such as from verse 20a: "Thou makest darkness, and it is night," becoming in Bacon's version "Thou makest darkness, that it may be

[23] After reviewing available electronic facsimiles through Early English Books Online (EEBO), it appears unlikely that any actual pages are missing. Furthermore, to my knowledge, there is no indication that more text was ever included.

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night," but his paraphrase of the last clause of the verse, which reads in the KJV, "wherein all the beasts of the forests do creep forth" becomes in line 17 a parenthetical observation of the risks that all lesser creatures must take in light of man's supreme status as hunter: "(As conscious of man's hatred)." In a rare enjambment, Bacon does permit his sentiment to soar at the conclusion of this excerpt to the point of ejaculatory praise. The following is his rather restrained translation of Psalm 104.19-24:

> The moon, so constant in inconstancy,
> Doth rule the monthly seasons orderly;
> The sun, eye of the world, doth know his race,
> And when to shew, and when to hide his face.
> Thou makest darkness, that it may be night,
> When as the savage beasts, that fly the light,
> (As conscious of man's hatred) leave their den,
> And range abroad, secur'd from sight of men.
> Then do the forests ring of lions roaring,
> That ask their meat of God, their strength restoring;
> But when the day appears, they back do fly,
> And in their dens again do lurking lie.
> Then man goes forth to labour in the field,
> Whereby his grounds more rich increase may yield.
> O Lord, thy providence sufficeth all;
> Thy goodness, not restrained, but general

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Over thy creatures: the whole earth doth flow

With thy great largeness pour'd forth here below. (65-82)

This poem may help to restore a historical and social context for the scientific progress that Bacon envisions in the *Instauratio Magna* and tries to establish by creating a new system for thinking about the various disciplines in the *De Augmentis*, especially lines 79-82, a paraphrase of the ejaculatory verse 24, which reads in the KJV, "O Lord, how manifold are thy works! In wisdom hast thou made them all: the earth is full of thy riches."

Bacon's poetry appears to develop apace in these psalms, moving from translation to paraphrase as he becomes more confident. Spedding takes it that Bacon's order of composition is roughly the same as the canonical ordering of the psalms, and I see no reason not to agree, as the developing poetic quality seems to support Spedding's interpretation. It seems clear that Bacon was not particularly concerned with setting his lyrics to music, a consideration for many contemporary psalm versifiers. The form of his Psalm 104 is a case in point, consisting of a single 120-line stanza. Even though the poem is metrically quite regular, consisting of heavily end-stopped rhyming couplets in iambic pentameter, the imagery evoked is more complex and intellectualized, more suited for meditation than the corporate praise suitable for hymnody. Indeed, attendance to the meter is possibly their next highest consideration next to a pedestrian attention to faithfulness to the sense of the Englished scriptures. Because Bacon very publicly and intentionally dedicates these psalms to Herbert, it would seem that he believes them to be a point of connection between the two men, a place where the two find expressed

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commonality. The dedication is spaced generously to fill page space, which creates a sense of the importance of the information. The printer sees to it that the name of Herbert is prominently displayed. Immediately following the title page, the dedication, which is centered and set to run as twenty-two separate lines, reads:

> TO HIS VERY GOOD FREND, Mr. George Herbert. The paines, that it pleased you to take, about some of my Writings, I cannot forget: which did put mee in minde, to dedicate to you, this poore Exercise of my sicknesse. Besides, it being my manner for Dedications, to choose those that I hold most fit for the Argument, I thought, that in respect of Divinitie, and Posie, met, (whereof the one is the Matter, the other the Stile of this little Writing) I could not make better choice. So, with signification of my Love and Acknowledgement, I ever rest. Your affectionate Frend, Fr. S^{t}. ALBAN. (A3-3^{v})

A member of the influential Sidney family, which included the famous poet, psalmist, and courtier, the late Sir Philip Sidney, George Herbert would be eminently recognizable to the intended audience, and the epistle dedicatory, which begins on the following recto, and runs to the next page, may be trying to capitalize on that recognition. However, as of 1624, when the book was originally published, Herbert's published works were few in number and in Latin. What part this volume had in enhancing Herbert's reputation among his contemporaries, and to what extent his reputation preceded the dedication, is, of course, impossible to determine definitively. The printer has centered George Herbert's name and set it in large and small capitals in the same point as the author's, which

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appears following the epistle dedicatory. The dedication opens with Bacon publicly aligning his own writing with: "His VERY GOOD FREND, Mr. George Herbert." Herbert's efforts, his "paines" on the behalf of Bacon's writings, quite probably the *De Augmentis*, have been both memorable and significant, evoking public acknowledgement, his "signification of my Love and Acknowledgement," and put Bacon "in mind" to dedicate to him, with apology for its inadequacy, "this poore Exercise of my sicknesse," this "Little Writing." Furthermore, and Bacon is firm that he is a perspicacious judge of such things as exact dedications, Herbert is the best choice for such a volume, anyway, since "in respect of Diuinitie, and Poesie, met," the "Matter" and "Stile" of this work's argument "could make no better choice" than Herbert himself. Bacon's recognition is often quoted, but usually the allusion is applied to Herbert's poetry. Note that Bacon declares it is Herbert's person in which "Divinitie, and Poesie, [are] met." He is impressed with the man who embodies such a meeting of these two demanding vocations.

Bacon's collection consists of seven psalms, a number possibly symbolic of perfection, completion. His dedication explains that it was composed as an "exercise of my sicknesse." Bacon was sixty-five at the point of the book's printing and had never enjoyed robust health. The recent downward turn of his fortunes caused him great distress. In August and September of 1624 he was seriously ill (Jardine and Stewart 495), and he died in April 1626. The dedication suggests a continuation, and perhaps deepening, of a relationship as fellow writers that the two men had enjoyed in the past. Bacon is grateful for the attention the younger linguist and poet has paid his writing in the past. Rawley notes in his *Life of the Honourable Author*, published in 1637, that Bacon

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was characteristically very committed to ensuring that his writing be clear and precise for posterity's sake (1: 11). Rawley is particularly concerned with establishing Bacon's ideal rhetorical style, which Rawley describes as "masculine and clear expression" (1: 11). Already noted from his letter to Toby Matthews is that Bacon prided himself on his "silver" Latin (11. 145). Rawley records that Bacon not only valued "masculine" language with "clear expression" for himself, but he was also ever seeking it in others. It would seem that he found it in Herbert.

In her seminal work on the seventeenth-century Protestant English lyric poetry, Barbara Lewalski discusses in some detail the relevance of psalm translations and versifications in for Protestant English writers of the period (*Protestant Poetics* 39-53). Lewalski notes that the psalms were considered to be a compendium of exemplary lyric poetry of great breadth in subject matter, including a wide range of human emotions (41). However, the psalms Bacon has chosen, excepting Psalm 1 and 104, are not frequently chosen for separate collections, usually appearing only in editions containing the full Psalter.

By way of contrast between the poetry of Bacon and George Herbert, the only English versified psalm translation that can be attributed with confidence to Herbert is his version of "the 23rd Psalme" in *The Temple*. Coincidentally, just as Bacon chose to publish seven psalms in his collection, there are exactly seven other versified psalms that

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have at some point been attributed to Herbert, although their attribution is highly suspect.[24]

What Bacon is doing in his translations of psalms does not appear to be some form of poetic imitation of any particular psalm translations ever attributed to Herbert, however doubtful the attribution. Only one psalm has ever been attributed to both men: Psalm 1. Even the most cursory comparative glance will confirm that Bacon was not imitating what Playford's hymn collection of 1671 identifies as by Herbert (Hutchinson 554). While both versions of Psalm 1 consist of tetrameters, Bacon's rendition consists of three octaves and a final quatrain; the other poet's consists of six quatrains. The rhyme scheme of both alternates between two lines; the former poet's is of a strict masculine,

[24] The first seven in the canon, these versified psalms are dutifully included among the "Doubtful Poems" by Hutchinson in his edition of the *Works* of George Herbert, though these are carefully accompanied by a lengthy footnote, in which Hutchinson argues convincingly for their being at best only "early experiments of [Herbert's], which he was too well advised to continue or to publish," and observes that "the evidence for assigning them to him is happily slender" (554-55). These poems are mostly quatrains, either alternating between iambic pentameter and iambic tetrameters, such as found in Psalms 4, 5, 7 or else entirely in tetrameter, as in Psalms 1, 2, and 6. Psalm 3 is set in tetrameter as well, but in three stanzas of octaves, with each octave containing two sentences. Psalm 5 is the most problematic for its uninspired syntax as well as its history of recorded attribution, which was first applied to Herbert in 1847, according to Hutchinson (218). These first appear in a hymn book anthologized by Playford in 1671, with initials "G. H." and in which Playford explicitly names Herbert as author (cited in Hutchinson 218, 554); Hutchinson also notes that the late-nineteenth-century editor of Herbert's poetry, George Palmer, did not include Psalms 1 and 5 in his collection. The rhyme scheme is also most simply abcb, defe, and so on. The rhymes are masculine, usually monosyllabic, and chosen for ease.

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direct, highly predictable connection (e.g., "be" [6] is paired with "tree" [8]). Bacon's version, if anything, is slightly more sophisticated, joining "tree" (9) to "constantly" (11), assuming that he is aware of the convention that expects rhymes to fall on stressed syllables. The syntax is quite different as well; a comparison of the first few lines of stanza one will suffice. Bacon writes, "Who never gave to wicked reed / A yielding and attentive ear." Compare this negation, the convolution of which may express particular poignancy for the writer, with the direct rendition "Blest is the man that never would / in councels of th' ungodly share." Bacon's first stanza only concludes with the line with which the English psalter opens the psalm: "That man is in a happy state."

Fortunately, Herbert's reputation as a psalmist does not rest on these seven "doubtful" psalms. On the contrary, these poems as poetry and as versified scripture are uncharacteristic of Herbert's authorial control and theology in virtually all of his other known work. Not only is the authorship of the seven psalms in question because of their lack of poetic vitality, but their theology is not typical of what is seen in Herbert's known religious poetry. These seven psalms are addressed, as are Bacon's, to a God who may be construed at an awe-inspiring distance. As a brief discussion of Psalm 23 from *The Temple* will show, the God of Herbert's undisputed psalm rendering is boldly redefined in terms of intimate love.

Psalm 23 from *The Temple* consists of six quatrains with masculine rhyme scheme abab, cdcd, and so on, still quite simple, but where the stanzas of the "doubtful" seven held two end-rhymes per stanza, this holds four. The meter is regular and easily set to music, a consideration for the other seven and part of the tradition of the Church of

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England's liturgical function of the psalms. However, Herbert's skill in qualitative and quantitative verse is abundantly evident here.

The God of love my shepherd is,
And he that doth me feed:
While he is mine, and I am his,
What can I want or need?

He leads me to the tender grasse,
Where I both feed and rest;
Then to the streams that gently passe:
In both I have the best.

Or if I stray, he doth convert
And bring my minde in frame:
And all this not for my desert,
But for his holy name.

Yea, in deaths shadie black abode
Well may I walk, not fear:
For thou art with me; and thy rod
To guide, thy staffe to bear.

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Nay, thou dost make me sit and dine,

Ev'n in my enemies sight:

My head with oyl, my cup with wine

Runnes over day and night.

Surely thy sweet and wondrous love

Shall measure all my dayes;

And as it never shall remove,

So neither shall my praise.

After clipping the first stanza short with the end-stopped dentals of *t* and *d* in "want or need," the lines of the second stanza are replete with sibilants and silent final e's that invite the eye and ear to pause ever so slightly, hovering, resting, as in an adagio movement of music, where "grasse" and "passe" have also given the reader an opportunity to rest in that timeless moment of meditation from the tradition of psalm readings out of the *lectio divina.*

In addition to the original psalmist's pairing of God with the shepherd, Herbert's first line also claims a specific attribute for God as "The God of love." This language does not appear explicitly in the psalm and may be more closely aligned to the Christian interpretation of the psalms as typological for Christ dating from late antiquity (Augustine's *Expositions of the Psalms* is one example of this widely disseminated tradition). On the other hand, Herbert's sensitivity to retaining the meaning of the original language becomes apparent in his deference to the marginal glosses of the King

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James Bible. The second stanza's references to "tender grasse" may come straight from the KJV gloss, and the reference to the "streams that gently passe" appears to be in agreement with the sense of the gloss for "waters of quietness" as opposed to the "still waters" of the KJV. The last stanza also provides evidence of his sensitivity for language in which he numbers correctly the speaker's attendance upon God while at the same time conveying permanence, in contrast to the "forever" of the King James, with the gloss "Heb. to length of dayes."

Herbert's verbal borrowing from English scripture tradition results in a delicate echo of the prose text, not a slavish versified rendition. For example, where the last prose English verse in the KJV begins: "Surely goodness and mercy shall follow me all the days of my life," Herbert also begins his last stanza with "Surely" and "shall" but then allows the alliterative sibilant and the labials to provide ample cohesion throughout the stanza, as he answers the argument that he posed in the first stanza as a question: "While he is mine, and I am his, / What can I want or need?" The opening verse in the prose version is a declarative sentence: "The Lord is my shepherd; I shall not want."

Herbert's "The 23^{d} Psalme" reflects the work of a mature poet in full control of diction, tone, and meter. The poem does not appear in the earlier manuscript version of *The Temple* collection, the Williams manuscript, adding to the speculation that it was composed later than this manuscript. It is placed later in *The Temple* as well, which may add to the devotional gravitas of the poem as meditation, if one is reading the collection as a progressive text. Given such a progressive reading, as is found in numerous contemporary English prayer books, the speaker has already endured several emotional

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and spiritual states. In the order of *The Temple*, this psalm is in effect a meditative pause. The poems that immediately precede this one are concerned with fear, anxiety, guilt, and remorse: "A Dialogue-Antheme: Christian. Death.," "The Water-course," "Self-Condemnation," "Bitter-sweet," and "The Glance" (169-72). The two that follow "The 23[d] Psalme" are portraits of two Biblical persons of faith: a New Testament Saint, Marie Magdalene (for whom Herbert's mother was named), an example of the penitent worshipper; and Aaron, the Old Testament Priest, who is a type of the Christian priest, "drest" in and by Christ himself in order to fulfill his vocation. The placement of Herbert's poem "The 23[d] Psalme" appears to show that this psalm is especially evocative of a deep identification with his own vocation as Priest and Poet, the two vocations met, as it were, according to Bacon's perceptive dedication ("in respect of "Diuinitie, and Poesie, met").

After incorporating Bacon's assessment of Herbert in the title of her monograph, *Theory and Theology in George Herbert's Poetry: 'Divinitie, and Poesie, Met,'* Elizabeth Clarke explores the many ways in which Herbert's reputation as a psalmist is not solely dependent upon Bacon's published opinion. Clarke argues that Herbert's role for both Puritan and Conformist seventeenth-century readerships is that of psalmist. That is, Herbert is seen as an inspired religious poet of prophetic proportions whose contemporary message cuts through doctrinal boundaries to transform the reader even as the act of composing has transformed the author. Clarke believes that the success of Herbert's message in *The Temple* illustrates the definition of rhetoric that Bacon presents in *The Advancement of Learning*, where he writes, "The duty and office of rhetoric is to

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apply reason to imagination for the better moving of the will" (qtd. in Clarke 23).[25] Clarke recognizes that, during the period when Bacon and Herbert are writing, the association between literary theory, rhetoric, and theology is inseparable, lending credence to her argument that Herbert's reputation increased as the century went on precisely because he was understood to be the ideal model, whereby all three of these concerns continue to move readers of *The Temple*, regardless of the doctrinal persuasions of that readership (25).

As Elizabeth Clarke reveals, Bacon's is the first record that recognizes Herbert as as a true model of what Bacon thought the poet should accomplish. In Herbert, Bacon saw "Divinitie, and Poesie, Met." Clarke's explanation of Herbert's use of the psalms in everyday life provides the link between Bacon and Herbert. In the *Country Parson*, Herbert encourages his parishioners to sing the psalms while going about their manual labor of everyday work as a way to remember that everywhere in the works of nature there are "monuments of his Doctrine, remembering in gardens, his mustard-seed, and lilyes; in the field, his seed-corn, and tares: and so not be drowned altogether in the works of their vocation, but sometimes lift up their minds to better things, even in the midst of their pains" (*Works* 261, qtd. in Clarke 136). Clarke argues that "[the inherently religious meaning of nature] for Herbert is the reason why the biblical text so often uses illustration from Nature. Its author thereby makes possible a sacralizing of ordinary human experience" (136). She goes on to explore the importance of the translation and versification of psalms by English Protestants of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth

[25] Clarke is quoting from A. Johnston's 1974 Oxford edition of Francis Bacon's work (139).

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centuries. These devotional and literary activities were highly personal expressions of faith and tests of skill. Their wide manuscript circulation and publishing success attests to their popularity (141). In particular, the Penitential Psalms express an inner dialogue between the soul of the human speaker and the Divine. Clarke explains that the psalms perform a twofold healing function of normal human experience proper to the classical functions of poetry: "soothing some passions and arousing others" (148).

Herbert's reputation as a psalmist is soon recognized by others in the seventeenth century. Robert H. Ray has collated and examined remarkable statistics that show *The Temple* to be among those contemporary works to which seventeenth-century individuals most frequently alluded. Moreover, his reputation was honored across the doctrinal spectrum in that war torn period, although it is significant that his work is more frequently alluded to or co-opted by royalists in the early days of the civil war. For example, Herbert's long poem at the beginning of "The Church," titled "The Sacrifice," which originally expressed a devotion using the traditional "Good Friday Reproaches," was parodied in the 1640s to associate the martyred King Charles I with the crucified Christ of Herbert's poem, according to Sidney Gottlieb ("A Royalist Rewriting of George Herbert").[26] Clarke traces Herbert's rise from the 1640s and 1650s as a Protestant "King David" whose poems are modern day psalms, and also develops the movement of Herbert's poems to be sung to old psalm tunes as non-Scriptural hymns during public

[26] This imaginative reworking so soon after Herbert's death can be more easily understood in light of the Stuart claims of absolute monarchy and the divine right of kings, a position that Bacon held and to which Herbert's royalist admirers seem to think he would not have objected, although that is still a matter of conjecture.

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worship by the end of the century (178).[27] Ferrar and his publisher may have had a hand in that development by publishing the work originally as a duodecimo, the economical and easily carried size and format of a traditional prayer book (Clarke 178, citing Arthur Marotti 256-7).

Bacon and Herbert exemplify the significance of Protestant publications of versified psalms as a devotional exercise for writer and reader. Even as both men participated in the rhetorical culture of the day, by doing so they perforce participated in literary theory and theology. It should then be of no surprise to us, for example, that Bacon relied on theologians such as Dr. Playfer, St. Margaret Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, and probably Herbert, to help him translate his philosophical rhetoric. These were men whose proven linguistic abilities in classical languages joined forces with the literary theory, rhetoric, and theology, considered by contemporaries to be necessary to persuade and move readers to change course, implement new ideas, and put in place the necessary social structures that might eventually bring about the very goal of Bacon's vision for his *Instauratio Magna*. For Herbert's part, Bacon's theories may have provided a new and exciting visionary method for setting out in Divinity, suggesting he first test his vocation against the evidence and then develop the record of his experiences through the religious poetry that will result in *The Temple*. The next chapter will continue discussing Herbert's life vis-à-vis Bacon's with special attention given to the way both men interpreted their vocations as service in charity to their king and the state.

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[27] Clarke cites the modern scholar Helen Wilcox and a seventeenth-century collection titled *Select Hymns Taken out of Mr. Herbert's Temple*.

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Chapter II:

Herbert and Bacon's Vocations as Service to the State

Herbert, like Bacon, saw the need to use his rhetorical skills in service to the state, especially in promoting the monarchy. The duties of his first position at Cambridge as Praelector in Rhetoric included teaching undergraduates the importance of official public utterances, and he chose as his model orator King James I. Hutchinson states that as Herbert's first choice as Barnaby lecturer for Cambridge, responsible to lecture four or five times a week primarily to first-year undergraduates, he chose to praise a recent oration of King James, much to the disgust of a contemporary, Sir Symonds D'Ewes, as recorded in *Scrinia Reserata*, published in 1693:

> Mr. George Herbert being Praelector in the Rhetorique School in Cambridge anno 1618 Pass'd by those fluent Orators, that Domineered in the Pulpits of Athens and Rome, and insisted to Read upon an Oration of King James, which he Analyzed, shew'd the concinnity of the Parts, the propriety of the Phrase, the height and Power of it to move Affections, the Style utterly unknown to the Ancients, who could not conceive what Kingly Eloquence was, in respect of which, those noted Demagogi were but Hirelings, and Triobulary Rhetoricians. (*Scrinia Reserata*, 1. 175, qtd. in Hutchinson xxvi)

The passage is quite important, for it shows that Herbert is quite willing to make an unpopular choice in his desire to elevate the King's own example over classical authors traditionally lifted up as models. This vision of the young professional Herbert either depicts

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him as a thoroughly modern, forward facing and politically astute figure, or as an excessive flatterer. The picture thus preserved has all the earmarks of Bacon's own hotly ridiculed monarchist praise as excessive and base flattery. Michael C. Schoenfeldt's work, *Prayer and Power: George Herbert and Renaissance Courtship*, which interprets *The Temple* as an expression of tortured contemporary court flattery turned heavenward, may prove helpful here insofar as one considers Herbert's willing participation in furthering the King's self-promotion as writer and philosopher. Although Schoenfeldt may overstate his case by arguing that Herbert's language to God in *The Temple* is, in the final analysis, cowardly, fearful, even "cringing," Schoenfeldt does offer an important insight into the character of Herbert as a would-be policy maker, who, like Bacon, put his reputation solidly in the King's camp. Herbert's lecture series to help young undergraduates become acclimated and well-versed in the basic skills of persuasive diction also helps to provide a larger context for his Latin poems celebrating James's skill as author.

As noted in chapter one, Herbert's first letter to the king as Public Orator for Cambridge expresses the university's gratitude for the king's donation of his own works. Although Herbert's praise is classical in its encomiastic labeling, it is not unlikely that he possessed some measure of genuine pride that his King is an author and scholar who enjoys residing in the surroundings of the Universities of Cambridge and Oxford. Herbert's more mature reserve from his time as pastor in Wiltshire during his final years of 1630-33 does not require reading into his writings an opposition to the state's legitimate interest in the welfare of the state church. According to Judith Maltby, there is historical evidence for widespread

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dissent in the parishes across the Church of England in the early 1600s.[1] Maltby argues that the seeds of anti-Laudian unrest, which will explode into civil war, are planted in Herbert's lifetime. Fincham also demonstrates in his own book *Prelate as Pastor*, that James used the episcopate to crush radical nonconformists and elevate the role of bishops, particularly in the early years of his reign, 1604-09 (5). Herbert continues to express an eagerness to promote the crown and to shape policy in his 1623 oration to Prince Charles and Buckingham upon their return empty-handed from their quest to win a bride for the Prince in Spain.

Walton relates how Herbert presented himself in his first sermon as parish priest at Bemerton in 1630, with the customary flourishes of the recent Cambridge rhetorician, "a most florid manner: both with great learning and eloquence," but then concluded with the statement that he would dispense with the high style when preaching to his parishioners in the future (*Lives* 295). Walton is concerned to show that Herbert is particularly conscientious in catechizing his parishioners, but does indicate that there may have been some differences between his flock and this very genteel and educated pastor when he admits that "if he were at any time too zealous in his Sermons, it was in reproving the indecencies of the peoples behaviour, in the time of Divine Service . . . his custom was, to stop betwixt every Collect, and give the people time to consider what they had pray'd, and to force their desires affectionately to God; before he engag'd them into new Petitions" (301). Apart from the predictably liturgical focus of Walton's ideal pastor, the passage squares with what one reads

[1] Some of this unrest served as catalyst for religiously motivated emigrations to Holland in 1609 and to Plymouth in 1620 and 1623. It should be noted that Herbert's extended family was financially involved as shareholders in an alternative colonial venture to the Puritan model, the Virginia Company, which offered resistance in the Parliament of 1624 to the king's desire to dissolve the charter and take it on for the crown (Malcolmson, *Literary Lives* 56). Service to the king during the early 1620s was a complex, ever shifting matter, often focused on which of two powerful factions would control the King's favor: Pembroke or Buckingham. Herbert's family was part of the Pembroke clan (Malcolmson, *Heart-work* 19-23).

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in Herbert's *Country Parson*, particularly as it relates to Herbert's appreciation of the use of the dramatic pause (as well as gesture and ejaculatory expression) in epideictic speech to move his audience. Herbert's work is designed as part of a national push to provide a national standard for pastors in the Church of England, according to Walton (301).

Unfortunately, to Herbert's country parishioners of the small community church "of ease," which was not much more than a convenience chapel, Herbert's rhetoric must have seemed rather much. According to Walton, Herbert announces that for "their sakes, his language and his expressions should be more plain and practical" in the future (295). The qualifiers that Walton records as Herbert's own voice indicate Herbert's recognition that the needs of this audience were very different from the court's. It is possible to see more of what Herbert thought was central to the formation of country parishioners in what is first published in 1652 as *A Priest to the Temple: or The Countrey Parson His Character, and Rule of Holy Life*. In this prose work addressed to country parsons, Herbert especially notes what he considers to be symptoms of a fallible nation: idleness and the need for a thriving countryside blessed by good local leadership, especially Justices of the Peace, but also including every level of local representation" (*Works* 274-78). He notes that ". . . every gift or ability is a talent to be accounted for, and to be improved to our Masters Advantage. Yet is it also a debt to our Countrey to have a Calling, and it concernes the Common-wealth, that none should be idle, but all busied" (274). For Herbert the chief business of the parish priest as preacher and catechist of the faithful in the ways of the national Church was of extreme importance. According to Walton, the dilapidated parish church of Layton Ecclesia, restored according to Herbert's directions from funds which he donated and collected from family and friends, was

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furnished thus: "the Reading Pew, and Pulpit, were a little distant from each other, and both of an equal height; for he would often say, 'They should neither have a precedency or priority of the other: but that Prayer and Preaching being equally useful, might agree like Brethren" (278). Much of the *Countrey Parson* emphasizes the teaching role of the parish priest.

It should also be remembered that Herbert served his turn as a Member of Parliament for Montgomery (his ancestral county) for the session of 1623-24. Jeffrey Powers-Beck has demonstrated that Herbert's imaginative response to political and legal issues is quite evident in his religious poetry as well as in his *Countrey Parson*. Powers-Beck, noting that Herbert was supportive of the role of the justices of the peace and recommends stern judgment in the "Church-Porch," writes, "Assuming that strict retribution of criminals was in the best interest of the state, he urged: "Art thou a Magistrate? Then be severe" (1. 85, qtd. in Powers-Beck par. 15). Powers-Beck examines Herbert's poem, "Humilitie" as clear evidence of Herbert's deep interest in the justice of local magistrates. In his argument, Powers-Beck also considers Sidney Gottlieb's association of the poem with the fall of Francis Bacon in 1620. But Powers-Beck goes further than Gottlieb, who saw in this poem "a political fable of the corruption of the Stuart Court, which had suffered the notorious bribery scandals of Lionel Cranfield and Francis Bacon." Powers-Beck believes that the poem's satire passes more critical judgment on the magistrates, whose corruption is deeper than "simple bribes or political favoritism" (par. 17).

I saw the Vertues sitting hand in hand

In sev'rall ranks upon an azure throne,

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Where all the beast and fowl by their command

Presented tokens of submission.

Humilitie, who sat the lowest there

To execute their call,

When by the beasts the presents tendred were,

Gave them about to all.

The angrie Lion did present his paw,

Which by consent was giv'n to Mansuetude.

The fearfull Hare her eares, which by their law

Humilitie did reach to Fortitude.

The jealous Turkie brought his corall-chain;

That went to Temperance.

On Justice was bestow'd the Foxes brain,

Kill'd in the way by chance.

At length the Crow bringing the Peacocks plume,

(For he would not) as they beheld the grace

Of that brave gift, each one began to fume,

And challenge it, as proper to his place,

Till they fell out: which when the beasts espied,

They leapt upon the throne;

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And if the Fox had liv'd to rule their side,

They had depos'd each one.

Humilitie, who held the plume, at this

Did weep so fast, that the tears trickling down

Spoil'd all the train: then saying, *Here it is*

For which ye wrangle, made them turn their frown

Against the beasts: so jointly bandying,

They drive them soon away;

And then amerc'd them, double gifts to bring

At the next Session-day. (*Works* 70-71)

The last line of the poem identifies the setting as a "Session-day" event, an occasion of local justices of the peace to dispense justice. The problem lies in appropriately distributing the token of the absent beast, Peacock (17-24). For a moment it looks as though the beasts will accomplish a coup d'état, but Humilitie holds up the Peacock's plume, declaring possession of it, thereby rallying Vertues into a unified front against the beasts' melee. Although the chaos is finally tempered by a weeping Humilitie, the speaker sagely suggests that as a result of calling this Session-day, the attending beasts recognize the very real limitations of the enthroned Vertues to rule. Furthermore, the speaker notes that were it not for the fact that the "brains" of the beast contingent, Foxe, had been killed "by chance" (16) before the action of the poem, the beasts could quite easily have permanently overcome the ruling Vertues (23-24). The Vertues dismiss these beasts, requiring double payment next time around. The

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choice of beast fable to create the poem's all too close mirroring of the discord generated throughout the country during the 1620s follows a long tradition of making potentially dangerous political commentary more acceptable through the imaginative antics of the animal kingdom.

Cristina Malcolmson argues that Herbert's poetry needs to be interpreted against the background of the larger Sidney-Herbert coterie, the nexus of which, during George's life, was located in the person of William Herbert, third Earl of Pembroke, son to Mary Sidney Herbert, cousin to Lady Mary Wroth, and nephew to Sir Philip Sidney (*Heart-Work* 1-25). Malcolmson believes that George Herbert's writings can best be interpreted as his response to the family's circle of patronage, which supported a militant Protestant faction within the English nobility and gentry classes that opposed the increasingly pro-Catholic position of the royal Stuart clan and the King's favorite, George Villiers, who was made first Duke of Buckingham in 1623. Bacon liked to hope that Villiers was his chief patron, but their relationship was not without its own difficulties. At any rate, by 1623, Bacon's connection to Villiers, was much more tenuous, as the ever-revolving wheel of fortunes at court continued to turn while Bacon remained in exile from London. Whatever assistance Bacon may have once been able to offer the Herberts relative to Buckingham, was now over. In July 1626, the Herberts and Buckingham's family temporarily patched up their disagreements long enough to see a couple representing both houses joined in marriage. These were Mary Villiers, daughter of Buckingham and Charles, eldest son of Philip Herbert, the brother of Pembroke, who succeeded to the title upon William's death in 1630.

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In the meantime, Francis Bacon's almost twenty-year wait to publish a good Latin translation of his argument for a new classification of the disciplines finally came to a successful end in 1623 when his greatly expanded *De Augmentis Scientiarum* was published. The years of 1623-24 also mark for Herbert his most politically active period. Malcolmson's chronology of his life shows Herbert as an interested participant in the affairs of state at this time and a recipient of the king's attention and approval for his rhetorical abilities, as evidenced in the few surviving documents, especially his Cambridge Orations. According to Malcolmson, Herbert received special notice and approval in February – March 1623 for his successful oration to Spanish and Austrian ambassadors and his farewell epigram to the king, which were to be published by command (*Literary Life* xxvi).[2] In October, George delivered his most overtly political oration in praise of peace, a risky position, as Buckingham was now for war with Spain, although Charles had not yet given up marriage negotiations with the Infanta. In the matter of war, George was clearly in agreement with his cousin Pembroke, who voiced his minority opinion as privy counselor, but agreed to war once Parliament joined the pro-war faction in the spring of 1624.[3] By the end of 1624, Pembroke's party was at least temporarily neutralized by Buckingham. Malcolmson believes that history provides evidence of collateral damage resulting from Pembroke's loss of influence in court for those who relied upon his patronage, such as the dissolving of the charter that formed the Virginia Company to make it a royal province. This company had been financed by family and friends close to George, including his stepfather John Danvers, Nicholas Ferrar, and

[2] As it happened, the oration to the ambassadors was published by W. Stansby as part of the Cambridge oration collection for the occasion (Hutchinson 440n1), but the epigram to the king was not published until Hutchinson's edition of Herbert's *Works* appeared in 1941 (Hutchinson 600nII).
[3] See Hovey's discussion of Herbert's deeply-held beliefs regarding the consequences of modern warfare in his article "'Inventa Bellica.'"

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Pembroke. George's brother, Henry, the newly appointed Master of Revels, was also rebuked in 1624 for his allowing Thomas Middleton's notorious satirical drama commenting on current tensions between England and Spain, *A Game at Chesse*, to be licensed that spring.[4]

The strong language engaged by Pembroke's circle, directly and indirectly expressing resistance to Prince Charles and Buckingham's policies toward Spain, certainly appears to have done nothing to advance George Herbert's relationship with the court. Whatever good feelings his farewell speech to King James and its concluding epigram had engendered in March had dissipated by October. Malcolmson's chronology notes two important events in this critical year concerning the problem of where to place Herbert's own position along the theological spectrum between the Calvinist doctrine of irresistible grace and predestination and the Arminianism of Buckingham, Prince Charles, and of course, Bishop Laud.[5] At the same time that Herbert received approval for his part in honoring the Spanish and Austrian ambassadors and flattering the aging king James, two Arminian theologians, John Richardson, Master of Trinity College (Herbert's own college at Cambridge) and Richard Neile, Bishop of Durham at the time, also notice Herbert favorably. Both Richardson and Neile are connected to Herbert for reasons not directly associated with Arminian doctrine. Richardson, Regius Professor of Divinity, had been Master of Herbert's College since 1615, and would remain there until his death in 1625. In spring 1624, while George sat for

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[4] The play, known for its thinly disguised political and religious satire of relations between Spain and England, was wildly popular in its brief run of nine days (excluding Sunday), and was a gamble for Middleton and the King's Men who produced it because it depicts a reigning monarch and discusses current matters of state. Once the Spanish ambassador formally complained to the king, the play was pulled, and those responsible questioned. For a summary and discussion of various interpretations of this incident, see Richard Dutton.

[5] Arminian theology was a form of Protestantism condemned at the Synod of Dort in 1618-1619. It allowed for the individual's ability to choose the good over against the Calvinist doctrine of predestination, and so was considered to be pro-Catholic by Calvinists because of its optimism regarding human effort. For further study see Nicholas Tyacke.

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Montgomery County in Parliament, his committee was successful in dropping unspecified charges against the theologian. Richard Neile had been made Dean at Westminster school in 1605, following Lancelot Andrewes, the year Herbert probably began there as a day scholar, according to Amy Charles (49). While it is true that during his earlier tenure as Bishop of Rochester (1608-10), Neile had appointed William Laud as his chaplain and helped him receive preferment, he later preceded John Williams as Bishop of Lincoln from 1614-17, a locus in proximity to Wiltshire and Montgomery, strongholds of the Herbert family. In an effort to understand the apparently good relationship between these two theologians and George Herbert, one need not overstate the connection with Arminian theology, but regardless of where George Herbert stood theologically at the beginning of 1623, his subsequent decisions regarding ordination to the priesthood brought him ever closer to what recent scholars have identified as the conforming Calvinist position in opposition to the coming Laudian reforms.

In light of the political events of 1623-27 and the subsequent lack of preferment for Herbert in the reign of Charles, other reasons besides theological ones may easily suffice for Richardson and Neile to have been on good terms with Herbert. As Malcolmson concludes in her summary of the tumultuous events in Herbert's life between 1623-27, "[i]t is remarkable how frequently the patronage received by Herbert after 1623 came from the Calvinist enemies of Buckingham: Archbishop Abbot (the dispensation to be ordained deacon immediately), Bishop Williams (ordination as deacon, the sinecure in Montgomery-shire, the prebendary at Leighton, the canonry at Lincoln), and Pembroke (seat in Parliament, position at Bemerton)" (*Literary Life* 80). If Herbert had harbored Arminian theological

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positions early in life, under the influence of men such as Lancelot Andrewes, John Richardson, and Richard Neile, he would find it difficult to sustain such beliefs in the company of the family and patrons with which he consistently sided in the shifting political environment that ensued once James died and Charles became King. The resulting gulf in Herbert's life between his early days under the tutelage of Andrewes, Neile, and Richardson and his family ties with the Danvers, and the more Calvinist theologians such as John Williams do not, however, keep him from developing his friendship with Nicholas Ferrar, leader of the quasi-monastic Little Gidding community, and recipient of the manuscript that he brought to press as *The Temple*.

The poems from *The Temple* are most probably dated to the early 1620s and reflect an ambivalence over the two major theological strands of the English conforming church, Calvinism and Arminianism, in that specific era immediately before Laud becomes Archbishop of Canterbury and the crown launches its attack upon Calvinist theologians. In light of the larger political events, Herbert's decision to seek immediate ordination at the hands of the Calvinist Bishop John Williams, granted November 3, 1624, and his reception of a sinecure in Montgomeryshire by the same Bishop in December does not seem so unusual. The pressure on Calvinist theologians continued to grow under Laud's leadership, and by 1626, Calvinism is proscribed by royal proclamation. Herbert's quick action toward the priesthood at this juncture may be interpreted as designed to assure ordination by one whose theology and politics he admired before the Laudians took control and made the choice awkward, if not impossible. Although he appears to be looking for a way to move beyond his Oratorship at Cambridge as early as 1623, when he took a six-month leave, he did

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not make a final decision to resign until 1627, despite the official suppression of Cambridge Calvinist theologians beginning in 1626. What may have originally been intended merely as graceful withdrawal in preparation for a more active involvement at court may also be interpreted as a decisive break with the force with which Laudian policies were implemented. However, as much as can be determined from existing documents and his later seventeenth-century reputation, Herbert, it should be noted, remained cordial towards individuals of both Calvinist and Arminian theological positions throughout his life. It is from the implementation of Laudian policies that he distances himself, but then he was also opposed to the Puritanical tendencies of Andrew Melville. The difference in his response to both of the extremes of Arminianism and Calvinism within the spectrum of English Protestantism may be found in the court's policies toward them. Herbert's poetic response to Melville's critique of the English Church, *Musae Responsoriae*, is well within the moderate position that King James supported, but does not speak to the new definitions of orthodoxy that Laud presents to the new King in 1624, which defines Calvinism as Puritanism, a non-conforming, and therefore, unapproved sect. *The Temple* poems "The British Church" and "The Church Militant" demonstrate how, in the early 1620s, Herbert interprets the *via media* that he celebrates by name in these poems on his ecclesiastical "mother." Together, they also show how the growing rift affected the poet's thought. Therefore, while the events at court of 1624-26 may not have resulted in the dashing of Herbert's "court hopes" as Walton asserts (276), they do illustrate the precariousness of Herbert's relationship with the courts of King James I and his successor, Charles I. Both Herbert and Bacon would find themselves most definitely sidelined at this time, despite their efforts to participate in decisions of state.

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When in 1623 the Latin version of *On the Dignity and Advancement of Learning* finally was published after years of false starts and change of editors, it was produced as a much revised and expanded form of the original English text that had come out nearly twenty years before. The *De Augmentis Scientiarum* retained its predecessor's original purpose, to propose a new set of categories of human knowledge, but it also contained significant additions and deletions from the original. Whereas the English version was composed in two books, the Latin contains nine, and most of the changes are found in the last eight books. Moreover, the Latin version of the first book tones down the earlier version's harsh rhetoric regarding universities and attempts a more conciliatory approach to Catholicism. Brian Vickers attributes this softening of tone entirely to Bacon's attempt to widen the audience to include readers on the European continent, citing his dedicatory letter to King James by way of explanation: " 'I have been also mine own *Index Expurgatorius*.' he wrote wryly, adding a characteristic pun – 'For since my end of putting it into Latin was to have it read everywhere it had been an absurd contradiction to free it in the language and to pen it up in the matter'" (qtd. in *Francis Bacon and Renaissance Prose* 204). However, Vickers does not consider the intended audience of the letter in his interpretation of Bacon's apology, although the fact that the letter was written to the king surely is significant. This short letter subtly reminds the king of the dedication of the original version back in 1605, when the king was new to the throne of England and Bacon had helped to cement the king's reputation as a Solomon, a philosophical, wise, and peace-loving ruler. Bacon reminds the king of this long-standing relationship when he writes in 1623, "This book was the first thing that ever I presented to your Majesty" (*Works* 14. 436). He is quite willing to admit to the aid he has

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received in the translation of the new and expanded edition, features he is proud to acknowledge: "It is a translation, but enlarged almost to a new work. I had good helps for the language" (14:436). This discrete acknowledgement should be interpreted within the context of the Renaissance patronage system and not just as an aside. Bacon is clearly promoting both the enlarged book and those who contributed to the language in which it is written, which he indicates is more than just a Latin translation of the smaller, earlier English version.

Similarly, Bacon writes proudly of the enhanced features of the Latin version to other interested parties, including Prince Charles: "I send your Highness in all humblenesse my book of 'Advancement of Learning' translated into Latin, but so enlarged as it may go for a new work. It is a book I think will live, and be a citizen of the world, as English books are not" (14:436). It is a work, he writes to Buckingham in 1623, at the same time the letters to the king and the prince were composed, which was "written first and dedicated to his Majesty in English, and now translated into Latin and enriched" (437). In addition to revealing Bacon's desire to rekindle the king's encouragement and approval, these letters demonstrate Bacon's conscious gesture to the translators, the "good helps" he engaged.

Bacon's position toward the Latin language as expressed in these letters is complex. In its long-standing role as the preeminent international language, Latin receives Bacon's respect, but as an Englishman, writing to his king, heir apparent, and chief patron, it is already an artificial tongue, requiring some apology for its use. Bacon's explanation for the language and his "good helps" with the translation show his own recognition of two conflicting desires on his part. He wants to give his ambitious project the widest possible audience, but he also wants to use the occasion as a means of mending relations with his king

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and court. The king as original dedicatee would have a legitimate interest in a new version, particularly one that is so much "enriched" from its first appearance, or at least so Bacon projects optimistically. The impulse to link the English language with patriotism at this historical moment should not be underestimated. Indeed, Spedding likens Bacon's desire to tie the Latin version to the English as part of his desire to ensure it continues to be associated with the crowning of the new king in 1605 (14: 435). This may be one reason why in his letter to the king, Bacon focuses on what is eliminated, rather than what is added, even though the additions outweigh the cuts by far (from two books and 230 pages in the *Advancement* to nine books and 406 pages in *De Augmentis*).[6] He "wryly" tells the king, "I am my own *Index Expurgatorius*."

Insofar as modern scholars such as Jerry Weinberger point to the inherently Machiavellian character of Bacon's argument for modern political realities (*Science, Faith, and Politics*), one would do well to reconsider the documents that first placed Bacon's *Advancement* on the *Index* of the Catholic Holy Office in 1669. Doing so should help to provide a seventeenth-century context to any controversial interpretation of religious faith expressed there by Bacon, and would provide a platform for discussing Herbert's projected position vis-à-vis the Latin translation. Marta Fattori notes that the Holy Office does not condemn Bacon's scientific texts as long as they do not treat religious issues; The *Novum Organum* for instance is not condemned ("Francis Bacon and the Holy Office"). What they do take objection to is the anti-Catholic stance of the material.[7] The first official, recorded

[6] Calculated using Spedding edition.
[7] From Bacon's vantage point, he believes that he has removed the potentially offending passages; however, the Holy Office still finds material for offense, as noted by Fattori.

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detractors of Bacon's *De Augmentis* did find Bacon's admiration for Niccolo Machiavelli's writings to be alarming and reason enough for condemnation, quite apart from any particular errors derived directly from Bacon's own writings. According to these documents condemning Bacon's *De Augmentis*, Machiavelli was already understood to be a noted atheist who subverted the Church's teachings and taught others to despise the authority of the Church.[8] Fattori's research shows that the three Italian priests who separately review Bacon's *De Augmentis* on behalf of the Holy Office all object to Bacon's approval of Machiavelli. Tommaso Noce and Oliver Plunkett quote directly Bacon's approval of Machiavelli's opinion that "[t]he government of the priests would have been destroyed long ago if respect for friars and monks had not compensated for the opulence and excesses of the Bishops" (Fattori 40, 42). The third, Giulio Maria Bianchi, fears more generally that Bacon's recommendations will encourage a wider audience for Machiavelli's works (45). Although Noce, Plunkett, and Bianchi condemn Bacon's discussion of religious topics, they do not object to his definition of charity, per se. His *Novum Organum*, reviewed at the same time, being devoted to matters of science and not pertaining to faith, was not found offensive although its preface (as part of the *Instauratio Magna* of 1620) concludes with an invitation for all to seek "the true ends of knowledge. . . for the benefit and use of life, and that it be perfected and regulated in charity" as translated by Graham Rees (*The Instauratio Magna II: Novum Organum* 23).

Even so, Bacon's admiration for Machiavelli was only one of the main reasons that his *De Augmentis* was finally placed on the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* by the Holy Office

[8] Machiavelli's *Prince* is placed on the first papal Index in 1557, according to Edmond M. Beame (38).

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in Rome in 1669, according to documentary evidence compiled by Marta Fattori. According to Fattori,

> it was not just a question of finding precise comparisons between one and the other [of the two men], but rather of secularizing a lay vision of social and political life, and questioning the very purpose of religion itself. Take Bacon's classification of the sciences based on our three faculties of sense, imagination – *fantasia* – and reason. Within this scheme, parabolical poetry, which presides over *fantasia*, plays a key role, and it should be stressed that Bacon's explanation reduces to the same level ancient myths of the gods, and parables of the Bible. (28)

The other major flaws in the *De Augmentis*, according to the Holy Office's theologians were his evident devotion to the heretic King James I (and his predecessor, Elizabeth I), his cunning, indirect attacks on religion, and his apparent attack on miracles (29-30). Rome's condemnation was more than thirty years in the future, however, when Bacon wrote optimistically to the king that he had carefully revised the *Advancement of Learning* for his new continental audience with the intention of broadening his influence, and by extension broadening the king's reputation, since he was patron (14: 436). At the time of its writing, however, this outcome was not foreseen. The excitement over and international reception of Bacon's *De Augmentis* and *Novum Organum* in the 1620s was cause for national wonder, if not pride. Analysis and assimilation of the material began in earnest with the next generation. Even the embittered court gossip, John Chamberlain, who would always find fault with Bacon, recorded the buzz of the court when King James paid Bacon a telling, but

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left-handed compliment. Responding to Bacon's frequent use of biblical analogies in reference to the King, James I followed with one of his own. He is reported to have said that the *Novum Organum* "is like the peace of God, that passeth all understanding" (qtd. in Jardine and Stewart 439).

George Herbert may have had his own reasons for translating Bacon's *De Augmentis*, if indeed he did so. The role of rhetorician at Cambridge was hardly intellectually engaging. Several possible reasons can be readily surmised from references to his skills as an editor by other writers, from certain extant examples of his work as translator and from his position within the circle of poets that have been identified with his influential kinsman, the poet and courtier, Sir Philip Sidney. The following pages will first consider evidence of Herbert's interest as an editor and translator, and his own theory of poetry relative to the theories of his contemporaries, especially his famous cousin Sir Philip Sidney, and will then seek to place his theory of poetry in relation to Bacon's as expressed in the *De Augmentis*. Placing Herbert's theory of poetry side-by-side with Bacon's should enlarge our understanding of how congenial Herbert's solutions are to Bacon's arguments for the same, although their respective focus and goals differ. Philosophically, however, Herbert's poetry does not essentially negate Bacon's epistemology or method. Far from just paying lip service to terms of scientific disciplines by incorporating terms in his religious poetry, but rejecting their philosophical underpinnings and method, Herbert embraces current scientific habits for his own purposes. Concepts of importance to Bacon in the *De Augmentis*, such as alchemical procedure, matter theories, providential time, and secrecy are all found in Herbert's religious

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poetry. Additionally, consideration will be given to how Herbert and Bacon agree on the form and function of literature.

Recent scholars have noted that once the first flush of excitement over his new position as Orator for Cambridge University had passed and Herbert had won the attention of the King and his retinue of courtiers (including Francis Bacon) with his epideictic speeches and letters, Herbert appears to have had very little to do in his official capacity. He received the grace of a six-month leave of absence from the University from June to December of 1624, but even though it appears that he did not return, a successor was not named until January 1628. However, in the meantime, it was Herbert who delivered the July 13, 1626, York House Oration (in London) for the new Chancellor of Cambridge, the Duke of Buckingham, merely eight days after Herbert was made canon of Lincoln Cathedral by proxy.

Certainly Herbert's lengthy documented leave of absence toward the end of his career at university provides a convenient marker to cite activities that could lead to a new career. He had just spent one session as MP for Montgomery borough (1623-24), the session during which Pembroke's fortunes, and those of his circle, were decidedly set back (Charles 106-12, Malcolmson, *Literary Life* 53-56). His extant orations during his tenure at Cambridge are good examples of the kind of epideictic prose that was clearly aligned with genteel expectations of society's deeply interlocked patronage system. Even the one speech that stands out as in any way controversial, the October 1623 speech to Charles upon his return to England unbetrothed and possibly pondering war, is a meager relic for those modern scholars who search for evidence of Herbert's interest in directly shaping political decisions.

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Malcolmson believes that Herbert's October 1623 Oration may have had deleterious effects by both ignoring Buckingham and patronizing the prince "as if he were a younger brother" (48). She notes that negotiations between England and Spain were then still technically ongoing and a means of hope, for Charles at least, and that Herbert relegated his comments on the marriage and the threat of war to about three pages out of twenty (47).

Even so, it appears that Herbert's attempt at diplomatic language was unsuccessful. It seems that his strategy was to diffuse the emotionally charged atmosphere by splitting the rhetorical problem with which he was faced into several parts. First, he minimized the question that must have been on everyone's mind (Would there be war?) by radically reducing the time allotted to the issue. Next he cast the situation alternatively between hope for peace and trust in the King's ultimate decision as wise ruler, minimizing the failure of the trip. However, this tactic also marginalized Buckingham, ignoring him entirely, as well as the young prince, who had wanted to be perceived as decisive and, of course, successful. As intriguing as this scenario may be, Herbert did not appear to feel slighted over any repercussions, primarily because there is no evidence that there were any. Indeed, if Herbert were trying for a larger role in national or international affairs, this one Oration is hardly an example of one whose heart is in the attempt. Instead, the speech is, like all of his other extant work for Cambridge in his capacity as Orator, decorous and uneventful. He merely ornamented the stage for the university and fulfilled his role capably.

On the other hand, there is strong evidence that Herbert was genuinely interested in exercising his skills as an editor and translator, especially when the cause seemed to be worthy. Already noted in this study is Bacon's recognition of Herbert's skills, over the

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"pains" that he took on Bacon's writings, for which he was deemed by Bacon a worthy recipient of the Epistle Dedicatory for Bacon's foray into versified psalms, an original work of literature. Two years into his professional career as Orator for Cambridge, Herbert's elder brother, Edward, Lord Cherbury, dedicated his work, *De Veritate*, to George Herbert and William Boswell, asking his younger brother George and Boswell to "edit out anything contrary to good morals and religion" (Malcolmson, *Literary Lives* xxiv). As Graham Rees notes in his Introduction to Bacon's *Philosophical Studies c. 1611 – c. 1619*, Boswell was Lord Cherbury's chief secretary when the latter was Ambassador to France in 1619, became John Williams' secretary when Williams was made Lord Keeper, and was among those named in Bacon's Will of December 1625 to serve as literary executer to his prolific, but scattered, writings (lxx-lxxiii). Rees shows how useful to Bacon Boswell must have been, with his wide ranging interests in Galileo's research, his international diplomatic skills in France and Holland, and his ability to navigate the troubled court politics even within the Privy Council of Jacobean England (lxxiv-lxxv). While Rees is understandably more interested in explaining Boswell's value to Bacon beyond a narrowly defined role as his secretary and editor, Boswell is also an interesting link between the Herberts and Bacon. In the first instance, Bacon's successor as Lord Keeper, John Williams, Dean of Westminster, is the one who ordained Herbert as a deacon and provided him with a sinecure in Montgomeryshire in 1624 (Malcolmson, *Literary Lives* 80).

For Cherbury to connect his younger brother George with Boswell in the same breath as worthy editors of his work is significant, even apart from the obvious issue of his seeking his brother's opinion of the heterodox *De Veritate*. Known from the eighteenth century as

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the "father of Deism," Lord Cherbury recommended in *De Veritate* a universal foundation of religion based on five principles: the existence of a "Supreme Power," which "ought to be worshipped," principally by good conduct ("proven conformity of the faculties"), that "whatever is vicious and evil ought to be expiated by repentance," and that "there is reward and punishment after this life" (qtd. in Serjeantson 221). Although Cherbury was more interested in presenting a rational approach to theological doctrines that he thought would promote unity, he was not opposed to some form of divine revelation, at least on an individual basis, so whether he is a Deist himself is still disputed.[9] Certainly there is no evidence that his theology was challenged or criticized during the early years of its reception, while George Herbert was still living (he died in 1633). This is so, in large part, according to R. W. Serjeantson, because the long tradition that allowed for a "context of a philosophical theology that sought metaphysical proofs for the existence of God and the immortality of the soul" was still operative during the early years of the seventeenth century (230). Serjeantson offers the speculation that "[o]ne way the older Herbert should be seen, in fact, is as a religious apologist who did not apologise [sic] quite enough" (230). Even by mid-century, although many found Cherbury's work hard to interpret, others, including Mersenne, Descartes, and even, according to Pierre Gassendi (who was critical), Pope Urban VIII admired its erudition (220, 222). His writings and their early reception provide an important contextual snapshot close to George Herbert illustrating a time in which strongly demarcated lines separating theological positions of the Church of England from positions that would later be criticized are not yet identified.

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[9] For further discussion of this ongoing evaluation, see, for example, David Pailin's "Should Herbert of Cherbury Be Regarded as a Deist?" *Journal of Theological Studies* 51.1 (2000): 114-49.

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Just as the poet-theologian-cum-editor apparently did not object to his brother's speculative work, there is no reason to believe that he objected to Bacon's either. In fact, he went out of his way to be quite public regarding his respect for the man who died under a cloud in 1626, when Herbert's own vocation was very much in transition, by composing the commemorative poem that was included in Cambridge University's tribute to the late alumnus and benefactor. Moreover, the epistemological considerations regarding reason and theology that concern Cherbury are also in evidence in Book 9 of Bacon's *De Augmentis*, published around the same time. Herbert is apparently being sought out by both men for his skills as editor and translator and quite possibly as a sympathetic reader of common concerns over growing divisions within the Church of England and their impact on the state.

While there is no evidence that any recommendations or changes in *De Veritate* were forthcoming from George Herbert, Cherbury's dedication indicates more than a courtesy on the author's part. It is a formal public recognition of a younger brother who has established his career as a professional rhetorician and theologian. Separated in age by about ten years, what correspondence that is left of the two brothers, Edward and George, is hardly evidence of closeness in temperament.[10] The dedication is therefore certainly worth noting, at least as a marker of growing recognition of Herbert's skills as editor and translator, if not active promoter of them. More direct evidence of the poet Herbert's interest in editing and translating follows.

[10] See F. E. Hutchinson's Introduction to Herbert's *Works* on the difficult relationship between the two brothers as evidenced in George's letters to another brother, Henry, with whom George was quite close (xxv-xxvi).

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Even more significant for appreciating Herbert's role as editor is his work on behalf of his friend Nicholas Ferrar.[11] Toward the end of Herbert's life, he agreed to critique Ferrar's translation of a Spanish work by Juan de Valdés, known in seventeenth-century English editions as *The Hundred and Ten Considerations of Signior John Valdesso,* and *Divine Considerations* (*Works* 304ff). In his September 1632 letter to Ferrar regarding the work, Herbert remarks that he undertakes this somewhat difficult but worthwhile task despite his own particular "griefs" and cautions Ferrar to take Herbert's points with "some care" (304). The word "grief" usually referred to physical ailments at this time, and although Herbert does not elucidate in this passage what those griefs may have been, the word is used in another work that he is credited with translating, "Of Temperance and Sobrietie," to refer to physical suffering resulting from "intemperance" manifested in symptoms such as gout, fever, and dehydration (291), which would be consistent with contemporary usage referring to physical pain (*OED*, def. 6). According to Walton, Herbert was personally interested in the relationship between diet and health, having "cur'd himself of his Ague" at one point through the observance of a strict diet (*Lives* 284), although, as history subsequently shows, he succumbed to an early death at age 39, probably from tuberculosis. His interest in longevity and the quality of life was not only professional, as a priest and spiritual caregiver, but personal as well, and may have been a point of shared interest between Bacon and Herbert.

[11] Ferrar (1592-1637) also studied at Cambridge, was an MP, priest, shareholder in the Virginia Company, and founder of the religious community of Little Gidding. See A. L. Maycock's biography of Ferrar for further reference.

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The points of criticism that Herbert wrote in the "Brief Notes on Valdesso's *Considerations*" are detailed and careful, focusing on interpretive content, especially the theological ramifications of accepting wholesale the Catholic author Juan de Valdés's devotional writing on the role of scripture and issues regarding justification (*Works* 306-20). Although Valdés was Catholic, Ilona Bell contends that Herbert agrees with Valdés' position on an interiorized, progressive spirituality that she identifies as compliant with Calvin's theory of justification rather than orthodox Catholicism (307); moreover, Bell believes that the general order of Herbert's poems in "The Church" agrees with Valdés's developmental, progressive reflection, and needs to be interpreted in a progressive way (314-15). She writes, " 'The Church' moves little by little from a shifting, unreliable perspective to a more secure, and complete perspective . . . his understanding develops and progresses as Valdés's does. For the most part, the reader comes to recognize errors as the speaker himself discovers them. At times, when the speaker deceives himself, the reader must note discrepancies and inconsistencies that he glosses over. Eventually, as the speaker's religious principles emerge, the reader can also reassess earlier poems from a more reliable point of view" (314). This kind of progressive reflection can be appreciated if one is prepared to read the poems as coming from a single main speaker, an understanding that Walton promotes when he relates that Herbert's last recorded comments on the collection, just days before he died, describe them as "a picture of the many spiritual Conflicts that have past betwixt God and my Soul, before I could subject mine to the will of Jesus my Master: in whose service I have found perfect freedom" (314). The result, I contend, is to work a similar transformation on the reader. Instead of reading descriptively, the poems are, like a prayer book, to be read

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reflectively and cumulatively, allowing their message to work slowly upon the soul of the reader for, among other things, encouragement. According to Walton, this was Herbert's hope when he sent the poems to be reviewed by Ferrar for that purpose. Walton quotes Herbert as saying that he desired Ferrar "to read it; and then, if he can think it may turn to the advantage of any dejected poor Soul, let it be made publick: if not, let him burn it: for I and it are less than the least of God's mercies" (314).

In addition to foregrounding the detachment and simplicity of the saintly priest-poet, who from his deathbed seeks to fulfill his vocation in sensitivity and service, Walton's juxtaposition of Valdés and Herbert also equates the effect of Valdés' interior contemplative spirituality on the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V of Spain with Herbert's profound effect on others, despite his otherworldly contemplation in the rural isolation of the Wiltshire countryside (312-14). However, this prayer book mixes didactic and mimetic poetry, just as it mixes a wide variety of poetic forms and topics to provide a remarkably diverse amplitude of subcategories within the scope of religious poetry. As Bell notes, these poems open the door of the interior spiritual life to any baptized and catechized reader who has been led through the "Church-Porch" (315).

Athough numerous scholars have attempted to demonstrate a variety of strict organizational schemes for *The Temple*, beyond the obvious tripartite sections of "Church Porch," "Church," and "Church Militant," and smaller groupings within "The Church," the variety of topics and forms in the middle section have eluded such attempts to control the architecture of the collection (Bell 314). Some scholars, including Bell, see the differences between the Williams manuscript and the Bodleian as evidence that Herbert may have been

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in the process of organizing this section, revising individual poems, adding some new ones and deleting others, when he died. If so, it may explain the loose structure that exists in the published work, while supporting Bell's theory regarding a proposed progression in the main speaker's spiritual understanding. Malcolmson speculates that the editing was an effect of Herbert's alleged development toward a more Calvinistic theology. On the other hand, Walton records that on Herbert's deathbed Herbert gave the poems to a courier who had been sent by Ferrar to Herbert's bedside, stipulating that they needed to be submitted to Ferrar's editorial judgment to determine their usefulness to a public audience (314). Although a specific cause for the changes between the two manuscripts cannot be proven without more direct evidence, the fact of the changes does add to the evidence of Herbert's interest in the editorial process. Furthermore, this interest does seem plausible, given his reported reasons to leave his poems in the care of Ferrar. Also, if Walton's record is correct, then it seems even more probable that Herbert the priest would have wanted his poetry to be a precisely truthful spiritual record left for those persons who would read it. His mature poetic response to his ongoing spiritual development may be what is evidenced in the differences between the Williams and Bodlieian manuscripts. Herbert's health, never very strong, was failing in the autumn of 1632. He died six months later, on March 1, 1633, leaving his manuscript of poems in the care of Ferrar, who published them as *The Temple* the following year. For Walton, two English exempla in the spiritual life, Herbert and Nicholas Ferrar, had conferred as spiritual writers and friends over both Ferrar's translation of Valdesso's *Considerations* and Herbert's poems, at the close of Herbert's life, each deferring to the other's skill and good sense. In addition, each of the two works is juxtaposed as providing spiritual guidance

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from a singularly holy man of significant influence. In Walton's account, Herbert comes off exceptionally well as both writer and editor.

In addition to being invoked as a careful editor by Bacon and his brother Edward, and serving as editor for Ferrar and for himself, Herbert translated into English a Latin treatise, "Of Temperance and Sobrietie," which first appeared in 1636 in a separate volume, "Hygiasticon: Or The right course of preserving Life and Health unto extream old Age" (*Works* 291n). The text is essentially a first-person testimonial on how diet and other personal lifestyle choices can enhance longevity and quality of life. One can surmise from his prose work published as *A Priest to the Temple or The Countrey Parson* that Herbert interpreted his pastoral duties according to long respected tradition as inclusive of providing medical advice and medicinal services to his parishioners, either directly or through the ministrations of the parson's wife, according to "Chapter X: The Parson in His House" (239).[12] It seems probable that Herbert found the Latin text useful for himself as well. According to Walton (284), Herbert had found a special diet to be helpful for recovering from a particularly serious illness around 1626.[13] Taken together, these two translated texts show Herbert's active engagement as editor or translator of topics well within his scope of influence and interest as an early modern pastor with strong linguistic capacities.

In addition to acknowledging Herbert's considerable editorial experience, one should not overlook his interest in the criticism of poetry, although admittedly, literary criticism is not a subject of his focused attention in prose. Indirectly, of course, scholars have found

[12] Herbert married Jane Danvers in 1629.
[13] Walton dates this illness to 1629, but Hutchinson amends the date to 1626, based upon historical evidence that the information Walton was given had mistakenly inverted the last digit (Introduction, *Works* xxxiii).

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certain evidence of his interest, at least at the level of praxis, in responding to the poetry of his famous elder cousin, Sir Philip Sidney. The poem most frequently cited to demonstrate the relationship between the two poets is "Jordan (II)," in which Herbert famously echoes Sidney's mocking Muse in the last line of his initial sonnet from the cycle *Astrophil and Stella*, according to Gordon Braden (264-65).[14] The anxiety of Herbert's speaker over his Muse can be seen to be responding to the way Sidney's speaker frets over writing poetry. By looking at the importance of Sidney's treatment of the muse for Herbert's generation of poets, the subject of Braden's study, one can see that Herbert also participates in a cultural milieu that concerns itself with the validity of the maturing poetic voice and its trustworthiness to describe with verisimilitude an interior condition of the soul. The speaker in Sidney's opening sonnet reports with charmingly self-deprecating humor that it is the Muse who must finally interrupt the vacillating and hesitant love-struck poet with the very practical and down-to-earth command, "[L]ooke in thy heart and write" in the devastatingly ironic last line (*The Poems of Philip Sidney* 165). Gavin Alexander studies the immediate literary response to Sidney's poems, explaining that Sidney's classical training put him in touch with the sensitivity that binds the writer, in the act of writing love poetry, to the reader, providing a touchstone that balanced the "typical and the unique . . . with the reader who has no choice but to inhabit [the sonneteer's mind]" (218). Braden argues that Sidney's poem creates a new wrinkle in the Petrarchan convention of the love sonnet sequence by adding this anxiety over not just the unattainable beloved, but "an explicit instance of the anxiety of influence. . . specifically the influence of Petrarch" (259), when he writes in the second

[14] Braden cites two seminal works on Herbert as sources of reference on comparative critiques of the two poems: Rosemond Tuve 190-91, and Stanley Fish 198-99.

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quatrain of the sonnet, "I sought fit words . . . / Oft turning others' leaves, to see if thence would flow / Some fresh and fruitfull showers upon my sunne-burn'd braine" (*Poems of Sidney* 165). After Sidney, other sixteenth- and seventeenth-century poets continue to work out the virtues of the "tongue-tied" but sincere lover sometimes against a more eloquent rival and even against the unspoken disdain of the beloved (260-62). It is true that Herbert's poems in *The Temple,* often have as their unspoken argument the complaint of one who must first win the argument that the genre itself is appropriate for the subject. "Jordan (II)," according to Braden, participates in the more contemporary responses to the Sidneian development, but develops the poem in a startling way when he "orients it towards . . . the most absent presence to which the Western psyche has sought to speak" (263):

> When first my lines of heav'nly joyes made mention,
> Such was their lustre, they did so excell,
> That I sought out quaint words, and trim invention;
> My thoughts began to burnish, sprout, and swell,
> Curling with metaphors a plain intention,
> Decking the sense, as if it were to sell.
>
> Thousands of notions in my brain did runne,
> Off'ring their service, if I were not sped:
> I often blotted what I had begunne;
> This was not quick enough, and that was dead.

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Nothing could seem too rich to clothe the sunne,

Much lesse those joyes which trample on his head.

As flames do work and winde, when they ascend,

So did I weave my self into the sense.

But while I bustled, I might heare a friend

Whisper, *How wide is all this long pretence!*

There is in love a sweetnesse readie penn'd:

Copie out onely that, and save expense.

This poem is frequently cited as being among the more autobiographical poetic references to Herbert's own life. Gordon Braden argues that instead of simply conforming to a plain style in preference to the ornate Petrarchan style that is so obviously inadequate against such a Divine Lover, Herbert finds the problem concerning an answerable style solved in an economy of language that distances the expressed emotion from the intellectually focused ego of the speaker (265, citing Strier 197). Herbert's poem, moving from what Richard Strier calls "head-work" to "heart-work" (197) illustrates "[t]he flashpoint of . . . double teaching [on justification] in Protestantism [that] is part of the course of Western individualism, and particularly of its Renaissance passage from Petrarch to the English seventeenth century" (Braden 267).[15] Where Braden sees a Protestant theological solution (privileging piety over intellect) to Herbert's contribution to the development of Western

[15] Generally, the Protestant doctrine of justification relies on divine grace without the aid of human effort, preferring the "pious heart to the thinking mind" (Strier 197). Strier argues that Tuve's interpretation, which is that Herbert does not denigrate learning, is inadequate. However, if one considers Herbert's position regarding learning against the backdrop of the *De Augmentis*, Tuve's case in this regard seems reasonable.

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individualism, another solution, related to two competing theories of matter will be discussed more fully in chapter five. However, even from the standpoint of looking at Herbert's poem "Jordan (II)" as a poetic response to his older cousin's poetry criticism and the place of poetry in the Protestant theology they shared, one can recognize in Herbert's poem his interest in participating beyond a narrowly defined religious practice in the cultural issues of his circle. Whether he is considered as editor, translator, or critic, Herbert displays a lively engagement in a wide variety of writing beyond that of religious devotional poet. At this point the focus of the chapter will turn to the year 1626, the year in which Bacon died and also a crucial year for Herbert's career, to examine how historic events helped to shape Herbert's understanding of his religious vocation and how he should live this out in service to the state.

If Malcolmson is right, and I believe that she is, the year 1626 is a particularly crucial year for understanding George Herbert's position in relation to the power struggles between the Pembroke and Buckingham factions of court during the decade of the 1620s in which the poems of *The Temple* were being composed and arranged. According to Amy Charles, Herbert had been quietly ordained in November 1624 by Bishop John Williams (16).[16] In addition to being Bishop of Lincoln, Williams was also Dean of Westminster and Lord Keeper after Bacon but was rapidly making himself unwanted in the new Caroline court that soon discovered it preferred William Laud to Williams. Herbert was made canon of Lincoln

[16] Williams would be prosecuted in 1637 by William Laud, who became Archbishop of Canterbury August 1633, about five months after George Herbert's death. The date of Herbert's death, just prior to the Laudian governance of the Church of England makes it anachronistic to place him definitively in what would quickly become one of two hard line positions for members of the Church of England, although it is almost impossible not to do so, and Herbert scholars must eventually disclose their own interpretation of Herbert's theological stance.

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Cathedral on July 5, 1626 by proxy, even as he was preparing his last official oration for Cambridge University to be delivered at York House on July 13 (Charles 16-17). York House, Francis Bacon's birthplace and favorite London residence, was a property of the Bishop of York that was traditionally leased to those whose business in the area made the palace a desirable base, according to Jardine and Stewart (487). Buckingham himself was desirous of York House and took it over once Bacon fell from office (487). According to Malcolmson's timeline, in February 1626, the spring that Bacon died, York House hosted the Church of England's Conference debating Calvinism and Arminianism, and by June 15 it was clear that the Arminians had won that round when royal proclamation banned Calvinism "from press and pulpit" (*Literary Life* xxix). Contemporaneous with these events, Henry Herbert was serving in Parliament from February to June (in the seat his brother George last held). Although precise records for George's whereabouts from January to June of 1626 are not available, it seems plausible to place him at his step-father's nearby Chelsea house, where he was staying the previous December 21, according to John Donne, who also was there. According to Malcolmson, it is at this time that Bacon dedicated *Certaine Psalmes* to Herbert (xxiii).

After Bacon died in April, Herbert and others set about preparing a volume of memorial verse for him. However, on July 13, essentially a week after being named canon at Lincoln Cathedral and prebendary for Leighton Bromswold, Herbert delivered what is essentially his last official oration for the University in honor of Buckingham's new appointment (17). Herbert's ordination and installation by proxy even while physically and verbally paying respects to the king's favorite in the London area may have been a strategic

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decision in response to the growing tension between John Williams and William Laud.[17] Herbert's associate Nicholas Ferrar followed an ordination path that is much closer to the new court, being ordained June 4, 1626 by William Laud in the King's Peculiar, Westminster Abbey, despite that fact that Williams was still Dean there. Laud, it should be remembered, who was also named Bishop of Bath and Wells in this year (1626), would not be named Bishop of London until 1628 and became Archbishop of Canterbury only in August 1633. A longtime friend of the Duke of Buckingham, Laud's active support for high Church liturgical reforms would be instrumental in effecting the hardening of positions that would eventually bring down the monarchy. When James was King, Laud had been overlooked for the Deanship of Westminster by James when Williams was named to that post. Instead, Laud was made Bishop of St. David's, the Cathedral for Wales, an out of the way post, but he began to move in the sphere of influence governed by the Prince of Wales, while Williams was still paying court to the old King.

Malcolmson believes that Herbert's fortune was tied up in the larger Pembroke faction and benefited or suffered according to the events of their fortunes. It seems highly unlikely that George was not aware of the symbolic importance of these three critical vocational decisions in light of the larger Herbert and Buckingham factions and the shifting affiliation brought about by the crowning of a new king. Furthermore, if Herbert's choice of Williams is an indication of Herbert's theological position on the Church of England spectrum, it should be noted that Williams was not opposed to the kind of sophisticated architecture for public worship space that has been associated with Laud's subsequent

[17] For further information on Williams and Laud, see the articles devoted to them in the *DNB*, on which the facts summarized in the remainder of this paragraph rely.

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campaign for "the beauty of holiness."[18] The relationship between church and state in this significant decade was still being sifted. Recent scholarship on the precise placement of Herbert's political and theological positions from scholars such as Nicholas Tyack and Christopher Hodgkins shows that the poet can and should be interpreted in light of the more fluid conditions of that time, and that it is inaccurate to identify him as merely anti-Puritan or pro-Calvinist.

Malcolmson argues that Herbert may be considered a "conforming Calvinist," a position that became increasingly unacceptable in the court of the King Charles as early as June 1626. She argues that Herbert was already marginalized by opposing power struggles headed by Buckingham and Pembroke, which further hindered his political connections to the new king (*Literary Lives* 30, *Heart Work* 18-25). What Herbert calls the *via media* in the long Latin poem dedicated to King James, then Prince Charles, and the Bishop of Winchester (Lancelot Andrewes), the "Musae Responsoriae" helps to place the poet's complex liturgical position. Written probably around 1620-21, when Herbert was enjoying his recent success as Orator for Cambridge and had been favorably noticed by King James, these epigrams appear to be quite safely in the King's camp regarding liturgical practice, opposing the Scottish form of Presbyterianism that was causing recent disruption in the north of England, according to Malcolmson (*Literary Life* 31). There is no record of Herbert's disseminating the "Musae Responsoriae" during his lifetime, however. Scholars do not know if Herbert had decided to err on the side of caution, but within five years, a new King who quickly elevates the

[18] The *DNB* records as visual evidence of the complexity of labeling Williams a Calvinist, that Williams was largely responsible for building Oxford's Lincoln College Chapel. Consecrated in 1631, this ornate liturgical space is what Cardinal Newman later called "the beau ideal of a Laudian chapel" (qtd. in *DNB* 59. 227).

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Arminian faction centered on Laud, comes into power, and the old guard is either reduced through suppression or attrition. Herbert's respect for the venerable Arminian theologian Sir Lancelot Andrewes reflects his appreciation for holding fast to the traditions of the church and its ceremony. However, Malcolmson notes that Herbert is a Calvinist when it comes to the theological doctrine of divine grace and free will (34). Since Herbert places his emphasis on protecting the social fabric that maintains order, he can follow Andrewes's own example and let the theological differences lie dormant, because, according to Malcolmson, "For Herbert, the central issue is not theological but social . . . earthly harmonious order" (34). By July 1626, however, when Herbert makes his last epideictic oration in honor of Buckingham's position as Chancellor of Cambridge, Calvinist theologians find themselves outmaneuvered. Whereas Herbert and others like family friend and poet John Donne had celebrated the Church of England as a model of liturgical moderation, elevated between overly sumptuous Rome and naked Geneva,[19] Laud equated Calvinism with Puritanism and believed it was subversive to the state church (78).

Herbert's Latin poem, "Musae Responsoriae," is an elaborate poetic argument, the subtitle of which is translated into English as being "in Response to the Scotsman Andrew Melville's Con-Oxford-Cambridge Accusations" (McCloskey and Murphy 3-40). These forty epigrams respond in a satirical fashion to the Puritan poet Melville's condemnation of the Church of England and the English universities. In this poem, Herbert argues vigorously for a national church that is ruled by the episcopacy and celebrates the aesthetic and

[19] Cf. Herbert's poem "Ad Seren. Regem" ("To His Serene Majesty") in "Musae Responsoriae" and Donne's Satire III (Stringer), in which both poets are proud of the unique form of what Herbert calls "finished worship" that characterizes the liturgical practices of the Church of England.

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intellectual pursuits that are taught at university. As a spokesman for the intellectual and religious training taught at Oxford and Cambridge, Herbert is again demonstrating his allegiance to the king he publicly admires as an eminent scholar. Whether interpreted as the enthusiastic if naïve product of a youthful but gifted poet, or an attempt at self-making that smacks of toadyism, Herbert's stance is public, vituperative, and patriotic. The last two poems of the series are addressed to the king and to God, respectively. In the longer of the two, "Ad Seren. Regem," Herbert claims that the other nations, angels, and "Ipse etiam Christus coelo speculatus ab alto, / . . . Sola mihi plenos, ait, exhibit Anglia cultus" (11, 13). McCloskey and Murphy translate these lines as "even Christ himself, watching from the skies /. . . Says that only England offers him a finished worship" because of the watchful and theologically enlightened care of the King himself, who has mastered the scriptures, the "Synods," the fathers, and the ancient Academy (lines 24-26). Because the king is at the helm of this bark of faith, it can find safe passage between the equally rough waves raised by Puritans and Roman Catholics (30-31). The close association in this poem between Christ as Sun (11) and the King as Defender of the Faith (17) may shed light on Herbert's transfer of patriotic associations from their locus in the King in this earlier poem to the language of English, a point that will be discussed more fully in chapter three's analysis of Herbert's poem"The Sonne," which did not appear in the Williams Manuscript.

Although Malcolmson's argument helps to provide an historical context for Herbert's religious and political affiliations relative to Bacon's, it does not account adequately for the relationship that Bacon and Herbert had developed. An object of Buckingham's patronage, Bacon did not receive support when he was required to answer the charges of corruption in

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1621. Bacon's precipitous fall, ostensibly on counts of bribery, was really more the result of deep-seated resentment petitioners felt over having paid bribes to the Lord Chancellor to no avail, according to Jardine and Stewart (462). It would seem that Bacon was considered expendable and simply sacrificed by both parties as they struggled for preeminence in what would be the final years of James's reign. Even Bacon's forthright apology to the court, which momentarily stunned his judges, was not enough to save him. Between the time of Bacon's censoring in 1621 and his dedication to Herbert of *Certaine Psalmes* in December 1624, no record of correspondence between the two men survives.

The next recorded gesture of friendship comes from Herbert in the form of his Latin memorial verse in 1626. Unlike the very publicly self-conscious bombast of his University Orator days, or the optimistic Ethiopian poem, the tone of this short poem of six lines expresses a personal grief for a private citizen, whose long illness and obvious suffering has evoked pity. The taut lines of the Latin poem translated by McCloskey: "On the death of the incomparable Francis Viscount Saint Alban, Baron Verulam" provide the last direct link of association between the two men. The entire poem, quoted in chapter one, is replete with linguistic associations between the personal sorrow of the speaker and the month of April. April is Herbert's own birthday month. Moreover, Herbert has written Latin poems explicitly associating his birthday falling on Good Friday as corresponding with Christ's Paschal sacrifice, such as "In Natales et Pascha Concurrentes, " quoted in chapter one, the title of which is translated in McCloskey as "On the concurrence of a birthday and Good Friday" (165). The speaker has seen a correspondence between Bacon's death and the month of April in which spring makes its progress in uneven, but inevitable steps. The

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speaker acknowledges that the voices of Flora and Philomela, although lachrymose and querulous, actually speak a language that in this instance, at least, is understood by the speaker and is fitting because it is the language of the one who is being mourned in a funeral without visible mourners. The connections are deep between Christ, the one whose passion is experienced as a profound abandonment, and the speaker, who can translate the otherwise mysterious sounds of Flora and Philomela, mythological symbols of grief and the joining of fructifying life and sacrificial victim. These two alone demonstrate a deductive understanding of Fate's decision and speak on Bacon's behalf, on the occasion of his solitary funeral, otherwise without mourners. Moreover, the poem opens by claiming that the speaker's sympathetic insight is made before the one who is being mourned in the poem has died. The speaker cannot pass by without commenting on the moving experience.[20]

Several significant events swiftly coalesce in these few lines. Herbert shows a deep sensitivity to what McCloskey translates as the "long, / Drawn-out illness" (1-2). Although the implication is that at first the speaker did not understand why someone should be forced to suffer for so long, dying so slowly, an answer does finally show itself through the combined voices, although foreign voices of nature mythologized who suffers, too. Even though humans apparently do not join the funeral cortege, nature will cry out and the poet can understand the mysterious language, which is after all the language of the one who has

[20] Manuscript evidence examined by Marotti illustrates that Herbert was not alone in expressing sympathy for Bacon in his final years. Marotti cites about a dozen extant copies of a long poem by William Lewis praising Bacon as having suffered in 1621 as a political victim of the House of Commons, what Maroti summaries as "an unfair tribunal that condemned an intelligent and talented public servant whose few faults supposedly were far outweighed by his many virtues" (105). For a "more cynical point of view," Marotti points to a quatrain that is found only twice in extant manuscripts. In this instance, as in virtually every other existing historical marker, Herbert's instincts are well within the bounds of socially prescribed sentiment, and yet his poetry manages to transcend them.

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died. The words "[d]o not weep for me, the very stones will cry out . . . " are evocative of the Good Friday reproaches of Christ, which are reset in Herbert's long poem "The Sacrifice" at the beginning of "The Church" (*Works* 38). Herbert's sensitivity to Bacon's reworking of scripture and classical mythology is tenderly in evidence in this final tribute.

After having introduced the empirical interests of Herbert, sampled poems that demonstrate how he participated in a culture that had initially welcomed Bacon's highly anticipated arguments for natural philosophy, demonstrated Herbert's reputation as a highly respected editor, translator, and theologian, and considered the ramifications of Herbert's choices to become a parish priest and to remain loyal to Bacon, the following chapter will examine more closely the significance of Bacon's redefinition of charity as the operative virtue in his Great Instauration in service to the State and how Herbert's poetry and prose works concur with Bacon's reformulation of this key Christian virtue.

According to Walton, Herbert's natural temperament and gentry status did not automatically mark him for the life of a country parson. On the contrary, Herbert was well on the way to a career as a powerful courtier in the court of James I, even so far as to expect eventually to be appointed Secretary of State (Walton 274). To read Walton's *Life of Mr. George Herbert* is to see the young Orator in frequent attendance upon the King and in close proximity with members of the court (272-76), even to the extent of "seldom look[ing] towards Cambridge, unless the King were there, but then he never failed" (276). Even with the sudden death of the King in 1625, preceded by the deaths of several influential courtiers in 1624 and 1626 who Walton believes would have otherwise served as patrons for Herbert's advancement, Walton is careful to explain how so remarkable a scholar and gentleman

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should conclude his brief life by spending his final three years (1630-33) in the relative backwater of Bemerton parish rectory, citing his delicate constitution and his reluctant submission to the judgment of William Laud, then Bishop of London, as well as the gentle pressure of his extended family in the form of the Pembroke Sidneys at Wilton House in Salisbury (288). Walton's rendition of events carefully highlights a suspenseful balance of two opposing features in Herbert's life at the point of his ordination: the secular career with its bright promise of personal fame and the religious vocation with its lasting impact through his continuing role as prophet in *The Temple*. Walton wants to emphasize Herbert's gifts as an influential secular spokesman, his service as Orator for Cambridge, and MP for Montgomery in 1623-24, his many influential friends at court, and his family connections, in order to provide a more complete picture of the man who would be remembered as "holy Mr. Herbert" once his spiritual combat was resolved and he took on the role for which Walton memorializes him. From the point of his ordination, the reader is awed by the evidence of contemporary recognitions of his noble piety: the young King willingly confers a post on a respected courtier, and his social equals gently conspire in the Divine plan to conserve his strength by seeing to it that he is placed nearby powerful friends and family until he can complete his mission.

Jessica Martin observes in *Walton's Lives* the literary roots of early modern biography as well as the lingering influence of the rhetorical encomium of early modern funeral oration and Plutarch's *Lives*. That Walton's *Life* of Herbert has as its agenda constructing a narrative that illustrates for his readers "exemplary" and "prescriptive" (Martin 67) models of behavior not unlike what his contemporaries may have heard in

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funeral sermons eulogizing a beloved religious or civic leader, or read in Foxe's by now well disseminated and influential *Acts and Monuments*, should not surprise us. However, Walton's vision of Herbert's life may not be so far removed from the historical record. For the purposes of the present argument, it is especially pertinent that Walton reconstructs the life of a scholar whose English religious poetry was being written largely during the very period at which he was most interactive with the court, and within which Bacon also moved, in the decade before 1620. Likewise, Herbert's biographer, Amy Charles, would place most of the English poems in the Williams manuscript, which contains what is considered to be the earliest collection of poems in *The Temple*, between 1612 and 1618 (78-87).

Moreover, Walton's reconstruction is consistent with accounts of the young poet by his eldest sibling, Edward, Lord Cherbury, whose own memoirs include a portrait of George as proud and quick-tempered, possessing those family traits and noble faults which his brother is quick also to claim for himself. In 1622, Edward shows his respect for Herbert as a scholar by dedicating his own Latin treatise, *De Veritate,* to his scholarly younger brother, George, and William Boswell (Charles 16). George Herbert's poetic abilities, his scholarly successes, and his personal integrity are all on display as exemplary in Walton's *Lives*, as well as other sources. His reputation, however, did not stop with his brother's dedication; even before the interregnum and nostalgia set in for the Cavaliers, Herbert's family and friends participate in the public construction of Herbert as one who is above reproach; like his more famous cousin before him, Sir Philip Sidney, he is set up as a model of his type, in this case, a holy priest. This is not to imply that Herbert was not exemplary, but only to note the remarkable consistency in Herbert's persona, a consistency that Jessica Martin believes is

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part of the period's expectation for the recording a life in the first place. Even the "gentle Shakespeare" of seventeenth-century memory was not subjected to the finely crafted seamless façade that was the role laid out for Herbert, nor was his life memorialized so soon after his death in the complex and sustained way that the royalist Walton constructs for holy Mr. Herbert. By all accounts, including his own, Herbert aspired to live up to that role of poet, priest, and prophetic psalmist. One of the requirements for fulfilling that role, according to Martin, is the classical ideal of the noble Roman, the man of classical education and consistent virtue (33, 203). In order for Herbert to fulfill his function as understood by near contemporaries in the seventeenth century such as Walton, Herbert needs to be aware of current theories of knowledge and the governing authority's response to them insofar as they relate to his career, whether that be secular, as Orator for the University, or sacred, as poet of devotional lyrics. Herbert's reputation, even during his life and indeed throughout the seventeenth century, enjoyed much wider recognition than modern readers may ordinarily think, given his more recent assessment as a devotional poet who emphasized interiority and who also served as a priest in a rural part of England.

The next chapter will look at how Bacon's call for establishing his empirical methodology of induction was supported by his adaptation of Christian moral teaching to create a philosophy that was intended to be practical and how Herbert's poetry can be fruitfully interpreted in light of Bacon's precautions against self-deluding behaviors and tendencies, the "Idols of the Mind," and upon freeing oneself, serving the king in a state authorized vocation such as the Church of England would provide or in one of the burgeoning professional vocations for which Bacon lobbied and indeed helped to define.

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Chapter III:

Avoiding the Idols of the Mind and Living in Charity

Even though Francis Bacon and George Herbert acknowledged publicly and repeatedly that they held each other in esteem and there is no evidence that they ever found the other's philosophical and religious viewpoints occasion for argument, scholars of the twentieth century may have sometimes not understood the significance of the strength and all encompassing dimension that religion held for the early modern era, which can result in underestimating or overlooking clues that would help to explain why a deeply religious poet such as Herbert would be eager to promote the philosophy of Francis Bacon, who has since been identified as a major instigator of the modern tendency to exclude religious life from public forums affecting state policy and scientific practice. Looking at how the two men participated in a very popular poetic seventeenth-century genre, that of composing versified psalms in English, considering their reputation within the seventeenth century, and seeing how Herbert incorporated in his religious poetry empirical observation and testing for subjective fallacies of the mind (what Bacon called "the Idols of the Mind")[1] will provide some historically accurate reference points on which to base not only their relationship with each other, but also how they chose to be identified in the context of cultural affiliations, including religion and philosophy; two areas the men are most identified with today. The

[1] Bacon refers to the Idols in several different works which incur modifications between them. In the *Advancement of Learning*, there are three: the Idols of Cave, the Tribe, and Market, but later, in the *Novum Organum*, he adds the Idol of the Theatre. These are all subjective fallacies to which all humans are vulnerable in their desire to hurry from uncertainty to certainty, but need to guard against in order to understand nature's elegant and complex operations, a key to unlocking her secrets to improve conditions of life for all humankind. Note Bacon's use of the religious term, which means that to fall into this pattern is more than regrettable; it is heresy. For a brief introduction to the Idols, see Graham Rees' Introduction in the Oxford Bacon edition of *The Instauratio Magna* (li-lvii).

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chapter will close with a discussion of how the political and religious climate of Herbert's early adulthood affected his career and how despite opportunities to distance himself from Bacon, who had become a political liability after 1621, Herbert remained a loyal friend.

Even though Bacon's public reputation was assured from his own lifetime, during his public career as Lord Chancellor and influential member of the Stuart court, so much of what Bacon wrote in his philosophical texts exceeded the intellectual grasp of contemporaries that the court gossip John Chamberlain snidely records the king's aside upon receiving his copy of the *Novum Organum*, which Bacon projected would eventually constitute but one part of the forecast *Instauratio Magna*: "His last book . . . is like the peace of God, that passeth all understanding" (qtd. in Jardine and Stewart 439). This was in October, 1620, when Bacon had reason to believe that his long awaited dream, now adequately articulated, could not fail to persuade his primary audience, the one man who could marshal the funds and focus the national energy to launch the campaign properly. The king's lack of understanding meant that Bacon would have to project his vision into the future and beyond the court, and even beyond the shores of England. Bacon's desire to use rhetoric in the service of the state was inevitably thwarted by the inability of his generation to commit to a national mandate of such enormous proportions. It was for many, too strange a work to fathom, not the work of a fool, to be sure, but no wise person would compose such a volume, according to the young courtier, Henry Cuffe (439). John Chamberlain could not get past the title (439). Individuals, however, might be persuaded in their own field quietly to set about transforming the intellectual landscape, and to the judgment of these readers Bacon applied his remaining energies.

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That seventeenth-century men such as James I and John Chamberlain were baffled by the content and breadth of Bacon's argument should not surprise us. Scholars continue to debate what Bacon really means on a given subject by relying on certain privileged texts from his prolific stream of works. However, virtually all agree that foundational to Bacon's proposed scientific revolution is a revised system of categories for the disciplines described in his *De Augmentis*, Books 4-5 and Book 1 of the *Novum Organum*. In order to start fresh, like-minded scholars must be willing to reject all forms of inadequate behavior and thinking that impede the growth of increased knowledge, both externally, such as generous sharing of reliable, replicable information, and internally, by rejecting illogical modes of thought (Gaukroger 118-27). Bacon details in his four Idols of the Mind those faulty thought processes that inhibit seeing things as they really are by habit, expectation, inadequate language, and demonstration of knowledge.

Far from disagreeing philosophically with Bacon, Herbert shows a real interest in trying out several of Bacon's main theses, including that of the fallacies of the mind in testing reality. In fact, many of Herbert's poems address how to overcome one or another of the four idols, especially a specific group of the lyrics within "The Church," the central section of the tripartite collection, *The Temple*. These same poems, which do not appear in the Williams Manuscript, enjoy a quality that Amy Charles identifies as exemplifying "poetic maturity" (*Williams Manuscript* xxx). She argues that these poems emphasize the speaker's uneven development by virtue of an "uncompromising honesty" in which "Herbert transcends his own spiritual conflicts and spans the journeys of each Christian" (xxxi). Charles quotes Louis Martz's comment on the same poems as Herbert's "changing his style

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from 'winding' of wit to a witty simplicity" (321, qtd. in Charles, *Williams* xxx). In the later Bodleian manuscript, these twenty-six poems are inserted between "Obedience" and "The Elixir" (*Works* 105 – 84).

Four poems from among the group of twenty-six that do not appear in the earlier *Williams Manuscript* collection serve to illustrate Herbert's willingness to consider Bacon's methodology of purging old "idolatrous" habits of thought in order to see spiritually with improved vision. In poems such as "Conscience," "The Pilgrimage," "Hope," and "The Sonne," Herbert demonstrates his interest in exposing through his poetic efforts what Bacon terms the idols.

"Conscience" (*Works* 105-06) opens this section of poems with a voiced frustration over some of the effects of depending upon one's own criticism instead of availing oneself of the grace available through "My Saviours blood" from the cross (14). This poem engages the speaker's choler against himself, but unlike that other more frequently anthologized poem, "The Collar," the aggression is not enacted as a rebellion against a recognizable good, but as determined intervention by the speaker to silence an overactive conscience. In "Conscience" the endless cycle of blame is not resolved after direct address from another's voice as it is in several poems, including "The Collar." Here the speaker relies instead on an available remedy that he must choose to apply: the double acting "physick" and "sword" of the cross (24). The setting appears to be the examination of conscience before receiving the sacrament of Communion. The first stanza of the poem opens with a warning and a reason. By listening to the prattling from a particular source, identified only in the title, the speaker has

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"both lost mine eyes and eares." The effect of the prattler's misleading negativity would be devastating if left unchecked.

Peace pratler, do not lowre:
Not a fair look, but thou does call it foul:
Not a sweet dish, but thou dost call it sowre:
Musick to thee doth howl,
By listning to thy chatting fears
I have both lost mine eyes and eares.

Pratler, no more, I say:
My thoughts must work, but like a noiselesse sphere;
Harmonious peace must rock them all the day:
No room for prattlers there.
If thou persistest, I will tell thee,
That I have physick to expel thee.

And the receipt shall be
My Saviours blood: when ever at his board
I do but taste it, straight it cleanseth me,
And leaves thee not a word;
No, not a tooth or nail to scratch,
And at my actions carp, or catch.

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Yet if thou talkest still,

Besides my physick, know there's some for thee:

Some wood and nails to make a staffe or bill

For those that trouble me:

The bloudie crosse of my deare Lord

Is both my physick and my sword.

For purposes of the current argument, what Herbert's speaker is most determined to do here is to isolate and nullify that element of the internal dialogue that hinders the speaker's ability to sense things as they really are, commanding it to "Peace" (1) and defining it as a "pratler" (1, 7, 13, 16). The speaker contradicts the cynical interpretation of good experience that has been provided unasked for by "Conscience" in the second stanza (7-12). Furthermore, the speaker uses the authority of self in commanding "Conscience" in the first stanza and most of the second, although the speaker does threaten to "expel" "Conscience" by using a special "physick" (12). The means by which the speaker intends to silence the prattler, Conscience, is available in two related but distinct options, a healing measure and a potentially wounding one. The first is by partaking of communion, especially under the species of the wine, which is referred to as medicine, or physick: "[m]y Saviours bloud: when ever at his board / I do but taste it" (14-15). The board is the Protestant table of the Lord's Supper, and the blood is that communion wine which is made possible because of the efficacious act of Jesus on the cross, dramatized as the Good Friday reproaches in the liturgical opening of this section of poems, "The Sacrifice" (26-34). If participating in the Communion of the Lord's Supper does

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not effectively silence Conscience, then the speaker warns that he will employ a second, more aggressive means, for the cross's own "wood and nails" (11) can be made into "a staffe or bill / For those that trouble me" (11-12). Here the "bill" is a club, such as those used by constables to enforce the peace. The final couplet declares that "the bloudie crosse of my deare Lord / Is both my physick and my sword" (14). This rather surprising threat from a poet readers have been accustomed to think of as genteel and soft-spoken, if not positively otherworldly and mystical, may help to realign more modern expectations toward a more empirically minded Herbert, even as the speaker declares emphatically a readiness to trust one's own senses, despite the corrosive negativity of Conscience.

Herbert had reason to be concerned about the breaking of the peace by unruly ruffians and the need for local authorities to keep order. His own father, Richard Herbert had served as local Justice of the Peace and Deputy Lieutenant of the County of Montgomery (Charles 24). As it turns out, his service in this capacity was dangerous, as the eldest son, the poet's eldest brother, testifies in his biography:

> . . . my father, whom I remember to have been . . . of a great courage whereof he gave proof, when he was so barbarously assaulted by many men in the church yard at Lanervil, at what time he would have apprehended a man who denyed to appear to justice; and for defending himself against them all, by the help only of one John ap Howell Corbet, he chaced his adversaries until a villain coming behind him did over the shoulders of others wound him on the head behind with a forest bill until he fell down, thô recovering himself again, notwithstanding his skull was

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> cutt through to the Pia Mater of the brain, he saw his adversaries fly away, and after walked home to his house at Llyssyn, here after he was cured, he offered a single combat to the chief of the family. (qtd. in Charles 23)

The story must have been a popular one in the family tradition. In "Conscience" one observes George Herbert showing an interest in the keeping of the peace at a local level, even when it comes as result of a bill, even if it is only threatened. There is clear indication that the speaker of the poem sees himself as justified for taking matter into his own hands, with at best a rough sense of justice in the manner of a vigilante rather than an objective man of law.

Although the images remain traditional in this poem, three things should be emphasized: the speaker trusts the senses over the interior voice of the "Conscience"; the voice is speaking falsely and would destroy the sensible pleasures of life experience (fair look, sweet dish, music), and the solution is to participate in the sacrament of Communion and to make a tool of the "bloudie crosse," which is understood to be present, versatile, and efficacious. Many studies have been conducted on the theological underpinnings of Herbert's theologically rich poetry, including those that discuss the Christian position that sensuous pleasures are relative goods, needing to be subordinated to the absolute good of God, for whom there is no equal. Suffice it to note here that in this poem the speaker is confident that the cross of Christ is that which will enforce the mental quiet necessary to assimilate and process accurately empirical data that is received through the senses. The speaker seems assured that the proposed resolution is sufficient in itself, and the entire project is dealt with satisfactorily.

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One might see in this solution a response consistent with Bacon's recommendation for correcting "Idols of the Cave," those errors in judgment or reason that are the result of the individual's proclivities. In Book 1 of *Advancement*, Bacon writes that errors of reason can be successfully falsified by testing sophism against logic, imagination or impression against rhetoric, and passion or affection against morality, rendered in modern English as moral philosophy (127-28, Gaukroger 125); and in the *De Augmentis* he writes that "the end of logic is to teach a form of argument to secure reason, and not to entrap it; the end likewise of moral philosophy is to procure the affections to fight on the side of reason, and not to invade it; the end of rhetoric is to fill the imagination with observations and images, to second reason, and not to oppose it" (6: 455-56, Gaukroger 125). The "Conscience" of this poem has offended reason through sophistical argumentation, false impressions, and disturbances of the passions; and the speaker attempts to refute "Conscience" by logic, rhetoric, and finally moral philosophy.

In "The Pilgrimage" the traditional symbols are handled in an entirely different way. The speaker of this poem delivers what at first appears to be a simple allegorical narrative of religious pilgrimage. However, this one is concerned, not with the pleasures and satisfactions of faithful travelers to holy sites or even the challenges faithful expect to encounter over temporary difficulties, such as one might find in the later seventeenth-century allegorical tale by the nonconformist preacher, John Bunyan, *The Pilgrim's Progress from This World to That Which is to Come*. This pilgrimage consists entirely of misguided effort, resulting necessarily in frustration, disappointment, unpleasant surprises, and indeterminate destination (*Works* 141-42). Herbert's speaker is famous for not always understanding what

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the spiritual journey entails. Here the speaker appears *in medias res*, as he would in an epic struggle, but this time, the epic is personal and interior, while the expectations are traditional (*Works* 141-42). The poem reads:

> I Travell'd on, seeing a hill, where lay
> My expectation.
> A long it was and weary way.
> The gloomy cave of Desperation
> I left on th' one, and on the other side
> The rock of Pride.
>
> And so I came to Fancies medow strow'd
> With many a flower:
> Fain would I here have made abode,
> But I was quicken'd by my houre.
> So to Cares cops I came, and there got through
> With much ado.
>
> That led me to the wilde of Passion, which
> Some call the wold;
> A wasted place, but sometimes rich.
> Here I was robb'd of all my gold,

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Save one good Angell, which a friend had ti'd

Close to my side.

At length I got unto the gladsome hill,

Where lay my hope,

Where lay my heart; and climbing still,

When I had gain'd the brow and top,

A lake of brackish waters on the ground

Was all I found.

With that abash'd and struck with many a sting

Of swarming fears,

I fell, and cry'd, Alas my King!

Can both the way and end be tears?

Yet taking heart I rose, and then perceiv'd

I was deceiv'd:

My hill was further: so I flung away,

Yet heard a crie

Just as I went, *None goes that way*

And lives: If that be all, said I,

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After so foul a journey death is fair,

And but a chair.

In this poem, although the speaker incorporates traditional analogies associated with spiritual life as a pilgrimage,[2] even as a pilgrimage of suffering, the dogged determination to persist points to a modern consciousness in its repeated refusals, despite identifying which ever-receding hill is the one "my hill" which must fulfill all personal "expectations," but which must always be deferred, points to a modern consciousness in its refusals. Herbert's speaker has laid hold of certain claims before the poem begins. He believes that he has the road map for the journey and thinks (wrongly) that he can see in the distance which hill is the desired destination. As the poem progresses, despite all evidence to the contrary, the speaker persists in pursuing these false assumptions, never considering that he may be going about the journey all wrong. Even so, the allegorical landscape, cavernous, rocky, barren, wild and wasted, for the most part, does admit some natural beauty, but by the time the speaker arrives at "Fancies medow," the hour has grown late and the speaker feels constrained to continue. Although he refuses to linger in Fancies medow, he is delayed by cares, the two-fold bane of

[2] See the later seventeenth-century English allegory by John Bunyan, *The Pilgrim's Progress from this World to that Which is to Come*, which incorporates in its varied landscape hills and caves, places of respite and temporary pleasure, and advice from wise men acting on God's behalf, in addition to the many dangers from without and within along the way to the Celestial City. From late sixteenth-century Spain comes the classic poem of Christian mysticism "The Dark Night" by John of the Cross with its accompanying prose commentary, *The Ascent of Mount Carmel*, in which the Mystical Doctor explains that the spiritual journey is a metaphorical climb up the mount on which the God of Israel through the Prophet Elijah frustrated the priests of Baal and consecrated the altar's sacrifice to the supreme Deity. This climb is one of complete negation in false hopes and attractions that are relative goods, for complete dependence upon and trust in the love and will of God. Thus, the direct way of perfection is the way of "nothing, nothing, nothing, nothing, nothing, and even on the Mount, nothing," whereas one delays reaching the goal by becoming sidetracked with "goods of heaven or earth, glory or possessions, joy, knowledge, consolation, or rest, which once the pilgrim no longer seeks, receives in abundance. In his dissertation, *Faith According to St. John of the Cross*, Karol Wojtyla (Pope John Paul II) explains the significance of the disinterested soul who allows the faith journey to be a dark night and trusts only in God, not preconceived ideas about the value of sensate or even spiritual goods (93-107). Fear of being deluded is offset by hope in God alone. Whether Herbert specifically read John of the Cross is not clear, but the tropes were in widespread use by the time they are used by both men.

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the religious personality, who more readily denies pleasures only to be waylaid by responsibilities rather than trusting in God throughout. Two acts, reportedly from outside the speaker, occur at critical moments and are committed by those two recurring dramatic characters that are a frequent feature in *The Temple*, the "friend" and the "voice," respectively. The first, reported in the middle of the poem at lines 15-17, has taken place before the beginning of the narrative; the last, occurs toward the end of the narrative and is recorded in lines 32-34. As to the former, the speaker admits that he would be bereft of all his gold, but for the careful preparedness of "a friend," who has tied a "good Angell" by his side, a pun for a spiritual messenger of God and a gold coin in the current English monetary system. Symbols of angels in English visual art were still prevalent in the early seventeenth century, as seen in the record of the destruction of over one hundred "cherubim" at Peterhouse, Cambridge in 1643-44 as the Puritan iconoclast William Dowsing proudly claimed (McCutcheon 337).

The last voice provides a clear warning, ultimately refused, that the speaker is making a fatal mistake. The friend in Herbert's poetry has been the subject of critical investigation and it is reasonable to believe that in this poem the friend has made special effort to secure the speaker's long-term welfare along the journey of life, despite the speaker's stubbornness in predetermining what the outcome should be. The voice, too, has been the object of critical discussion, and the general consensus is that in this poem, the voice provides a serious warning that the speaker is heading toward a path of self-destruction, even though, characteristically consistent, the speaker dismisses the advice. Helen Vendler provides a survey of standard critical readings on this poem up to the early 1970s (*The Poetry of George*

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Herbert 92-98), arguing that in this poem, "Herbert passes beyond his original allegorical schema. . . and allows his emotion finally to overflow its vessels . . . and draws the tale out to it intolerable conclusion" (98). She concludes her chapter on "Emblems and Allegories" by stating emphatically that "For [Herbert], figures and schemes are not the fixed result of inquiry, but rather the fluid means to discovery" (99).

The allegorical images that Herbert employs in this poem are so traditionally used to express the Christian experience of life that one need not dwell here on defining the correspondences. On the other hand, what makes this simple allegory interesting in relation to Bacon's four idols is that it is essentially a very modern retelling of the subjective errors Bacon lays out in general terms, for example, in Book 5.4 of the *De Augmentis*, for which Spedding's English translation reads:

> Idols are the deepest fallacies of the human mind. For they do not deceive in particulars, as the others do, by clouding and snaring the judgment; but by a corrupt and ill-ordered pre-disposition of the mind, which as it were perverts and infects all the anticipations of the intellect. For the mind of man (dimmed and clouded as it is by the covering of the body), far from being a smooth, clear, and equal glass (wherein the beams of things reflect according to their true incidence), is rather like an enchanted glass, full of superstition and imposture. (4: 431)

Among other things, what Herbert explores in "The Pilgrimage" is illustrative of one who is deceived by the illusions of the mind Bacon has outlined. Moreover, he cannot be dispossessed of these illusions by the preventative measures of a friend or the warnings of a

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wise voice because his closed logic system does not allow for a new perspective. That the final resolution of the speaker within this one poem in the face of certain death is truly self-destructive and not the heroic response of enlightened faith, can be seen throughout the poem in the undisciplined passions that relentlessly propel the speaker forward, resulting ultimately in Herbert's ironic use of the claimant's response in lines 19-21, "Yet taking heart I rose, and then perceiv'd / I was deceiv'd: / My hill was further: so I flung away." These lines, occurring as they do, at the final stanza break, set up this speaker's misuse of the Platonic ideal form in the last line. The entire collection of poems in *The Temple* treats the proper use and understanding of the things of this world, including philosophical concepts such as that of Plato's chair, which will be revisited later in discussion of "Jordan (II)." In this poem and others in "The Church," Herbert is participating in a culture within the larger early modern European context, both Protestant and Catholic, which shows evidence of a growing unease over how one determines reality, whether that is portrayed as objective or deeply personal and subjective.[3] Scholars have often concentrated on the theological underpinnings of Herbert's poetry, such as the anxiety created by the Calvinist doctrine of predestination that prompts the individual to turn inward, looking for evidence of divine election, and the belief that genuine Christian life cannot be not static. This study does not negate the advances that such studies have provided in appreciating Herbert's poetry but suggests that Herbert, deeply interested in how one can learn about faith and grow in the spiritual life, participates in the

[3] For a fuller discussion of how epistemological discussions of truth in scientific endeavors of the seventeenth-century affected all aspects of life in England, see Steven Shapin's work, *A Social History of Truth: Credibility and Science in Seventeenth-Century England*, especially 194-206.

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cultural climate that finds Bacon's epistemological methods exciting and may in fact have turned to them as one tool for investigating his vocational awareness.

Knowing Bacon's epistemology as developed in the *De Augmentis*, Herbert is able to explore in this poem how the devout mind is given the tools in the natural realm to determine the right path when traditional reliance on the correspondences may deceive. Although it is not necessary in order to understand the poem, one might see in this poem a response to Bacon's category Idols of the Tribe, whereby the speaker is misled by the improper application of religious expectations into thinking something about the pilgrimage of life that is not helpful, and in fact, dangerous. Gaukroger argues that one particular fallacy to which the Idols of the Tribe is prone is that of expecting more regularity than what is really the case, expecting a clear cut path or plan, where randomness occurs (122-23). He also shows that this fallacy is characterized by a tendency to ignore what counter evidence is available, so that "the mind is more attentive to confirming instances than ones which go against one's theory" (123). Another effect of this fallacy is the restlessness that causes a person to never be satisfied, wanting to seek more *ad infinitum*, and the stubborn insistence of trying to make what he wants to be true into what is really true, even though he is wrong (123). The speaker in "The Pilgrimage" clearly succumbs to each of these tendencies, expecting the journey to follow a preconceived pattern, ignoring the visible and auditory evidence around him, always restless, unable to be still long enough to let the truth sink in, and refusing to be swayed despite all evidence to the contrary, preferring wishful thinking to a clear warning.

Herbert's poem "Hope" can also benefit from a Baconian reading of the Idols of the Tribe, as its central message is the false impression of reality that social conventions can

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produce, rather than strictly religious conventions. In this poem, the reader is invited to consider the convention of gift-giving in a society that operates within a system of intricate levels of patronage based on the feudal system, but straining at it as European society turns increasingly to a market based economy predicated on a humanist educational system and social mobility, leading to increased discipline specialization, and consumer goods.[4] In this poem, the message is not that finding symbolic correspondence in the right gift is necessarily a false concept, but that what symbolic correspondences may exist do not necessarily meet expectations.

> I Gave to Hope a watch of mine: but he
>
> An anchor gave to me.
>
> Then an old prayer-book I did present:
>
> And he an optick sent.
>
> With that I gave a vial full of tears:
>
> But he a few green eares.
>
> Ah Loyterer! I'le no more, no more I'le bring:
>
> I did expect a ring.

The disquiet that is experienced by the reader has traditionally been interpreted as inviting an emblematic resolution that is achieved by looking more closely at the gifts Hope exchanges, the value of which the speaker is too foolish to recognize. However, it should be noted that the poem actually does not invite further reflection of that sort. Here the first line of business

[4] See Halpern for a discussion of the cultural and economic pressures associated with loosening feudal social structures in the late Tudor and early Stuart monarchy (69-99) and the aftermath of James I's attempts to tap into the system directly by selling feudal titles (230-31). For further discussion of the highly nuanced expectations of gift-giving in the period and the perceived threat of trivialization and the loss of civic mindedness for excessive subjectivity, see Fumerton.

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is to observe the speaker's rejection of relationship with Hope because the speaker thought that he or she understood the significance of symbolic giving. In the startling conclusion of the poem, Hope's gift in the round of exchanges becomes the last *because* the speaker is disappointed, expecting a sign of terminal pledge, the nature of which is antithetical to Hope's nature.

In his study of seventeenth-century writers who follow the tradition he finds in Plato's *Phaedrus*, including Bacon and Herbert, among others, Stanley Fish argues that Bacon's method of inquiry as developed in the *Novum Organum*, *The Advancement of Learning*, and illustrated creatively in his 1625 edition of *Essays*, typically results in just such a reader response (*Self-Consuming Artifacts* 91). Fish writes of three effects that Bacon's perspective has upon the reader: it makes the reader more aware of the "attraction generalities have for the mind and therefore a 'caution' against a too easy acceptance of them," it provides "an awareness of the unresolved complexity of the matter under discussion," and it provides "an open and inquiring mind . . . dissatisfied with the state of knowledge at the present time" (91). Fish goes on to argue that Bacon's last revision of his essays shows just how much he desired to "bypass the soul," maintaining indeterminacy, "merely self-regulating" so that for all practical purposes the reader never experiences the finality that dialectic demands (154-55). Using Fish's categories, one recognizes in Herbert a "mind dissatisfied with the current state of knowledge" as Bacon was dissatisfied, thus the "*New" Organon.* Both Herbert and Bacon are engaging in a similar quest and both also participated in each other's. For Fish, of course, Herbert's poetry differs essentially from Bacon's method because it is dialectic. Whether or not one agrees with Fish that Herbert's

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poems are ultimately "self-consuming" is beyond the scope of this study. But Fish's insight does illustrate that Herbert's method is not categorically opposed to Bacon's method, but useful, a distinction which Bacon would not have seen the need to insist upon, since he focuses upon natural philosophy as distinguished from revealed religion.

In the poem "Hope," the stubborn speaker rejects the object of the relationship, the personified virtue of Hope, in his deluded insistence on maintaining false expectations regarding correspondences between the gifts (like and unlike kinds). The gifts that Hope brings actually work because they do in fact break expectations of correspondence. The first gift from the speaker is a "watch" (1), by which the reader can surmise a gentle nudge to move Hope to realize it is time to act, but the hint is not just ignored but returned with an entirely different symbolic gift: "an anchor" (2). Not to be put off, the second gift by the speaker is theologically oriented, an old prayer book (3), with the implication that the speaker believes that if raw impatience does not move Hope, surely prayers will. But no, Hope responds with the symbolic gift of an "optick," suggesting that the speaker should try to see and understand the situation as it is (4). Herbert surprisingly exchanges what is generally considered pious religious behavior (reciting prayers from an old prayer book), but which is being misused for the furtherance of some personal satisfaction, for a very practical tool for obtaining empirical data (an optic). The virtue of Hope is not to be bribed. Finally, the speaker is moved to tears, carefully collected as a gift of sacrifice in a vial; but even now, the passions notwithstanding, Hope responds with the promise of harvest to come: a few green ears (6), an organic gift, perhaps suggestive of Psalm 126, which concludes with the promise of future joy in verses 5-6: "They that sow in tears shall reap in joy. He that goeth forth and

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weepeth, bearing precious seed, shall doubtless come again with rejoicing, bringing his sheaves with him." The speaker is not prepared to appreciate this gift any more than the previous two and vows repeatedly to bring no more (7-8), having expected for his devotion "a ring" (8).

Hope's gifts show that this personification of one of the three "theological virtues" in Christian doctrine insists on the very indeterminacy that Fish demonstrates is the primary agenda of Bacon's method (155). As a theologian, Herbert can and must eventually go beyond the limitations set by Bacon because his scope of reference includes beginnings and endings beyond the temporal earth-bound existence, whereas Bacon explicitly proposes to examine only that part of existence that is within the earthly realm. But the very limited scope of this requirement does not negate the value of insights such as those Bacon reveals. In fact, by following Bacon's method, Herbert's reader can do precisely what Hope offers, that is, maintain an open-ended response that filters out the primacy of the self in its gift of new life in the form of "a few green eares"(6). In Fish's concluding footnote of his chapter to Bacon's essays, he writes, "In short, the method of induction is designed to filter out a variable, and that variable is *you*" (155).

Of the four idols, the one least congenial to Herbert's sensibilities is what Bacon calls "Idols of the Marketplace," that is, those uses of language that include figurative language, puns, and multiple ways of saying essentially the same thing. As a professional man of letters, a multi-linguist, and writer, Herbert retains his love for figurative language with all its color and expressive verve. His uneasy awareness of the fall of language as one result of the fall of humanity from Adam's initial state of grace and the need for redemption through

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Christ which figures in other poems, is not directly addressed in his poem, "The Sonne." The poem sets the limit on what Herbert is willing to give up for the value of a reliable method of discovery, and that is his role of poet. As a poem it is slight, an admission of some embarrassment for Herbert scholars who feel that they must award it equal coverage although its central device is none other than the simple son-sun pun. The exuberant delight that Herbert's speaker protests to feel over a language that can produce such a feature, incorporating two major Christological symbols in such elemental fashion, should produce the question of why Herbert's glee is so voluable.

Let forrain nations of their language boast,
What fine varietie each tongue affords:
I like our language, as our men and coast:
Who cannot dresse it well, want wit, not words.
How neatly doe we give one onely name
To parents issue and the sunnes bright starre!
A Sonne is light and fruit; a fruitfull flame
Chasing the fathers dimnesse, carri'd farre
From the first man in th'East, to fresh and new
Western discov'ries of posteritie.
So in one word our Lords humilitie
We turn upon him in a sense most true:

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For what Christ once in humblenesse began,

We him in glorie call, *The Sonne of Man.*

As a rhetorician for Cambridge, Herbert frequently used hyperbole and effusive praise to make his point as effective as possible. His rhetorical challenge here is to take the language of natural philosophy concerning the earth and heaven and move it into the language of incarnation and ascension. In the process several things occur beyond the level of the pun.

First, in stanza one, Herbert's speaker is concerned with pride in the English language as an indication of one's sense of national pride. Second, the speaker is interested in "Western discov'ries of posteritie" (10), which work, to borrow his clothing imagery, "neatly" (5) in the diurnal cycle of the sun. Finally, the speaker is interested in the concept of that other coast, "glorie," to which "[w]e him in glorie call, The Sonne of Man" (14), because that simple English pun contains a theological doctrine of the first order. The English have got it right, Herbert's speaker is saying, about Christology to be sure, but even more, because "[w]e turn upon him in a sense most true" when the English-speaking faithful can call the ascended Christ, "Sonne of Man" with the simplicity afforded by vernacular English. English simplicity is revealed to be in correspondence with Christ's own humility. The national pride in the bluff Englishman who speaks plainly, without affectation, is thus identified with Christ's own incarnational humility, with expectation that the other coast, illuminated in the blaze of the afternoon sun will justify the glorious transformation from dim morning's light. The fact that Herbert resists using the son/sun pun as a weak argument for Adamic language may be construed as countering Martin Elsky's argument that Herbert is far more conservative than Bacon with regard to his treatment of language, which is much

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more closely aligned to cabalistic and emblem literature than is Bacon's. This topic is the subject of the final chapter.

The poem's concern with proper use of language is a recurrent theme in this section of *The Temple*, called "The Church," but it is often related to the false expectations of society. For instance, the poem placed immediately before this one, "Dotage" (167), addresses the issue of what Bacon refers to as the Idols of the Tribe, those "false glozing pleasures . . . of distracted men" (1, 13) by using rhetorical copia, one of Herbert's preferred techniques of piling up appositives to approximate the general impression of plenty, but in this case, of surfeit. The first stanza of the poem sets the stage:

> False glozing pleasures, casks of happinesse,
> Foolish night-fires, womens and childrens wishes,
> Chases in Arras, guilded emptinesse,
> Shadows well mounted, dreams in a career,
> Embroider'd lyes, nothing between two dishes;
> These are the pleasures here.

If the pleasures of this kind of life are false, the sorrows are all too real:

> True earnest sorrows, rooted miseries,
> Anguish in grain, vexations ripe and blown,
> Sure-footed griefs, solid calamities,
> Plain demonstrations, evident and cleare,
> Fetching their proofs ev'n from the very bone;
> These are the sorrows here.

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In such a world, Bacon's empirical methods and rigorous honesty can at least call a spade by its own name. Once the truth is out, a new vantage point for setting the proper goals can be identified. In Herbert's vocation, that is, of course, the "court, ev'n that above so cleare" (16), his speaker is like the one who has escaped Plato's cave: although he can see reality for what it is, he has little success convincing the rest of humanity.

> But oh the folly of distracted men,
> Who griefs in earnest, joyes in jest pursue;
> Preferring, like brute beasts, a lothsome den
> Before a court, ev'n that above so cleare,
> Where are no sorrows, but delights more true
> Then miseries are here!

Bacon calls the allegory of Plato's cave "a most beautiful emblem" (4: 433) for the Idols of the Cave because it reminds the reader of the lag time that occurs when adjusting to the light after spending a lifetime in the dark. One must learn first to see and then to interpret clearly, after spending a lifetime on poor choices and false beliefs, so that eventually the individual learns to advance beyond the fallacy of seeking "the sciences in [one's] own proper worlds, and not in the greater world" (4: 433). To make that difference real, the audience in Herbert's poem needs to put off brutish nature with its false enclosed limitations and go outside to appear before the great court above, so "cleare," where the categories are transcendent with "delights more true / Then miseries here!" (18). For those who would doubt the efficacy of this movement, the speaker urges them to hear the promise that there the "delights [are] more true / Then miseries are here!"

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In contrast, the poem that immediately follows "The Sonne" employs a simpler vocabulary and an argument to match. Titled "A true Hymn," the reader is alerted immediately to the difference between what follows, a personal narrative of experiencing the desire to use language in praise of God and the anxiety of not being adequate to the task. At first the speaker is enthusiastic in reciting ejaculatory prayer, "My joy, my life, my crown!" (1, 5), claiming that God supplies what is lacking in "hymne or psalme" (9), as long as "soul unto the line accords" (11), but "If the words onely rhyme, / Justly complains that somewhat is behinde / To make his verse, or write a hymne in kinde" (13-15). Moreover, when the desire to love God overtakes even feeble praise, mixed as it inevitably is with the poignantly parenthetical "(sighing to be approved)," God fills the breach by writing "Loved." This final word conveys an endpoint beyond discussion and supplies the speaker's want with written reassurance beyond whatever intellectual puzzles the speaker can produce.

> Whereas if th'heart be moved,
> Although the verse be somewhat scant,
> God doeth supplie the want.
> As when th' heart sayes (sighing to be approved)
> *O, could I love!* and stops: God writeth, *Loved.* (16-22)

A true hymn, as opposed to just a collection of versifying words, is composed in the actual encounter between the desire on the part of the speaker to reciprocate love through the composition and the fear of failure on the one hand and the written assurance that God continues to produce as a statement of accomplished fact on the other hand. The fear of failing to complete the experiment can be overwhelming, but for Herbert's speaker,

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whenever religious anxiety stultifies articulation, the experience of God's continuous act as writer completes the process with the added assurance that the desired effect has already been achieved. The poem concludes, "[W]hen th' heart sayes (sighing to be approved) / *O, could I love!* and stops: God writeth, *Loved*" (20).

It is just such acknowledged willingness to spare nothing in the attempt and to question even that effort that Bacon requires for his great instauration. As Bacon states in his dedication to his translations of *Certaine Psalmes*, Herbert has shown how dedication, talent, and rigorous honesty can be lived out within one's particular vocation. Herbert has memorably "taken paines" with some of Bacon's writings and Bacon does not forget, even to the point of responding with generosity across the disciplines in the only text of verse he publishes.

The fear of failure to complete the experiment because of technical inadequacy or the fear of being deluded in it, is no less significant than the fear of failure because of flaws in temperament, character, or ill health. Herbert's poetry frequently addresses these fears, too. For Bacon, the chief flaw of humanity is supercilious pride masquerading as noble ideal thoughts shrinking from the soil of the rudimentary particular. The *De Augmentis* condemns those "who are too dainty and lofty to pay attention to particulars, and especially to dwell any time upon them. For they used examples or particular instances but as serjeants or whifflers to drive back the crowd and make way for their opinions" (IV: 410-11). The association of "serjeants or whifflers" as particular examples "to drive back the crowd" is interesting in light of Herbert's line 21 in the poem "Conscience" (*Works* 105), which refers to the "bill" that the speaker threatens to make from the cross in order to silence the unruly conscience.

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Bacon and Herbert are commenting on the use of violence as a less than adequate response to challenges of the mind. Neither the speaker of "Conscience" nor those who want to make way for their own opinions in Bacon's example have real insight into the workings of mind because they are so insistent upon closing down the mental operations before a transformative solution can be found. For both Bacon and Herbert, the particular is the focal point upon which attention is to be drawn, which by its nature as distinct can offer opportunities for understanding that generalities cannot.

The decision to launch an empirical investigation is a decision to engage in just that sort of detail that Herbert finds naturally attractive. Two poems, "Vanitie (I)" and "The Pearl. Matth. 13.45," have been cited as evidence of Herbert's ultimate rejection of Bacon's empirical methods.[5] However, if one looks closely at the detail they offer, one can easily see that the supposed opposition is a false one. The weight is decidedly in the favor of the astronomer, diver, and chemick of the former; and the ways of learning, honor, and pleasure in the other are all in the possession of the speaker who declares, "I know all these, and have them in my hand" (31). Although "Vanitie (I)" is placed before "The Pearl" in *The Temple*, it does not appear in the Williams Manuscript, as does "The Pearl." Supposing that the Bodleian manuscript, which contains both, is a later collection, possibly the copy text used for printing the first edition, as Hutchinson concludes in his Introduction to Herbert's *Works* (lxxii), "The Pearl" may reasonably be considered here first, as an earlier composition

[5] In *George Herbert's Christian Narrative*, Harold Toliver has written that these two poems of Herbert's illustrate multiple rejections of a way of life that was within reach and that he found tempting but chose to refuse (32-33). Toliver acknowledges that the period does not require a split between "secular and sacred alternatives" (33), but the thesis of his book is that Herbert considered and rejected Bacon's empiricism.

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followed by "Vanitie (I)", which will in turn be followed by a brief discussion of their context in the printed text of *The Temple*.

To begin, it is helpful to look closely at the actual KJV Gospel text cited in the complete title for "The Pearl. Matth. 13.45," which reads, "Again, the kingdom of heaven is like unto a merchant man, seeking goodly pearls." This brief parable of Jesus, nestled in a collection of parables explaining the nature of the kingdom of heaven, concludes in the next verse, not cited in poem: "Who when he had found one pearl of great price, he went and sold all that he had, and bought it." Herbert's poem focuses on the first of the two verses, the seeking of goodly pearls. Although it is customary to read back into the poem the well-known conclusion, the reader would do well to remember the text as it stands. The poem reads:

> I know the wayes of Learning; both the head
> And pipes that feed the presse, and make it runne;
> What reason hath from nature borrowed,
> Or of it self, like a good huswife, spunne
> In laws and policie; what the stares conspire,
> What willing nature speaks, what forc'd by fire;
> Both th' old discoveries, and the new-found seas,
> The stock and surplus, cause and historie:
> All these stand open, or I have the keyes:
>
> Yet I love thee.

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I know the wayes of Honour, what maintains
The quick returns of courtesie and wit:
In vies of favours whether partie gains,
When glorie swells the heart, and moldeth it
To all expressions both of hand and eye,
Which on the world a true-love-knot may tie,
And bear the bundle, wheresoe're it goes:
How many drammes of spirit there must be
To sell my life unto my friends or foes:
Yet I love thee.

I know the wayes of Pleasure, the sweet strains,
The lullings and the relishes of it;
The propositions of hot bloud and brains;
What mirth and musick mean; what love and wit
Have done these twentie hundred yeares, and more:
I know the projects of unbridled store:
My stuffe is flesh, not brasse; my senses live,
And grumble oft, that they have more in me
Then he that curbs them, being but one to five:
Yet I love thee.

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I know all these, and have them in my hand:
Therefore not sealed, but with open eyes
I flie to thee, and fully understand
Both the main sale, and the commodities;
And at what rate and price I have thy love;
With all the circumstances that may move:
Yet through these labyrinths, not my groveling wit,
But thy silk twist let down from heav'n to me,
Did both conduct and teach me, how by it
To climbe to thee.

The speaker's declared commitment, made with "open eyes" and freely chosen (32) is, like a marriage vow, a positive choice of dedication toward the One who provides the thread, the "silk twist" of line 38, that offers a way through "these labyrinths" (38). The image Herbert uses to amplify the solution is not verse 46 from the Gospel of Matthew. It is the mythological image of the labyrinth that Daedalus had created to house the Minotaur, the monstrous brother of Ariadne, who helps the Greek hero Theseus with her skillfully woven thread to make his way out of the otherwise hopelessly confusing turns of the labyrinth's intricate maze. The speaker in Herbert's poem is, not unlike Herbert himself, a well educated member of a social class who does indeed demonstrate real practical knowledge of the ways of "Learning," "Honour," and "Pleasure," yet his love lies in the hands of the one who holds the end of the silk twist and by that the speaker plans to make his way successfully. The

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gospel image is combined with an elaborate mythological tale; and the narrative reenacts, in the end, the tale, not the parable.

Herbert's poem participates in a culture that does seamlessly join nature, classical myth, and sacred scripture, having long ago assimilated the allegorical method of interpretation as a means for teaching moral lessons. The chapter has already discussed Herbert's use of the emblem literature, which traditionally forms a syncretism of the "books" of nature and God's revelation. As a member of the gentry, Herbert's cultural experience was wider than what was available merely from the popular culture's emblem books. In fact, Herbert's use of mythological tradition, although not generally acknowledged by modern scholarship, is another way that he can be shown to participate in a very important technique that Bacon recommends for teasing out meanings analogically through the use of mythology and aphorism.[6] It is also important to recognize that theatrical reproductions of mythology in the masque tradition strengthened and validated the monarchy. Bacon himself wrote masques and funded them. They are didactic representations designed to celebrate and consolidate the king, who represents God in his role as sage and benevolent ruler. One can see in this poem what was posited in chapter one of the dissertation, that Herbert participates in the national agenda that Bacon also supports, which seeks to extend the prestige of the state as the embodiment of his class—learning, the nobility, and the entertainments of the court—even while he admits, as would any conforming member of the Church of England,

[6] See for example, Herbert's extensive use of mythology in his Latin poem, "Inventa Bellica" and his subsequent revision of it, "Triumphus Mortis." As Kenneth Alan Hovey has shown, the poem was originally paired as a parodic companion to a contemporary poem by Thomas Reid celebrating the power of written composition ("'Inventa Bellica'" 276). Whereas Reid's poem celebrates the power of the pen as a weapon of intellectual warfare, Herbert's poem details the horrors resulting from the technology of cannon warfare. Reid was James I's Latin translator (Hovey 276). Hovey points out that both works are tentatively dated to the early 1620s, which is when Herbert is thought to be working on Bacon's *De Augmentis*.

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that the secular world has its limits and that God must provide that which leads to him and has done so. The presence of the silk twist in Herbert's poem, vertically introduced into the labyrinth, finally "[d]id both conduct and teach . . . how by it/ To climbe to thee" (39-40). The silk twist does not negate the horizontal world, nor does it suggest that there is enmity between God and the state or the state church and the secular state.

It may be that Herbert was privy to the court masque tradition that punctuated the Jacobean court at times of festivity, especially during the Christmas season but also to celebrate more occasional events. The main theme from two of Ben Jonson's more currently anthologized masques, for example, shows particular resonance with Herbert's poetry: The *Masque of Blacknesse* of 1605 and *Pleasure Reconcil'd to Vertue* produced in 1618. Chapter one has already included an analysis of "Aethiopissa ambit Cestum" ("An Ethiopian maiden to Cestus"), one of the Latin poems addressed to Francis Bacon. At this time, it seems useful to consider how frequently and easily, without any evidence of conscious embarrassment, Herbert has assimilated cultural marks from the secular arena for his sacred "Church," that portion of the volume Nicholas Ferrar had published as *The Temple*. In 1634 (new style) the king and his court were entertained by a masque produced in honor of the coming of age of the Prince of Wales, Charles, who participated, with other young men from his court, in the action of the masque. This masque, *Pleasure Reconcil'd to Vertue*, has received critical recognition in the twentieth century for its subtle interweaving of myth and morality (Herford and Simpson 7: 477-91, 10: 573-90). The masque emphasizes those moral qualities hoped for in the heir apparent and his young courtier companions. What is particularly interesting is that the narrator of the masque, the moral teacher and guide, is none other than Daedalus,

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who leads the young Prince and his male companions through a labyrinth in a twisting, intricate dance only to return them to their starting point for further moral instruction at the conclusion of the event. In fact, the main event for the king, at least, was the entertainment of the dance itself. Leah Marcus argues that the final dance episodes of this masque were designed to reinforce the monarch's liturgical policies: "the songs and dances commemorate the king's showcase of Anglican 'comeliness'" on his recent trip to Edinburgh and Lancashire where he was confronted with Puritan resistance to the king's rulings regarding merrymaking during the Sabbath (284). Hutchinson points out that scholars know from a letter written by Herbert to Sir Robert Harley, at Brampton, that Herbert was at Charing Cross during the Christmas festivities of 1618 (*Works* 367). Since Herbert was himself engaged by his stepfather in a letter dated December 26, 1618, to write of court gossip in a similar vein, it is reasonable to think that he may have known of the events and occasion of this particular masque in honor of Prince Charles. What Herbert is doing in this poem, written probably around the time the masque was produced and performed by members of his social circle, is essentially what Jonson encourages Prince Charles and his circle to do. Comparing the attractions of young adulthood to a labyrinth through which to be safely conducted seems to be what is operative in this poem, rather than abnegating life experiences as a result of forming a false dichotomy in the mind.

The speaker already knows about all these disciplines. According to lines 3 and 6, reason, borrowing from nature may be "spunne / in laws and policie; what the stares conspire." It also provides insight into what nature "speaks," whether on her own volition or "forc'd by fire" (6), as wrought by alchemical process. The speaker is aware not only of

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standard teaching from antiquity on nature but also of the fruits of discovery from "the new found seas," which the elaborate frontispiece of Bacon's *Instauratio Magna* proudly offers as an emblem of the greatly delimited scope of learning's possibilities for the current age and the responsibilities for posterity.[7] Bacon's great argument is that the world cannot benefit from these sources of knowledge unless like-minded individuals willingly spend their careers going beyond the known to wrest from nature her secrets for the benefit of humanity. It is a moral obligation. Herbert's speaker knows also the ways of "Honour" and how these ways tie a "true-love-knot" "on the world" (16). Jonson's court masque was also concerned with the true-love-knot and the vying for favors so much a part of the masque's arrangement. This speaker knows just how easily the five senses outnumber and can overwhelm the singular "he that curbs them" (line 29). These senses are particularly attuned to the kind of collaboration necessary for composing, producing, and performing a court masque, which combines several of the arts cooperating for a single cause. The implication for the ways of "Honour" is that the passions are to be ruled judiciously, and part of that rule takes into consideration the need for following proper decorum, form, as well as distinguishing between the various gifts and risks of the seduction of those gifts:

> The sweet strains,
> The lullings and the relishes of it;
> The propositions of hot bloud and brains;
> What mirth and musick mean; what love and wit / . . .
> . . . the projects of unbridled store . . . (21-24, 26)

[7] On the significance of Bacon's frontispiece, see Charles Whitney (*Francis Bacon and Modernity* 23-28).

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The speaker of Herbert's poem is quite able to recognize the Idols of the Mind that Bacon discusses in *De Augmentis*, the kinds of illusions to which all people are prone and that hinder objective observation from proceeding correctly. Whether the illusions take the guise of common sense or following the crowd (Idols of the Tribe), or cause the individual to fall prey to personal tendencies (Idols of the Cave), they may cloud perspective if unrecognized, like a temperament toward melancholy, for example; or they may cause the individual to use language in a way that appears to have a stable referent but actually is vaguely defined so as to mislead. Herbert does not find that learning, honor, and pleasure, of themselves are false ways of approaching the world. The poem is addressing something else, something more subtle. It has to do with what one should do once the ways of learning, honor, and pleasure have been assimilated, and that is to enter more fully into the life of virtuous adulthood, following the vocation with clear, unclouded judgment and ordered passions.

Like the young men associated with Charles' court who need to be led by virtue to navigate the labyrinth of pleasure, the speaker of Herbert's poem also needs guidance. He discovers that the only way to his desired destination is to use means that are provided from above. Even holding the ways of learning, honor, and pleasure in hand, the speaker, with eyes wide open, knows to value them with the proper detachment, willingly taking the thread out of the labyrinth in order to ascend. So, just as the masque has the prince and his retinue complete the steps of the final dance, voluntarily returning by way of ascent into the mountain of knowledge, Herbert's poem also reflects the sensitivity to the need of direction and guidance by announcing the speaker's voluntary acknowledgement to the beloved that it was "not my groveling wit / But thy silk twist. . ." that "Did both conduct and teach me, how

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by it/ To climbe to thee" (37-40). One may object that Jonson's masquers, guided by Daedalus, come from the mountain to which they return spending only a short time carefully traversing their way through the three songs of the labyrinth, whereas Herbert's speaker is declaring a vertical, "heavenly" twist. The reader is given to understand that the young prince is changed by the experience, including the experience of ascending in the conclusion of the masque. Line 37 of Herbert's poem also assures the reader that the labyrinths of the poem are treated similarly, being made passable via the vertical lead. The "silk twist let down from heav'n . . ."Did [note the verb tense] both conduct and teach me, how by it / To climbe to thee" (39-40). The speaker is conveying a remembered response of being conducted and taught to climb, and the thrice repeated declaration of love that results as a refrain to the first three stanzas in lines 10, 20, and 30, express a different focus from what lies on the surface as the main subject matter. It is a poem of committed love at both ends of the silk twist, and because of it the speaker moves from mere knowledge to love, an entirely different dimension of experience.

Another of Herbert's poems in this section of "The Church," titled "Divinitie" (*Works* 134-35), explores how false systems of natural philosophy are abandoned for the simple, clear, plain message of God: "Love God, and love your neighbour. Watch and pray. / Do as ye would be done unto" (17-18).[8] Although the *De Augmentis* defines only three classes of Idols of the Mind, Bacon includes a fourth one in the *Novum Organum*, the Idols of the Theatre by which false systems expressed through dogma or demonstration are shown

[8] See also Hovey's discussion of points of correspondence between this poem and what Hovey sees as Bacon's agenda regarding the separate purposes of religion and "science." Although Hovey's general thesis seems to me to be valid, I find his anachronistic use of terms such as "Anglicanism" and "science" obscures and reduces the accuracy of his contribution because they oversimplify many important distinctions that I believe strengthen our understanding of how Herbert incorporates key concepts that Bacon has appropriated for his instauration.

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to hinder progress (Rees, *Novum Organum* liii). The *Novum Organum,* first published in 1620, was conceived by Bacon to form the second part of the *Instauratio Magna*, while the *De Augmentis* would form the first (xx). Herbert's poem "Divinitie" sets the simplicity of the Gospel's admonitions in opposition to the convoluted structure of the Ptolemaic universe, which the speaker derides as serving humanity badly with its sterile dogma. Although at first the reader might be puzzled over what appears to be comparing two unlike categories, the situation being described is linked in the category of the heavens (especially that which exists above the lunar sphere in Ptolemaic system), which traditionally is considered the realm of the divine.

As men, for fear the stares should sleep and nod,
And trip at night, have spheres suppli'd;
As if a starre were duller then a clod,
Which knows his way without a guide.

Just so the other heav'n they also serve,
Divinities transcendent skie:
Which with the edge of wit they cut and carve.
Reason triumphs, and faith lies by.

Could not that Wisdome, which first broacht the wine,
Have thicken'd it with definitions?

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And jagg'd his seamlesse coat, had that been fine,

With curious questions and divisions?

But all the doctrine, which he taught and gave,

Was cleare as heav'n, from whence it came.

At least those beams of truth, which onely save,

Surpasse in brightnesse any flame.

Love God, and love your neighbour. Watch and pray.

Do as ye would be done unto.

O dark instructions; ev'n as dark as day!

Who can these Gordian knots undo?

But he doth bid us take his bloud for wine.

Bid what he please; yet I am sure,

To take and taste what he doth there designe,

Is all that saves, and not obscure.

Then burn thy Epicycles, foolish man;

Break all thy spheres, and save thy head.

Faith needs no staffe of flesh, but stoutly can

To heav'n alone both go, and leade.

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Herbert's speaker derides the men who plot the planetary motions, which follows Bacon's argument in the *Advancement* that education without a practical service oriented purpose is sterile and needs to be redirected for the good of humanity (135-36). In Herbert's poem, such sterile learning certainly does not fulfill the basic law of Christ, to love God and neighbor. In the final analysis, the Idols of the Mind are not hindrances just for the purposes of rhetoric or definition or even for inductive experimentation. They hinder living a full life and hinder others from living fully as well. What Herbert has done in this poem is to remind the reader that just as surely as there is a heaven of the spheres to map and explore, there is that other heaven, which is also to be served. In case the reader does not yet understand, however, it is just as useless to go about systematizing the path of the other heaven in the same way as did the foolish custodians of the celestial realm. Instead, the speaker recommends another way, that of the true Wisdom, personified in the incarnate One whose seamless coat could have been designed to be cut with curious questions and divisions, but was not (9-12). Instead, this Wisdom has chosen to make available to humanity the wine that, taken in faith provides what thick definitions (9-10) can never ascertain. Faith can find the way where there is no path carefully laid out; faith can accept that Wisdom bids, that the faithful take his blood for wine, even though those foolish men who think they are the arbiters of the doctrines must provide a systematic to contain and control the experience. Clearly Herbert's speaker means to compare the astronomers with contemporary theologians, and then to compare both categories of professionals so clouded by their own cleverness, with the simple human "clod" (4) who trusts in faith. The unnecessary splintering of reason from faith in line eight is the result of too much theorizing.

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Bacon also shows deep, abiding concern over the relationship between reason and faith and the proper theological foundation for his Great Instauration, which Benjamin Milner explores in his article "Francis Bacon: The Theological Foundations of *Valerius Terminus*." Milner demonstrates that underlying Bacon's argument that studying natural philosophy is congruent with Christian faith is a mysterious hinge factor which he cannot define, that point at which human knowledge and religious wonder meet (261). Milner focuses on pinpointing the philosophical and theological doctrines that formed Bacon's youth, concluding that Bacon ultimately rejects Calvinistic teachings that "will never be genuinely open to the scientific quest for knowledge" (262). The issue, however, does not disappear from Bacon's argument. It surfaces in Bacon's insistence that intuition is needed to move induction from particular instances to more universal maxims, a subject that will be taken up more fully in chapter five. Contrariwise, I believe that the reader also clearly sees it in Bacon's insistence on the need of religious doctrine to allow reason to inform potentially contentious religious debates in Book 9 of the *De Augmentis*, the subject of which Bacon likens to the "Sabbath rest" and "port of all men's labours and peregrinations" (8: 110). It is what he calls the "Legitimate Use of Reason in Divine Subjects" (9: 111). In this short book of only one chapter, the final in the *De Augmentis*, Bacon follows the conventional scholastic limitations on reason's usefulness concerning issues of faith, singling out for special consideration the urgent need of theologians to use reason when discussing certain "articles" of faith that are open to dispute, of which he writes that "[i]t is of extreme importance to the peace of the Church" (9: 115). Bacon supports his argument by way of appealing to "the

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coat of our Savior [which] was without seam" (9: 115), employing the same analogy that Herbert uses in line eleven of his poem "Divinitie."

The vitality of the kind of faith for which Herbert's speaker is arguing is made evident in how it lives out the central commandment of stanza five, so simple that the speaker, in exasperation at the Gordian knots theologians have developed out of it, declares instead his own faith statement: "yet I am sure, / To take and taste what he doth there designe, / Is all that saves, and not obscure" (22-24).

William H. Pahlka argues that Herbert's poetry expresses St. Augustine's doctrine in its form as well as its content. In his formalist approach to the poetry of "The Church," Pahlka demonstrates that Herbert wants to make his poetic form unite two forms of metrical order, that of the universal harmony, the music of the spheres, and that of reason and rhetoric (216). Pahlka's interpretation supports my belief that Herbert agreed with Bacon's concept that the mind's tendencies for delusion can and should be resisted and overcome. Pahlka's work will be taken up again in chapter four when I discuss how the two men interpreted the concept of time. In the meantime, Pahlka's treatment of Herbert's poetics regarding unity warrants attention. Pahlka points out that the elegance of Herbert's universal model in the early seventeenth century was undergoing tremendous change; what had served for so long, the simple, harmonious, aesthetically satisfying Ptolemaic model, no longer worked (215). Herbert's poetry reflects that shift of consciousness, according to Pahlka. It seeks to provide a new sense of harmony and order with a rhetorical motive. For Pahlka, Herbert's poetry reveals that one can see the experiences of life as whole, despite the fact that the "elements that have not been changed, nor has the arrangement" (179), but somehow, "in the midst of

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the experience," an "additional meaning" has been made (178). It provides "a new way of seeing what was always there" (179). The Idols of the Mind cannot long prevail in Herbert's poetry; the force of his vision overcomes all false approaches to reality.

The connection between Herbert's poem and Bacon's idols is crucial for an understanding of how Bacon's entire program for natural philosophy, categorized in the *Advancement* and *De Augmentis* and explored in other works, is supposed to be implemented. Graham Rees explains that Bacon's understanding of the planetary motions is only a part of a complex and eclectic speculative philosophy that informs all aspects of his system of thought, including theories of planetary motion, the relation between theology and science's limitations, and the desire to prolong life ("Speculative Philosophy" 122). According to Rees, Bacon resisted the more modern heliocentric theories because they seemed to defy common observation, but he also disagreed with the Ptolemaic system (124), particularly in relation to the observed motion of the celestial bodies. For Bacon, the planets moved resolutely westward without epicycle or eccentrics, which he was able to explain by adapting the theories of a thirteenth-century astronomer known as Alpetregius (123). While Bacon's speculative philosophy will be discussed more fully in chapter four, it suffices to say now that Bacon and Herbert used traditional cosmology to help explain the inexorable westward movement of the cosmos, which has profound implications for their understanding of providential time and the role of Britain in the new world. By resisting the Idols of the Mind, Herbert's speaker cut through the empty wit of the learned scholars whose desire to "save the appearances" had taken on an atmosphere of desperation during his lifetime as new discoveries of Galileo, Kepler, and Tycho Brahe become available. Instead of breaking their

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heads over such problems, astronomers are encouraged to break their worthless laboratories, which are no longer adequate for the current discoveries. Moreover, as a Protestant, Herbert seems to be poking fun at two central controversies between Protestants and Catholics and theological controversies within various Protestant confessions. Taking the interfaith difference under consideration first, the new heliocentric model of the *solar* system which challenged the traditionally approved geocentric Ptolemaic model was a serious controversy for Catholic theologians. Similarly, the Catholic theologians could not agree on the Protestant definitions of faith that operate without the "staffe of flesh" in line 27, but Herbert's speaker is just as dismissive of those Protestant theologians who insist on quibbling over the exact nature of the presence of Christ in the wine of the Church of England's holy communion. For Herbert's speaker the task of the theologian like the task of the natural philosopher must go beyond the Idols of the Mind, and to do that, both need to be much more simple and humble in their approach to what they are observing and discussing, modeling themselves after that personified "Wisdome" of line 9, the scriptural commandments as given in the New Testament and the giver of the sacrament.

Although Herbert's poem is, of course, an exposition on the nature of Christ's presence in the Communion elements according to the Church of England, the poem's content and language point to a form of nationalism that is proud that it does not hesitate to divest itself of outmoded structures, in comparison with the Catholic Church, which had condemned Galileo's work in the Copernican model in favor of the older Ptolemaic system that saved the appearances of planetary movement through the theory of epicycles. For Herbert, faith requires no such crutch as the clumsy pseudo-scientific theories of celestial

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movement or of the exact transformation that takes place in the consecrated wine of the sacrament. Faith, according to the last line of the poem, travels alone as leader.

In addition to recognizing the importance of avoiding the Idols of the Mind, a key concept of Bacon's *De Augmentis*, Herbert also agrees with Bacon that active charity in service to the state is the key virtue necessary for ameliorating the many ills of society. The final section of this chapter will discuss Bacon's definition of charity and will consider it in light of Herbert's treatment of the virtue in his religious poetry in *The Temple* and in his prose treatise, *The Country Parson.*

Living in Charity

That scholars over the centuries have found Bacon's definition of charity, traditionally one of the three theological virtues of Christianity, challenging is perhaps an understatement. In the *Advancement of Learning* Bacon writes that the scientific work of charity must be dispassionate (138), rooted in the first instance in actively and intentionally making this life better for all (136-37) but with the deepest sense of sacrificial humility so that the "rest" of contemplation, will not be reduced to the tyrannical power of an elite few over the many who will benefit from the harnessing of nature (139-40).[9] According to Gaukroger, what Bacon has done for natural philosophy by defining its characteristic virtue as charity is to give it the stamp of moral authority, in the "persona" of the natural philosopher as credible, reputable, dispassionate, and self-sacrificing (*Emergence of a Scientific Culture* 202). Gaukroger sees that "what Bacon effectively did was to transform philosophy into something that came within the realm of *negotium*. This was completely at

[9] Cf., Catherine Gimelli Martin's argument about the limitations of new historicist interpretations of Bacon's much quoted maxim "knowledge is power."

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odds with the conceptions of philosophy of classical antiquity and the Christian Middle Ages. Promoted through the rhetorical unity of *honestas* and *utilitas*, Bacon presented philosophy as something good and useful, and thus as intrinsic to the active life. Indeed, it started to become a paradigmatic form of *negotium*, and in this way it could usurp the claims made for poetry by writers such as Sidney, who argued that poetry can move one to act virtuously, whereas philosophy cannot" (199-200). Graham Rees concurs in his Introduction to the *Instauratio Magna*, saying that compared to contemporary philosophies on the continent, Bacon offers something quite new and "*open*" (xlv). He writes that the text of the *Instauratio Magna's* very unfinished condition contributes to its sense of optimism over new beginnings, observing, "[t]his is a future of steady, cooperative progress towards completeness, to a promised land of material plenty, and freedom from physical affliction. This was a new philosophy which was indefinitely new and indefinitely incomplete" (xlv).

The significance of this new persona for the natural philosopher, who moves dutifully from the ivory tower to the trenches of life in order to be charitable, was not lost on Herbert. In the longest of his three Latin poems in honor of the author of the *Instauratio Magna*, pubished as "In Honorem Illustr. D.D. Verulamij, Sti Albani, Mag. Sigilli Custodis post editam ab eo *Instaurationem Magnam*" (*Works* 436), Herbert bestows transformative honorific titles on Bacon, who has also been so recently named Baron. What follows is the English translation by Mark McCloskey and Paul R. Murphy:

> Who is he then? For he doesn't go
> With a common look about him. Blockhead,
> Don't you know? Listen here. He is

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The instigator of research, archpriest

Of truth, lord of the inductive method

And of Verulam, unique

Master of factual material,

But not of arts; evergreen of elegance

And of profundity, Nature's cosmographer,

Philosophy's store, trustee

Of speculation and experiment,

Color-bearer of impartiality, savior

Of science, long an orphan now;

Minister of light, bedevilment of idols

And clouds, colleague of the Sun, truth's

Measurer, sophistry's whip, literary

Brutus, casting off the yoke of books,

Sense and reason's miraculous

Discriminator, polisher of intellect,

Atlas of Nature, champion over

The herculean Stagirite; Noah's dove

Which, discovering no place or peace

In ancient arts, was bent on going back

To itself and to its mother's ark;

Subtlety's gimlet, grandson of time

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From Mother Truth; hive of honey; world's

And spirit's only priest; error's axe;

Mustard seed within the science of natural things,

Sour to others, flourishing unto itself.

Oh, I'm all worn out. Posterity, take over! (168-71)

Despite the lively and dynamic quality of McCloskey and Murphy's translation, some of the titles cannot be appreciated fully without referring to the Latin original. Bacon, Herbert writes in line three, is "*vertatis Pontifex,*" a title reminiscent of the Pope and Roman Emperors; he is in line four, *"[i]nductionis Dominus,"* where the translators have been forced to compromise with "Lord of the inductive method," in lines ten and eleven, "*Scientiarum . . . Emancipator*." In line twenty-four, he is "*Mundique & Animarum sacerdos vnicus*," quite an elevated, unique, priesthood of all corpusculary matter. Importantly, in addition to these and other titles celebrating Bacon's classicizing tendencies, he is given titles of traditional Christian religious significance, as well. Herbert writes that Bacon is "Noah's dove," which released prematurely, has no place to land except upon returning to its "mother," the ark, a symbol of the Church; he is the singular "priest of the world and spirits," the "mustard seed" that, like the parable referring to the Church as told by Jesus, grows from a tiny beginning to a large welcoming tree to its own followers, even though to others it appears to be "sour." Bacon is the son of truth (line 23).

The extravagant praise of Herbert's poem reveals the author's deep understanding of Bacon's use of myth and analogy to be sure, but more importantly, it reveals Herbert's agreement with Bacon at this moment in time, that the Jacobean project appears to be part of

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the design of Providence to bring history to some new plane of fruition during the reign of this king who embodies the characteristics of Solomon. The initial publication of Bacon's *Instauratio Magna* was an event filled with promise and excitement for the nation and enthusiastically received abroad (Rees xxii-xxvi). Unlike James I, who also can turn an apt analogy now and again but does not claim to understand really what Bacon has argued or accomplished, Herbert's epideictic public poems reveal that he understands Bacon's work quite thoroughly and celebrates its achievement and vision.

Instead of separating natural philosophy from its related areas of inquiry, Bacon tries to enhance its reputation. As John C. Briggs points out, "true Baconian charity combines contemplation with action so as to efface private desire and yet promote learning's advancement in a world of desire" (8). Briggs further explains that Bacon weaves together "analogies between the new learning and religion" and that these analogies imitate the Wisdom Literature of the Hebrew bible, much of which was attributed to that wisest of kings in biblical tradition, Solomon (9).

The association of Solomon with James I was encouraged by the court, and Bacon is following standard practice by celebrating what admirable qualities he finds in the king (*Advancement of Learning* 5). Indeed, Bacon's dedication at the opening of the work includes the cautious proposition that "to haue such a fountaine of learning in himselfe, in a King, and in a King borne, is almost a Miracle" (5). Charles Whitney has pointed out the centrality of the divinely instituted Jacobean monarchy in Bacon's agenda for the great instauration of the new learning (*Francis Bacon and Modernity*), providing Bacon with the religious as well as philosophical foundation to design an ultimate temple of apocalyptic

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purport, a temple that is that is fit to usher in the new heavenly Jerusalem of the Christian canon, marking the end of time. The glorious temple that Bacon imagines, transcends the societies built on the philosophies of antiquity, the superstitious and halting sciences of the current era, and the impurities and errors of the Roman Catholic faith. Whitney's book explores Bacon's self-understanding as a prophet and an advocate for revolutionary reform in a transitional age, which his contemporaries interpreted as the final age, with James I as the king who combines all the qualities of an ideal Christian king (49-51).

How does James I embody the virtue of charity as Bacon defines it? Bacon's definition of charity in the *Advancement of Learning* follows his praise of the king as the ideal Christian monarch whose recent crowning bodes well for England's future. In fact, the connection between knowledge and charity is duty in understanding and fulfilling one's vocation. As Michael Kiernan points out in his commentary on the *Advancement of Learning*, Bacon's *Advancement* is frequently in dialogue with King James I's *Basilikon Doron,* a didactic work for his son Henry, heir to the throne when it was written (332). Thus, the close relationship between charity and vocational duty for Bacon is bound to both the private and public good of humanity; although they are separate goods, "yet nevertheless in expressing of the one, you incidentally expresse the Aptnesse towards the other" (142). These, in turn, are part of a seamless construction of creation according to Christian doctrine, so that even though Bacon is separating natural philosophy from metaphysics for the purpose of focus, the ground upon which natural philosophy operates still presupposes a Christian worldview. Natural philosophy is distinct for purposes of defining a sphere of influence as a professional discipline, not as an entity to itself. One can see in Bacon's praise of the king's

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work as successfully exemplifying Bacon's vision for the work of the natural philosopher, an illustration of the relationship that Bacon is developing in the *Advancement* relative to the vocation of natural philosophy: "For your Maiesty hath truly described, not a king of Assyria, or Persia, in their extern glory: but a Moses, or a Dauid, Pastors of their people" (143). The charity of the natural philosopher as Bacon spells it out in this work addressed to James is one part of the work of the post-Reformation, Jacobean England: to make real the promise of the independent nation-state that is complete unto itself, an island nation with fully functional state institutions of church, government, and the think-tank of the natural philosopher.

This writing project incorporates moral and civil council. In addition to defining the sense of the mission of a nation, it also defines a vocational track, provides the method for its successful implementation, and inspires suitable followers. Herbert, too, sharing the same socio-political context that made the writings of James I and Bacon so well received, used the prose treatise as a venue for fulfilling his role as a priest who leads by example by writing a manual, *A Priest to the Temple, or The Country Parson,* which provides a blueprint for the national church's parish priest. That he means to address only pastors within his own Church of England is quite clear from the outset. Chapter 9, "Their Diversities" begins, "Of Pastors (intending mine own Nation only, and also therein setting aside the Reverend Prelates of the Church, to whom this discouse ariseth not) . . ." (*Works* 226). Herbert goes on to lament in chapter 32, "The Parson Surveys," that the characteristic vice among the English is "Idleness." "And because Idleness is twofold, the one in having no calling, the other in walking carelessly in our calling, [the parson] first represents to every body the necessity of a vocation. The reason of this assertion is taken from the nature of man . . . it is also a debt to

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our Country to have a Calling, and it concernes the Common-wealth, that none should be idle, but all busied" (274). He then presents several alternative civil careers for domestic and international peace, policy, and defense.

While Herbert certainly uses the term "charity" in the traditional sense of the pastor's financial and social largesse and magnanimity, financial and social (chapter 11, "The Parson's Courtesie" and chapter 12, "The Parson's Charity") it is clear from the *Country Parson* that for a parson to be charitable is to be much invested in the healthy governance of national and international policy. In fact, charity cannot be understood apart from the state church. Not only is the parson a servant of God, but also of the nation, providing on the local level an official of the state who travels about regularly and enters homes (chapter 14, "The Parson in Circuit" and chapter 17, "The Parson in Journey," and who serves as an arm of the state church (chapter 19, "The Parson in reference" and chapter 23, "The Parson's Completeness"). Michael Schoenfeldt, Douglas Swartz, and Jeffrey Powers-Beck have contributed to the current understanding of Herbert's considerable emphasis on secular justice as an arm of the state.[10] In the *Country Parson*, Herbert presents the prosecution of state justice at the local level as an avenue for practical charity through the service and promotion of civil peace and community. Although he is careful to support the primacy of family duties, Herbert also promotes public as well as private service for the head of house as long as he has time and means. Herbert begins by promoting the role of justice of the peace, a rather thankless duty at the time. He also promotes representative government at Parliament ("when he is there, he must not only be a morning man, but at Committees also"),

[10] See Schoenfeldt and Powers-Beck for discussions of Herbert's participation in the efforts of the Stuart monarchy to become a totalitarian regime at all levels of society, including the state church.

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as well as military service, civil law, practical mathematics, fortifications and navigation, or colonizing "new Plantations, and discoveryes, which are not only a noble, but also as they may be handled, a religious imployment" (277-78). Failing all else, the otherwise unhindered gentleman can travel in Europe to bring back the latest technology from Germany and France (278). What is particularly deplorable is a young man of means frittering away his life in what amounts to the chief occupation of the minor courtier. Although Herbert refrains from being injudiciously specific, the description is telling: "spending the day in dressing, Complementing, visiting, and sporting" (277). This rhetoric has particular resonance for the family in which Herbert was raised. Amy Charles' biography of George Herbert shows how the Herbert brothers were all engaged in one or another of the activities that Herbert presents as commendable.

Herbert's ideal country parson is a man of extensive learning, as explored in several chapters of the *Country Parson*. He begins to lay out the extent of knowledge in chapter 4, "The Parsons Knowledg" and chapter 5, "The Parsons Accessary Knowledges." In these two chapters, Herbert addresses the requisite theological and religious training of the parson, which is made effective in the practice of charity. As a Protestant, Herbert depends upon the primacy of scripture, which is an encrypted text. The concept of becoming able to decode the scriptures, the book of God, is mirrored in Bacon's plan to decode the book of nature, God's second book, which also is a holy obligation and requires fit ministers to process that knowledge. For Herbert's country parson, sacred scripture is "the chief and top of his knowledge," where he finds "Precepts for life, Doctrines for knowledge, Examples for illustration, and Promises for comfort" (*Works* 228). However, in order to understand them,

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the parson needs to have "a holy Life, . . . prayer, . . . diligent Collation of Scripture with Scripture, . . . the consideration of any text with the coherence thereof [i.e., the local area context], . . . the scope of the Holy Ghost . . . [that is the spirit of the "Law" or the spirit of the "Gospel"], . . . [and] Commenters and Fathers" (228-29). For his sermons and teaching catechism, the parson should have compiled a "body of divinity" from the "Church Fathers also, and the Schoolmen, and the later Writers" while still a student (230) so that he will be able to respond appropriately to the needs of his particular parish, such as "when it is a sin to take something for mony lent, or when not; when it is a fault to discover anothers fault, or when not," among other such circumstantial problems of conscience (230). The ability to distinguish the spirit of "Law" from the spirit of "Gospel" is a mysteriously accomplished cooperative endeavor between the Spirit of God and the honest and diligent effort of the parson in study, but it marks the parson as genuine in the expression of his vocation toward his parishioners. William Shullenberger explores how Herbert's poem "The Windows" illustrates the work of the Divine through the parson ("*Ars Praedicandi* in George Herbert's Poetry" 102-05). Shullenberger argues that frequently, the crisis of the speaker in "The Church" occurs "when the speaker's longing for a predicative certainty that human speech alone can never achieve thus finds itself exposed and broken. In the recognition of his brokenness the speaker gives over all the signs of his resistance, which he had taken to be signs of his devotion, to the divine Word" (101-02). The resulting transformation is evidence of "the conversion of experience" (102). Such examples of experience as prophetic (revealing the will of God to the otherwise closed-minded) are like a "Library" for the parishioners, a library that Herbert equates in the *Country Parson* with the holy life of the

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parson: "The Country Parson's Library is a holy Life: for besides the blessing that that brings upon it . . . even it selfe is a Sermon" (*Works* 278).

Herbert's understanding of active charity on the part of the parson is the result of a life that has been tested and refined by the relentless experiment illustrated in *The Temple.* The life and work of the parson, like the life and work of the natural philosopher and the king in Bacon's *De Augmentis*, is thus integral; it is a sacred vocation lived out in charity. Since the parson has already been "reduced to the Obedience of God (225), he is made able to work this process on the lives of his parishioners, "reducing" being, of course, a term used for alchemical process as well as associated with the virtue of humility. As "The Elixir" made clear, the work of holiness is operative through God's power in cooperation with the desire of the individual's will to perceive the reality behind the encoding of ordinariness. "The Window" refers to the mystery of glassmaking, the closely guarded skill that was beginning to be in vogue once again among those in the Church of England who wanted to restore the many parish churches that had fallen into disrepair and even ruin since the reformation. Graham Parry explains that the Laudian faction was not the only segment of the church that supported restoration during the 1620s, which still was also experiencing occasional puritanical outbreaks of iconoclastic destruction, such as the intentional 1629 window-breaking in St. Edmund's Church in Salisbury by a local justice of the peace, to prevent old women from curtseying to the image of God the Creator that had been depicted thereon (101-05). While Herbert is interested in the way that colored glass transmits the message of salvation in several of his poems, his description of the transmission of light and color in "The Windows" illustrates an important feature in his understanding of the interaction

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between sanctified *otium* and *negotium*, which does not appear in the earlier Williams manuscript. The poem opens in the immediacy of a crisis; the speaker is filled with anxiety over what seems to be the impossible necessary task of preaching God's "eternal word."

Lord, how can man preach thy eternall word?
He is a brittle crazie glasse:
Yet in thy temple thou dost him afford
This glorious and transcendent place,
To be a window, through thy grace.

But when thou dost anneal in glass thy storie,
Making thy life to shine within
The holy Preachers; then the light and glorie
More rev'rend grows, & more doth win:
Which else shows watrish, bleak, & thin.

Doctrine and life, colours and light, in one
When they combine and mingle, bring
A strong regard and aw: but speech alone
Doth vanish like a flaring thing,
And in the eare, not conscience ring.

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Shullenberger points out that the analogy between the human preacher and glass window does not focus initially on the wonder of the color that is transmitted, but on the pure heavenly light that penetrates it. He writes about the fifth line,

> one would expect the initial conceit to be elaborated through this natural pattern, so that the man becomes the window 'through' which God's grace passes. But the preposition 'through' veers away from the metaphor of direction toward the metaphor of agency; it stresses not the human medium but the divine prevenient action that makes human mediation a possibility: man is made what he is by mean of grace. The preposition thus moves us away from the visibility of windows in a temple to the invisibility of grace. (103)

The speaker's resolution in this poem is found in the transformative holiness that chapter seven of the *Country Parson* ("The Parson preaching") states emphatically is the integrity that mysteriously infuses the parson's preaching: "The Country Parson preacheth constantly, the pulpit is his joy and his throne . . . but the character of his Sermons is Holiness; he is not witty, or learned, or eloquent, but Holy" (232-33). Like Bacon's use of "charity," which has a very practical bent to its meaning and is more related to fulfilling the proper duties related to a particular vocation than a spirit of magnanimity, Herbert's use of the words "charity" and "charitable" occurs more frequently in his pastoral prose treatise *The Country Parson*, whereas the word "love" is more often reserved for the religious poetry of *The Temple*, particularly with reference to the intimate relationship between the Divine and the individual.

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In his work on the profound effects that the *Advancement of Learning* had on the development of modern politics and society, Jerry Weinberger paradoxically argues that Bacon develops a very specific and controversial definition of "charity," one that actually requires a Machiavellian society that is unjust and immoderate (38-39). The new learning that Bacon proposes in the *Advancement* is a project for optimists that seems to address the needs of humanity but cannot because the goal, perfection in this life, is unattainable. Weinberger augments his interpretation of Bacon's political thought in this passage on Bacon's Essay XXIX, "Of the True Greatnesse of Kingdomes and Estates" (89-99). In the essay, which he alludes to in the *Advancement* (19), Bacon gives an outline of how to sow the seed of greatness in a kingdom by legislation and customs and the judicious pursuit of war beyond the borders of the kingdom. The problem is, according to Weinberger, that Bacon recognizes that the new learning only pretends to relieve the tension of opposites that is created between the desire to fulfill needs and the reality of imperfection; like the government described in Machiavelli's *The Prince*, Bacon's new learning only pretends "to accommodate the lion and the lamb" (132). Indeed, in his essay, Bacon covers all areas of national policy of concern to Stuart England, so that it will not err either by "Over-measuring their Forces, they leese themselves in vaine Enterprises; Nor on the other side, by undervaluing them, they descend to Fearefull and Pusillanimous Counsells" (90). To this end, Bacon comments upon the importance of knowing the extent of the people's courage and capacities, particularly with the intention of building a native army of citizen soldiers who can defend their nation, because military might is the main characteristic of a great empire. He writes:

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> It is enough to point at it; That no Nation, which doth not directly professe Armes, may looke to have Greatnesse fall into their Mouths. And, on the other side, it is a most Certaine Oracle of Time; That those States, that continue long in that Profession (as the Romans and Turks principally have done) do wonders . . . Incident to this Point is; For a State to have those Lawes or Customes, which may reach forth unto them, just Occasions (as may be pretended) of Warre . . . First therefore, let Nations, that pretend to Greatnesse, have this; That they be sensible of Wrongs . . . [because] No Body can be healthfull without Exercise, neither Naturall Body, nor Politique: And certainly, to a Kingdome or Estate, a Just and Honourable Warre, is the true Exercise . . . a Forraine Warre, is like the Heat of Exercise, and serveth to keepe the Body in Health: For in a Slothfull Peace, both Courages will effeminate, and Manners Corrupt. (96-97).

Unlike Machiavelli, who was essentially naïve about the political justification of the tyrant in the role of honor, Weinberger believes that Bacon knows that the tyrant is not honorable but still necessary (130), knowing that there is a "transpolitical perspective inherent in every productive art" (141). Believing that it is the role of the absolute king to govern those arts, Bacon sees that the idea of charity is a useful one to serve the more complex and secret motivations of the state.

Weinberger also makes the case that Bacon's analogical use of pagan and Christian myths in the *Advancement* sets up a conflict between incompatible versions of divinity: on

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the one hand, the cosmic gods are awesome and wonderful; on the other hand, the "impossible" Olympian gods offer knowledge and appear to care, inspiring humans to produce the arts and giving them the illusion of eventual mastery and freedom (65-69). Why Bacon opts for the Olympians and with them what Weinberger calls the "divine revenge" of Christian charity and its impossible version of cosmogony is Weinberger's central concern (70). Weinberger analyzes Bacon's use of biblical and classical narratives of decisive acts of learning regarding vocation and making, dignified by God's own creative knowledge and wisdom (33-35). His argument will help explain how Bacon wrests philosophy from the classical life of *otium* to the charitable life of *negotium* by way of sacred scripture. As Weinberger points out, Bacon builds on what he sees as a dichotomy of the active and contemplative lifestyles inherent within the very process of God's initial creation of the world in the narratives from Genesis 1 and 2. However, Weinberger does not consider the long-standing tradition to which Bacon is heir, the tendency to find the classical *otium-neogotium* argument within the biblical narratives through the fourfold medieval interpretation of scripture. Accordingly, when Bacon moves immediately from declaring that God favored Abel over Cain to noting that the bible makes special mention of the first creators of music and metalwork (the descendents of Cain, according to Genesis 4.21-22), Weinberger is astonished.[11] Bacon writes,

> we see againe, the fauour and election of God went to the Shepheard [Abel], and not to the tiller of the ground [Cain] . . . [s]o in the age before the floud, the holy Records within those few memorials, which are there

[11] For a fuller discussion of how the biblical account of Cain and Abel are treated in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and how Bacon appropriated the narrative, see Gaukroger (*Transformation* 81-83).

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> entred and registred, haue vouchsafed to mention, and honour the name of the Inuentors and Authors of Musique, and works in metall. In the age after the Floud, the first great iudgement of God vppon the ambition of man, was the confusion of tongues; whereby the open Trade and intercourse of Learning and knowledge, was cheifely imbarred" (34).

This confusion seems to have at least two consequences for Weinberger's understanding of Bacon's argument. First, Weinberger misapplies the contemplative and active lives of the two brothers. "[E]ven after the fall," Weinberger writes, "God showed his preference for the contemplative Cain to the active Abel," arguing that Abel must have been merely pretending to be contemplative, which leads to Weinberger's surmising that Bacon must have found in Cain a certain superiority because he "despised one who was honored for being what no postlapsarian man could be and to have despised the one (i.e., the patently unjust God in this rendition of the story) who conferred such honor" (197). Secondly, Weinberger concludes that Bacon's real reason for using the story of Cain and Abel in this way is to make readers think about prelapsarian humanity and concludes that Bacon proposes a creator God who "made man into a constrained maker who then rivaled his own artifice" (199). This God of Bacon's construction, Weinberger concludes, is the key to the modern dilemma, because whether he exists or not, Bacon can claim a rationale for the secularization of the sciences. If this God exists, "his first home must have been the human polity as an order of productive arts. And if he does not exist, then the belief in such a god is latent in the very structure of political life itself . . . The consequence is that in the modern Christian age, the new science of nature must secularize, and so manage, the hope for a perfected body" (199).

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While it is true that Bacon very explicitly redefines charity in the *Advancement of Learning*, he takes pains to show that he is redirecting the meaning to convey the practice of compassion at the hands of those who, like an absolute monarch, have the divine right (and duty) to fulfill their vocation, even though this practical compassion is tied to secret arts. Although Weinberger thinks that Bacon is arguing for the superiority of Cain over Abel (197), which would be offensive to orthodox Christians such as Herbert, what Bacon is really showing in the referenced passage from Book 1 of the *Advancement* (33-34), is that a "double emanation of virtue" is flowing from God, and that the two Estates, the active and contemplative, are both honored by God, who after completing creation in six days, rested on the seventh. Weinberger's fascinating reconstruction aside, Bacon does not focus on Cain's murder of Abel, or even directly on his motive (envy), in this passage. His main purpose here is tracing what he sees as the historical record in the Genesis account of the first human makers. The real danger of the active life of the human maker for Bacon is illustrated in the prideful ambition of the builders of the Tower of Babel, which he points out in the sentence immediately following the above quotation, is condemned by God: "In the age after the Floud, the first great iudgement of God vppon the ambition of man, was the confusion of tongues; whereby the open Trade and intercourse of Learning and knowledge, was chiefely imbarred" (34). Prideful ambition results in failure of the experiment on a number of levels, not the least of which is the inability to communicate easily with others of similar interests. Bacon argues instead for a sacrificial, disinterested use of a maker's knowledge,[12] which he

[12] See Perez-Ramos for a study of Bacon's use of the maker's knowledge tradition. Gaukroger, however, cautions that Bacon's emphasis regarding the maker's knowledge tradtion is not on achieving complete certitude in natural philosophy but on usefulness (158-59).

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believes is not condemned by God, but is rather, one of the two alternative ways of responding to life as rational creatures made in God's image.

In the poem "Frailtie" (*Works* 71-72) Herbert describes the dangers of Babel as ongoing, ever capable of overtaking the unstable soul who may yet turn traitor. The central image of the poem is that of two opposing military regiments being reviewed by the speaker shortly after rejecting one side for the other.

> Lord, in my silence how do I despise
> What upon trust
> Is styled *honour*, *riches*, or *fair eyes*;
> But is *fair dust*!
> I surname them *guilded clay*,
> *Deare earth*, *fine grasse* or *hay*;
> In all, I think my foot doth ever tread
> Upon their head.
>
> But when I view abroad both Regiments;
> The worlds, and thine:
> Thine clad with simplenesse, and sad events;
> The other fine,
> Full of glorie and gay weeds,
> Brave language, braver deeds:

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That which was dust before, doth quickly rise,

And prick mine eyes.

O brook not this, lest if what even now

My foot did tread,

Affront those joyes, wherewith thou didst endow

And long since wed

My poore soul, ev'n sick of love:

It may a Babel prove

Commodious to conquer heav'n and thee

Planted in me.

From treading on the "fair dust" in line four to having that dust fly up once again and become a towering Babel that threatens the endowed and wedded soul who is ev'n now "sick of love" (18-24) echoing the eroticism of the Song of Songs, appears in this poem to be an ongoing possibility, despite the emphatically professed dismissal of the source of that threat in the opening stanza (1-8). The speaker, fearful of being overcome by the comparative splendor of the "worlds" regiment because of its apparent "glorie and gay weeds, / Brave language, braver deeds" (13-14), asks the Lord, "O brook not this" (17), because the speaker fears that Babel may, in an instant, so "quickly rise" as to conquer both heaven and the Lord, who has been "planted in me" (24). In this poem Babel is associated with dust, a word that Herbert often uses to describe the effects of mortality on the human body, such as in "Church Monuments" (*Works* 64). Here, however, the reverse is feared. From dust under foot, it is

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flying up, threatening to reconstitute itself into the giant tower of ambitious, impious humanity that caused God to mix the languages of the earth, so that such a collaborative exercise could never succeed in the future. According to the biblical account (Gen. 11.1-9), this tremendous feat of human technology was the product of false worship, the desire to rise to God's level, transcending earthly limitations. What threatens to become a reconstituted Babel for Herbert's speaker is that which "upon trust / Is styled *honour, riches*, or *fair eyes*" (2-3), which is untested, unexamined, prematurely named. In silence the speaker of the poem despises these, "misusing" them with language by renaming them more accurately, as is perhaps more clear from the earlier version of the poem in the Williams manuscript, for which line six reads "Misuse them all the day" (*Works* 71n). What happens, however, provokes a crisis, because the experiential visual perception does not match the speaker's silent naming (12-14). Babel represents for both Bacon and Herbert ultimately the promise of self-serving ambition, a very real threat for both men so close to the world of the court and their vocational ideals, even as dismantling the effects of this tower, largely through their rhetorical skills, would engage the imaginations of both.

Now that the intellectual relationship between Herbert and Bacon has been established and with it the way that the two men tried to fulfill their respective vocations through the redefined socially responsible virtue of charity, the next chapter will discuss social constructions regarding the concept of secrecy, encryption, and codes and how Bacon and Herbert use the concept to build excitement for their complementary projects of serving the king and the state through active charity.

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Chapter IV:

Encryption, the Significance of Codes, and Providential Time

In addition to sharing an interest in editing texts and the appropriate use of rhetoric to enhance the state, George Herbert publicly applauds key concepts of Bacon's natural philosophy, even though he continued to follow his own vocation. Herbert's reputation as an exemplary priest in the seventeenth-century Church of England and his sanctity and religious orthodoxy within his tradition have been interpreted as sound within the range of Protestant Christians conforming to the Articles of Religion. Furthermore, his reputation for scholarship among contemporaries and his literary record demonstrate that he was intelligent and articulate, quite capable of understanding the nuances of an argument, and after working closely with Bacon's key ideas finds them to be exemplary. This chapter will consider what Bacon and Herbert believed to be the proper attitude to take toward the coded secrets of God's two traditional modes self-revelation (nature and sacred scripture), the significance of natural history as an example of the secrets of nature that deserve to be decoded, how aphorisms participate in the use of codes to motivate, and the Christian interpretation of time as a key to decoding the secrets of vocation.

Just as Bacon and Herbert saw their roles as leading citizens in their nation to include writing didactic treatises to explain the need for and model forms of the vocations of natural philosopher and priest, they believed that in doing so they were helping to establish foundational texts that would allow those who followed them in posterity to build upon their work. The act of teaching is at heart an act of charity by dispelling ignorance and unlocking the secrets of the subject at hand. In this act, Bacon and Herbert were participating in a

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cultural milieu that accepted the idea of the two books, nature and sacred scripture, as filled with encoded secrets to be revealed and decoded. Furthermore, the natural protectiveness of nature and sacred scripture, their reluctance to share their secrets promiscuously, is considered to be normative in the current fallen world order but does not preclude the need for their study on behalf of charity. Thus, even though false experiments on nature's power are bound to emerge, like those of alchemy, which is often the work of the misguided, if not consciously fraudulent (*Advancement of Learning* 96), the very difficulty of unlocking the secrets protects nature against their improper use because of the discipline that is required. Fortunately in this postlapsarian world, nature does not easily give up her secrets, so the discipline of deciphering the code protects nature and society against the ignorant. The lag between the coming innovations and the public's perception of them is crucial for maintaining the state's equilibrium and is part of the divine plan, but under proper governance, the secrets of nature can and should be unlocked. Bacon writes toward the conclusion of the *Advancement of Learning*,

> in the gouernors towards the gouerned, all things ought as far as the frailtie of Man permitteth, to be manifest, & reuealed. For so it is expressed in Scriptures touching the gouernment of God, that this Globe which seemeth to vs a dark and shady body is in the view of God, as Christall. . . [s]o vnto Princes and States. . . wherefore considering that I write to a king that is a maister of this Science . . . I think it decent to passe ouer this part in silence" (179).

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Weinberger notes that Bacon is aware that the public will latch onto the promise of progress and will be prone to grasping at all the secrets of nature, even though they are not necessarily ready to assimilate them in a wholesome way. Such misguided eagerness makes the natural impediments a blessing in disguise. However, kings who know this tendency of human frailty and know how nature operates are given a distinct advantage over their populace and over other kingdoms who do not comprehend the enormous importance of this tendency.

Herbert and Bacon shared views on the uses of encryption and the significance of codes, believing that the act of unlocking the secrets of God's two books is both important and worthy. The chapter will show that both Herbert and Bacon tried to convince their audiences of the value of the enigmatic for teasing the mind in a way that would prompt creative thought and that both men employed a number of techniques, including myth, analogy, and aphorisms for this purpose. Both men have long been interpreted separately in light of their interest with coded messages, but it is useful to consider Herbert's poetry from the standpoint of the broad cultural fascination with secrecy and knowledge because it shows how closely Herbert follows Bacon regarding this significant concept of the role of language and communication. This chapter lays the foundation for discussing key early modern theories common to Bacon and Herbert that are investigated in more detail in chapters five and six: matter theory, time and providential history, and role of poetry and the imagination in their respective theories of language. To prepare for those discussions, it is necessary first to make distinctions regarding Bacon's position regarding the analogy of the hunt and vexing the prey to flush out the meaning of otherwise unknown or obscure facts and the role of maker's knowledge.

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Historians have long recognized that by the late sixteenth century, European intelligentsia had developed a relatively new way of coping with the traditional antagonism that existed between artisans and the scholastics of academia regarding epistemology. Historian William Eamon has traced the process of that complex intellectual journey from classical antiquity to the beginning of the eighteenth century, noting that a key component of the transition, occurring during the first decades of the seventeenth century, depends upon the intense exchange of textual information between artisans and philosophers that becomes possible through the dissemination of printing. Building upon Elizabeth Eisenstein's theory of "print culture"[1] and Thomas S. Kuhn's theory of two separate traditions of research in the early modern era,[2] Eamon demonstrates that print offers a two-way exchange of information between the various principals in both traditions, often meeting in the interest of the seventeenth-century virtuosi, who add their own personal and eclectic perspective to the collection, dissemination, and interpretive evaluation of the information. By focusing on popular books of secrets, moreover, Eamon provides a way to analyze several concepts in the development of Baconian epistemology that figure largely in Herbert's writing, particularly concepts that depend upon new applications of analogy and mythology, as well as the importance of the collaborative role of members in the secret scientific society. In particular, he demonstrates how analogies to the labyrinth and the hunt found in the books of secrets

---

[1] Eisenstein's *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change* is a seminal text in the history of the book and the early modern era. Eisenstein's work argues that by fixing traditions once relied upon through oral, living transmission, "print culture" made it possible to analyze that material and to critique what was perceived as weaknesses, giving rise to what is referred to as the scientific revolution.

[2] See Kuhn's *The Essential Tension*, a seminal work for the history of science, especially physical science. Chapter 3, "Mathematics versus Experimental Traditions in the Development of Physical Science" (31-65) is particularly useful for present purposes, distinguishing between the way mathematics develops through the university tradition, with its adherence to Greek philosophy, and the way chemistry and metallurgy, for example, develop via experimentation by practitioners in the laboratory.

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figure in Bacon, and shows how the popular literature helps to transform the long-held belief that scientific inquiry is improper. The following discussion of Bacon's treatment of secrets in nature will rely on Eamon's development of the key concepts of the hunt, the role of the "print culture" in sharing information and values across traditional divisions in class and education, and the growing expectation that secrets are valued in the process of their being divulged and their transformation from the category of unknown to chartered, measured, defined, and fixed. Doing so will provide a means for considering enigmatic features of Herbert's poetry from the standpoint of Bacon's epistemology.

Eamon argues that an important transition in early modern consciousness is the idea that divulging the secrets of nature is no longer considered the result of shameful curiosity by fallen humanity but that scientific inquiry is a worthy hunt, and the duty of man as *imago dei* is to track down, uncover, and harness otherwise undomesticated aspects of nature for human benefit.[3] Drawing upon Carlo Ginzburg's research in the transition over these two versions of inquiry's value to western society from late antiquity to the early modern era, Eamon points out that for Bacon the analogy of the hunt for inductive research is evocative on several levels, not least of which is the association with classical mythology, such as Pan's hunt of Ceres, which Bacon develops in his *De Augmentis* (4: 408, cited in Eamon 286). Given that Pan, the god of the hunt, is one of the lesser deities in the pantheon and that Ceres

[3] In addition to his insight over the important analogy of the "hunt" for the pursuit of intellectual inquiry as a tool in the effort to legitimize scientific inquiry, Carlo Ginzburg provides a fascinating glimpse of the importance of the interchange between neo-Latin translations by humanist scholars and the popular emblem books of an extremely formative passage of scripture for medieval monastic society and the rise of the university, Romans 11.20, which went from being a warning against moral pride in the first century to becoming an indictment against intellectual inquiry as early as the third, and the subsequent responses to it from theologians and scholars of the twelfth, thirteenth, and sixteenth centuries. The result of this cultural transition is but one example of what Eamon believes is the two-way interchange of creating knowledge that is made possible through the emerging print culture of the early seventeenth century.

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is the goddess of fruits of the earth, Eamon shows how Bacon capitalizes on Pan's "sagacious experience . . . while engaged in hunting [to] stumble upon" the goddess when the other more important deities could not find her despite their concerted effort to do so (283). Pan's success, according to Bacon, results from a combination of effort, skill, cunning, and happenstance, which Bacon likens to the efforts of an ideal natural philosopher who respects the need for both active and deliberative induction and intuitive leaps across gaps in knowledge to uncover the axioms that govern the specific object of inquiry being examined (Eamon 283-84).

Furthermore, Bacon's treatment of the need for the intuitive leap to get past the step-by-step myopic world of the inductive experiment to appreciate them within a framework of the larger axioms is seen in his frequent allusion to another mythological image, the labyrinth. If discovery is like a hunt that ends in success, then the location of that hunt is within an otherwise potentially confusing labyrinth that is solved through learned experience, not the theoretical wisdom of authorities (Eamon 285-86, *Novum Organum* 4: 95, 18, 19). The significance of this reconsideration of scientific inquiry for early moderns lies in the relationship between facts and existing theories that have been passed down as authoritative over the centuries (Eamon 284).[4] In order to discuss the significance of Bacon's use of the myths of Pan and the labyrinth for Herbert, it will first be necessary to provide a brief background on the role that the discovery of fact and the discovery of law played in Bacon's epistemology of natural philosophy, which has been researched in depth by Julian Martin.

[4] For a fuller discussion of the development of the sociological history of "fact" in early modern England, particularly the distinction between the abiding truths of God and the matters of fact as established in the courts, and by the social structure of seventeenth-century English peerage system, see Barbara J. Shapiro, especially chapters 5 and 6, "The Facts of Nature (I)" and "(II)," respectively (105-167).

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As Julian Martin demonstrates, Bacon bases his methodology of induction on his attempts to reform the legal system and its search for "matters of fact" to warrant judicial response over breaches in the social fabric. That such "facts" were originally acts (as in the expression "after the fact") gives us some indication of the relationship between the pragmatic need to apply current measures to reestablish social stasis that is based on coded values passed down as authority over time (Martin 77). Instead of depending so heavily upon the ability of barristers and judges to manage the particular unfolding of issues of fact and issues of common law precedent that could be discovered only in the course of a particular litigation (and relying largely on memory and oral rhetorical might), Bacon wanted to develop a more structured and explicitly mandated legislative justice system that allowed for state control, providing greater unanimity to legal practice and greater opportunity for monarchical oversight and control, through purging the statute books of obsolete and repetitive laws, more uniform reporting of court proceedings, delimiting the role of justices and Parliament under the control of the crown, and creating a body of legal maxims whereby even unprecedented cases could be judged more fairly and uniformly (Martin 107-33).

As one can see, even in this brief overview, Bacon's proposal to restructure the legal system provides for an inductive hunt for the discovery and uncovering the evidence in particular circumstance within an atmosphere of contention (vexing) and applying precedent, but it also incorporates the intuitive leap that is required to make connections of discovery between the letter and spirit of the law through the maxims that judges would be able to consult (127). Bacon's efforts in reforming the law proved to be important for the development of his argument for restructuring the disciplines in the *Advancement* and *De*

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Augmentis as well as the comprehensive project of setting up a program to manage his vision of the *Instauratio Magna* because it demonstrates the value of a uniform structural pattern to organize law code and allows for its development over time. At this point, the reader should now be able to continue the analysis of Bacon's appropriation of the myth of Pan's hunt for Ceres in his argument for inductive methodology and connect that to Herbert's treatment of Baconian epistemology with special consideration for inductive discovery and intuitive leaps of understanding.

What Eamon, Shapiro, and Martin have provided in their recent studies of Bacon's proposals for reforming natural philosophy and the legal code, demonstrates a number of shared concerns also of importance to Herbert, but more importantly they also establish a clear connection between Herbert and Bacon on the common use of analogy to illustrate those shared interests. Just as Bacon uses the role of the hunt and the labyrinth to illustrate the need for both induction and creative intuition for natural philosophy in *De Augmentis*, Herbert's poems in *The Temple* address these central themes in a religious context, implicitly in the widespread commonplace analogy of the hunt and explicitly in the image of the Labyrinth, as seen in chapter two of this study. As lines 37-40 reveal, the silk twist let down from heaven allows the speaker of Herbert's poem "The Pearl" to climb on another plane from that of mere "groveling wit." It is an image that taken from the angle of Bacon's use of the labyrinth can be seen to refer to an inspired awareness that is quite unlike the everyday insight available to inductive reasoning. Additionally, lest someone should conclude from the reference to "groveling wit" in line 37 that Herbert's meaning needs to be interpreted as dismissive of human intellectual reason in the anti-scholastic sense of some non-conformists

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in the period, Bacon condemns wit as a behavior engaged in by dilettantes who trivialize the pursuit of knowledge. According to Paula Findlen, Bacon considers the Renaissance emphasis on wit to be more corrosive to knowledge than the bankrupt dialectics of Aristotelian scholasticism as endlessly debated in the universities of his day ("Francis Bacon and the Reform of Natural History" 250-51). She writes that "[w]it became Bacon's primary nemesis, the source of all the trivial arts that he hope to expunge from the pursuit of knowledge" (250). Instead, she points to his intent to resist that worthless fashion for wit by hastening the imminently dawning era through his new work, which is a "birth of Time rather than a birth of Wit" (251, *Novum Organum* 4: 77). Thus, Herbert's poem can be appreciated in a context of Baconian epistemology and the historical context of the rise of the modern era that was not necessarily considered by his contemporaries as opposed to the aims of orthodox Christianity. Findlen explains that the complex series of intellectual exchange in print culture, touted by Eamon and Eisenstein as freeing knowledge systems across class and language barriers, was also a source of anxiety by Bacon the statesman and member of titled nobility. Bacon was concerned that inductive experimentation should not become an excuse for spreading the superstitious and potentially dangerous contents found in many of the so-called books of secrets that were being produced based on faulty records, which collapsed the analogous use of metaphor into magical thinking, such as much of what Paracelsus and his followers promoted (Vickers, *Occult and Scientific Mentalities* 127), a topic that will be taken up in more detail in chapter five. Bacon was also concerned with what the early modern encyclopedists were disseminating as authoritative, whether or not they were taken up with occult phenomena (Eamon 273-75, Findlen 252), but was not really useful. He

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offers an alternative to appeal to virtuosi, the practitioner, and the university community, an alternative that accepts the concept that secrecy finds its fulfillment in being divulged, expounding in the *Novum Organum* on a passage attributed to Solomon in scripture. According to Bacon's *Cogitata et Visa* (*Thoughts and Conclusions*), "It was the glory of God to conceal a thing, the glory of a King to find it out; as if the divine nature enjoyed the kindly innocence of such hide-and-seek, hiding only in order to be found, and with characteristic indulgence desired the human mind to join Him in this sport" (3:610; trans. Farrington 92).

As part of his advocacy for putting into place solid methodology to further scientific learning, Bacon wanted to pay particular attention to the tendencies of three "Sciences," which had earned a reputation for being closer to humanity's capacity for imagination than reason: astrology, natural magic, and alchemy (*Advancement* 27). The first two are responsible for collapsing the differences between the bodies of distinct creations, while the third at least had prospered as a result of unintended benefits in that it is like a vineyard that becomes productive because it has been aerated even though the alchemists' motivation was misguided (27). The tendency of those who profess to follow such flawed scientific methods is to cover up the errors through "enigmaticall writings, and referring themselves to auricular traditions," for which Bacon has no use. However, despite what Bacon regards as alchemy's weaknesses and particularly Paracelsus's blatant errors, which often stem from superstition, and despite the unworthy behavior of followers who frequently resort to fraud to dupe others into thinking they are demonstrating the making of gold, Bacon does not entirely dismiss the Paracelsian understanding of the inherent relationships between kinds of matter. Paracelsus used alchemy as an alternative to the reigning Galenic, humoral medical practices of the

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time, conceiv[ing] of diseases as separately classifiable entities, having definite identifiable causes and anatomical effects and treating his patients with inorganic material, because he thought that the astral spirits, or vital principles were secretly hidden within them awaiting to released by means of the two "stomachs," the alchemical one and the patient's (Gaukroger 176-77). In his introduction to the history of chemistry, Bruce T. Moran explains that because the inorganic materials Paracelsus used could be poisonous to the human body in their natural state, he stressed as a central tenet to his "like cures like" thesis that the alchemist first needs to be able to separate the impurities by distillation (78). Paracelsus's conception of medicinal practice as a secret art that understood the "mines" of the body through the inspired mixing of the sacred and profane seemed frequently to border on the fraudulent, if not actually changing sides, and the name of Paracelsus was not used without a at least a taint of this ill repute even in the seventeenth century (80). In fact, Paracelsus delighted in being iconoclastic in his approach to established medical practice, and made outrageous claims in a revolutionary appeal to the yearning of his contemporaries for a new approach to relieving human suffering. Thus, Paracelsus embodies a doubleness of interest that appeals to Bacon, inviting controversy as a revolutionary even while arguing for a compassionate motive on behalf of benefiting humankind.

In fact, Graham Rees has shown that Paracelsus contributed to Bacon's agenda on several levels. His theories on cosmology and matter are incorporated in Bacon's natural philosophy with those of other men, and his practice of using the findings of chemistry (alchemy) to serve practical medical purposes Bacon approved of, as well. Greater appreciation of Paracelsus's key ideas is considered foundational to understanding Bacon's

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philosophy. Even though Bacon is dismissive of the way that Paracelsus seems to fall into patterns of magical thinking, he does appreciate his emphasis on practical charity and the need to try new methods of unlocking the secrets of nature. Rees has carefully distinguished Paracelsian parallels to Bacon's speculative philosophy within the framework of Bacon's wary criticism of it as new means of unlocking the secrets of the universe for the sake of the state. According to Rees, Bacon developed his own original cosmology using a greatly simplified Paracelsian matter theory, via the sixteenth-century Italian Bernadino Telesio. In doing so, he was highly selective of the contributions of any one theoretician, particularly Paracelsus (Rees xliv-lv). Telesio believed that the matter of the universe was made up of essentially three combinations of elements: sulphur-mercury, oil-water, and fire-air or -ether. These were actually various combinations of attached and free spirits. For Telesio, nature is not "dead and inert, but . . . active and endowed with powers . . . effectively making everything sentient . . . and since everything except God is material, this means that everything is both material and sentient" (Gaukroger 180).

In addition to adapting some of Paracelsian theory in his own philosophy, Bacon also grasped the rhetorical effectiveness of Paracelsus's revolutionary stance toward traditional modes of alchemy, medicine, and cosmology. Far from interpreting Paracelsus's claims as empty bombast, Bacon agreed with Paracelsus that science needs to adopt a new forward-thinking mentality and move beyond natural philosophy's dependence upon the academy for improvements in the quality of life that people desire. The connection between medical compassion at the practical level and the theological virtue of charity lies in the work of the Baconian natural philosopher, who disinterestedly unfolds the mysteries of the universe in a

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paradoxically active contemplation. What Bacon particularly found despicable about Paracelsus's approach was the apparent unwillingness to see the essentially metaphorical nature of the analogies that amplified and defined the relationship between kinds of matter. Brian Vickers discusses the problem as stemming from a "double process of reification and substitution" that had become the standard practice of Paracelsus and his followers (*Occult and Scientific Mentalities* 127). By first "formulating ideas as essences, then making them identical and exchangeable, [the occult practitioners] inevitably broke down the distinction between metaphorical and literal" (127). The result of collapsing the metaphor produces a circularity of thought in the magical mind that Bacon wants to cut through. The process of distillation for Paracelsus, although it begins in separation, is teleologically all-embracing and defies distinctions. Paracelsus's practice thus strikes at the heart of Bacon's plea for a distinct sphere for natural philosophy in its practical application in the *Advancement of Learning* and *De Augmentis*. Alchemists who uncritically adopt Paracelsus's teachings are prone to falling into an endless cycle of alchemical processes, as a result of their literal application of what should be interpreted figuratively, thus committing a grave error against charity and their vocation to unlock the secrets of nature, not perpetuate falsehood.

Using the language of the alchemical laboratory, Herbert also shows a disgust for the habitual nature of sin that is characterized in Baconian terms as unable to break free of a cycle of delusional behaviors in his two poems "Sinnes round" (*Works* 122) and "A Wreath" (185). In "Sinnes round," the speaker uses the symbolism of the alchemical process to describe his sorrow for the repetitive development of sinful thoughts into sinful actions that lead inevitably to yet another cycle, even while mirroring the habitual in the stanzaic linkage

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by repeating the last line of a given stanza as the first in the next, concluding the poem by repeating the first line:

Sorrie I am, my God, sorrie I am,
That my offences course it in a ring.
My thoughts are working like a busie flame,
Untill their cockatrice they hatch and bring:
And when they once have perfected their draughts,
My words take fire from my inflamed thoughts.

My words take fire from my inflamed thoughts,
Which spit it forth like the Sicilian Hill.
They vent the wares, and passe them with their faults,
And by their breathing ventilate the ill.
But words suffice not, where are lewd intentions:
My hands do joyn to finish the inventions.

My hands do joyn to finish the inventions:
And so my sinnes ascend three stories high,
As Babel grew, before there were dissensions.
Yet ill deeds loyter not: for they supplie
New thoughts of sinning: wherefore, to my shame,
Sorrie I am, my God, sorrie I am.

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The relationship between the horizontal and vertical in this poem accentuates two kinds of obsessive behaviors: repetitive confession, emphasized by the doubling of the first clause in the first and last lines, and on the other hand, making the personal sin into nothing less than a mountainous volcano, a Sicilian hill spewing forth destructive forces with the same intensity if not singleness of purpose that brought down the judgment of God on the builders of the Tower of Babel in the multiplication of languages. Herbert is appalled to find the prideful character that inspired the tower builders lying within himself in the form of a sinful obsessiveness associated with the misapplication of language and its resultant confusion. It is the same error that Bacon highlights in book one of the *Advancement of Learning,* when he points out that prideful ambition was what caused God to condemn the builders of Babel and confuse the languages of the earth, "whereby the open Trade and intercourse of Learning and knowledge, was chiefely imbarred" (34). For Herbert's speaker, significantly, this error is a sin that originates in the mind and is hatched in the heat of the alchemical process, which produce a chain-like effect like the remarkable reaction recorded in "Jordan (II)" (*Works* 102). There the problem of coming up with words that would suffice for describing the "heav'nly joyes" of line one is solved at the end of the poem (16-18) when another's voice is posited that "might" make recommendation for the hands simply to "copie out onely" the "sweetnesse readie penn'd" that already "is in love." In the poem "Sinnes round" the speaker does not have the benefit of the other voice or its posited possibility and so loops endlessly in its sickness. Other poems of Herbert's deal with the error of obsession as Martin Elsky discusses in *Authorizing Words*. I will look further at Elsky's interpretation of "Sinnes round" and of Herbert's use of language in other poems in chapter six. For the moment,

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however, it is enough to see that Herbert distinguishes between mysteries of faith and mysteries that obfuscate as a result of error.

In addition to agreeing that humankind is encouraged to unlock the codes of the book of nature and can and should do so without falling prey to magical delusion, Bacon and Herbert agree on the Judeo-Christian tradition of providential time, which the book of scripture lays out for discovery and perusal on behalf of humankind. The remainder of the chapter will be taken up with a consideration of how the two men incorporate this deeply rooted tradition in their vocational agendas.

Providential Time as an Unfolding Code

In another of Herbert's poems, "Coloss 3.3. Our life is hid with Christ in God" (*Works* 84-85), the reader gets a glimpse into Herbert's thinking regarding the use of linguistic enfolded encryptions and the way codes can operate on several conceptual levels, including the concept of time, without consuming or collapsing upon themselves.

> *My* words & thought do both expresse this notion,
> That *Life* hath with the sun a double motion,
> The first *Is* straight, and our diurnall friend,
> The other *Hid* and doth obliquely bend.
> One life is wrapt *In* flesh, and tends to earth:
> The other winds towards *Him*, whose happie birth
> Taught me to live here so, *That* still one eye
> Should aim and shoot at that which *Is* on high:

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Quitting with daily labour all *My* pleasure,

To gain at harvest an eternall *Treasure*.

In this poem, as quite often occurs with Herbert, several of his secular interests coincide with the religious topic. Here the present, but hidden reality of the mystical union between the resurrected Christ and the believer within another dimension is compared to the equally present, but visible reality of earthly existence. Herbert's appreciation of current discussions regarding cosmology, time, and motion, all of which appear in this poem are topics of interest to Bacon, as well. Herbert's cosmology, like Bacon's, is not based on the newer heliocentric models, for there was still room at this time to put forth serious theories based on several alternative versions. Chauncey Wood first discussed the two motions of the sun in the poem, demonstrating that the poem shows Christian experience as counterintuitive, based on the inversion of the reader's expectations over the two perceived cycles of the sun according to the Ptolemaic model ("A Reading"). The separateness of the two lives finds its meeting in the mystery of the incarnate Christ, who appears, appropriately, centered in the poem at the center of line six. The oblique motion of Herbert's poem is the more plodding of the two both in terms of the sun's journey and in the life journey, marked in the 1633 edition by italics, which Hutchinson reproduces. The Williams manuscript provides extra spacing and placement of the words of the oblique message in a clear diagonal, and the words are written in a larger, heavier ink, capitalizing initial letters (60). Dating from the classical tradition of Plato's *Timaeus,* the oblique motion was associated with the incarnate Christ in his humanity by Christians of late antiquity, according to Robert McMahon, who develops Woods's argument vis-à-vis the concept of the microcosm, which supports the notion dear to

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renaissance humanists that there was an ancient multi-cultural truth binding together ancient Western and Near Eastern cultures (Egyptian, Hebrew, Persian, Arabic, Greek, and Roman) regarding fundamental religious and philosophical concepts, called the "prisca theologica" (56).[5] McMahon and Woods provide a framework for looking at several of these ideas in a close reading this poem. The straight motion is "our diurnall friend," which makes its daily journey in same way, line by line, day by day; it is known in classical antiquity of the *Timaeus* as the "Motion of the Other" (56), in contrast to the oblique "Motion of the Same," and according to McMahon is associated with the Sun-Son in his divinity, which classical antiquity associates with the eternal return of the dawn each new day. The two motions separate at the conclusion of earthly life and the poem, but what is wrapped in flesh finds its harvest in the earth where its pleasures conclude each cyclic day at sunset, while that which has sought to wind its way obliquely towards Him who is the "Treasure" gains the eternal reward for its harvest. McMahon argues that Herbert's encrypted poem also illustrates another position found in Plato's *Timaeus* "that the form of an account should be akin to its matter" (55). Like the Christ of the exchange in St. Augustine's dictum, "Descend that you may ascend" (Wood, qtd. in McMahon 55), the reader reenacts the ancient *kenosis* hymn of Philippians 2:6-18, in which Christ voluntarily emptied himself of his divinity to become human, was obedient to death, and then was exalted by God (58).

What seems significant for present purposes is that the poetic celebration of the human spiritual quest, being tied to the redemptive sacrifice of the incarnate Christ, makes the earthly journey also a heavenly one. Time is neither disregarded nor bound by cycles; it

[5] For an introduction to the concept of the "prisca theologica" see Stephen Menn 58-63.

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is redeemed. As McMahon argues convincingly, "We are led to expect the Pauline contrasts . . . and the endless battle of the flesh lusting against the spirit and the spirit against the flesh. But Herbert frustrates these expectations" (63). He goes on to demonstrate that the syntax of the poem, which begins in fragmentation, becomes by line six, at the point of incarnation, one long unified sentence. The dualities of the poem, the two natures of Christ, the spirit and flesh, the hidden and manifest, diurnal and sidereal, life and death, earth and heaven, pleasure and treasure, provide plenty of opportunity to launch into conflicted patterns of expression. However, the tone of the poem "Coloss. 3.3" is quiet, tucked safely away from the poems of passionate outburst that occur at the level of what some scholars find to be the more explicitly autobiographical poems, such as "Affliction (I)," or The Collar." Here the focus is on the recapitulation of all things in Christ, the focal point of time and the crux of salvation history, from the fall of humanity in Genesis to the promise of a new heaven and earth in Revelation (64). The reason for this placid tone lies in the providential view of time that is expressed in both Bacon's and Herbert's writings. In addition to conceiving of time as providentially redemptive, not just cyclical or linear, Herbert's poem also clearly advocates appreciation for the inherent goodness of the natural world, which is based in this poem on the incarnation. Herbert and Bacon participate in an optimistic Christian worldview that advocates keeping one eye on earth with its daily labors and pleasures and one eye aiming for and shooting for the treasure of eternity.

In the seventeenth century, visual art and poetry often point to a Christian view of history that provides the rationale for the unity and serenity that are so clearly associated with this poem's structure and tone. In *The Map of Time* Achsah Guibbory researches six variant

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views of time that were popular among writers in seventeenth-century England, including Bacon's. According to Guibbory, Bacon contrasted both cyclic patterns of history (illustrative of error) and a Christian progressive view that is more linear, but not eternal (47). In regards to those who advocate false philosophies, the circle represents aimlessness, futility, unsettled courses of action and thought, and the attitude of self-centered pride (47). The cycles of past history are also degenerative (48), tending toward death. There is an alternative, fortunately, according to Bacon, and that is that of progress through his program to assimilate and master the knowledge that God has enfolded in the universe for our use. The time to begin this great renewal is of course, the apocalyptic now, when time has reached its defining moment of human decision. Guibbory acknowledges that she bases her argument on a strong religious undercurrent in Bacon's writing, although she refrains from speculating over the state of his motives for this language of religious belief (46, 50). Removing the religious aspect from Bacon's argument enervates its rhetorical power and makes his later seventeenth-century influence over his followers in the Royal Society of the late seventeenth century, for example, harder to understand.

This progressive path toward knowledge is quite different from the "labyrinthine courses" of error (55). Bacon promises that his path "leads by an unbroken route through the woods of experience to the open grounds of axioms" (*Novum Organum* in Spedding 118, qtd. in Guibbory 55). The way to accomplish this is initiated by the penetrating truths of the aphorisms, and the patient humble building up of information through the inductive method (56). The final purpose is "to improve the material human condition [and] re-establish humanity's relationship with God" (57) in a condition of "rest" (58). Guibbory notes that

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Bacon names the institute in the *New Atlantis* the "House of Six Days Work" (59). Sabbath rest, for Bacon as well as Herbert, is the perfection of all the labors of the diurnal day.

Many of Herbert's poems from "The Church" are concerned with the proper marking of time according to Church's liturgical calendar such as "Good Friday" (38), "Easter" (41), "Whitsunday" (59), "Trinity Sunday" (68), "Christmas" (80), and "Lent" (86). Other poems address the Christian life cycle, including the two Protestant sacraments, "H. Baptisme (I)" and "(II)" (43-44) and "The H. Communion" (52). Herbert also composed poems to mark the Christian celebration of the daily and weekly cycle with poems such as "Mattens" (62), "Even-song" (63), and "Sunday" (75), which is explicitly concerned with the providential redemption of time and to which I will now turn.

Although often overlooked as so thoroughly conventional in its theological sentiment and poetic meter as not to warrant modern discussion, on closer inspection, "Sunday" is full of images that resonate with seventeenth-century cultural concerns shared by Herbert, Bacon, and the king, including Vitruvian ideals of architecture and gardening with man as the measure, as well as the value of Sunday sports. Sunday is the day for Herbert that epitomizes the spiritual renewal that James as the new Solomon is building in Britain. The poem is a locus for understanding the significance of redeemed time and space for Herbert and provides insights that may help one understand how Bacon's account of the *New Atlantis* also creates a fictional space in time that mirrors Herbert's idea of time and the activities proper to Sabbath rest. The poem begins,

> O Day most calm, most bright,
>
> The fruit of this, the next worlds bud,

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Th' indorsement of supreme delight,

Writ by a friend, and with his bloud;

The couch of time; cares balm and bay:

The week were dark, but for thy light:

Thy torch doth show the way.

The other dayes and thou

Make up one man; whose face thou art,

Knocking at heaven with thy brow:

The worky-daies are the back-part;

The burden of the week lies there,

Making the whole to stoup and bow,

Till thy release appeare.

As McMahon has discussed in his article on Herbert's poem "Coloss. 3.3," Herbert also plays on the traditional interpretation of the sun's cycles, comparing the cycles to the straight and curved postures of the erect and stooped man (59-60).

Man had straight forward gone

To endlesse death: but thou dost pull

And turn us round to look on one,

Whom, if we were not very dull,

We could not choose but look on still;

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Since there is no place so alone,

The which he doth not fill.

In this poem, the stooped man whose cares of the "worky-daies" would otherwise send "Man. . . straight . . . / [t]o endlesse death" (15-16), is turned around by the day's efficacy to face the "one" who fills the whole in the time-space continuum of the poem. This one is the risen Christ, but despite the majestic power he wields in unhinging time (42), he is still also the "friend" of line four, who writes "[t]h' indorsement" of the day's "supreme delight" (3). This friend, like the friend who appears in "Coloss. 3.3," and of so many of Herbert's poems, is not explicitly named, but is recognized only in the process of reading the poems.[6]

Using an organic analogy, the speaker explains that Sunday is not only the culmination and promise of earthly time but also of eternity: "The fruit of this, the next worlds bud" (2) that is amplified in lines 26-28 and 40-42, refers to both the garden of Eden and the tomb of the resurrection, which becomes a metaphorical garden in which the risen Christ was momentarily mistaken for a gardener by the still grieving Mary Magdalene.

Sondaies the pillars are,

On which heav'ns palace arched lies:

The other dayes fill up the spare

And hollow room with vanities.

They are the fruitfull beds and borders

In Gods rich garden: that is bare,

Which parts their ranks and orders.

---

[6] Other poems from *The Temple* that refer to "the friend" or "a friend" who provides some service, especially good advice, are "Jordan (II)," "Love Unknown," "Pilgrimmage," and "Holdfast."

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The Sundaies of mans life,

Thredded together on times string,

Make bracelets to adorn the wife

Of the eternall glorious King.

On Sunday heavens gate stands ope;

Blessings are plentifull and rife,

More plentifull then hope.

This day my Saviour rose,

And did inclose this light for his:

That, as each beast his manger knows,

Man might not of his fodder misse.

Christ hath took in this piece of ground,

And made a garden there for those

Who want herbs for their wound.

In lines 26-28, the focus is on the formal arrangement of the Jacobean garden beds, paved and clearly demarcated. In the earlier Williams manuscript, the pillars are not low lying beds, but erect; "They are ye rowes of fruitfull trees / Parted wth alleys or wth grass / In Gods rich Paradise" (*Works* 75 n). This change, along with the change from the Williams manuscript's "kingdome" to "palace" in line 23, allows for the focus to be on a single building, which foreshadows stanza seven and possibly (along with other oblique architectural references in

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other poems) influences Ferrar's decision to title the published collection *The Temple*. Interestingly, Herbert alternates between architectural motifs, making Sunday not only nature's outdoor home through organic structures, whether vertical fruit trees or lower bedding plants, but also "pillars" (22) on which "heav'ns palace arched lies." Clearly a structural image is being imagined here, which is not an entirely open-air pavilion, because the other days of the week, "fill up the spare / And hollow room with vanities" (24-25). It is a recovered area (40), claimed by Christ who "took in this piece of ground, / And made a garden there for those / Who want herbs for their wound" (40-42).

Between these two spatially oriented passages, Herbert returns to the concept of time in stanza five, which leads to the mystery of the nativity and resurrection motif of stanza six (36-42). These lines center the entire poem syntactically and semantically, and like "Coloss. 3.3" are focused on the incarnation and resurrection of Christ with echoes of the Nativity that also figure elsewhere in *The Temple*. The light of Sunday's torch penetrating the dark of the "worky-daies" week from the first stanza has provided in the Resurrection a well-lit manger in which Man may find his "fodder" (38), and a Resurrection garden of healing herbs (42).[7] The Resurrected Christ, revealed in the light of Sunday both nourishes and heals.

---

[7] Herbert's poem "Christmas" retells the significance of the incarnation as a hinge on which all of space and time are realigned. Like line 38 of "Sunday," the speaker is overwhelmed by the significance of image of the Christ-light-filled manger as that which contains nourishment proper to the creatures that feed thereon:

> O Thou, whose glorious, yet contracted light,
> Wrapt in nights mantle, stole into a manger;
> Since my dark soul and brutish is thy right,
> To Man of all beasts be not thou a stranger:
> Furnish & deck my soul, that thou mayst have
> A better lodging then a rack or grave.

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Around this hinge point in time and space, the last three stanzas unfold, taking the reader who has thus far revisited salvation history from the creation, fall and promise of Eden, the incarnation and resurrection of Christ as revealed through the bride of Christ, the Church, to the new life of the "eighth day" of the new creation.

> The rest of our Creation
> Our great Redeemer did remove
> With the same shake, which at his passion
> Did th'earth and all things with it move.
> As Sampson bore the doores away,
> Christs hands, though nail'd, wrought our salvation,
> And did unhinge that day.

This risen Christ is a strong man who unhinges Sunday from its earlier placement to make it the new day of rest (43-45); he is another Samson who "bore the doores away" in the biblical account of Judges 16, a foreshadowing in Christian tradition of the strong one who breaks the doors of Hades to release the souls of the Old Testament Patriarchs who died looking forward to this triumph of life over death.

> The brightnesse of that day
> We sullied by our foul offence:
> Wherefore that robe we cast away,
> Having a new at his expence,
> Whose drops of bloud paid the full price,

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That was requir'd to make us gay,

And fit for Paradise.

Thou art a day of mirth:

And where the week-dayes trail on ground,

Thy flight is higher, as thy birth.

O let me take thee at the bound,

Leaping with thee from sev'n to sev'n,

Till that we both, being toss'd from earth,

Flie hand in hand to heav'n!

Sunday is ornamental for the Church, the bride of Christ, who is decked out in bracelets made of strands of "[t]he Sundaies of mans life, /Thredded together on times string" (29-30) "to adorn the wife / Of the eternall glorious King" (31). It is also, fittingly, "a day of mirth" (57), which was definitely an idea under fire during Herbert's lifetime from Puritans who wished to eliminate the traditional sports and games that had been in practice and were being condemned as idolatrous. So important was this cultural and religious clash of ideologies that King James wrote a treatise on the subject (*Book of Sports*) that was reprinted by Charles to protect Sunday's public expressions of gaiety. The final stanza of Herbert's poem is replete with the image of joining in a game of leaping and tossing, higher and higher, until the speaker, eager to join hand in hand with "Sunday," wants to participate in the game, which will actually culminate in something quite astonishing indeed: a great leap into

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heaven. In this regard, Herbert clearly sides with tradition and the king in his ludic Sunday experience.

The coded mystery of salvation history in the secret book of scripture is similarly treated playfully in "Judgement," one of the poems of "The Church" sometimes referred to as poems of the "four last things" in the Christian tradition. In this poem the speaker predicts playfully to God, the stern Judge, that he has a fool-proof method for passing the final test (185):

> Almightie Judge, how shall poore wretches brook
> Thy dreadfull look,
> Able a heart of iron to appall,
> When thou shalt call
> For ev'ry mans peculiar book?
>
> What others mean to do, I know not well;
> Yet I heare tell,
> That some will turn thee to some leaves therein
> So void of sinne,
> That they in merit shall excel.
>
> But I resolve, when thou shalt call for mine,
> That to decline,
> And thrust a Testament into thy hand:

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Let that be scann'd.

There thou shalt finde my faults are thine.

Herbert's treatment of individual life as a book to be examined and read by God as Judge has been modified to that of the judge as teacher who will in turn be taught by this precocious student of his Testament. In the case of this poem the two books are companion pieces: the individual's life record is an encoded particular example of the unfolded code of salvation history expressed in the (New) Testament which records Christian revelation and therefore the mystery of the incarnation. The secret has been entirely assimilated and is offered back to the teacher for judgment by the student, quite confident of the outcome, and because of what is at stake (eternal salvation or damnation), it is a greater cause for wonder.[8] The final line is a remarkable twist on the concept of the imping of the lark's wing in "Easter-wings" (41) and "Sunday" (75). Instead of being prepped for further flight as was the practice in falconry or tossed into the lap of heaven in the company of personified Sunday and via the concerted effort of one's Sunday companions, the speaker of this poem has soberly determined on an individual response through introspection and meditation of the scriptures. He has uncovered the mystery of salvation meant to be uncovered without being destroyed by an unruly Conscience (as in "Conscience" 105) but in simple faith taking in the promises made in sacred scripture.

Herbert's poetry demonstrates agreement with Bacon's rationale for the practical uses of encryption, to draw in the wonder and playful creative response of an alert child who is

[8] Herbert's complex poetic response to the theological doctrine of Calvinistic predestination may be seen in the poem "The Water-course" (170), a text that hinges on a recent irrigation technique employed at Wilton House, the Pembroke family seat, per Ronald W. Cooley, who provides an intriguing discussion of this aspect of Herbert's virtuosity.

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still teachable and eager, especially in that section of *The Temple* which he titled "The Church." John C. Briggs points out that in the *Advancement of Learning* (110) that Bacon regards encryptions in nature as a motivating device that entice those who are humble enough to be like children, enjoying the process of discovery as a game, without setting false preconditions that prevent honest results (25-26). In fact, the section of the *Advancement* to which Briggs refers, parallels Book 5 of *De Augmentis*, the much expanded Latin version of the *Advancement* that Herbert is reported to have helped translate. As this study has shown, even a cursory reading of Bacon's *Advancement* and *De Augmentis* demonstrate that the two correspond with Herbert's thought. That said, this particular passage comes in Bacon's discussion of theology and philosophy, which he calls the third main branch of learning (history and poesy being the other two branches, discussed in Book 2 of the *De Augmentis*). In this particular chapter, Bacon is concerned to explain the real need for objectivity in the process of discovery, because of the natural temptation to expect a certain outcome based on prior experience, which does violence to the entire process. Bacon is frustrated over persons who settle too soon on preconceived notions of reality, unwilling to endure the entire process. He asks, rhetorically, referring to 1 Sam. 16, what if the Prophet Samuel had not been willing to seek for David, who was in the field, after all the other sons of Jesse had come to him? (5: 410). His choice of scripture is pointed, illustrating the importance of humans cooperating with God's designs. David, being the youngest of Jesse's sons, was not initially presented by Jesse to the prophet as a candidate for anointing as king over Israel, but David was the one God intended as the next king, nonetheless. Bacon argues that such people as attended the visitation of Samuel on Jesse's house are ever present throughout history, hindering God's

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purposes. The full impact of his statement may now be better understood, with its imagery of the inadequate ability of authority to enforce the peace among the ignorant thorugh force and childlike wonder as the actual prerequisite quality for success:

> [They] used examples or particular instances but as serjeants or whifflers to drive back the crowd and make way for their opinions, and never called them into council from the first, for the purpose of legitimate and mature deliberation concerning the truth of things. For as in the perception of divine truth man cannot induce himself to become as a child; so in the study of human truth, for grown-up men to be still reading and conning over the first elements of inductions like boys, is accounted poor and contemptible (5: 411).

One can see in "Providence," one of Herbert's longer poems from "The Church," that Herbert also respects the need for childlike wonder as a prerequisite to appreciate and unlock the mysteries of nature for the benefit of the state as guardian of the individual (*Works* 116-21).[9] In "Providence," the speaker reflects for 152 lines on the wonders of the natural world, the surprises and grandeur of nature as creatures of God, but especially relative to their various uses for humanity's benefit. This encyclopedic compendium of knowledge seems conventional enough, the speaker appears optimistic to the point of naiveté, and yet on second reading, the mysteries of nature begin to emerge, and the attendant problems appear as goads to greater knowledge. The problem with creation, as the speaker sees it, is not that it lacks a priestly functionary who can make sacred the profane world by praising appropriately

[9] Hovey believes that Herbert's poem is an imitation of Psalm 104, which was also Bacon's longest in *Certaine Psalmes* (" 'Diuinite, and Poesie'" 38).

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the Creator, but that "Man [who] is the worlds high Priest" (13) too often fails to fulfill his vocation, which is to offer that sacrifice of praise that is owed, thereby robbing "a thousand who would praise thee fain / And doth commit a world of sinne in one" (19-20).

In lines 25-28, the speaker offers to do his part to make up that breach, "[b]ecause the benefit accrues to me" (28), leading the speaker to survey the wonders of the natural world, including those aspects of it that are not always welcoming of human interference:

> Thou hast hid metals: man may take them thence;
> But at his perill: when he digs the place,
> He makes a grave; as if the thing had sense,
> And threatned man, that he should fill the space.
>
> Ev'n poisons praise thee. Should a thing be lost?
> Should creatures want for want of heed their due?
> Since where are poisons, antidotes are most:
> The help stands close, and keeps the fear in view.

Humanity, however, can conquer all such natural obstacles and master nature, the cost of which makes value. Nature is seen as a trading commodity, but the work of humanity is not only to conquer nature but to "adore / Thy curious art in marshalling thy goods" (94). The market value only increases respect for nature's inherent wealth. "Hard things are glorious; easie things good cheap. / The common all men have; that which is rare / Men therefore seek to have, and care to keep" (97-99).

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Despite the commodity materialism with which this part of the poem is concerned, the pervading tone of the whole poem is childlike wonder and the simple satisfaction that comes to children from assimilating information about their immediate world and collecting factual data about those aspects of the natural world that are further removed: "Most things move th' under-jaw; the Crocodile not" (139). The speaker does not merely recite scientific facts or religious praise. There is a contemporary, practical core to this message that is related to the role of the state and the special nature of man as "heav'nly breed":

> All countreys have enough to serve their need:
> If they seek fine things, though dost make them run
> For their offence; and then dost turn their speed
> To be commerce and trade from sunne to sunne.
>
> Nothing wears clothes, but Man; nothing doth need
> But he to wear them. Nothing useth fire,
> But Man alone, to show his heav'nly breed:
> And onely he hath fuell in desire. (105-112)

In fact, the speaker concludes that even very few humans can offer the necessary and appropriate praise because "[n]one can know thy works, which are so many, / And so complete" (142-43). So the speaker adds his gift of language to the general (wordless) praise that exists nevertheless within creation itself and thereby adds to the general psalmic praise that is frequently extolled in the psalms by concluding in the last stanza:

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Each thing that is, although in use and name

It go for one, hath many wayes in store

To honour thee; and so each hymne thy fame

Extolleth many wayes, yet this one more. (149-52)

Herbert's poem "Providence" holds within it several points of reference that by now should be recognizable also as of importance to Bacon, who styled himself as "true priest of the senses" (*Instauratio Magna* 35). It highlights the beauty and wonder of natural history without focusing on the bizarre and absurd, even when considering life forms that are exotic. It promotes the interrelationship and equal partnership between natural history and religion as twin books from which humans come to understand reality. It presents natural history as a tradable, endlessly renewable resource for human benefit, albeit not without its share of perils. Just as Herbert, the priest of the "book of religion," takes up his pen as "Secretarie of praise" for the "Sacred Providence" that is responsible for the "book of nature," Bacon consciously takes on a complementary role in his writings, by always exhorting the natural philosopher to praise of the God whose providence over nature is revealed in that other book of religion. Achsah Guibbory's study of William Cowley's admiration for Bacon in the midpoint of the seventeenth century discusses Bacon's self-acknowledged priestly role ("Imitation and Originality" 104). Indeed, Bacon presents himself in this light with a certain pride for his concept of the "Idols of the Mind," recommending the importance of purging the intellect in order to "fit it for the truth" (*Instauratio Magna* 35). Guibbory argues, "though there has been controversy over the sincerity of Bacon's appeals to religion, their

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nature and persistence suggests that Bacon believed his plan had impeccable divine sanction" (104).

All the same, Bacon believes that there is nothing like a secret code to bring out the best in humanity's intellectual faculties and launch a breakthrough in learning. He is much opposed to using the bizarre or the anomalous as the chief attraction of a work of natural history (Findlen 252). Instead, he appeals to the inherent nobility of the subject, nobility that is not always immediately transparent or visibly splendid. Instead, through ceremony and ritual that mimics the church, Bacon hopes to improve the prestige of the loosely organized secular vocations of the natural historian and philosopher, an activity that had heretofore enjoyed none of the pomp and circumstance Bacon would give it. As part of that wonder producing project, Bacon creates secrecy and mystery around the profession of natural history. He does this in the *New Atlantis* by elevating the members of the House of Solomon in their dress, their housing, their mode of transportation, and most importantly, removing the members themselves from the hurly-burly of the daily affairs of the ordinary world (155-56). They are not seen for extended periods of time and when one of them does appear it is for purposes of his own, which he may decide to reveal or not (154). Much of the fragment of the *New Atlantis* dwells on the importance of maintaining dignity, often through the use of costume and pageantry, quite like the effects of other civic and courtly public processions in England and ecclesiastical processions of the Catholic Church in Europe at the time.

In "Aaron," Herbert, too, meditates on the significance of the accoutrements of sacral offices and vestments. The speaker of the poem feels quite inadequate to face his God or his

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parishioners at the opening, but as each layer is applied, literally and metaphorically, the speaker is better prepared to offer the invitation to celebrate the liturgy.

Holinesse on the head,
Light and perfections on the breast,
Harmonious bells below, raising the dead
To leade them unto life and rest:
Thus are true Aarons drest.

Profaneness in my head,
Defects and darknesse in my breast,
A noise of passions ringing me for dead
Unto a place where is no rest:
Poore priest thus am I drest.

Onely another head
I have, another heart and breast,
Another musick, making live not dead,
Without whom I could have no rest:
In him I am well drest.

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Christ is my onely head,

My alone onely heart and breast,

My onely musick, striking me ev'n dead;

That to the old man I may rest,

And be in him new drest.

So holy in my head,

Perfect and light in my deare breast,

My doctrine tun'd by Christ, (who is not dead,

But lives in me while I do rest)

Come people; Aaron's drest.

The dichotomy that Herbert's speaker sets up is contingent upon understanding the vestments prescribed for the priests of the Hebrew scriptures and the several Pauline dicta to "put on" as an item of clothing that which pertains to Christ, such as that found in Col. 3.10, 12, and 14, a chapter that has been singled out by Herbert already. Modern readers know that Herbert agreed to wear the sober (but rich) vestments of a well-to-do early seventeenth-century Protestant priest of the Church of England, because his oft-reproduced portrait now at Harvard University shows him wearing it.[10] Herbert's position regarding religious ceremony may be seen in more detail in his *Musae Responsoriae*, particularly the poems "De Superpelliceo" (22, "On the Surplice"), "De Pileo quadrato" (24, "On the biretta"), and regarding liturgical ceremony more generally as metaphorical dress, "De rituum usu" (36,

[10] See the frontispiece in Amy Charles's *Life of George Herbert* for a reproduction of the drawing by Robert White.

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"On the use of rites"), and "Ad Seren Regem" (56, "To His Serene Majesty"), which declares, according to McCloskey and Murphy's English translation that Christ, "watching from the skies . . . Says that only England offers him a finished worship" (11, 13).

Bacon's insistence on the need to create a ceremonial aspect to promote the dignity and prestige of the wise counselors of his imaginary scientific utopia, can be seen in the great attention he pays to that in the unfinished work. In the *New Atlantis*, Bacon's narrator explains that this remarkably forward-thinking island is known in the language of its inhabitants as "Bensalem." It is a Christian island, somewhere in the Pacific, having been granted special access to the faith and sacred scriptures quite early in apostolic times, "[a]bout twenty years after the ascension of our Saviour" (137) and so is not heir to the errors that European Christians inherited from the Middle Ages. About nineteen hundred years before the Europeans of the story land on the island, it was ruled by a king whose memory is honored above all of Bensalem's kings, Solamona (144): "This king had a large heart, inscrutable for good; and was wholly bent to make his kingdom and people happy" (144). But King Solamona's greatest achievement was to found an institution "dedicated to the study of the Works and Creatures of God," called "Solomon's House" (145) after the Hebrew king, whose book on natural history, lost to Europeans, is still available at Bensalem. The society that comprises the institution is called the "College of the Six Days Works" (146). The first description of a great festival is that of the Feast of the Family, where a Patriarch is honored by and with his offspring, blessings are pronounced, and symbolic gifts are exchanged.

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Bacon includes on the island "some few stirps of Jews" (151), one of whom becomes the narrator's willing confidant to explain marriage customs and relations between sexes and inheritance laws (151-54).[11] The knowledgeable and dignified speaker singles out for rebuke More's recommendation in *Utopia* that courting couples see one another naked, because it is too humiliating, noting that in Bensalem, it is the friends of the couple who can observe them at baths, according to their own gender, and report to the interested party (154). Once this information is shared, there is some remarkable news: one of the Fathers of Solomon's House, after twelve years absence, will spend a week in the city in state, but the reason is kept secret (154). After a splendid entrance, arrangements are made for the strangers to be received by the Father, who blesses the strangers and reveals to the narrator four things about the institution: "The End of our Foundation is the knowledge of Causes, and secret motions of things; and the enlarging of the bounds of Human Empire, to the effecting of all things possible" (156). The "preparations and instruments are caves . . . we call the Lower Region . . . for coagulations, indurations, refrigerations, and conservation of bodies. . . . We [also] have high towers . . . the Upper Region [to provide] isolation, refrigeration, conservation, and the [observation] of meteors [and atmospheric phenomena such] as winds, rain, snow, and hail; the air in between is the middle region (157). Lakes provide for fish and fowl, burial; salt can be extracted from saltwater lakes and freshwater lakes can be converted to salt. Water and wind power is harnessed. The science focuses on improving the quality of physical and mental health of humans. The display and production of light interests them as

[11] Bacon and Herbert both try to reconcile their anxieties over the social and religious nonconformity of Jews by tying it to their understanding of providential time, which will be taken up shortly, after this summary of the *New Atlantis*. Note here that in the *New Atlantis*, the Jews are acknowledged for their wisdom and sagacity. Bacon's treatment of English Puritan "judaizing Christians" is quite different, as will be seen below, along with Herbert's attitude toward the Jews.

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does the aesthetic production of sounds and scents (162-63). Engine production is important, as are war machinery and air flight. Clocks and perpetual motion machines are produced (164). Applied mathematics, geometry, and astronomy are also studied and practiced here. Additionally, although the Fathers of Solomon's House have mastered deceit of the senses, they present it in order for their citizenry to recognize it for what it is, not to take advantage of them, since they philosophically oppose disguise and prohibit it by law. Thirty-six men grouped in one set of twelve and eight sets of three, serve various functions and are given symbolic or descriptive names, such as "Merchants of Light," "Lamps," and lastly "three that raise the former discoveries by experiments into greater observations, axioms, and aphorisms" (165). All take an oath of secrecy, although some secrets are revealed to the state "and some not" (165). They honor with statues inventors from all nations and times, including Columbus (by name), and others described by the object of their invention (165-66). Daily liturgical services are held for praise and intercession that their work will be useful. They also provide advice about how to prevent or remedy natural disasters. With that information, the Father blesses the narrator, and gives him "about two thousand ducats," an extremely large sum, which is even more ironic after the paucity of monetary gifts offered (but refused by the islanders) by the Europeans as tips in exchange for services.

Donna Coffey discusses just how closely associated in the minds of the seventeenth-century person was the relationship between what is now called science and the spectacular. Pointing out that Bacon himself collaborated on masques and went to great expense to have several produced, Coffey explores how his late work, the utopian fragment *New Atlantis*, reflects several key concepts that are operative in Bacon's writings on both masques and

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natural history, building on the connection that Vickers made between the Orpheus myth in the *Advancement* ("Bacon's Use of Theatrical Imagery" 216, cited in Coffey 266). First, the harmonizing effects of Orpheus on the beasts through eloquence and persuasion, being able to calm them into a peaceable kingdom, Vickers likens to a theatre that Bacon says can "make the minds of men . . . more open to impressions and affections" (Vickers 216, qtd. in Coffey 267, *Advancement* 316). Coffey goes on to show that Bacon used theatrical devices of performance and spectacle relative to the Father of Solomon's House for the same effect in the *New Atlantis* (276-77).

Second, it is generally held by scholars that these spectacles "affirm the political, theological, and cosmological order" (Jerzy Limon 64, qtd. in Coffey 270) under the leadership of the king and for the furtherance of the king's power and glory (per Orgel 53). Coffey believes that the *New Atlantis* is actually intended to elevate the scientist because the triumph and "shews" are all devoted to the description of the visiting "Father" of Solomon's House. However, that may be because the text remains a fragment. The ancient king is venerable and serves the people in sacred and secular affairs, establishing peace and the Advancement of Learning. Coffey is convincing in her tying the theatricality of the *New Atlantis* production of the noble secret society as a quasi-religious, nearly omniscient, nearly invisible, and above all disinterested in anything but the furtherance of humanity's well being. Bacon and Herbert use the effects of the theatre to appeal to the passions through imaginative literature, while their nonfiction writing seeks to appeal to the rational mind of the audience.

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Third, Coffey explores the relationship between the traditionally highly visual texts of the natural history philosopher dating from the Middle Ages (*theatrum naturae*) and the visual displays of the both Father of the House of Solomon and the description of the House's awe-inspiring features to support her thesis that the display is meant by Bacon to establish the power of the natural philosopher and not the king (276). Setting aside for a moment the question of who is really being promoted in this text, the philosopher, i.e. Bacon, or the absent king, the movement from the highly visual text of the traditional *theatrum naturae* to the highly literary *theatrum naturae* of the *New Atlantis*, does warrant some discussion because it relates to Herbert's lyric on natural history, "Providence," and to the issue of early modern visual arts in English publications of the seventeenth century generally. It is a commonplace that mass-produced English visual arts from the first half of the seventeenth century were not of the highest quality in comparison to those produced at the same time in Europe. Bacon and to some extent, Herbert offset the poor quality of printed visual representation by composing a rhetoric that more specialized natural historians may appropriate or adapt. The distance between the knowledge base and focus of the two men in their discussion of natural history is as uneven as their treatment of versified psalms. The fact that Herbert feels able to write in this subject area is more interesting than what information he displays,[12] but even that is treated in the restrained tone that Bacon would respect. Like the parabolic poetry of the seventeenth century,[13] all of what passed for "science" was not necessarily highly visual, particularly in the transition of the sixteenth and

[12] Excepting, perhaps, his reference to the crocodile in his poems, "Providence" and "Church Militant".
[13] For further investigation of the subject of the popularity and widely disseminated genre of parabolic poetry, see Robert M. Schuler's lively collection of previously unpublished manuscripts, *Alchemical Poetry: 1575 – 1700*.

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seventeenth centuries from a highly select manuscript audience of wealthy nobility, cathedral libraries, and monasteries, who would pay for the expense of a luxuriously illustrated manuscript, to a wider, secular and less wealthy clientele who might be more inclined to purchase printed books for the accumulation of what claimed to be objective facts delivered through the medium of language.

Herbert's poem "Peace" (124) can be fruitfully compared to the themes and characters described in Bacon's *New Atlantis*. The alternative name for Bacon's utopia, "Bensalem," means in Hebrew, "Son of Peace." Herbert's poem follows the dreamlike quality of the utopian journey, beginning with frustration, and then encountering a "rev'rend good old man" (19) who gives advice for finding the sought quality of the poem's title. In the opening stanza, the narrator asks what the reader might suspect is a rhetorical question, until the personified "Sweet Peace" answers and advises. Three times the narrator looks for peace in all the wrong places, a secret cave (3), a rainbow (7), a garden with a crown imperial blooming (15), but in each case the speaker is disappointed in his quest. Finally, he meets someone who appears to be able to help. Instead of answering directly, however, to the "demand" of the speaker, the "rev'rend good old man" (21, 19) tells a story, beginning, "There was a Prince of old / At Salem dwelt" (23). The prince dies as a result of his foes (26), but twelve stalks sprang up from his grave (27-30), which propagated throughout the earth (31-32). By this point the differences are obvious, but there are important correlations between the utopian fragment by Bacon and this parable, such as direct address toward an allegorical character, a loose narrative structure, dignified characters, and a moral point, for what Bacon has done is to create a religious myth for natural philosophy using the same

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imaginative techniques that Herbert has applied to his more traditional allegory of the twelve apostles and to his argument that the Church of England is continuing the apostolic succession of bishops in opposition to some Protestant elements that opposed this structure. For Herbert these stalks of wheat provide a food whose taste does impart "[a] secret vertue bringing peace and mirth / By flight of sinne" (35-36). The final stanza concludes with the advice from the old man to the speaker and the reader in the didactic technique that Herbert has applied in other poems (37-42):

> Take of this grain, which in my garden grows,
> And grows for you;
> Make bread of it: and that repose
> And peace, which ev'ry where
> With so much earnestnesse you do pursue,
> Is onely there.

In "Peace" Herbert shows that secrecy and codes can have positive value, even when the means for the desired effect is not fully understood, although the efficacy is, and the traditional information is trustworthy although the recipient has access to only partial knowledge. Bacon's imaginary society as whole are not made privy to the secrets that the Fathers produce, but they do benefit from the Fathers' works in Bensalem's trusting, benign, authoritarian kingdom.

A second interesting aspect of this poem in relation to Bacon's Bensalem is the frequency of allusion to the Old Testament story of Genesis (the rainbow) and the Hebrew

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language. Herbert's poem "Peace" and others[14] show his interest in how to understand the presence of contemporary Jews in what he saw as a Christian world fast approaching the end of time. Herbert and Bacon both display their concern over what seems to them to be an insoluble problem, that is, the Jews' lack of interest in converting to Christianity. At the same time, both men understand that the contributions of Jews to Christian faith and culture have been immeasurable. Understanding the role of the Jews in the current age, which they believed to be drawing to a close, was of extreme importance. Their ancient faith and language was venerable, but would not be assimilated. Herbert and Bacon see the Jews as something of a mystery, part of God's secret code in history that, if it could only be unlocked and understood, would help to usher in the new age. Herbert addresses the problem as a reflection on the lack of faith of Christians and urges a life of prayer for their conversion, which Inge Leimberg explains in her cabalistic interpretation of the poem ("The Letter Lost"). The problem of the Jews' nonconformity was also considered to be related to the nonconformity of Christians, especially Puritans. How Herbert and Bacon address the dignity and venerability of the Jews is of importance for their interpretation of providential history and the close of the current age, and it also is significant for their relationship with nonconforming groups of Christians in the period.

For example, Nicholas McDowell has written on the anxiety that a Puritan named John Traske caused Bacon, the Star Chamber, and the king when he began to encourage his followers to learn Hebrew and to follow Jewish law, including the observance of the Sabbath,

[14] *The Temple* is predicated on typological themes from the Hebrew bible; however, three poems have particular interest in contemporary issues related to how contemporary Christians encountered Jews in Herbert's time: "The Jews," "Self-Condemnation," "Joseph's Coat."

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and dietary laws ("The Stigmatizing of Puritans as Jews" 348-51). McDowell relates that Bacon records some intriguing notes for his speech before the judges of Star Chamber when Traske was tried (and condemned) for treason: "New opinions spread very dangerous, the late Traske a dangerous person. Prentices learn the Hebrew tongue" (*Letters* vol. 13:315, qtd. in McDowell 351). Of course, modern persons do not know what Bacon said or believed about this situation. He may have been alarmed at the reputation of power that the language held, or he may have been goading the Star Chamber with that fear. It is known that he argued regarding potentially dangerous social and political implications of Traske's preaching (352). Traske is referred to throughout as a "Judaizer," a pejorative term in an anti-Semitic society. We also know that Bacon and Herbert both write about Jews as subjects of fascination and fear. In the *New Atlantis*, the imagined Jew is shown as respectful of the customs of the utopia and willingly provides the information the guests seek with dignity and knowledge. As Ariane M. Balizet shows, Herbert's poetry also includes discussion of Jews[15] in a similarly conflicted way, much of it based on contemporary interpretation of scripture, noting that modern scholars usually conclude that Herbert was more generous than most of his peers in his description of Jews who refuse to convert and so in his mind refuse to help bring this tag-end close of the present age to its completion. Both Herbert and Bacon show a fascination with Jews and Judaism, both seek harsh penalties against Christians who they believe are sinners in a "Jewish" sense, especially by refusing to listen to ecclesiastical authority, and both represent Jews as delaying the culmination of the age. This wrinkle in the treatment of redeemed time is quite significant, given the lack of

[15] Herbert's poems from *The Temple* that explicitly refer to Jews are "The Sacrifice," "Decay," "The Bunch of Grapes," "Self Condemnation," and "Church Militant."

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control afforded these two men who seek to write prophetic truths in the *New Atlantis* and "Church Militant."

After having discussed how Herbert and Bacon argue for the duty to unlock the secrets of the two books that God's providence has provided for the benefit humanity, and having discussed how they both incorporated the Christian interpretation of providential time into their respective literary texts, the remainder of this chapter will consider a particular genre of literature that Bacon returned to again and again, the aphorism, in order to encourage his readers to exercise their capacity for unlocking his deliberately encoded messages and be inspired by them to participate in his great instauration of the age.

Aphorisms

Another style of coded writing is the aphoristic style, used by both Herbert and Bacon. Aphorisms encourage the concept of a quasi-religious vocation of scientific priesthood to promote the purity of truth through their association with the Wisdom Literature of the Hebrew scriptures, and they go to the heart of Bacon's desire to create a respectable discipline for natural philosophy and natural philosophy. Based on the widely-held idea that Solomon wrote a now lost work on nature,[16] the aphorisms of the Solomonic Wisdom Literature of the Hebrew scriptures are associated by Bacon with the theater of natural history. Moreover, Bacon argues at the beginning of the *Instauratio Magna* that this decision to focus on developing what becomes the increasing professionalization of natural history has brought him to discover "a class of experiments much more subtle and simple

[16] Bacon's kingdom of Bensalem in the *New Atlantis* is a fictional locus for that book, a reference to the widely held notion of Renaissance neo-Platonism that there is a "*prisca theologia*," a unified wisdom tradition of antiquity that harmonizes ancient pagan, Hebrew, and Christian worldviews.

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than those which we just bump into. For I am unearthing and adumbrating many things which no one who was not pressing forward on a certain and direct road to the discovery of causes would have thought to investigate" (41). In her study of how Bacon attempts to reform natural history as a profession, Paula Findlen points out that there were an impressive number of Tudor precedents for such a professional approach in the alumni of Cambridge University, citing William Turner, John Caius, William Gilbert, Thomas Moffet, and Thomas Penny, despite the fact that current research in natural history was not part of the formal curriculum (242-43). However, Findlen also explores why this area of interest enjoyed such a wide popularity during the seventeenth century and why Bacon found its current state so disturbing: it does not require special skills and is accessible to both men and women, unlike, say, mathematics. Popular books were published and purchased on topics of general interest like herbals, magnetism, and animal life forms. The subjects of natural history provided decorative art motifs for clothing, jewelry, and architectural details (246). All of these reasons for natural history's popularity, Bacon believes, also cause it harm when culture trivializes the grandeur of creation. Natural history, also historically a "noble enterprise" (247) approved from classical antiquity and scripture (249) again enjoyed that noble status during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. By separating the fictive from the factual and the merely ornamental from the useful, and by employing with exactness, measurable objective experiments, Bacon wants to recast natural history as a serious, significant scientific endeavor, not reduced to the objectified clutter of the curiosity cabinet. Findlen astutely observes that despite the real distance between Bacon and his mother's strongly held Puritan beliefs (and perhaps in reaction to it), "Bacon nonetheless approached nature as a

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second Scripture (255). He wishes to restore natural history as one of the two 'books' from which humanity comes to understand "real truth" (255).

In the opening of the *Novum Organum*, Bacon famously tests his hypothesis regarding the value of aphorisms to spur the mind to moral action by dedicating his work to the king and launching into a series of loaded aphorisms. Briggs stresses that Bacon's appreciation for the aphorism is tied to his appreciation for codes generally; that is, they "are isolated maxims as well as empowering fragments of wisdom" (28). Being ambivalent, they fragment existing knowledge, but they can also make way for new interpretations. Bacon's aphorisms are chosen around an organizing principle that furthers the discipline he is trying to promote. W. A. Sessions stresses that because Bacon uses aphorisms as the base of almost all of his writing, with the exception of the *Advancement of Learning* and *De Augmentis*, the reader needs to consider the significance of flexibility, openness to interpretation, and the coded qualities that are at work in these pithy sayings (*Francis Bacon Revisited* 34). Because the aphoristic style is adaptable to the needs of the audience and rhetorical situation, it is essentially theatrical (31) and allows for the kind of inductive building up of knowledge that the *Advancement* advocates (36). The *De Augmentis* advises that aphorisms "invite others to contribute and add something in their turn; whereas methodical delivery, carrying the show of a total, makes men careless, as if they were already at the end" (4. 451, qtd. in Sessions 37).

Herbert also collected close to a thousand aphorisms that were published after his death as *Outlandish Proverbs* ("outlandish" meaning from rural, rather than urban areas) and according to Hutchinson, apparently augmented later by his brother, Henry (321). These

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popular, numbered sayings are alternatively bromides or witty, depending on the reader's taste, at least two of which may be fit for consideration here: number 692 reads, "Knowledge is no burthen" (344), while 718 reads, "Comparisons are odious" (345). Herbert's apparently hodge-podge commonplaces of rural witticism underline the class barrier he frequently expresses in the *Country Parson*, but they also provide evidence of a carefully chosen particular form of the collecting craze that seized the seventeenth-century gentry suited to a man of letters. Both George and Henry's amateur acquisitiveness may be motivated as much by patriotic sentiment as socio-linguistic considerations. The size and scope of their collections are impressive. Given Bacon's appreciation for the singularly puzzling gnomic utterance, the modern reader becomes aware of so many questions probably now unanswerable. When and where Herbert began the collection is not clear. His recognition of their value is characteristic of the efforts of other seventeenth-century historians. It is highly possible that he considered the act of collection itself sufficient. Whether collecting for posterity the verbal shards of primitive wisdom from the lips of his parishioners in the area of Wiltshire, or perhaps earlier from Cambridgeshire residents, or his extended visit in Essex with his brother Henry in 1626, or during his stay with his wife's family during their courtship and first few months of marriage in 1629 for example, Herbert certainly participates in Bacon's appeal to collaboration in laying the foundation of natural science.

For Bacon and Herbert wonder, praise, and knowledge are inextricably interwoven. For Herbert, the poet-priest-scholar, readers may expect as much, but for Bacon, this combination is clearly demonstrated in his *Certaine Psalmes*, for instance. The innumerable mysteries of nature are enfolded in order to be unwrapped and put to more thorough use.

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Like a wrapped gift, much of the pleasure lies in the anticipation and process of discovery. Unlike the present era, no thought is given to the limits of nature to appease the appetite of humanity. Instead, much of that early modern wonder is founded upon the recent expansion of the known world and Britain's eagerness to participate in it through trade and discovery. Bacon and several of Herbert's close family members were investment partners in the Virginia Company and were both losers to the crown when the original charter was revoked in the king's favor. When in 1620 the *Instauratio Magna* was first published with such national fanfare and anticipation, the frontispiece displayed two ships sailing past the pillars of Hercules with a Latin verse fragment from Daniel 12.4 (not from the Vulgate version) serving as caption, which translated into English reads, "Many shall go to and fro and knowledge will be increased." Charles Whitney discusses the significance of this frontispiece (23-28). Essentially, the visionary plan of the *Instauratio* as illustrated in the frontispiece is to inaugurate a new, apocalyptic, or if one prefers, end of history era, to launch beyond the known into the unknown in that projected new bark of faith, a state-sponsored scientific institution of learning and *return* with new knowledge.[17] Although this launch is new, it is not the first, as the distant ship on the horizon reminds the viewer. Whitney explains that Bacon is calling for an "instauration" which is a renewal or a rebuilding, in this case, of the Temple of Solomon, as a temple of the mind (24).

Modern scholars ignore, distrust the motivation of, or minimize the importance of Bacon's frequent use of biblical allusions, but the question does not need to be whether Bacon is sincere in a literal interpretation of scripture or a modern conservative interpretation

[17] W. A. Sessions notes the significance of the direction of the ships in *Francis Bacon Revisited* (74).

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of scripture's relationship to Christianity, however that is framed. His first audience did not find that to be of significance, except insofar as his Catholic reviewers for the Holy Office disapproved of his Protestant perspective (Fattori). Certainly Bacon's British contemporaries did not foresee such a split throughout the seventeenth century. Writers within the Church of England of the early seventeenth century whose faith future centuries would find heterodox, such as Edward, Lord Cherbury, or Francis Bacon were not widely criticized. Indeed, Bacon's written expressions of faith were only considered suspect by fellow members of the court like Chamberlain when Bacon published his versified psalms (Jardine and Stewart 496). Herbert certainly never showed evidence of disapproval or desire to distance himself, even after Bacon's public disgrace of 1621 and his death in 1626. Whether one attributes this to religious tolerance or political loyalty does not in the end really matter for the purposes of this present study, nor perhaps even for the reception of Bacon's works throughout the seventeenth century. The state project in which Bacon and Herbert were both active participants included a strong monarchy whose governmental leadership over the state church Bacon wished to see extended to science.

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Chapter V:

Matter Theory, Space, and Literary Forms

Understanding what Herbert believes about matter theory will provide a frame of reference for his poems related to astronomy and to physical properties and will provide a rationale for his emphasis on didactic literature, which according to Robert H. Ray was what his near contemporaries most appreciated in his poetry. It will also help to identify what Bacon and Herbert got from the practitioners of laboratory experimentation, such as the alchemists who followed Paracelsus's recommendations, and why Bacon and Herbert took exception to Paracelsus's model. Understanding Bacon's epistemology and Herbert's poetry vis-à-vis Paracelsian alchemy provides a significant alternative to the theory that Herbert and Bacon hold very different views of language, which will be discussed more fully in the final chapter.

One place to look for Herbert's beliefs regarding matter theory comes from Bacon's *De Augmentis*, because as a possible translator, Herbert would have been exposed to Bacon's matter theory in a significant way. Gaukroger explains that for Francis Bacon at the end of the sixteenth century, "everything turns on matter theory, not just in the senses that natural philosophy is pursued through matter theory, but also because it is through matter theory that metaphysical theories about the nature of matter are incorporated into natural philosophy. Matter theory . . . is Bacon's route to natural philosophy [and] enables him to take a stand on the question of the autonomy of natural philosophy (93-94) [from a] 'theologically driven metaphysics'" (94 n64). Bacon's new system of categories of learning separate questions about the physical nature of created beings from the category of metaphysics, but both of the

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main theories regarding that nature at its most fundamental level relied upon an inspirited unit of matter. The atomists theorized matter to be made up of combinations of individual particles or "atoms" (the term used by ancient Greeks to mean the smallest indivisible particles) which are separated by a vacuum. For some, the vacuum is both internal, within the atom and external, between atoms. Other atomists theorized that the basic unit of distinct beings is of differing size and shape, or that the individual atoms are rigid. Bacon rejected both the concept of the vacuum and the concept that the atom can be rigid and vary in size and shape, because these ideas tend to hinder his belief in transmutation (Rees, "Atomism" 556). Bacon found greater agreement with pneumatic theories of substances that proposed that creation is composed of substances that contain *spiritus*, a term that points to an essentially active concept of relative being and non-being (either inanimate or vital); the combination of these *spiriti* determines the nature and condition of inorganic, vegetable, or animal states of being (lvi-lvii). Natural philosophy seeks to understand and control the activity of *spiritus* in matter, thereby enhancing the length and quality of all categories of human existence. Rees argues that Bacon may have been attracted to the atomist theory, which dates from Democritus, as an alternative to the still-reigning Aristotelian model (564), because it was sufficiently limited in scope, i.e, not concerned with proving final causes (565). However, atomism's greater appeal is that it provides philosophy with a key concept, the need to "dissect" the "subtleties" of matter (as opposed to the "abstract" and "verbal subtlety" of Aristotle), a concept which Bacon would then apply to the pneumatic theory of matter (567-69).

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The relationship between religion and science at the time of the publication of *De Augmentis* was not yet severed. This result, at least in part, is effected by the efforts of many intellectuals of the era, including Bacon, who sought to create an all-inclusive modern system of knowledge, such as is presented the *De Augmentis*. Recently, historians of various branches of natural and social science, such as Graham Rees, Sylvia Manzo, William R. Newman, and Bruce T. Moran, have published on the discipline's general reevaluation of the contribution of late medieval and early modern alchemists to the development of modern science. They have agreed that the records of these practitioners are valuable for science, even though their premises have proved false, in part because of their development of a discipline of carefully observed processes in a controlled laboratory environment. As Moran tells it, by the end of the seventeenth century, universities on the continent of Europe and in England had endowed chairs whose scholars had moved from the observation of processes to the identification and separation of compounds either harmful or medicinal for the purpose of advancing medicine, particularly acids and alkalis, via a mechanical philosophy (99-131). This was a material change from the aims of alchemists, whose purpose was to discover the secret harmonies that connected the macrocosm of the universe to the microcosm of man. Among the causes of this metamorphosis is the new laboratory practicioners' advancement of the highly practical uses of the alchemical theory of corpuscular matter. This theory held that all matter is made up of tiny bodies, corpuscles, which determine the nature and behaviors of each individual thing; moreover, the seventeenth century witnessed the beginnings of a new emphasis on practical mathematics to explain in a mechanistic way the forces that cause motion of objects (Gaukroger 166).

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During Herbert's lifetime, and well into the century, alchemists were fascinated by the apparent generative properties of chemical reactions, such as that produced when a precipitate like silver carbonate rapidly forms into a curdled mass from the combining of a solution of potassium carbonate into a solution of silver and nitric acid (cf., Newman, figs. 4-8 following p. 82). What appeared to be happening to their eyes was an irrevocable transformation of one mixture into a new state (4). One significance of such a transformation lies in the apparent change of some spirited being from one state of being to another. According to Graham Rees, Bacon's natural philosophy was essentially eclectic, but borrowed heavily from traditional views of cosmology in opposition to mechanistic mathematical theories. Rees writes that Bacon "evaluated principle theories in terms of their coherence, plausibility and, above all, their conformity with Holy Writ and the *prisca sapientia* which he pretended to find in the ancient fables" (xxix), such as the myth of Cupid, discussed in *De Principiis Atque Originibus* (*On Principles and Origins*). This work discusses at Bacon's most sustained length the theory of corpuscular matter relative to the alchemist followers of the sixteenth century Swiss-German physician Paracelsus and ancient commentators of myth, Parmenides and Democritus. Building on semi-Paracelsian alchemical theory, especially that of Bernardino Telesio (1509-1588), rather than mathematical, mechanical theories of the universe (e.g., those proposed by Copernicus, Tycho, and Galileo), Bacon believed matter to be composed of combinations of two substances, tangible of the earth or pneumatic and of the rest of the universe (Rees xlii). Various combinations of these two substances create two quaternions of Sulphur and

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Mercury, respectively, when pneumatic and tangible matter meet near the surface of the earth, "from which most of the phenomena of the terrestrial realm originate" (xlii).

Sylvia A. Manzo reconsiders how theories of atomism and pneumatism are treated in the works of Francis Bacon ("Francis Bacon and Atomism: A Reappraisal"), arguing that they coexist in Bacon's theory, although Bacon eventually limits the former theory to an ontological purpose. In her essay, Manzo describes how Bacon relies on Calvinist principles of the omniscience and omnipotence of God to help him understand atomic chance as "the necessity imposed by divine providence" (219) in his speculative philosophy. The *De Augmentis* in particular, Manzo believes, shows in detail Bacon's theories of how "the causal chain of actions for every individual. . . [is] hidden and difficult to know . . . but not without cause" (219-20). In addition to the ontological properties of matter, Bacon wants to be able to investigate the causative-operational principle that is more hidden, but still knowable.

Manzo notes that during the time Bacon was writing the *Advancement* (1605) and for several years afterwards, Bacon was attracted to sixteenth-century atomist theories of matter as posited by persons like Cardano in Italy and the seventeenth-century group of near contemporaries associating with the Earl of Northumberland (210-11). At this point, Bacon treated the atom within corpuscular matter theory as the smallest indivisible particle that "constitute[s] an ontological and causative-operational principle," a position which he later modified, eliminating the atom's "causative-operational ability" (210). Manzo explains that atomist theory provided Bacon with at least a "heuristic model" of those motions that "[i]n corporeal substances [are] associated with fineness, smallness of quantity, fluidity, and divisibility; in incorporeal substances [they are] related to God's secrets and the order of the

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universe" (211-12). However, by the early 1620s, the date of the publication of the *Novum Organum* and the *De Augmentis*, Bacon had decided that a heuristic model of the atomist theory did not adequately explain how the "transmutation of bodies — incidentally the main goal of scientific practice" (237) occurs between matter, given the atom's characteristic rigidity, so he turned to a vocabulary of more complex pneumatic and tangible forms, that while still "invisible," were better models for explaining natural phenomena in a practical way (Manzo 237-41). In opposition to Rees's position that Bacon rejects atomism for a pneumatic theory, Manzo argues instead that Bacon's views of atomism and pneumatic theory are never "incompatible" and, in this instance at least, he is in agreement with several other sixteenth- and seventeenth-century philosophers (241 n133). Bacon's allegorical account of the principles and origins of nature sheds light on his understanding of atoms and forms: especially his treatment of the mythological characters, Cupid (the Atom), Proteus (Matter), and Pan (Nature) (per Farrington 49) and his sisters, the Parcae, in *De Sapientia Veterum* (1609), *De Principiis Atque Originibus* (c.1612), and in more detail in *De Augmentis*. Whether one agrees in the end with Rees or Manzo, it seems clear that Bacon's speculative philosophy was serious about maintaining a fundamental view of the universe that is not ultimately mechanistic or static, but filled with this vital, restless *spiritus* that enlivens the entire universe, and as such cannot be understood properly by Aristotelian-Scholastic metaphysics nor by the more modern mathematical theories that were being developed.

Many of Bacon's near contemporary alchemists found the Biblical creation stories to be descriptive of this and similar models, and formulated a syncretic approach, looking to

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scripture and the "prisca theologica" tradition of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries to validate their claims, but although Bacon preferred their inspirited corpuscular matter theory over the emerging mathematic models, his own eclectic fashion reveals much about how the roles of faith and science should remain distinct (lxiv-lxvi). Rees explains that Bacon would not defend his theories by referencing religious doctrine, arguing that "[j]ust as human reason was incompetent in matters of faith, so theological argument had no role in defending, supporting or validating scientific theories" (xlix). On the other hand, according to Rees, Bacon's criteria for picking and choosing so eclectically from among various components of his stable of chosen alchemical theorists, whether acknowledged or unacknowledged, may have been that he believed religious doctrine did have a role in choosing one theory over another: "[n]atural philosophy was not to be invaded by *revealed* theology, but was nevertheless an activity *bounded* by it" (xlix).

The respect that Bacon accords revealed theology leads to three very important a priori concepts for his natural philosophy: the physical universe is temporal, originally composed in a state of perfection with humans at the apex; the universe has since been fragmented from its original pristine state but not irrevocably, and not only can, but should be restored to its original happy state by an elite group of enlightened persons for the good of humanity in this lifetime, or epoch of history. Additionally, Bacon believed that the Stuart monarchy and Britain itself is perfectly placed historically and geographically to be patron of this new instauration. When Bacon dedicates the *Advancement of Learning* to James I at the onset of his reign in 1605, James is presented as the ideal ruler, an absolute monarch who combines wisdom with scholarship, the defender of the faith since purified of the religious

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superstitions and political interference of Rome and the kingdoms of continental Europe. It is a version of kingship and national ecclesiology mirrored in Herbert's published speeches, letters, and poems while Orator for Cambridge.

During Herbert's period at Cambridge, alchemy, while officially not recognized, was allowed, as long as practitioners did not do anything that exposed the University to scandal. According to Mordechai Feingold, such scandals could be easily categorized into three prohibitions: "it did not involve any unlawful casting of the nativities of monarchs or debasing of coins and did not result in any scandalous accusations of cheating or witchcraft" (77). In addition to establishing the prevalence of scholarly alchemists who thrived on the campuses and in the environs of Oxford and Cambridge throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Feingold catalogs an impressive number of practitioners at various colleges in Cambridge while Herbert was there, including John Fletcher of Caius College, William Butler of Clare Hall (later physician to James I and Nicholas Ferrar), Henry Briggs of Clare, John Tichborne of Clare and later Trinity, and John Rodeknight of Queens (81-84). According to Feingold, whose article was written to underscore the fact that John Dee and Fludd "shared their occult interests with a significant number of contemporaries" (89), this was largely a university phenomenon, involving mainly "university-educated men, first introduced to occult literature at Oxford and Cambridge, where they formed what often evolved into lifelong friendships with other practitioners" (89).

In such an environment, Herbert spent his early adulthood, from the age of 16 until he was 30 (1609-23). His poems are sprinkled with numerous references analogous to methodical observation, experimentation, and sometimes explicitly technical terms

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associated with alchemical and more currently accepted scientific practices. Some of them, such as "The Elixir" and "The Quididitie" have already been recognized for their connection with alchemy from their titles and contents. "The Quidditie" will be discussed in greater detail, below; at this point, the chapter will turn to "The Elixir" to discuss the alchemist's main aim, the possession of the Philosopher's Stone and how Herbert uses this analogy for his purposes (*Works* 184-85).

Teach me, my God and King,
In all things thee to see,
And what I do in any thing,
To do it as for thee:

Not rudely, as a beast,
To runne into an action;
But still to make thee prepossest,
And give it his perfection.

A man that looks on glasse,
On it may stay his eye;
Or if he pleaseth, through it passe,
And then the heav'n espie.

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All may of thee partake:

Nothing can be so mean,

Which with his tincture (for thy sake)

Will not grow bright and clean.

A servant with this clause

Makes drudgerie divine:

Who sweeps a room, as for thy laws,

Makes that and th' action fine.

This is the famous stone

That turneth all to gold:

For that which God doth touch and own

Cannot for lesse be told.

This poem, which explicitly references the work of the alchemist, links the transformative process back to the one who is invoked in the first two lines, "Teach me, my God and King / In all things thee to see"; but as the process runs throughout the entire poem, everything becomes touched by the tincture, including the reader, if only he or she would recognize it because "that which God doth touch and own / Cannot for lesse be told" (23-24). Once the speaker recognizes that the action of making the poem is an activity that points beyond itself to the Divine, the work is seen as mak[ing God] prepossest / and give[s] it his perfection" (3-4). The third and fourth stanzas do more than provide a descriptive fact; they provide an opportunity for the reader to look through the window and "heav'n espie" (12); that is, they

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provide a means "to partake" of the "tincture" that imparts a remarkable transformative principle throughout the receiving matter (13-16). The *OED* defines "tincture" in the early seventeenth century as indicative of several operations stemming from alchemical theory. According to alchemy (def. 6a), a "tincture" is "a supposed spiritual principle or immaterial substance whose quality may be infused into material things, which are then said to be tinctured; the quintessence, spirit, or soul of a thing; universal tincture, the "Elixir." Herbert's line asserts that while all may partake of God, regardless of class or deficiency of inherent worth (the state of being "mean"), the transmutation is for "thy sake," i.e., God's sake. Hutchinson remarks that Herbert changed line 16 in the Williams manuscript from "to Heauen grow," to "grow bright & cleane" making the sense to be much more unified and of this earth. So, for God's own sake the person who so partakes of this tincture, which is also God, is made "bright and clean" (15-16). Although one could be satisfied by staying with the "glasse," the one who perceives the view beyond the "glasse" and performs the action intentionally as a divine act, is thereby transformed and finds that the effect is also transformative as is the very act of "sweeping" itself, although seemingly the lowliest of activities (17-20). Indeed, the clause the speaker wants to assimilate into his life from line two, "In all things thee to see," is so fundamental as to be able to make "fine" both the room being swept and the act of sweeping. Fineness is an attribute of atomist theory related to both the corporeal body and the secrets of God, according to Manzo (212). The final stanza proclaims the effects of this remarkable activity, which is that nothing in the sphere of influence escapes the transformative properties of the Philosopher's Stone, turning all to gold because "[t]hat which God doth touch and own / Cannot for lesse be told" (23-24).

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If Herbert's poems in "The Church" show a developing spiritual maturity, as Ilona Bell posits, and which would agree with my thesis that Herbert is tracing the progress of an interior Baconian thought experiment, then "The Elixir" offers a more mature response to the desire to grow in God's likeness, beyond what the speaker in the poem "The Pilgrimage" provides. As shown earlier, departing from other interpretations, one may read "The Pilgrimage" as the narrative of someone who anticipates what the spiritual journey should be, filled with personal expectations, a recipe for disappointment and delusion. Even though the other's voice at the end warns the speaker of fatal error, the speaker is stubborn to the end. By way of contrast, "The Elixir" shows a much more docile willingness to be taught from the outset the mystery of believing, doing, and becoming that is experience of the mature spiritual person who has sacrificed personal expectations, the very requirement of Bacon's inductive experimental method and definition of charity based on sacrifice, not magnaminity.

Two of Herbert's poems that follow one another, "H. Baptisme (II)" and "Nature," use language from Christian theology and the pneumatic theory of matter explicitly. In "H. Baptisme (II)," the expressed desire is to be childlike, a quality that is repeated several times in the New Testament, such as the reference to the Johannine injunction to be "children of God," and possibly, the adoption of Gentile believers into the chosen race from Romans. Herbert's speaker also seems to be making reference to the tradition of infant baptism with his own baptism as an infant in mind, in lines 3-5.

> Since, Lord, to thee
> A narrow way and little gate
> Is all the passage, on my infancie

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Thou didst lay hold, and antedate

My faith in me.

O let me still

Write thee great God, and me a childe:

Let me be soft and supple to thy will,

Small to my self, to others milde,

Behither ill.

Although by stealth

My flesh get on, yet let her sister

My soul bid nothing, but preserve her wealth:

The growth of flesh is but a blister;

Childhood is health.

Bacon's notes in *De Vijs Mortis*, a manuscript that has only been known since its discovery in 1980 was made public (Rees xvii), are concerned with recommendations to prolong physical life based upon the idea that the soft and supple body of childhood eventually dries out and dies. Herbert's speaker wishes to prolong at least the body's "sister," which is the soul by baptism, which of course provides on a physical level the element of water, but on a spiritual level also moisturizes and cools. Bacon held a modified theory of radical moisture regarding the health and longevity of the body. Like others of his time, he believed that death comes about from desiccation; a person who can retard this can remain young and

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supple (Rees lxviii), and, one may add, childlike. Herbert's speaker desires to be "soft and supple," "small to my self, to others milde" (8-9). For Herbert's speaker "the growth of flesh is but a blister" (14), perhaps a reference to the burning from the heat of the *spiritus* acting upon the flesh in its natural effort to escape, producing a negative side effect for those who wish to remain cool and moist, thereby prolonging life. The blister is also a way of emphasizing the relative value of the life of flesh, a common medieval trope. In the final line, the speaker agrees emphatically with Bacon and scripture that the state of "Childhood," whether physical or spiritual, "is health" (15).

Herbert's poem "Nature" describes the desire for transformation in very Pauline fashion, referring to the enmity between the spirit and the flesh that also can be read as the work of the alchemical arts. One of the skills associated with alchemists was the production of gold, so they were sometimes employed to work in the minting of coins. The corollary fear was that they would use their superior knowledge for fraudulent means, debasing the specie, and potentially destroying the government's wealth. In this poem, the "motion" of the "spirit" that wars against the violent desires of flesh is surely a work in progress, threatening to come to naught as described in detail in the second stanza. The underlying question is one of Calvinist anxiety: if like calls to like, as the alchemists claim, then which likeness will prevail? On the one hand, lines 3-4 hint that despite the stated rebellion of the insecure petitioner, the hope is clearly "[t]hat [God] does ha[ve] ought to do with me." On the other hand, left to his own devices, the result with surely be a spectacular failure of a solution gone haywire, from dissolution in the "venome" (7), to "fumes" and "bubbles" (9-10), and evaporation according to one's "kind" into "wind" (10-11). The speaker nervously

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reminds the Alchemical Master, that such a result would be a loss not only for the speaker, but also for the reputation of the craftsman of this potentially failed "workmanship" (12):

Full of rebellion, I would die,
Or fight, or travel, or denie
That thou hast ought to do with me.
O tame my heart;
It is thy highest art
To captivate strong holds to thee.

If thou shalt let this venome lurk,
And in suggestions fume and work,
My soul will turn to bubbles straight,
And thence by kinde
Vanish into a winde,
Making thy workmanship deceit.

O smooth my rugged heart, and there
Engrave thy rev'rend Law and fear;
Or make a new one, since the old
Is saplesse grown,
And a much fitter stone
To hide my dust, then thee to hold.

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This poem has interesting affinities with at least two other numismatic meditations from seventeenth-century poets who show deep admiration for Herbert's *Temple*: Edward Taylor and Christopher Harvey. The English-born Massachusetts minister, Edward Taylor, whose "Meditation Six" echoes the need to test the true quality of the gold coin against the appearances and threat of counterfeits yearns to be more than "gold washed face, but brasse in heart" (127). Christopher Harvey's *Synagogue* also uses the threat of falsifying the purity of the gold as a symbol, but in Harvey's poem "The Church," he writes in the last stanza, "hypocrisie in Church is Alchymie, / That casts a golden tincture upon brasse" (13-14). In all three of these poems the desire to be transformed is tied to the danger of being misled or misleading, either through self delusion or conscious hypocrisy. The reputation for fraud among the alchemists and those proclaiming spiritual truths was also hinted at by Bacon's detractors at his condemnation for accepting bribes and his versified translation of the psalms. One of Walton's aims was to write a collection of saintly lives to counter the charges against Church of England divines by non-conformists after the restoration. The alchemical promise of transforming base metals to gold, often described in seventeenth-century didactic scientific poetry as a literal process and as a metaphor for transforming the inner person, becomes in Herbert's poem a means of going beyond the confines of the printed matter on the page in every conceivable direction. The vocation of the poet is verified and vivified in the process of conveying the facts of the matter.

It is not the purpose of this dissertation to argue that Herbert was directly involved with alchemical practices, or indeed, any specific scientific discipline. It is enough to note that alchemy was such a part of his environment and that his poetry speaks its language. He

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uses these images, as he uses images of architecture, horticulture, and dress, as analogies for his orthodox religious purposes. Instead of recognizing immanent danger to his faith by appropriating alchemical themes, Herbert unhesitatingly incorporates hermetic tradition into his devotional poems. Just as Bacon feels free to borrow eclectically from various alchemical traditions in order to piece together a cosmology that posited atomist and pneumatist theories without relying on scripture and revealed tradition, so also does Herbert borrow from the same traditions in order to set up analogous circumstances for describing the desired spiritual state of union between the divine and human will and act. The rifling of older, syncretic traditions for analogous imagery suits both men well. For Bacon it provided the raw materials for developing the outlines of a physical framework for the universe and a system of categories for acquiring and controlling a certain kind of knowledge that was functionally independent of revealed theology. For Herbert, it operated in essentially the same way; the analogies gave him a framework to explore the interior universe. Bacon and Herbert are both arguing for a distinct field of inquiry with its own rules and laws, but their raw materials and teleological goals both underscore their participation in the same project which they promote by recording their thought experiments on their respective subjects.

What Herbert may be using as a conceit in "Jordan (II)"[1] seems to be a description of the curiously rapid "growth" of matter that results from chemical reaction. The process that the speaker describes, which includes several references to the laboratory which is also a place of prayer (oratory) is a growth in understanding of the difference between truly inspired language and language that is merely gilded, if you will. Additionally, the speaker

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recognizes that the subject of the poetry also describes a transformation in the poet. Such interpretation has been supported widely by scholars. It is, however, quite interesting that Herbert should describe the process in a way that corresponds also to alchemical work, describing the transformation in ways that mark the speaker as an experimenter in a quest that operates allegorically in physical, spiritual, and philosophical discourse. The first stanza relates the speaker's position at the beginning of the experiment and describes the initial operation. By combining the "luster" of "heav'nly joyes" with his lines, the speaker finds that his thoughts take on a grandiose scheme as if of their own accord; they begin "to burnish, sprout, and swell, / Curling with metaphors . . . " (1-4). Gordon Braden notes that these lines do not suggest that Herbert disavows "quaint words" or "trim invention." Instead, Herbert argues that they require something else to make them morally efficacious. The second stanza and part of the third (7-14) describe an operation of an overactive intelligence, eager, to be sure, but whose speed, heat, and racing brain serve only as obstacles to the desired result. However, the experiment is hopelessly flawed because the operator has not prevented a foreign element, in this case coming from the operator himself, from contaminating it, as when he admits, ruefully, "As flames do work and winde, when they ascend, / So did I weave my self into the sense" (13-14). Herbert's speaker cannot help himself; his eagerness is his downfall. He is not dispassionate or objective enough. Fortunately, the speaker recognizes the need for help, and posits the whispering voice of a "friend" to offer the needed advice in the final lines of the poem (15-18).

It is interesting that the speaker of the poem does not describe a completed work, one that actually has been intercepted definitively by the voice of a friend. It is still very much a

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work in progress. The speaker proposes the possibility of advice; advice, significantly that is somehow intuited by the speaker but not yet experienced. It is as if the one who is performing the experiment hopes to be intercepted knowing that by proceeding alone the work cannot succeed but also recognizing that the catalyst for success must come from outside the self, even though the operative language, the recipe, or rules of experiment, have already been received intellectually. The speaker can recite them, but not make them effective on his own. Instead of going to the trouble of seeking to compose lines describing the experience, and by doing so weaving into the pure process foreign elements, "decking the sense, as if it were to sell," it would be well to heed the voice of the whispering friend, who proposes something quite different but more accurate in the long run, merely to "copie out onely that and save expense." Elaborating on the experiment may make it more attractive to potential customers, but the resulting document will not provide a replicable experiment, a real problem for early modern scientists. Techniques of copia may work for rhetorical purposes, but exacting accuracy is more appropriate for describing in scientific poetry, whether the didacticism is for theological or alchemical profit.

Sometimes, as in "Jordan (I)," the problem directly investigated which uses language analogous to science is the genre of poetry that Herbert wants to write:

> Who sayes that fictions onely and false hair
> Become a verse? Is there in truth no beautie?
> Is all good structure in a winding stair?
> May no lines passe, except they do their dutie
> Not to a true, but a painted chair?

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Is it no verse, except enchanted groves

And sudden arbours shadow course-spunne lines?

Must purling streams refresh a lovers loves?

Must all be val'd, while he that reades, divines,

Catching the sense at two removes?

Shepherds are honest people; let them sing:

Riddle who list, for me, and pull for Prime:

I envie no mans nightingale or spring;

Nor let them punish me with losse of rime,

Who plainly say, *My God, My King.*

In "Jordan (I)," the speaker argues for a religious rather than a secular, Petrarchan love object, but also concludes abruptly, though humorously, as does Sidney's very popular Sonnet 1 from *Astrophil and Stella.* In Herbert's poem, however, the speaker sets out to be directly rhetorically persuasive from the beginning. Instead of making the love object, or even the speaker's predicament, the subject of the poem, verse itself is the subject. The speaker in this poem possesses enough self-assurance to present an unusual subject for popular lyrics; instead of secular poetry, he is writing sacred poetry. Like his kinsman, Sidney, Herbert wrote poems about the nature of verse and experimented with genre. However, unlike Sidney, Herbert's poetry does not fit entirely in the category of imitation such as defined by Sidney in his critical treatise, *Apologie for Poetrie*, in which the value of poetry lies in its imitation of the Platonic forms, creating a new thing, which makes the poet a Maker, analogous to God as a Maker. The poetry in *The Temple* reflects Herbert's vocation

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as a theologian and his desire to devote his poetry to religious topics, which led him to develop in his lyric poetry a didactic edge that according to William H. Pahlka includes, but is not completely contained within, Sidney's mimetic definition. Pahlka admits that modern criticism of Herbert's poetry has focused on his rhetorical persuasiveness, what he calls "pragmatic poetry," borrowing from M. H. Abrams's three-fold categories of poetry as pragmatic, expressive, or mimetic (197, cited in Pahlka 4). However, Pahlka wants to focus on Herbert's poetry as mimetic and compares Herbert's poem "Jordan (II)" to Sidney's Sonnet 1 (6-15) to argue that Herbert desires to make God not only "the subject matter of [his] poems, [but also] the substance, the indwelling essence that determines their character as poetry" thus, it is more than pragmatic, it is primarily mimetic (14). My argument differs from Pahlka to the degree that Herbert's poetry always needs to be understood in light of his rhetorical purpose, which I believe is to show that an accurate, enlightened description of his religious experience has didactic value and needs to be expressed in a form that will be attractive and persuasive; it is in short both didactic and mimetic, which I believe is closer to Sidney's own argument. Such a definition of Herbert's poetry in *The Temple* agrees with Bacon's definition of the role of poetry and imagination in the *Advancement*, which insists that poetry always needs to have a clear moral focus, and thus becomes a model for Bacon's natural philosopher over the older classical model of philosopher as mainly contemplative (74).[2]

In seventeenth-century England, poetic genre was still in flux. According to Robert M. Schuler, didactic poems enjoyed enormous popularity in the seventeenth century,

[2] See Gaukroger for a discussion of the connection between Bacon and the circle of Sidneian admirers in the 1580s whose circle was also associated with the Earl of Essex (52-54).

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including those which focused on what is today referred to as scientific processes (8). Herbert's poetry in *The Temple*, whether in a short lyric from "The Church," such as "Jordan (I)," or the two longer poems that frame "The Church," "The Church Porch" and the historical-prophetic "The Church Militant," is of a mainly theological bent, not a proto-scientific one. The power of their conceits, however, frequently hinges on the speaker's obvious appreciation for a cultural perspective that embraces such subjects as the debates between mimetic and didactic poetry and the relative valuation of intellectual pursuits such as natural philosophy and theology.

"Jordan (II)" begins with a series of no less than seven rhetorical questions, beginning with, "Who sayes that fictions onely and false hair / Become a verse?" The argument that unfolds is not that mimetic Petrarchan love poetry is unbecoming, but that truth also possesses its own "beautie" and is an appropriate, decorous subject for verse. Direct didactic poetry, rather than indirect, mimetic poetry also provides good structure for building literary works; in fact, mimetic poetry does its duty at best, to a "painted chair," not a real one. Modern glosses, such as provided countless undergraduates in the *Norton Anthology of British Literature*, frequently note the practice of showing respect to the "chair of grace" reserved exclusively for the monarch (1601n). Another pair of chairs may also have been in Herbert's mind when writing this line: the chairs of Plato used to illustrate the difference between the real, ideal form and derivative replicas.[3] Herbert seems to be conscious of the argument that is leveled against mimetic literature from Plato forward, setting up the

[3] Marvin Morillo finds both meanings in Herbert's poems to take exception to the suggestion that either usage refers to static repose or rest, pointing instead to their use as a means of conveyance, which lends support to the theory that Herbert agrees with the Protestant preference for the active life and Bacon's call for active charity.

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Aristotelian response in the *Poetics*. His argument is noteworthy for its response to literary critical theory such as that found in Sidney's famous *Apology for Poesie*, in which Sidney is hard-pressed to respond to the opposite charge from Puritans like Stephen Gosson that fictional mimetic literature is indecorous, even morally destructive.

Herbert, writing a generation later, takes Sidney's line as now having won the upper hand in the interim; hence, Herbert is obliged to stand his ground on behalf of didactic verse. Herbert's desire is to write poetry quite unlike the other Sidneys, with their penchant for the Romance genre, with its enchanted groves, shady arbors, purling streams that refresh the lovers of the narrative, not to mention the reader, as in Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia* and Mary Wroth's *Urania*. Nor is Herbert interested in exclusively writing purely allegorical verse, such as "shadows course-spun lines / . . . [where all is] val'd, while he that reades, divines, / Catching the sense at two removes" ("Jordan (I)" 7, 9-10), or such as written by Edmund Spenser in the *Faerie Queene*. Within his circle of very sophisticated, highly literate friends and relatives, who read and wrote such works, circulating them amongst themselves in manuscript, Herbert's speaker claims to be in the minority and must protest gently, in the conclusion to "Jordan (I)," "Nor let them punish me for losse of rime / That plainly say, *My God, My King*." Several scholars have made various suggestions regarding the interpretation of the final two lines, which seem to refer to the entire argument, with the word "rime" referring not only to the specific end line technique as it appears in the stanza or even this poem, but the project of versification itself. Herbert's speaker may be protesting here that even as he "envie[s] no mans nightingale or spring" (13), he insists that others respect his verse, too: "Nor let Them punish me with losse of rime, / That plainly say, *My God, My*

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King" (14-15). It has been remarked that the purported plainness is in the syntax, not the meaning, because the argument may revolve around the special relationship between God and the earthly king, who is divinely ordained as absolute monarch and representative of God on earth in his capacity as supreme civil authority and defender of the faith, according to the Stuart dynastic claims. The ambivalence of the final line makes it unclear whether Herbert is arguing for a national church here, or possibly slighting the Stuart monarchical claims by identifying the king with God and not the earthly king.[4] Regardless of one's final judgment of the meaning of this line, Herbert seems to be arguing for the validity of his kind of religious didactic poetry in a culture that is more accustomed to being entertained by lyric poetry of a Petrarchan bent, mimetic, romantic, and light.

With such an argument, Herbert may find a surprising ally in Francis Bacon's *De Augmentis*, according to Robert M. Schuler (*Francis Bacon and Scientific Poetry*). The *De Augmentis* is especially interesting for studying Bacon's theory delineating the categories that structure and separate science from divinity and reason from faith. Chapter 1 of Book 2 defines the three categories of human learning as history, poetry, and philosophy, with poetry as that which relates to the traditional intellectual faculty of imagination (4: 292). Robert M. Schuler notes that Bacon's careful definition of poetry in this section of the *De Augmentis* identifies poetry as verse in style and fictional narrative in form, thereby reducing the subject, like history, to a lesser category than the preeminent category of philosophy and reducing the importance of the verse style as secondary to content (14). Schuler identifies this passage as a self-conscious anxiety on Bacon's part to limit the function of poetry by defining it

[4] See Schoenfeldt for a discussion of Herbert's poetry in relationship with the Stuart monarchy.

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narrowly as narrative, not discursive, and feigning and mimetic, not objective reporting and didactic. Bacon writes in *De Augmentis*:

> The best division of human learning is that derived from the three faculties of the rational soul, which is the seat of learning. History has reference to the Memory, poesy to the Imagination, and philosophy to the Reason. And by poesy here I mean nothing else than feigned history or fables; for verse is but a character of style, and belongs to the arts of speech, whereof I will treat in its proper place. (4: 292)

Schuler observes that Bacon is anxious here to tie poetry's imaginative function to the historical limitations concerning individuals in time and space, so that the category of philosophy (which includes natural philosophy, or what is called science today) resides exclusively at the pinnacle of the pyramid of inductive knowledge, above history and poetry (13). He writes,

> Throughout his philosophical writings, Bacon conceives of human knowledge as a pyramid, the base of which is 'history' or 'experience;' with metaphysic at the penultimate level. The vertical point is the 'summary law of nature,' which though it must be sought may finally be beyond man's capacity. (13-14)

Schuler goes on to note that Bacon later curiously elevates the mimetic value of narrative poetry above even what Aristotle offered in *Poetics*, adding that it becomes quite close to Sidney's position (15). In book 13, Bacon argues that the imaginative faculty used in poetry can provide refreshment to the mind with unexpected, surprising outcomes, providing the

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mind with highly abstract principles of "magnanimity and morality" (15) which, Schuler notes, are of higher abstraction and more universal application than Aristotle's definition of poetry, which was focused on individual speech and action. Moreover, Schuler interprets Bacon's vacillation over poetry's proper place in the hierarchy of human knowledge as "dangerously close" here to Sidney's literary theory in the *Apologie for Poetrie*, which claims that only the poet can join the particular with the universal (as opposed to the philosopher or the historian) (15). Sidney writes:

> Nowe dooth the peerlesse Poet performe both: for whasoeuer the Philosopher sayth shoulde be done, hee giueth a perfect picture of it in some one, by whom hee presupposeth it was doone. So as hee coupleth the generall notion with the particuler example. A perfect picture I say, for hee yeeldeth to the powers of the minde, an image of that whereof the Philosopher bestoweth but a woordish description: which dooth neyther strike, pierce, nor possesse the sight of the soule, so much as that other dooth. (D3^{r})

Schuler writes that Bacon avoids the logical implications of this conclusion "by stressing two aspects of Poesy that are presented as particularly non-rational: its *origins* in the Imagination, and the emotive *responses* it engenders in its readers" (15). Instead, Schuler notes, Bacon prefers to link poetry's "moral efficacy" with the divine, effectively removing it from the human functions that are the provenance of philosophy (15). Bacon writes that since poetry can surpass history's ability to record only what has occurred, which includes perforce the

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flaws and failures of ordinary existence, by creating an ideal out of fiction, it is superior to history, and indeed has a special quality:

> [S]ince true history wearies the mind with satiety of ordinary events, one like another, Poesy refreshes it, by reciting things unexpected and various and full of vicissitudes. So that this Poesy conduces not only to delight but also to magnanimity and morality. Whence it may be fairly thought to partake somewhat of a divine nature; because it raises the mind and carries it aloft, accommodating the shows of things to the desires of the mind, not (like reason and history) buckling and bowing down the mind to the nature of things. (4: 316)

Additionally, Bacon believes that the imagination's capacity for carrying the mind "aloft" makes it also potentially susceptible to error, according to Schuler (15, citing *De Augmentis* 2.13, *Works* 4: 316). Although Bacon allows that the Imagination, as one of the three faculties of the human mind operates between the other two, Reason and the Will, Shuler points out that Bacon does not attribute to the Imagination the " 'deliberative' or 'calculative' function of 'separating' and 'combining' that Aristotle gives it, because these are carried out by Reason (17). Imagination does not distinguish but unites because it is lifting the mind to God, not deliberating about specific individual things, as Herbert says about verse at the conclusion to his poem addressed to God, "The Quidditie:" "But it is that which while I use / I am with thee, and most take all" (11-12).

Bacon's definition of the need and use of poetry, and its breathtaking ability to carry the mind "aloft" in its likeness to the divine nature, along with his concern that it be tested against reason because it lacks the function to distinguish and calculate that reason possesses, is

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consistent with Herbert's understanding of the true value of poetry, despite its limitations to the workaday world described in "The Quidditie." In this poem, Herbert's speaker expresses what verse means for him, through another rhetorical technique of negation, piling on negations to amplify the meaning. It is finally the speaker's way of communicating intimately with God.

My God, a verse is not a crown,
No point of honour, or gay suit,
No hawk, or banquet, or renown,
Nor a good sword, nor yet a lute:
It cannot vault, or dance, or play;
It never was in France or Spain;
Nor can it entertain the day
With my great stable or demain:

It is no office, art, or news,
Nor the Exchange, or busie Hall;
But it is that which while I use
I am with thee, and *most take all.*

The quiddity refers to that essential ingredient in early modern science, but it can also mean a quirk or nicety of argument, quibbling about specious scholastic arguments (*OED,* def. 2). Both meanings provide insight for Herbert's verse; in themselves they are nothing to the outsider, even perhaps to the poet (but then why would he write?), but since it also is that

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essence "which while I use / I am with thee," so verse is a means of being in the company of the divine. Verse then overtakes all the categories in its limitless capacity.

A definition poem of another sort, the often anthologized "Prayer (I)," may also show how Herbert and Bacon may have agreed on the relationship between Reason, Will, and Imagination.

> Prayer the Churches banquet, Angels age,
> Gods breath in man returning to his birth,
> The soul in paraphrase, heart in pilgrimage,
> The Christian plummet sounding heav'n and earth;
> Engine against th' Almightie, sinners towre,
> Reversed thunder, Christ-side-piercing spear,
> The six-daies world transposing in an houre,
> A kinde of tune, which all things heare and feare;
> Softnesse, and peace, and joy, and love, and blisse,
> Exalted Manna, gladnesse of the best,
> Heaven in ordinarie, man well drest,
> The milkie way, the bird of Paradise,
> Church-bels beyond the stares heard, the souls bloud,
> The land of spices; something understood.

What ties the quiddity and prayer together is the One in whom faith is well-placed, and the gift of the breath of life that God provided from the first Adam (2). Just as faith bridged the gap between knowledge and divine revelation in "Divinitie," in "Faith," it possesses some

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mysterious quality that bonds it with an operation of the soul; this quality is so far beyond the limits of natural science as to amaze logic (49-50):

Lord, how couldst thou so much appease
Thy wrath for sinne as, when mans sight was dimme,
And could see little, to regard his ease,
And bring by Faith all things to him?

Hungrie I was, and had no meat:
I did conceit a most delicious feast;
I had it straight, and did as truly eat,
As ever did a welcome guest.

There is a rare outlandish root,
Which when I could not get, I thought it here:
That apprehension cur'd so well my foot,
That I can walk to heaven well neare.

I owed thousands and much more:
I did beleeve that I did nothing owe,
And liv'd accordingly, my creditor
Beleeves so too, and lets me go.

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Faith makes me any thing, or all

That I beleeve is in the sacred storie:

And where sinne placeth me in Adams fall,

Faith sets me higher in his glorie.

If I go lower in the book,

What can be lower than the common manger?

Faith puts me there with him, who sweetly took

Our flesh and frailtie, death and danger.

If blisse had lien in art or strength,

None but the wise or strong had gained it:

Where now by Faith all arms are of a length;

One size doth all conditions fit.

A peasant may beleeve as much

As a great Clerk, and reach the highest stature.

Thus dost thou make proud knowledge bend & crouch,

While grace fills up uneven nature.

When creatures had no reall light

Inherent in them, thou didst make the sunne

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Impute a lustre, and allow them bright;

And in this shew, what Christ hath done.

That which before was darkned clean

With bushie groves, pricking the lookers eie,

Vanisht away, when Faith did change the scene:

And then appear'd a glorious skie.

What though my bodie runne to dust?

Faith cleaves unto it, counting evr'y grain

With an exact and most particular trust,

Reserving all for flesh again.

For Herbert, as for Bacon, poetry and theology have an operation available to them that is not appropriate to the operations of natural philosophy, or science. Just as in line 32, "grace fills up uneven nature" whereby a "peasant can beleeve as much / As a great Clerk, and reach the highest stature" (lines 29-30), so there is "something understood" about prayer ("Prayer" 14) that cannot be reduced to the processes of human activity. This does not mean that Herbert did not appreciate the operations appropriate to the work of human philosophy, as Bacon delineated it in *De Augmentis*. On the contrary, the two men found their work complementary, not mutually exclusive, and for Herbert's part, at least, found the scientific method Bacon was promoting to be useful tools for testing his own vocation as priest and poet.

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Charles Whitney's presentation of Bacon's mixing of contemporary genres is useful for explaining Bacon's extraordinary success at retaining the traditional spiritual emotional and cultural associations that give his work such intense value for his contemporaries and cause for alarm among those who see his position as insidious. For example, according to Whitney, Bacon's secularization of the genre of prophecy as developed in the *Instauratio Magna*, "attempts to generate a vision of the world from its lower to its upper limits in the context of a sacred myth, and to reveal the reader's place and task within that world," rather like other important worlds in literature, such as those found in "*The Divine Comedy*, *The Faerie Queene*, *Paradise Lost*, and *Ulysses*" (44-45). Significantly, Whitney finds a correlation between Bacon's sweeping philosophy of science and *fictional* literary worlds, even as he goes on to argue that Bacon's project effectively demythologizes Solomon's Temple for secular use. In fact, Bacon's own fictional world, the unfinished *New Atlantis*, provides the reader with an extended example of Bacon's use of the imagination in writing a work of prose fiction. W. A. Sessions recommends that the main characters in the work be thought of as representing two modes of Bacon, the "Father of Salomon's House" and the narrator, while the reader is "the convert eagerly asking questions" (150). Such a reading recognizes the subjectivity that is at work in the fiction.

Although scholars have often noticed definition variances for imagination and the role of poetry in Bacon's many works, and have even recognized tensions between conflicting definitions between books within the *De Augmentis*, no explanation for these differences has been entirely satisfactory. For one thing, scholars are usually focused on untangling the content of Bacon's early modern philosophy of science. However, it does seem reasonable that such

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differences may be attributed to the work of translators who had a stake in the definitions themselves. If Herbert did translate the greatly expanded two-book *Advancement of Learning* into the Latin *De Augmentis*, then the tortured nuances regarding the role of poetry and imagination between Books 2 and 4 would make sense. The issues covered in *De Augmentis*, as categorized in the relationship between history, poetry, and philosophy mattered to him. Moreover, Herbert has shown himself to be a strong editor and classical scholar, someone who takes up the role with great skill and professional care and who sets about the task of translator with a religious zeal, able to hold his own in a debate over the definitions presented here.

It seems significant that both Herbert and Bacon demonstrate a genuine interest in the metrical arrangement of didactic literature, given their widely divergent areas of primary interest. In fact, one place where the two share an overlapping professional interest is within the scope of what is known currently as "Scientific Poetry." This kind of poetry has often survived only in manuscript, which it has been Schuler's task to publish in a scholarly edition in 1979. According to Schuler, the concerns of this kind of verse are not primarily poetic, but pragmatic. The verse form is often just a mnemonic device. For Bacon, certainly, this seems more apparent in his psalm translations than it is in Herbert's poetry. Bacon is more comfortable in prose, and his *New Atlantis*, a work of fiction literature, may be a better clue as to what he thought of the moral value of mimetic literature. For a poet as skilled as Herbert, on the other hand, didactic purposes can be expressed in mimetic forms of poetry, as the three sections in *The Temple* clearly demonstrate. Herbert's desire to use his lyric poetry for didactic purposes may help to explain the tripartite architectural organizing principle of the work as a unified whole. The three sections of *The Temple* are "The Church Porch," a

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poem written in seventy-six sestets; a liminal section (pardon the pun) of two quatrains called the "Superliminare," which precedes the second major section, "The Church," in which most of Herbert's more celebrated poems of the recent past are located, concluding with FINIS, followed by another liminal text, this time the short Gloria from Luke 2; and finally "The Church Militant," a poem of 179 lines, and a third and final short lyric "L'Envoy," followed by a benediction honoring the Trinity and another FINIS. Not all scholars accept the idea that Herbert designed a tripartite structure for *The Temple*. Although some scholars have unsuccessfully tried to find an exactly patterned architectonic for the work, others believe that Herbert may not have intended "The Church Militant" to be part of *The Temple* at all (John David Walker). According to David Reid, although Herbert's little collection of poems is intensely focused on the interior life of the individual, curiously, it is nonetheless, experienced by readers as highly social (131). I believe that one of the ways Herbert accomplishes this ecclesiological teaching is the tripartite form and the space-time consciousness that pervades it. Anne Marie Myers has argued recently that early modern architectural treatises discuss the constructed object under discussion as texts to be read. By turning the theory of the early modern period as a visual culture on its head, she interprets early modern architecture as a metaphor for narrative art. Myers recommends Herbert's "Church-Porch" as one example of her theory. After pointing out that Herbert was known during his lifetime to be interested in the physical restoration of churches as well as the spiritual building up of the community of faith (Dyck 241, cited in Myers 154), she concludes, "[i]t is not the poetry which polemically reshapes the material church, but the material church which shapes and completes Herbert's poetry." (154). Myers shows that

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Herbert's "Church Porch" plays an important didactic function for the volume as a whole, providing the kind of textual space for social needs that a medieval and early modern church porch would have provided, blending the sacred and secular aspects of community life. Some of these purposes include the posting of marriage bans and other community legal notices and pedagogical instruction by the priest of parish children, but that is not all. Citing Walker and Chana Bloch, she explains that in addition to providing a spatial juncture, Herbert's "Church Porch" provides a "juncture between two kinds of time. In the "Church Porch." Myers believes "Biblical time meets English time," because the only time that the word "porch" is used in the KJV, it refers to the Temple of Solomon (159-60), among which metaphorical images one can surely agree is that of the English national church. As part of the didactic function of the church, the church porch is the place where "moral, social, and religious responsibilities were taught, performed, monitered and enforced" (181).

If the "Church Porch" takes the individual and places him in a space where social and religious spaces meet, the further into text one is might mean the more committed not only the speaker is but also the reader, which is in fact, what many read in a flexible interpretation of the "The Church." However, what is one to make of the "Church Militant?" In this poem the space is nothing less than the globe and time is viewed from all of salvation history. It is a "God's-eye-view," so to speak, and like the Hebrew prophet, the speaker in the poem warns that the current understanding of history appears to be drawing to its conclusion and America is poised to receive the next stage of "Religion's" peregrinations.

A strongly didactic element may thus be claimed for of Herbert's *The Temple*. Moreover, a similar claim to that made by Myers regarding Herbert's "Church Porch" could

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be made for Bacon's imaginative fiction, *New Atlantis*, especially Bacon's Salomona's House and those who work there. Like the Church of England, Bacon's fictional revered "Fathers" belong to a physical institution of high purpose and ceremony. The imposing entrances are much like medieval triumphs or early modern royal visitations in their bid for the spectacular. Indeed, just as the Christian priesthood is preceded and validated by the venerable Jewish patriarchs of the Hebrew scriptures, so, too, is Bacon's. Although modern Bacon scholars such as Jerry Weinberger and Adrian Johns tend to focus on how Bacon's utopian community is designed to put powerful knowledge in the hands of very few, the model from which he works is primarily the royal court and the ecclesial hierarchy of the (increasingly Laudian) Church of England, with something of the international reputation of the early modern Roman Curia added to the mix. Herbert and Bacon have used didactic literary form to bring to fruition their respective vocations in service to the state.

It must be seen by now that Herbert's interest in rhetoric and language goes far beyond the closely drawn genre of the brief religious lyric poetry for which he is most often remembered today. According to Robert M. Schuler, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, literary critics of the English Renaissance took up the Italian humanist arguments regarding the validity of mimetic and didactic uses of poetry that had been developed in Aristotle's *Poetics* and received attention in England as offering an alternative theory of genre criticism beyond merely identifying the genre with the subject of the work ("Francis Bacon and Scientific Poetry" 7). Schuler points out that Herbert's influential kinsman, Sir Philip Sidney, for example, had expressed strong opinions against identifying clearly didactic works on subjects of natural philosophy as poetry, even though they may follow regular

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meter (7). Herbert, however, tries his hand at writing poetry written for many different exigencies and purposes. In *The Temple* the poetry is divided into three main parts: "The Church Porch," which is primarily didactic; "The Church," which is primarily mimetic, and "The Church Militant," which is historical and prophetic. Furthermore, each of these three parts is written to a different primary audience: the first is written to a single individual who is not the speaker, in a tone that is familiar, like the counsel of an ideal older brother. The collection of loosely correlated lyrics for which Herbert is more currently celebrated, "The Church," is primarily mimetic, although even here, the morally instructive mode predominates, albeit in an indirect way. "The Church Militant," which concludes *The Temple* as Ferrar would have it published, has been problematic for modern scholars who think that originally Herbert meant it to stand apart from the other poems that make up *The Temple*. Its historical-narrative format provides for the "British Church" a complete history, tying it to apostolic and patristic origins that minimize Roman Catholicism, and argue for a continually Westward movement of the Spirit of God, ready to take the next good step across the Atlantic, in highly provocative language that, according to Walton, almost didn't pass the censors, when originally published (315). In each of these three sections of the published *Temple*, Herbert demonstrates a lively interest in experimenting with verse forms, genres, and subjects. Moreover, these poems illustrate in their rhetorical persuasiveness the role of poet as priest and prophet, which his cousin, Sir Philip Sidney, had argued as the proper vocation of the elevated calling of the poet. Furthermore, it seems plausible that Herbert develops his understanding of his role as poet vis-à-vis the larger contemporary discussions about poetry that include the definitions of poetry according to the categories of human

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knowledge as defined in Bacon's *De Augmentis*, particularly in regards to the value of didactic poetry. Although Herbert and Bacon were of quite differing interests, their talents and interests were complementary, if not collaborative, and their respect for one another's contributions to literature and society proved lasting.

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Chapter VI:

Language and the Function of Poetry

In previous chapters I have presented evidence for an alternative reading of Herbert's poetry that would highlight his appreciation of natural history, natural philosophy, and active charity according to Bacon's social redefinition of the term. In this final chapter, I wish to turn the attention to another significant feature of Herbert's poetry, his appreciation for emblem literature, and as an offshoot of that popular form, the idea of the word as hieroglyph, as an enigmatic tool to vex the soul into discovering ethical and religious meaning.[1] This theme so richly evident in Herbert's poetry and imitated by his admirers in the seventeenth century has been discussed amply by many scholars including Joseph Summers and Barbara Lewalski. More recently, based on Herbert's interest in the emblem and hieroglyph Martin Elsky has argued that Herbert's poetry reveals a very different conception of language from that held by Bacon. It is to this consideration that I will turn in the concluding pages.

Martin Elsky sees Herbert's use of language as "suspended between Adamic Hebrew and Babel, often in painful awareness of the gap between the human and divine word" (159). Elsky presents Bacon's conception of language as antithetical to Herbert's in that he believes that Bacon "makes the subjectivity issues words their only authorizing agent" (183). In building his argument, he writes about Herbert's participation in the Renaissance hieroglyphic pattern poem, argues that "[s]uch a view holds that language is a thing in the world like other things; its physical properties – spatiality, visibility, audibility – are tied to

[1] For an introduction to emblem literature see Peter M. Daly.

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the spiritual significance of its referents and even possess similar ontological status as other material things" (157). As demonstrated in chapter three, the poem "Frailtie" does indeed reveal "the gap between the human and divine word," but Herbert's focus is not on the words as real things but on the speaker's desire for them to be real, a magical wish that is balanced by an equally magical fear. The speaker, thinking to bypass the error of naming on trust, finds in the second stanza that he is also misled by his own attempts at premature naming and in the third stanza wants the problem to be resolved through aggressive divine intervention, without language at all. A weak or immature use of language is seen as a potentially dangerous problem on either side of the equation, but Herbert's witty depiction of the projected consequences of moving from dust to literal tower is a splendidly constructed, theatrical artifice, designed perhaps to amuse as well as teach a moral lesson.

In another of Herbert's poems regarding the social use of language, "Employment (II)," may well have been occasioned by Herbert's genial speaker offering his comfortable seat near the fire to another (78-9):

> He that is weary, let him sit.
> My soul would stirre
> And trade in courtesies and wit,
> Quitting the furre
> To cold complexions needing it.
> Man is no starre, but a quick coal
> Of mortall fire:
> Who blows it not, nor doth control

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A faint desire,

Lets his own ashes choke his soul.

When th' elements did for place contest

With him, whose will

Ordain'd the highest to be the best;

The earth sat still,

And by the others is opprest.

Life is a businesse, not good cheer;

Ever in warres.

The sunne still shineth there or here,

Whereas the stares

Watch an advantage to appeare.

Oh, that I were an Orenge-tree,

That busie plant!

Then should I ever laden be,

And never want

Some fruit for him that dressed me.

But we are still too young or old;

The Man is gone,

Before we do our wares unfold:

So we freeze on,

Untill the grave increase our cold.

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The relationship between language and work is always of interest to Herbert. In this poem, as contrasted for example with "The Quidditie," the speaker treats "courtesies and wit" as something that he needs must "trade in" (3). His vocation demands stirring about in the business of life, and the speaker muses he would prefer to be one of the fashionable orange trees now being grown in hothouses in England. Moreover, the speaker expresses a matter theory by way of explanation for his decision to move on. As a very mortal, temporary coal of heat, quite unlike the fixed stars, the human must blow the fire hot, for it will cool suddenly and the ashes will choke the soul. Bacon's idea of the various stages of earthly life as inherently hot or cold also makes an appearance in the final stanza. What is needed, but often not present, is a man in his prime to do the work. Ever ready to provide fruit for the husbandman he would serve, he ties his language to the purpose of vocation and matter theory that Bacon describes in *De Augmentis*. Altogether this poem is a remarkable treatment of Herbert's vocational philosophy; at turns pragmatic, humorous, serious, and decisive, it nonetheless functions via the simplest language, incorporating complex speculative philosophy into ethical practice.

Other poems in Herbert's collection make use of another, circular motif to express the behaviors and attitudes that are not productive for good. Martin Elsky believes that the three poems "Sinnes round," "A Wreath," and "Grief" show Herbert expressing a specific viewpoint regarding the inherent significance of words that radically differs from Bacon's. According to Elsky these poems exemplify Herbert's identification of words as ideally "inextricably and intrinsically related to their referents," which he believes is opposite to the position held by Bacon in the *De Augmentis* (173). To solidify his position, Elsky points to

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Herbert's pattern poems, such as "The Altar," which serves as a visual pictogram whose central image is simultaneously being evoked in the meaning of the lines of the poem. Much fine scholarship has been devoted to illuminating the way Herbert has assimilated and furthered the hieroglyphic traditions of Renaissance emblem literature. According to Joseph H. Summers' seminal study, Herbert's use of poetry as a "hieroglyph" was exceedingly both "abstract and ambiguous," with a complexity that is "far removed from the practice of the emblematists" (125-26). What is so remarkable about Herbert's hieroglyphic poetry for Summers is Herbert's ability to transcend the rather flattening effect that emblem literature so often produces. The sudden insight that comes from finally unraveling a hitherto hidden meaning in one of Herbert's poems rarely depletes the enjoyment that had been building in excitement of the hunt. I agree with Elsky insofar as he recognizes the power of Herbert's poetry to produce this sudden recognition of the transcendent in *The Temple*. However, to identify Herbert's philosophical belief with a technique that he masters in his poems would require too exact an identification between the argument of the poems and the patterns evoked or created because Herbert is not satisfied with stopping at the hieroglyphic level of meaning, as is evidenced in his many different kinds of poetic expression in the collection of *The Temple*.

Moreover, Elsky's interpretation does not give the ludic element, so prominent in Herbert's poetry, its due. Anna K. Nardo has written on this very engaging quality of Herbert's poetry, which fulfills the rhetorician's goal to teach even in the process of delighting by balancing serious themes with a lightness of tone as well as, quite often, a disarmingly simple vocabulary and meter. Nardo, building upon the seminal work by Johan

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Huizinga, *Homo Ludens*, writes that often Herbert's "most productive work is indistinguishable from play" (80). She states that through games played with the indwelling "human conception of God" that inhabits Herbert's poetic speakers, "Herbert gains greater freedom and integrates, even expands, his self" (80). By engaging "agonistically" with the God within, the speaker develops a productive way for Herbert "to define and assert his self" (81). I might add, the play described in the poems allows Herbert's speakers the opportunity to reject the Idols of the Cave, detach from their human tendency to obsess over the temporal experiences which they describe and to find a way out of an otherwise endless cycle of error and psychological suffering.

As seen in "Employment (II)," Herbert consistently seeks to be freed from the endless fruitlessness of inactivity. The circularity or cyclicality of the closed system that is practiced in the hieroglyphs is not for him; they claim a "consuming" identification between the word and its referent, to use Stanley Fish's expression.[2] This agonistic position can be seen clearly in "Sinnes round" and "Jordan (II)," not only in the titles, but also in the conflict described and bemoaned by the speaker. Instead of praising such identification, Herbert aligns it with the false pride of the alchemists and the builders of Babel, the very figures that Bacon chastises for hindering learning's advancement.

On the other hand, another one of Herbert's more celebrated hieroglyphic pattern poems, "The Altar," provides not only the structural element it describes, being written in the shape of an altar, but also shows how the coded shape is to be interpreted as an ongoing

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[2]See Stanley E. Fish's *Self-Consuming Artifacts: The Experience of Seventeenth-Century Literature*. For Fish, Herbert's poetry is dialectic, whereas Bacon's philosophical project is rhetorical. Instead of radically purging the mind, which is Herbert's agenda, Bacon wishes to control it (155).

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sacrifice of praise, not of human effort, but of created nature in response to the Creator. Herbert's speaker has erected a structure that is consistent with the rules of Jewish law in that its elements are not fashioned by human artifice or design, but by the speaker's Lord. Unlike the ancient altars of Judaism or the outlawed altars and Mass of Catholicism, however, this one is not designed for performing ongoing physical sacrifices as performed in the Old Testament or to reenact the sacrifice of the Mass. It is a metaphorical altar of psalmic praise, such as is expressed in the very next poem, the longest in the section of "The Church," titled "The Sacrifice." Written in a style reminiscent of the traditional Good Friday reproaches, this poem refashions the events of the crucifixion into a Protestant devotion. As in "The Altar," the efficacy of the desired exchange between the speaker and the object of devotion is completed and eternized by the textual record once it is made holy (sanctified) by God. Herbert's hieroglyphic images are displaced and refashioned in an intentionally marked way by the conscious design of the poet who is making the art. It is not then idolized as a golden calf, but understood as metaphorical, with the sophisticated distinction marked also in Bacon's use of metaphor.

Perhaps the distinction that Herbert makes between the emblem, the speaker, and the reader, is clearer in that other pattern poem, "Easter-wings," in which Herbert's speaker expresses a desire to take flight soaring with the risen Christ like the larks of spring. In this lovely poem, the visual image is created by twin stanzas of ten lines each, which progressively diminish in length until reaching their fourth and fifth lines, only to expand to their full length by the end. Although the poem was written horizontally, it was printed

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vertically in early editions, as Hutchinson explains in his opening footnote on the poem (*Works* 43), further heightening the effect of two soaring larks.

Lord, who createdst man in wealth and store,
Though foolishly he lost the same,
Decaying more and more,
Till he became
Most poore:
With thee
O let me rise
As larks, harmoniously,
And sing this day thy victories:
Then shall the fall further the flight in me.

My tender age in sorrow did beginne:
And still with sicknesses and shame
Thou didst so punish sinne,
That I became
Most thinne.
With thee
Let me combine
And feel this day thy victorie:

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For, if I imp my wing on thine,

Affliction shall advance the flight in me.

As in so many of Herbert's poems, the title explains the action. By creating a title, Herbert has edited a meaning that is named, but is most unlike the Adamic naming of collapsed identification that was theorized by the Neo-platonists of the early Renaissance. Instead, Herbert's titling is the modern editor's naming of recognition as an analytical act, making meaning from carefully observed and reflected experience, adopting the impresa of emblem literature to create an aphorism in the mind of the reader that will encourage the reader to tease out its meanings. John R. Roberts explains that often Herbert's titles are words that do not appear in the poem itself, and sometimes offer multiple meanings, as in the punning title "The Collar." Although the words "Easter-Wings," do not appear in the poem, their form does, which provides a further lesson on the nature of Christian transformation. In the poem, the speaker asks for permission metaphorically: "With thee / O let me rise / as larks, harmoniously, / And sing this day thy victories" (9); and again, "With thee / Let me combine / And feel this day thy victorie" (16-18) by "imp[ing] my wing on thine" (19). The intellectual and aesthetic satisfaction achieved through the complex conceits that respect both the distinct nature of the speaker and the historically completed act of the victorious Lord as understood by the soteriology held by Herbert's church simply do not work in either a literal or allegorical interpretation. Instead, the text provides two alternative ways to appreciating the mystery of the Resurrection and the speaker's faith response to it. In the first stanza, the method is music, such as two larks would sing as they rise together "harmoniously" (6-9). The adverb interestingly modifies not the verb "sing" but "rise." After citing in the third

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person what amounts to general creedal statements about creation, the fall of humanity through sin, and the gradual decay of creation as a result, the speaker experiences the desired personal reaction in line six, with the desire to be in harmony with the rising action of the Resurrection. Helen Vendler suggests that this first stanza is merely conventional in its sentiment; all the felt personal involvement that makes the poem memorable comes in the second stanza, which continues in the first person, tying the beginning of the poem and the beginning of creation together in an acknowledgement of the effects of original sin, this time not just given lip service, but personally felt. Rising is no longer just a desire to be in harmony with the Resurrected one, like two larks in triumphant song, but the action of the one strong one, who carries the weight of the sin-weakened speaker. The difference, as Vendler notes, is in recognizing the potential advantage that affliction can paradoxically offer through the passion, death, and Resurrection event of Easter. Easter-wings are now desired by the speaker, not simply as a creedal response to the "happy fault," but as an earnestly desired change in being, by which even, and especially, the affliction of felt shame and punishment for personal sin can serve a remarkably positive purpose, to "advance the flight in me" (20). From acknowledging what the corporate body believes to acknowledging the truth of that faith statement from personal experience, the significance of the Resurrection is given new meaning for this poem, as well as for the speaker.

Although Martin Elsky is right to point out the significance of the hieroglyphic tradition for Herbert's poetry, his interpretation of Herbert's pattern poems such as "Easter-Wings" overstates the case for Herbert's use of hieroglyphic language as indicating an identification between the metaphors, patterns, and title produced on the page. Just as Bacon

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does not wish to participate in misleading language that collapses the alchemical process of matter into a metaphysical identification with spiritual reality, Herbert very carefully does not close the final link of identification in this pattern. Thus, Summers' account of Herbert's poetry as transcending the emblem literature it resembles and retaining its ambiguous quality, is more convincing than Elsky's. Elsky argues that where Herbert creates a pattern (wings) he is at his least authorial: "In both "The Altar" and "Easter Wings," the spatial, hieroglyphic form amounts to the poet's disavowal of the poem as his own. The hieroglyph exists as a local manifestation of a visually conceived text prior to the poet's expression of his mental or spiritual state" (157). However, Herbert's images remain discrete and distinctively original from that of most, highly organized poetic writing. While it is the didactic function of the poem to lead the reader to want to make the right associations, the various images do not get mixed together in a "double process of reification and substitution," as Vickers characterizes Paracelsus' unfortunate mistake (127). Although they come so close as to seem to be able to be grafted or "imp[ed]" on one another, as Herbert's speaker exquisitely describes the desired process, the reader sees the parts of the puzzle in order to make an intellectual, theorized connection, but not one which has obtained the cabalistic "status of symbolic Hebrew" (154).

Martin Elsky believes that Herbert's poetry reflects "a strain of Renaissance interest in the material underpinnings of language in written letters and spoken sounds. . . where the printed word as visual image combines with the esoteric Cabalist doctrine of the word as symbolic object, the written marks of language take on an ontological status of their own, which to some extent guarantees their power of signification" (148-49). Elsky further ties this version of hieroglyphic writing to the "typological symbols that project the prophecy of

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Christ across time" (149) and argues that "for Herbert space is the sacred medium of divinely created shapes to which his hieroglyphic poems ideally aspire – wallowing in linguistic mire when they do not fulfill that aspiration" (179).

While Elsky's argument seems reasonable insofar as it agrees with the general recognition that Herbert delighted in the Renaissance habit of making as many connections between the object and the word as possible, amplifying correlations between words and things by the skillful use of metaphorical language, analogies, emblems, and some pattern poems (148). However, Herbert does not depend upon these relationships; he uses them as he uses other tools in his poetry. *The Temple* is a virtual sampler of poetic experiments. While it includes some pattern poems and some poems possess a strong emblematic referent, he also incorporates parabolic styles of alchemical literature and Petrarchan love poems as well as emblem literature with and without clear hieroglyphic patterns. He places high value on play and entertainment, simplicity as well as high style; he celebrates natural history as revealing the second book of God as well as praising the mysteries of the "Eternal Word," both in the written book and as second person of the Trinity.

Just as Herbert plays with the limitations of space in his pattern poems to show how God's grace can transform everything, even the individual adult self, he also plays with the limitations of time, showing how God's grace has transformed that as well. Many of the poems in *The Temple* address the concept of providential time, in its manifestation of the liturgical calendar and the life cycle of the individual, for example, but significantly for the purposes of this argument, he also wants to show that Britain is the place where the devout Solomonic kinship of James I's monarchy could realize the hopes of apocalyptic time, and

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the British state church remains the locus of his vocation throughout his career as a priest. Herbert, like Bacon, is hopeful but aware that the period in which they live is a liminal one for the kingdom. Herbert's final section of *The Temple* is prophetic in his concern that Britain may well miss her appointment, for "Religion stands on tip-toe in our land, / Readie to passe to the American strand" once time's measure is full (235-36). The signs are there, Herbert the prophet is clearly warning. Moreover, one should take into consideration the genre that *The Temple* was published as imitating: a prayer book that builds on the models set by books of hours in the mid-late sixteenth century. Like other Protestant devotional texts, it is true that *The Temple* emphasizes the primacy of the word rather than image. However, even though Elsky is right to draw the connection between the cabalistic view of language and the Protestant emphasis on the word, I believe that the sheer quantity of lyric styles demonstrated in *The Temple* appears to me to weaken a narrow theory of Herbert's poetry for any one kind.

Elsky's interpretation of Herbert's pattern poems tends to draw too crude a distinction between the two men's treatment of the use of didactic writing more generally, for their shared project, which was the promotion of the British nation, with its monarchical system and state institutions. Elsky does show that Bacon is by far more eager to see himself as a published author in his lifetime and takes great interest in having his works published and in spreading his influence through the quantity and scope of his writing. In this, too, Elsky clarifies important distinctions between ways the two men approach writing, authorship, and audience. However, these can be at least partially explained as differences in personality, physical health, longevity, and the differences in the scope of influence that belonged to their

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respective official positions. On the other hand, the two men share at least two more literary affinities that are not often recognized as important to understanding their literary work or thought: Bacon's willingness to rewrite the classic myths to speak new truths and his admiration for aphorisms can also be seen in Herbert's poetry, and which has been discussed in chapter four.

Although in "Sinnes Round" Herbert's speaker is trapped in a form of circular repetition that is oppressive, repetition in "A Wreath" offers a different kind of circularity, which George Klawitter describes as a winding garland that moves not only on a two-dimensional plane but vertically as well, a "rope of greenery" (18). This is so, Klawitter argues, because line five suddenly intervenes in what had heretofore promised to be simply repetitive; that is the speaker, suddenly confronted with mortality, recognizes that the way of life is decisively straight; human life in the Christian tradition is linear, not circular. Klawitter compares the wreath that becomes a crown of praise to the classic crown of bays whose for a prize-winning poet (18). Furthermore, Klawitter finds significant the fact that the ends of the poetic crown do not quite meet (18). If Klawitter means to imply that the poet is self-servingly acknowledging an achievement that is voluntarily passed to God as the one who is the ultimate source, then the poet seeks to provide in place of this comparatively temporal "wreathed garland of deserved praise" something of real worth that originates in the one who is "more farre above deceit, / Then deceit seems above simplicitie" (7-8). The deceit uncovered in this poem is the temporary self-delusion of the speaker. What was originally thought to be a laudable act of creative self-giving is recognized as merely an example of self-serving after all. Reminiscent of "Jordan (II)," this speaker has discovered to

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his dismay that he has been merely "weaving self into the sense" once again. To his credit, the speaker immediately drops this tactic of trying to convince the other of his "deserved praise," and instead of seeking to give praise, now seeks to receive, as prerequisite for living rather than dying, the gift of simplicity from the one who really deserves the praise.

A wreathed garland of deserved praise,
Of praise deserved, unto thee I give,
I give to thee, who knowest all my wayes,
My crooked winding wayes, wherein I live,
Wherein I die, not live: for life is straight,
Straight as a line, and ever tends to thee,
To thee, who art more farre above deceit,
Then deceit seems above simplicitie.
Give me simplicitie, that I may live,
So live and like, that I may know, thy wayes,
Know them and practice them: then shall I give
For this poore wreath, give thee a crown of praise.

Martin Elsky argues that the poem not only weaves a garland, but it also "consistently dismantles" it, transforming what began as a matter-of-fact act on the part of a speaker who appears to be in control of self and praiseworthy into a series of "subjunctive, conditional, and future forms. The poet comes to envision the achievement and efficacy of his praise somewhere outside the poem" (166). This is quite true. It is also what Fish says is essentially Bacon's agenda for action in this life. Instead of depending on common sense as

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a fourth faculty of the mind (in addition to the faculties of reason, imagination, and passion), which Bacon could have adopted as it was a commonplace in the seventeenth century, Fish makes the telling point in the concluding footnote to his chapter on Bacon, that Bacon eliminates it from his categories of the intellect, because Bacon really does want to "hobble" the mind. Wallace writes, "Bacon . . . appears to have assumed that there were ultimate modes of being . . . and that they organized man's object world quite apart from him" (155, qtd. in Fish 155). Thus, Fish concludes that the inductive method is really designed to "filter out a variable, and that variable is *you*" (155). Essentially, Bacon's inductive method requires the kind of self awareness and discipline that cuts through the circularity of the first quatrain of Herbert's poem, "The Wreath." Just as line five in Herbert's poem abruptly halts the process of the self-gratifying but false praise to start the process over on a different plane of authentic praise, Bacon wants the natural philosopher to recognize and cut short the self-gratifying but fruitless behaviors in which he has been engaged (the Idols of the Mind) and look objectively at the subject under investigation that lies beyond his preconceived frame of reference, which is tied inevitably to the self and cannot provide the needed information to produce the crown of praise. For "the glory of the Creator" is the ultimate goal of the inductive process, according to Bacon; progress in improving the human condition is only the operation. He writes in the *Advancement*:

> But the greatest Error of all the rest, is the mistaking or misplacing of the last or furthest end of knowledge: for men haue entred into a desire of Learning and knowledge . . . seldome sincerely to giue a true account of their guift of reason, to the benefite and vse of men: As if there were

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> sought in knowledge a Cowch, whereupon to rest a searching and restlesse spirite. . . and not a rich Store-house for the glorie of the Creator, and the reliefe of Man's estate. But this is that, which will indeed dignifie and exalt knowledge; if contemplation and action may be more neerely and straightly conioyned and vnited together, than they have been; a Coniunction like vnto that of the two highest Planets, Saturne the Planet of rest and contemplation; and Iupiter the Planet of ciuile societie and action. (31-32)

To the same end, Bacon and Herbert agree that the first step is to stop and recognize that "common sense" is not a real category, and that in order to really progress, a new perspective is required. In "The Wreath," the speaker recognizes that focusing on the self is not praise. Three times the speaker attempts to praise God. The first attempt ends in defeat because it began in self. The second attempt ends in the hope of transformation because the speaker enacts the act of repentance. The third time completes the poem, ending with its desired object fulfilled, to "give thee a crown of praise." This attempt is successful because it began in petition for what is really appropriate to the speaker's need: "Give me simplicitie [so] that I may live . . . like . . . know . . . practice . . . give [back]" (9-12).

Elsky concludes his interpretation of Herbert's poem "A Wreath" by declaring that "the space of the poem has been emptied of its power to make words signify. What remains in that space is the detritus of a would-be language" (166). However, the fact of the poem's survival with its complex structure and encrypted meaning seems to belie this observation, because instead of a heap of dust, a self-consumed artifact, or a burnt bush, the reader finds a

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curious thing indeed: the record of a very structured whole in the form of a poem that has successfully completed the induction process and has been transformed, or to use Herbert's term in *The Country Parson,* "reduced" (*Works* 225). The significance of the didactic quality of Herbert's poetry is simply underrated in Elsky's paradigm. Sean McDowell explores in his article, "Herbert's Appeal to the Passions" how Herbert participates in the seventeenth-century use of rhetorical concepts of *ethos*, *enargia*, and *energia* as means of moving the passions to teach his audience in *The Temple* (78). By creating a speaker whose character is "personable, questioning, passionate, well-meaning, good-hearted, caring, and for the most part, honest" (68), developing a "visualization" of "dramatic intensity," and presenting the narrative with "stylistic energy" (69), Herbert creates strong bonds of identification and emotional appeal that encourage the reader to ponder the message enfolded in the poems of "The Church." Not only are the explicitly didactic prose treatise *A Country Parson* and the long poem at the beginning of *The Temple*, "Church Porch," teaching texts, but the imaginative poems of "The Church" are implicitly so, as well. Herbert uses his rhetorical skills, the popular literary features of emblem literature, and the familiar structure of the prayer book to extend his "catechesis," to use Fish's term.

According to Walton, Herbert anticipated on his deathbed that his collection could become a book that would serve as an avenue for extending his usefulness, and he takes the time before dying to entrust the poems to be delivered to Ferrar for possible publishing (314). The poems, some of which were probably written even before he was ordained as priest, and long after his priestly function ended at death, become a teaching tool, an arm of his vocation as priest, joining the contemplative and active aspects of his life. To use a couplet from the

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"Church Porch" that McDowell notes was often quoted in the seventeenth century, Herbert hopes that "A verse may finde him, who a sermon flies, / And turn delight into a sacrifice" (5-6, qtd. in McDowell 65).

Bacon saw in Herbert someone who embodied those elements of the Orpheus myth that Bacon identified with the goal of philosophy. John C. Briggs carefully notes that Bacon's use of poetry in book two of the *De Augmentis* allows for the possibility that imaginative fiction combines the biblical and Orphic functions of narrative, because "it raises the mind and carries it aloft, accommodating the shows of things to the desires of the mind, not (like reason and history) buckling and bowing down the mind to the nature of things" (2. 315-36). As Briggs would have it, "[p]oetry's power is really esoteric. It conceals, enfolds, and sets forth the higher mysteries of 'religion, policy, and philosophy' in fables and parables that are as significant as they seem absurd" (136). Because of the esotericism of myth and its power to spark the imagination, the poet needs to be very much "bounded by religion" so that the tales will be efficacious for good and not "deceit and delusion" (Advancement 3. 379, cited in Briggs 137). Bacon uses the Babel tale, the Orpheus myth, and his own myth of the *New Atlantis* in just these ways, allowing the imagination to carry the weight of the moral lesson, transforming what may be reduced to an aphorism into an elaborately ornamented vision. Herbert, too, writes his fables in just these ways, with an eye-opening parabolic message to teach his readers. His use of pattern poems, emblem literature, and popular etymology, may be seen as imaginative re-creations consciously chosen for a practical didactic purpose, rather than being held to a belief in their power in a magical way. Even so, Bacon and Herbert both have a respect for the persuasive and aesthetic appeal that poetry

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offers, and in an imaginative construct, a respect for the dignity and worth of the ancient Jewish faith identity in that it bears witness to the truth and worth of the culture and faith that has, in Bacon and Herbert's eyes, superseded it. While differing in large measure from the classic sources that Bacon preferred, Herbert also participates in reusing traditional tropes and he demonstrates that he understands and approves of the rich use to which Bacon has put the myths. Herbert does this through his Latin poems honoring Bacon's literary achievements, and sometimes it appears in his own retelling of a myth, such as the myth of Echo. In his poem, "Heaven" (*Works* 188), Echo has been transformed from the mythological nymph who has pined away from unrequited love of the self-absorbed Narcissus and reduced to a wisp of air merely repeating the last phrase or word spoken by a living creature. Echo is beyond this earthly frame of reference as a trapped and condemned creature of loss to become something greater than earthy life. Again, the title serves as a verbal emblem, not mentioned in the body of the poem.

O who will show me those delights on high?

Echo: I

Thou Echo, thou art mortall, all men know.

Echo: No.

Wert thou not born among the trees and leaves?

Echo: Leaves.

And are there any leaves, that still abide?

Echo: Bide.

What leaves are they? Impart the matter wholly.

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Echo: Holy.

Are holy leaves the Echo then of blisse?

Echo: Yes.

Then tell me, what is that supreme delight?

Echo: Light.

Light to the minde: what shall the will enjoy?

Echo: Joy.

But are there cares and businesse with the pleasure?

Echo: Leisure.

Light, joy, and leisure; but shall they persever?

Echo: Ever.

In each case, Herbert's Echo furthers the understanding, pressing the speaker forward, leading the questioning into deeper enlightenment. The words of the speaker are transformed by Echo, not reducing the meaning of each last questioning word, but expanding it considerably. Echo can do this because, for Herbert, Echo is the resonant voice, not born of the earth, but of that voice that speaks from beyond space and time and is revealed in leaves of scripture. Such leaves are eternal, not temporal, and such words are divine, not insensate creatures. They are trustworthy and sacred, and their message is of light, joy, and pleasure where the faculties of reason, will, and emotion will ultimately realize what has heretofore been the intermittent promise of Sabbath rest. The tone throughout the poem is light, playful, and serious; the diction simple, limpid; and the message utterly beyond rational understanding. At the same time, it does not move beyond the normal experience, there is no

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need for ascribing the magical or miraculous to make the point. With their placement at the end of "The Church," the poems "Heaven," and "Love (III)," reveal the extent of the speaker's spiritual growth since first passing beyond the "Church Porch" where the outward moral attributes of the Christian life are expounded. The speaker has modeled what the *Country Parson* has taught, the "reduc[ing] of man to the obedience of God," but the transformation is quite different from what such a term might lead one to anticipate. It is an invitation to go beyond the awareness of decorum and manners that is cautioned in the "Superliminare" between the "Church Porch" and the "Church" and has become an invitation to be the honored guest at Love's own banquet. For Bacon and Herbert, the feast of the imagination is a celebration of a life, whether in secular form as feast of the family's venerable patriarch as in Bacon's utopia, or in Herbert's sacred manifestation here. For both, the feast is a highly decorous event, a courtly, mannered, experience, as Michael Schoenfeldt has described Herbert's poem "Love (III)." Schoenfeldt points out that an invitation to dine at court in Herbert's day was not necessarily a welcome invitation, and the speaker in this poem clearly displays "avoidance techniques" (Clarke 169) that, although within the realm of polite response, must be overcome at last by the power of the one providing the invitation. For Herbert's speaker spiritual growth continues, even at this late stage.

In conclusion, it is clear that Bacon, like Herbert, approves of the use of poetry to appeal to the passions in order to teach a truth. Often the strategy elicits initial identification with the speaker, but once identification is accomplished, it seeks to throw the reader off balance in order to get to the real heart of the matter. Furthermore, Herbert and Bacon agree that secret codes can provoke interest and persistence, and both prefer a magisterial plain

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style that conveys a sense of trustworthiness and practicality. Herbert's religious poetry demonstrates in his vocation what Bacon has argued for natural philosophy, that is, just as with the proper governance nature's secrets can and should be unlocked, using inductive methods while guarding against premature conclusions, so God's plan for the individual's life and work can and should be made known. On the whole, Herbert's poetry accomplishes all of the concepts that lie within Bacon's argument for the instauration of natural philosophy and practical learning. It is no wonder that Bacon admired Herbert. For his part, far from being opposed to Bacon's principles, Herbert's open-ended projection of the aphoristic style is actually quite Baconian in its rigorous and conscious efforts to exclude contamination of the inductive process of discovery by the individual's "common sense" faculty while actively vexing the issue under investigation, and recording faithfully the results, which tend toward health, and, by the way, validate the project. Additionally, Herbert has incorporated the popular seventeenth-century emblem motifs as one of the many literary techniques that he uses in his collection of religious and poetic experiments. Finally, Herbert participates with Bacon in the larger seventeenth-century use of rhetoric to move the passions of the audience through the imagination as a didactic tool to teach. Herbert appears to have enrolled as one of Bacon's countless assistants in the charitable task of discovering and recording the results of his inductive methods.

It is clear that Herbert's use of language is more multifaceted than what was espoused by any one theory of seventeenth-century literary criticism, and that whatever intellectual relationship he and Bacon may have developed could easily be interpreted to have worked both ways. By mutually participating in several characteristics of seventeenth-

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century culture, including the reworking of myth, the translation of versified psalms, the anticipation of a new response to learning as a discipline and the outlining of that project, and by supporting the claims of the Stuart monarchy to rule over every aspect of British culture, both sacred and secular, Herbert and Bacon may have encouraged each other in the furtherance of the remarkable development of their separate vocations.

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