Enthusiasm and Restoration in the rhetoric of 17th century British Royalist poetics.

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I, Daniel Moye, hereby attest that this thesis was solely my own work, that the work produced was solely undertaken during my candidature for the Master of Research degree and that the thesis complies to the guidelines for a Macquarie University Master of Research thesis.

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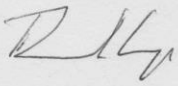

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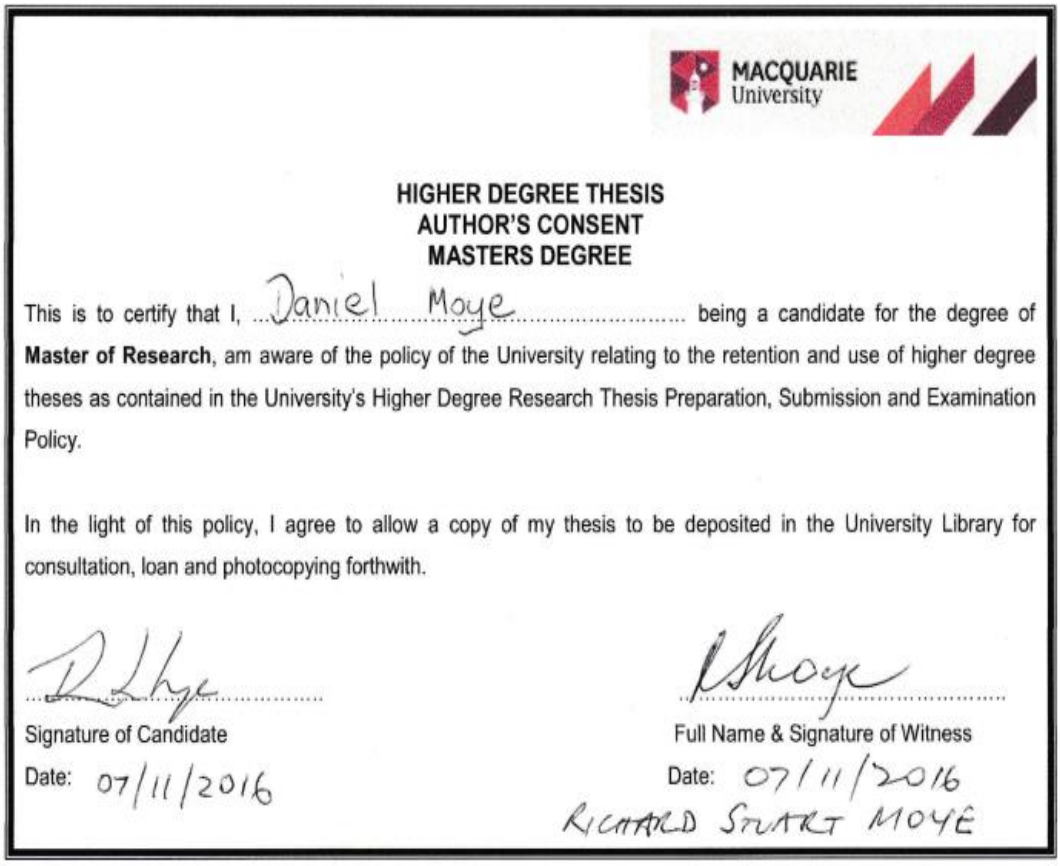
Abstract

The aim of this paper is to give a critical account of the early modern tropes of enthusiasm and restoration within four Royalist voices of Seventeenth-century British literature. The centre of the critical examination is the intersection between these two tropes and the ideas of Francis Bacon and his adherents in the Restoration period. The trope of enthusiasm was used by Royalist thinkers to stigmatise political opposition and was commonly applied to Puritans throughout the 17th century. Due to the fact that enthusiasts sometimes used nature as a basis for their knowledge enquiries, Francis Bacon's own natural philosophy was often tainted with the stigma of this trope. As a consequence, the challenge of legitimation for natural philosophers and its champions like Francis Bacon, Abraham Cowley and Bishop Thomas Sprat, was to answer this trope and distance their own ideas from enthusiasts. As the evidence presented will illustrate, the arguments Bacon used toward his Jacobean audience in *New Atlantis* and the ideas of Bacon used by his Restoration adherents repositioned Baconianism as a remedy against the rise of enthusiasm using tropes of restoration. The key finding of this research is that the role of Francis Bacon's theories of social psychology and language were crucial within Bacon and his adherents' response to the problem of enthusiasm as well as their program for the "Restoration" of Royalism.

This paper also examines Samuel Butler's response to the claims of Bacon and Baconianism with respect to the tropes of enthusiasm and restoration. The purpose of contrasting Butler's view of the Baconians and their claims of "Restoration" is to illustrate how and why enthusiasm was an important battleground in the Restoration era. Butler's different interpretation of "Restoration" highlight some fracture points within Royalist ideology that related to the Baconian inheritance. One prime conclusion drawn from these contrasting views was the central contention between Butler and Baconianism involving their different theories of language and what conclusions we ought to make about the capacity for human restoration.



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Introduction

Conventional critical accounts upon the Baconian inheritance in the Restoration period have predominantly focussed upon the specific impact of Francis Bacon's 'method of discovery' on the practices of natural enquiry and its influence upon the rise of the 'New Science' within British intellectual culture. The critical consensus of this research has concluded that, whilst Bacon's methodology was superseded by better methods of scientific enquiry, his influence was particularly consequential in providing a justification for the transition toward a greater emphasis upon nature and method in the knowledge traditions of the early modern period[1]. There are two critical goals guiding the scope of this enquiry. One goal of this enquiry will be to demonstrate how Baconian ideas other than his 'method of discovery' were used within Restoration literature. Another goal will be to illustrate how those Baconian ideas within those key texts were participating in Royalist debates on the idea of "Restoration". The central contention of this paper is that Bacon's psycho-sociological ideas known as his *Idols of the Mind* were very significant in Royalist debates about "Restoration" particularly upon the relationship between rhetoric, language and social harmony.

The fundamental focus for this paper is the use of the early modern tropes of enthusiasm and restoration within five significant texts of Royalist literature of the 17th century. Enthusiasm or 'divine inspiration' was an important early modern trope in 17th century discourse and a familiar topic for Restoration scholars. Nonetheless, we can turn to historian Michael Heyd for a succinct reminder of whom the trope of enthusiasm sought to describe:

> Enthusiasm became a standard label by which to designate individuals or groups allegedly claimed to have direct divine inspiration, whether [they were] millenarians, radical sectarians or various prophesiers, [sic] [or] alchemists, "empirics" and some contemplative philosophers, (Heyd 2).

The pertinent, critical implication of the trope of enthusiasm was the fact that the label conflated natural enquiry with radical Puritanism. It is a core claim of this paper that the idea of "Restoration" of the Restoration era for Baconian Royalists was substantially influenced by Bacon's own idea of restoration and his response to the trope of enthusiasm in the Jacobean era.

[1] For accounts of the scholarly consensus of Bacon's overall contribution, *The Cambridge Companion to Bacon* is a fruitful source to understanding the general bounds of his influence. Paolo Rossi's Chapter 'The Idea of Science' and Antonio Perez-Ramos 'Bacon's legacy' particularly informed the summary comments upon the scholarly consensus.

The focus text for this paper is Bacon's fable *New Atlantis*. *New Atlantis* has been selected as the most relevant text in Bacon's corpus as it is the text where Bacon had his most sustained engagement with the Jacobean problem of enthusiasm and where he provided a comprehensive vision of what his 'Great Instauration' would look like. Chapter One's textual analysis of *New Atlantis* will illustrate how Bacon explored the fracturing impact of the rise of Puritanism within the British establishment using the conventions of a Royal rhetorical address. The chapter will demonstrate how Bacon drew parallels between the presence of Puritanism in the Jacobean context with his tropes of enthusiasm and restoration in the ideal setting for his fable.

The scope of Chapter One will concentrate the critical analysis upon key constructed elements of *New Atlantis* with a sustained examination of the first speech and its major topic of Providence. My argumentation will connect significant textual passages regarding Bacon's poetics on enthusiasm with the principal tropes of his 'Great Instauration': a restoration of learning, a political restoration and a restoration of language. The specific goal for this chapter within the overall framework of the paper will be to provide the critical evidence that will be used as the template from which to compare the Restoration encounter with enthusiasm and their conception of "Restoration".

In the aftermath of the Civil War, Restoration literature was actively engaged in reconciling those historic events with Royalist ideology and its orthodoxies. The Restoration Royalist use of the trope of enthusiasm was an important way they sought to understand their recent conflict with Radical Puritanism. The trope of restoration was a poetic device by which Royalist literature interrogated the key social goal of "Restoration" around which this process of reconciling history and reconstructing Royalist thought was orientated during this era. As a consequence, the inter-relationship between the trope of enthusiasm and the trope of restoration was a material seam within debates about what "Restoration" ought to be for Royalist thinkers.

Literary scholar A.D. Cousins provides a useful summary list of the values associated with this idea of "Restoration" within his research into Royalist voices of Restoration literature. His list was as follows: 'a neo-Augustan rule; "civil government"; wisdom in directing the force of the state; a learning (and religion) freed from political confusion; a language refined by truth,' (Cousins 132). Of course, the arrangement and emphasis placed upon these values of "Restoration" varied depending upon which Royalist voice one critically examines. The Royalist voices of "Restoration" I am focussed upon within this paper are the Baconian Royalists: Bishop Thomas Sprat and Abraham Cowley. My selection of these two particular

Baconian Royalists was due to their leading role in the Royal Society and particularly their role in the propagation of Baconian ideas in Restoration Royalist debates through their authorship of core texts in the work: *The History of the Royal Society*.

For Sprat and Cowley, the institutionalisation of Bacon's natural philosophy, realised in the foundation of the Royal Society in 1660-1662, was an essential vehicle for the realisation of those aforementioned ideals of "Restoration" cited by Cousins. Arguably, the single most important work of Baconian Royalist thinking and engagement with the debates about "Restoration" was *The History of the Royal Society*. It is a core claim of this paper that the problems of legitimation for the Royal Society were a microcosm of the wider issues facing Royalist ideology writ large. The problems of legitimation for the Royal Society related to three interrelated questions: who should be allowed to participate in the Baconian project; how to understand its own history; and what contribution can (or ideally ought) the Royal Society and its Baconian ideas have within the wider "Restoration" project? These questions and the answers Sprat and Cowley inscribed all centred upon the problematic participation of 'enthusiasts' or Puritans within the previous Baconian institutions of the Civil War/Interregnum period.

As such, Chapter Two's critical focus upon the trope of enthusiasm and restoration will illustrate the salient Baconian ideas used in the arguments of Sprat and Cowley that connected the legitimation project of the Royal Society with the wider issues facing Restoration Royalist ideology. The text that will be used to examine Sprat's viewpoint will be Part 1 of *The History of the Royal Society*. The text that will be used to examine Cowley's perspective will be his dedicatory poem 'To the Royal Society'. The textual analysis within this chapter will be directed toward two broad areas of critical issues. The first area involves the specific passages where Sprat and Cowley used Baconian ideas to directly discuss the issues of enthusiasm through the 'apologetic' function of the work. Within this area, a primary focus will be to demonstrate the rhetorical connections Sprat and Cowley drew between the specific problems of the Royal Society and the wider problems of Royalism. The second area involves illustrating the role Baconian ideas had within each author's rhetoric regarding the need for a model of critical, ideological self-awareness in Restoration Royalism. The evidence accrued within this chapter will function as an account of the various ways Baconian psycho-social ideas were used within Restoration literature and to illustrate the direct ways they contributed to a reformulation of the future composition of Royalist ideology.

Not all Restoration Royalist thinkers believed that it was prudent for Royalism to centre itself around the idea of "Restoration". Samuel Butler, a leading satirical poet of the Restoration

era, has already been noted in scholarly accounts of the Restoration period as being a polemicist for whom the notion of "Restoration" was deeply problematic. Butler's poetry critiqued the general problem of enthusiasm and its role in the Civil War within his mock-epic poem *Hudibras*. In a variety of his verse-satires, Butler also satirised the claims and claimants of "Restoration" including the Baconian Royalists of the Royal Society within 'The Elephant in the Moon'[2]. Chapter Three of this paper will seek to illustrate the crucial role played by the trope of enthusiasm within Butler's critical perspective

The textual coverage upon Butler's mock-epic will be limited to key passages of Canto 1 Part 1 of *Hudibras* with a particular emphasis upon his character, Ralpho. These passages will be used within a comparative framework and linked to the tropes of enthusiasm within his verse-satire 'The Elephant in the Moon' and the characterisation therein. The textual analysis on these texts will be focussed upon illustrating how Butler's own ideas in his poetics contend with Bacon's claims of language and their role in human psychology. The chapter's critical framework will be seeking to more tightly connect Butler's response to enthusiasm and restoration across his corpus servicing gaps in the current critical landscape on Butler, whilst also expanding our understanding of Butler's engagement with Baconian ideas beyond the existing scholarly coverage which has tended to focus solely upon answering the question as to whether Butler was a Baconian adherent or not[3].

An overarching goal of this paper is to give an account of how Bacon's social psychological ideas and his theories of rhetoric and language manifested themselves in Royalist Restoration literature. By analysing the three responses of Bacon, Sprat and Cowley to the problem of enthusiasm, this paper will seek to explain how their ideals of rhetoric and language were important influences upon the reformulation of Restoration literature in particular, and Royalism more generally. Bacon and his Restoration adherents claimed that their critical model for rhetoric and language would provide a critical self-awareness and a criterion around which Royalist ideologues ought to re-construct Royalism itself. However, not all Royalist thinkers believed their claims about the capacity for rhetoric and language to generate a new sustainable social consensus and contended with the very notion of "Restoration". Another overarching goal will be to detail the grounds upon which Baconian claims of rhetoric and language were challenged.

[2] See Sv. Bruun's article "Who's who in Samuel Butler's 'The Elephant in the Moon'" for a detailed exposition of the connection between characters in the poem and Royal Society members.

[3] Ken Robinson and other scholars have sought to understand Butler's engagement with Bacon through the prism of whether or not his poetic representations conform with Bacon's attitude toward method. This is a hazardous enterprise given Butler's satirical technique of using the ideas of the target of the satire against them.

Chapter 1: Francis Bacon's New Atlantis: The problem of enthusiasm

This chapter's critical framework will reconsider Francis Bacon's *New Atlantis* as a rhetorical address constructed toward a Royal addressee. Of course, Bacon's fable was engaged in a wider conversation within the Jacobean context as well as being engaged in a trans-cultural and trans-historical debate upon major ideas of the Western intellectual inheritance. The scope of this enquiry has been selected to trace the Baconian ideas expressed in *New Atlantis* that had the greatest engagement with Jacobean Royalist dogma. It is a critical claim of this chapter that the two early modern tropes of enthusiasm and restoration within *New Atlantis* are crucial to understanding the intersection between Bacon's reform programme for knowledge and his Jacobean Royal addressee. As a consequence, this chapter shall use the tropes of enthusiasm and restoration as a thematic focus for my critical examination of Bacon's fable. Predominantly, the textual evidence for this analysis shall be limited to the opening scenes and a detailed examination of the first speech in *New Atlantis*, as they are most pertinent to his framework.

Broadly speaking, the textual analysis in this chapter will be directed toward exploring two critical domains. The first domain of critical issues involves connecting the Jacobean context with the shared Royalist concerns of Bacon and the Crown on the issue of enthusiasm. Having established the historical engagement of the author and Royal addressee with the trope of enthusiasm, I will then explain how and why Bacon adapted the *speculum principis* model of rhetorical address so as to reposition his Royal addressee's stance toward the ideals expressed in the text. The focus of the textual analysis will examine the imagery in the opening scenes and the first speech and connect those images with key concerns Bacon wanted to communicate to his Royal addressee. Those concerns relate to Bacon's understanding of Calvinist notions of Providence; the social psychological ramifications of dogma on *vulgar* auditors; and the inter-relationship of these two factors with the Jacobean manifestation of enthusiasm.

The second critical domain will focus upon exploring the representations in *New Atlantis* that manifest the critical perspective that Bacon wanted to communicate to the Royal Addressee about Royalist doctrine and its rhetoric. Within this purview, select passages of text will be examined to illustrate Bacon's critique of the use of Divine Right in Crown politics and the alternative he offered within his poetics. The final part of this chapter shall present textual evidence that demonstrate that mythos, Christian ethos and natural law were the essential constituents of Bacon's ideal rhetoric and language represented in *New Atlantis*.

On a fundamental level, Royal support was needed by Bacon and his reform programme for knowledge for three reasons. Royal support would have been critical to funding Bacon's ideas for an institution of natural philosophy; to give his natural philosophy wider cultural credibility; and to help cement its place within the Kingdom's social and political architecture. However, one hurdle that Bacon needed to overcome to gain Royal support concerned the fact that pre-existing natural enquiry had a poor reputation. One main cause for this poor reputation was the subsumption of natural enquiry beneath the trope of enthusiasm within Jacobean culture. Through the common practice of 'divine inspiration' or enthusiasm, Royalist perspectives upon practitioners of natural enquiry often conflated them with radical Puritans. As with enthusiasm, the label 'puritan' was itself a trope that was used to distinguish some English Calvinists from other Calvinists[4]. The interconnected tropes of enthusiasm and Puritan, when applied by those in political and doctrinal authority, were used to identify and stigmatise certain ideas, practices and practitioners during Bacon's era. What differentiated a radical Puritan from other Puritans was, more often than not, due to perceived political and theological opposition irrespective of what real political threat that person or group actually posed.

The convergence of epistemological and political objections that underpinned the trope enthusiasm were similarly evident in Bacon and King James's shared view toward radical Puritans themselves. As Baconian scholar Stephen Gaukroger explains, Bacon 'began to be concerned about what he saw as ill-considered criticisms of traditional learning, and the attempt by radical Puritans to set themselves up as arbiters of knowledge,' (Gaukroger 68). As such, whilst the word 'enthusiasm' does not appear in *New Atlantis,* there is historical evidence that the basic function of the trope of enthusiasm was also evident within Royalist understandings of their opposition. Another clear implication of Gaukroger's observation is that it illustrates that Bacon directly connected the learning of the Puritans with their assertions of authority. It is clear that**,** for Bacon, radical Puritans were not just wrong, but they were perceived as a political threat to the Crown.

However, it would be erroneous to think of Puritans as a homogenous group or a distinct group from the Jacobean establishment. Calvinism in the Kingdom's establishment ranged from the King's own orthodoxy across a spectrum of opposition that could be moderate through to radical Puritan oppositional political theology at the extreme. By the time of Bacon's writing of *New Atlantis* in the mid-1620s, the power and influence of Puritanism in the Establishment had grown. Of equal import, radical Puritans were, by that time, being

[4] For a guide to the use of the trope 'puritan' across the 17th century see John Spurr: Chapter 2 'Odious name of Puritan' 17-27.

perceived by the Court as its most dangerous opponent. One of the crucial sources of Royalist opposition during this period was coming from Oxbridge. Which is to say, Jacobean educational institutions were a source of dissent in Jacobean times. To get a better sense of this opposition, we can turn to historian Tod Jones's evidence drawn from C.S. Lewis:

> 'In fact, the humanist and the Puritan "were often the same people, and nearly always the same sort of people: the young men 'in the Movement,' the impatient progressives demanding a 'clean sweep.'" (Jones 8).

It is certainly true that Bacon shared many of the humanist views of this 'Movement' that wanted change to the practices of education in the colleges. For if *New Atlantis* and Bacon's wider 'Great Instauration' are components of anything, it is a reformist programme. Additionally, it illustrates the fact that opposition to Royalist policy or pre-existing institutional practice was coming from within the Jacobean establishment itself. One consequence of the internal Establishment opposition, alongside the conflation-effect of cultural tropes, was the fact that it was difficult for the Crown to distinguish friend from foe. In turn, this was exacerbated by the fact, as Gaukroger reminds us, that Bacon had inherited a Tudor view that was 'quite sensitive to potentially disruptive forces in society and aimed to contain the various forces in society by subordinating them to the absolute authority of the sovereign,' (Gaukroger 68). The point is that dissent from Bacon and the Crown's perspective was always filtered through the prism of opposition to the Crown itself.

The capacity for tropes and labels to conflate and obscure actual differences in ideology and their political consequences was an important point that Bacon wanted to draw for the King via his treatment of enthusiasm in *New Atlantis*. Bacon's inscriptions of the problem of the Royalist perspectives on its opposition in *New Atlantis* centred upon the problems of language, rhetoric and the psychological impediments involved in interpretation when using their orthodoxies. It ought to be noted that there are many types of ideal exhortations of New Atlantis in the text that relate to the utility of natural philosophy to enhance Jacobean life. Those types of arguments that sought to promote the material impact of natural philosophy were certainly a part of Bacon's wider address to King James. However, the focus for this discussion will be confined to the rhetoric that was directed at the capacity for the Royalist perspective to comprehend its opposition and its own role in the generation of social discord. Though they differed**,** I will explain how the problems of the Royalist perspective were much the same problem as that of the enthusiast.

To properly appreciate Bacon's rhetorical address within *New Atlantis*, it is first necessary to examine the key constructed elements shaping reader engagement with the Baconian ideals and his tropes of restoration. In his essay 'Ethics and Politics in the New Atlantis', David

Colclough forwards an argument that Bacon draws upon the *speculum principis* tradition to structure reader engagement. Whilst citing a relevant passage of the fable, Colclough goes on to argue:

> The narrator of the *New Atlantis* writes of Bensalem that 'if there be a mirror in the world worthy to hold men's eyes, it is that country' (472): the mirror is intended, as in the literature of the *speculum principis* tradition, to serve a dual function of both reflecting back the faults of the beholder and offering him or her an ideal image to which he or she can aspire, (Colclough 72).

The *speculum principis* tradition was a genre of literature that enabled statesmen and poets to critique contemporary society or to extol moral virtues to a royal audience. Gaukroger notes that Bacon had employed a similar technique in his speech 'In Praise of Knowledge' in 1592 'at a masque devised by Essex for the queen' (Gaukroger 70). Gaukroger's evidence shows that Bacon had used the speculum tradition previously and Colclough's evidence suggests that it was being used in *New Atlantis*. However, perhaps the most potent reason why scholars should incorporate this narrative context in their critical analyses lies in the obvious feature of *New Atlantis* that about half the text takes the form of rhetorical addresses.

Colclough's idea that a *speculum* is functioning at a constructed level in *New Atlantis* is an important contribution. From the broadest perspective, this is precisely what the European encounter with the ideal setting of New Atlantis was meant to represent. A mirror for us to consider 'our' historical intellectual tradition in comparison to Bacon's ideal. When considered from the Royalist Jacobean perspective, it becomes apparent that Bacon has used a *speculum* device to serve a number of specific, interconnected functions within his rhetoric and poetics. Within the *speculum* tradition, the Royal reader conventionally adopts the stance of the ideal 'ruler' or landscape so as to reflect upon specific issues of his or her society that the author believes ought to be improved. The point being that when considering *New Atlantis* from a Royal perspective, it is critical to understand how the Royal reader was constructed to take an oppositional stance toward the European visitors by preferencing the Bensalemite perspective.

One crucial purpose of Bacon's adoption of the *speculum* conventions was for the Royal addressee to consider the narrator's perspective itself. One way Bacon constructed his narrative so that a Royal addressee would critically focus upon the narrator's perspective was to create a cultural distance for his Royal addressee by using textual signals drawn from popular genres not traditionally associated with a Royal address: the fable and the early modern travel narrative. The objective of these genre signals was to indicate to the learned Jacobean reader that the narrator's perspective was *vulgar* (popular). I will explain the other critical implications of this construction later. But, for now, it is important to focus upon

Bacon's use of these narrative devices in relation to creating a cultural and political distance for his Royal Addressee and to provide an oppositional tension between the perspectives from within the text.

To illustrate Bacon's positioning of his intended Royalist addressee, it is instructive to consider the initial encounter between the explorers and the Bensalemite officials. As the scene is presented, the explorers were greeted by the Bensalemites and they were then restrained from landing. This was followed by the explorers being inspected for health and sickness. Finally, they were asked to take an oath of non-violence: "If ye will swear (all of you) by the merits of the Saviour that ye are no pirates, nor have shed blood lawfully nor unlawfully within forty days past, you may have license to come on land,' (*NA* 363). Bacon has constructed the introductory scene as an encounter between an outside group and authority figures of the state that culminates with a formal oath of non-violence. Clearly, this scene has been orientated to underline the oppositional stance of the two parties.

Alongside the implication of violence in the encounter, Bacon also links the explorers with potential sickness with infection. The sick explorers receive a 'fruit of that country, like an orange… [and] [h]e used it (as it seemth) for a preservative against infection,' (*NA* 363). Not only do these explorers represent a potentially violent threat, but the implication is that their influence can spread to infect the ideal. Yet simultaneously, the orange is a trope that is also a symbolic representation of the 'restorative' powers of natural knowledge. The use of this trope in relation to the narrator and his party indicates their perspective needs restoration.

The precise scope of the threat of this encounter for a Jacobean reader is borne out in the subsequent scene from within the Stranger's House. When describing the diet that the explorers received in the Stranger's House, the narrator remarks that it was 'better than any collegiate diet…' (NA 366). Additionally, when describing the 'long galley' and architecture of the Stranger's House, the narrator compares it to 'a docture' which editor James Spedding's footnote helpfully translates as meaning 'dormitory' (*NA* 365 and footnote). What Bacon has done across these passages is to link violence and sickness with tropes of restoration to the narrator and then, in turn, to the setting of the educational institutions. Reminding ourselves that the colleges were sources of dissidents, we can see how the encounter between the explorers and the Bensalemites mirrors the encounter of dissidents with the Crown.

For his Royal addressee, these scenes also illustrate the ideal functioning of the authority of the state through the elaborate procedures that control the actions of the explorers. The signals within the scene are being used to foreground the Royal addressee's perspective so that he

would be inclined to consider the encounter in the text as an oppositional encounter similar to the divide in Jacobean society. This reorientation of the Royal perspective is useful for our understanding of how Bacon linked the historical Jacobean circumstance to the 'restoration of the narrator' and the 'restoration of learning' with a 'political restoration' of the Jacobean establishment.

The cultural distance provided by Bacon's plotting and characterisation of the narrator was reinforced with another set of textual signals from within the narrator's own narration. Throughout the narration there are textual signals to more sophisticated narrative contexts that only a learned reader would recognise. The most notable of these are phrases and metaphors drawn from Bacon's own corpus. It is important to recognise that *New Atlantis* was a later text amongst a series of persuasive addresses aimed by Bacon at gaining Royal support. It seems clear that Bacon used the King's pre-existing familiarity with Bacon's own ideas to embed a sophisticated set of signals that functioned as 'short-hand' for other arguments through these textual referents.

The overarching purpose of these devices was to provide a rationale and a prism that distinguished the *vulgar* from the learned perspective, a critical distance, within the narration. It is my contention that the purpose of this was to draw the attention of the Royal Addressee upon the interpretive differences between the narrator's perspective and the embedded argumentation. One could conceive of this as Bacon setting markers that highlighted the distinction between the implied authorial stance and the narration. However, one consequence of this rhetorical strategy was that it created a dissonance within the text.

Scholars have already noted that there is a dissonance when considering the narrator's perspective un-attenuated through pre-existing critical frames that is relevant to this particular point. As Bronwen Price explains,

> '[i]n various ways, then, the reader is made aware of the gap between information and interpretation, and the narrator's viewpoint of events does not fully investigate fully all aspects of what he observes and is told,' (Price 12).

Price is pointing to a dissonance between the characterisation of the narrator and the Baconian epistemological method. As she also usefully notes, the Father of Salomon's House explicitly withheld detailing the Baconian method from the narrator on the grounds that "'in the right understanding of those descriptions you might easily err' (487)" (Price 12). The import of Price's observation is that it calls into question the implicit notion of many critical interpretations that the narrator and his character arc exemplified by a methodological transformation. This begs the question: what was the narrator precisely meant to represent?

Part of the explanation relates to Bacon's direct engagement with the problem of enthusiasm within his address to King James. The underlying purpose informing Bacon's tropes of enthusiasm in his fable involved presenting the problems of Calvinist notions of human predestination and the consequences for interpreting the world. The depiction of the narrator within the opening scenes foreground the argument in the first speech. In the opening line of the fable, the narrator informs us of the location of their journey, 'We sailed from Peru, (where we had continued by the space of one whole year,) for China and Japan, by the South Sea…' (*NA* 359). Almost immediately, the narrator then informs us that they 'could make little or no way' and a great wind had carried them away from their goals. The journey of the explorers is a metaphor for the course of Western enquiry and natural enquiry in particular. Bacon's point in this opening passage was that contemporary knowledge practices of natural enquiry had reached a dead end and Nature itself was frustrating their progress. The issue that Bacon wanted to associate with the stalling of natural enquiry was acts of enthusiasm. The initial passage that illustrates enthusiasm involves the prayer of the explorers as they sought to escape their dire predicament. As the narrative continues:

> So that finding ourselves in the midst of the greatest wilderness of the world, without victual, we gave ourselves up for lost men, and prepared for death. Yet we did lift up our hearts and voices to God above, who *showeth his wonders in the deep,* beseeching him of his mercy, that as in the beginning he discovered the face of the deep… (NA 359).

Bacon's image of 'the deep' refers to a Christian conception of the object of Divine contemplation at the precise moment of the Divine Act of Creation. There are two rhetorical purposes for this prayer within Bacon's persuasive address. On the broader level of the conversion of the narrator and vulgar audiences, the invocation of a Divine Act of Creation invites readers to associate the miracle to come and the ideal setting of New Atlantis with Bacon's 'Great Instauration' itself. Within this prism, Bacon is arguing that natural philosophy and this ideal society are aligned with the Grand Providential schema.

However, the prayer is also an enthusiastic invocation by the narrator. Up until this point in the narrative, readers only know that they are explorers lost at sea. In the context of the scale of their journey to date, they are enthusiastically mixing divine philosophy in their encounter with the natural world. The prayer is enacting a principal problem of human epistemology that Bacon identifies in his wider corpus. Which is when divine philosophy and natural philosophy are inappropriately 'commixed together' this leads to 'an heretical religion, and an imaginary and fabulous philosophy' (III 350, Briggs 172).

Viewed in isolation, this first indirect characterisation of the enthusiast is oblique. That is partly the point as Bacon does not want to address the issue confrontationally, but embed it

within his narrative through the narrator's perspective. The problem of enthusiasm is further defined in the subsequent tropes of enthusiasm associated with the narrator's own understanding of their miraculous arrival. In the form of prayer, the explorer exhorts his fellow travellers as follows:

> We are men cast on land, as Jonas was out of the whale's belly, when we were buried in the deep … It is a kind of miracle hath brought us hither; and it must be little less that shall bring us hence. Therefore in regard to our deliverance past, and our danger present and to come, let us look up to God, and every man reform his own ways, (*NA* 367).

The narrator is drawing a direct comparison between their plight with the Providential deliverance of Jonas. The prayer of thanks 'for our deliverance past' is an enthusiastic claim. The narrator's conclusions are where we see two of Bacon's tropes: one of enthusiasm and one of Puritanism. The narrator's claim that 'a kind of miracle' brought the travellers to the island illustrates the connection Bacon wants to draw between enthusiasm and the radical Calvinist notions of human predestination. Bacon refines the connection further in the quote by troping the characters with a vulgar Puritan saying of the time that 'every man [ought] to reform his ways,' (*NA* 367). In so doing, Bacon has drawn the precise epistemological problem of enthusiasm and then connected it with the Calvinist notions of Predestination with popular Puritan rhetoric.

To appreciate Bacon's critical stance toward these enthusiastic acts, it is important to understand the limits Bacon placed upon miracles and their role in the Providential order. Drawn from Sidney Warhaft's useful citation from Bacon's Works, we can see Bacon's critical position:

> 'he ([Bacon]) declares (Works, VII, 221) "that whensoever God doth break the law of Nature by Miracles, (which are ever new creations) he never cometh to that point or pass, but in regard of the work of redemption…"' (Warhaft 54).

Viewed in isolation, the prayer is a textual signal to a learned reader drawing attention to Bacon's critical position outlined above. The enthusiast was in fact appropriate in supplicating for redemption, the problem of the narrator's act related to the extent of his participation in the Providential schema and the grounds for his conclusion. The evidence for this lies in the plotting of the intervening events of the narrative between the two prayers. The explorers only arrive at New Atlantis after 'the next day about evening' and further after more navigation 'in the dawning of the next day, we might plainly discern that it was a land …' (*NA* 360). The enthusiast was not entitled to draw the conclusion that he did: it was by happenstance that he was right. This seems to lie at the heart of the problem of enthusiasm

and particular human predestination when viewed from within the overarching Calvinist theology. Of course, God has a plan**;** but what precisely can we know about it?

When we turn to the first speech, the troping of the enthusiast's miracles within the opening scenes becomes sensible within the structure of Bacon's argument. The subject of the first speech is Providence and it is specifically drawn from the narrator's own concerns as he is the one who asks: 'who was the apostle of that nation, and how it was converted to the faith?' (*NA* 370). The image within the Governor's speech that I want to begin with relates to the representation of the reception of the miracle:

> 'Upon which so strange a spectacle, the people of the city gathered apace together upon the sands, to wonder; and so after put themselves into a number of small boats, to go nearer to this marvellous sight. But when the boats were come within about sixty yards of the pillar, they found themselves all bound, and could go no further; yet so as they might move to go about, but might not approach nearer: so as the boats stood all in a theatre, beholding this light as a heavenly sign,' (*NA* 371).

This passage is significant in a number of ways. The immediate context within the narrative was the aftermath of a collective prayer given by these enthusiasts in which they enunciated their Puritan goal of reforming their own ways. Bacon has provided them with a comparative miracle of New Atlantis. Unlike the first miracle that was ambiguous, here the miracle is accompanied by an explicit 'sixty yard' pillar of light that has been witnessed on a society wide level. The direct comparison Bacon was drawing was between human predestination of the explorer's miracle and Divine predestination of a foundational event in an ideal setting.

Crucially, at the conclusion of the speech, Bacon inserted a prayer by a natural philosopher that affirms the role of natural philosophy and its particular utility for the enthusiast. The prayer was presented as follows:

> "'Lord God of heaven and earth, thou hast vouchsafed of thy grace to those of our order, to know thy works of creation, and the secrets of them; and to discern (as far as appertaineth to the generations of men) between divine miracles, works of nature, works of art, and impostures and illusions of all sorts,'" (*NA* 371).

On the *vulgar* level of communication, Bacon was making the point to the Jacobean enthusiast (or natural enquirer) that one needed natural philosophy to discern between Divine acts and works of nature. Against the background of the earlier scenes, it is also an indirect rebuke of the enthusiastic invocations and his conclusions.

When we return to the passage and examine the embedded textual signals directed to the Royal addressee, Bacon's indirect rebuke becomes a clear rhetorical point on the precise nature of the limitations of the enthusiast's perspective. His specific point is realised in the phrase describing the boats as being 'all in a theatre'. This is a vital textual image that Bacon

has drawn to signal towards his psycho-social ideas known as the 'Idols of the Mind'. The theatrical metaphor was used by Bacon to describe the psycho-social consequences of dogma that relate to our capacity to access truth in his Aphorism 44 called the *Idols of the Theatre*. Bacon summarised these impediments as follows:

> …there are idols which are immigrated into men's minds from various dogmas of philosophies, and also from wrong laws of demonstration. These I call *Idols of the Theater* because in my judgment all the received systems are but so many stage plays, representing worlds of their own creation after an unreal and scenic fashion, (*Novum Organum* 96-97).

It is important to recognise that Bacon was not seeking to ironise 'miracles' per se by presenting the foundational miracle in what we might conceive of as an 'unreal and scenic fashion'. Rather, Bacon's imagery of being 'all in a theatre' was making a functional point about the role of dogma within Jacobean society. One aspect that this image was intended to make was the power of mythic imagery to fixate the *vulgar* imagination much in the same way that the boats were fixed in the image. Importantly, it is pointing to the fact that myths, like this speech as whole, can be used to 'restore' the vulgar imagination. The specific historical problem that Bacon was directing toward the King was how false knowledge systems, their dogmas and mythos lead to a fracturing of society. The specific problem facing Jacobean society was Jean Calvin's own ideas in connection to the rise of Puritanism.

The common motif in the outer narrative of *New Atlantis* and its first speech is that of humans lost or stuck upon a sea. Of course, Bacon's choice of a sea journey was probably directed at many parts of the Western poetic mythos as well as his leitmotif for 'discovery' in his own corpus. That said, the most acute parallel within this sub-narrative on Providence were images drawn from Jean Calvin's *Institutes*. Consider this salient passage by Calvin on Providence with the plotting and imagery already cited from the opening scenes of *New Atlantis*:

> If a man light among thieves or wild beasts; if by wind suddenly rising he suffer shipwreck on the sea, … if having been tossed with the waves, he attain to the shore, if miraculously he escape but a finger breadth from death, all these chances as well of prosperity as adversity the reason of the flesh doth ascribe to fortune…they [do] not put forth their power but only so far as they be directed by the present hand of God, (*Institutes* XVI 2 78, Image 52) [5].

On one level, Bacon wanted to clarify the perception that his natural philosophy was wholly materialistic by using miracles within his work. His miracle of New Atlantis was making the clear point that natural philosophy did not preclude Divine Providence. Readers were

[5] The edition used for Jean Calvin's *Institutes* was Thomas Norton's translation of 1611. The notation relates to Chapter, Verse, Page Number and Image. Image is the direct way of accessing the page for this edition online via Early English Books Online.

presented with this stance in the affirmation of the natural philosopher within the scene: '"I do here acknowledge and testify before this people, that the thing which we now see before our eyes is thy Finger and true Miracle,"' (*NA* 371-372). Thus, part of the wider function of the first speech of the fable was to legitimate natural philosophy from the charge of materialism.

Bacon's description of the founding revelation of New Atlantis, where the populace 'found themselves all bound', both affirms the Calvinist assertion that 'we' (humanity) are not tossed upon the random seas of Fortune and, simultaneously critiques that same system of thought (*NA* 371). For as much as they are bound within a Providential Divine system they are also arranged 'all in a theatre' of Calvinist dogma. Bacon's representations have drawn the parallel with the sectarianism of Jacobean society with the populace bound in 'small boats' and directly related it back to Calvinist doctrine itself. Notably, it is the natural philosopher and not the populace that approaches the miracle and receives the divine message. Furthermore, the fact that Calvinist doctrine was a subject of so much narrative attention also held critical implications for Royalist tenets.

To appreciate Bacon's critical perspective upon Royalist ideology for the Royal addressee within these scenes, it is necessary to redirect the critical focus of this analysis toward the specific issues of rhetoric and language in the text. The importance of language and rhetoric is critical to a better understanding of Bacon's advice to the King. One major area of Royalist policy where the problem of the distinction between human and Divine predestination was causing opposition, was King James's assertion of the Divine Right of Kings. Even though Bacon, King James and their ideological peers would have argued that the Royal body was different from the physical presences of all other personages with respect to its status within the created hierarchy, many Royalist supporters disagreed as to the power that flowed from this distinction.

Concerning the representations and rhetoric of *New Atlantis*, it is not so much that Bacon was suggesting that Divine Right itself was an enthusiastic claim—but, rather, that the consequence of asserting and extending Royal power through philosophically similar ideas to Calvin's was a cause of social discord. Summarily, Royalist dogma and rhetoric were contributing to the discord. Bacon's message within the first speech not only sought to clarify the issues of Providence; it also proscribed his vision for a 'restored' Royalism. Notably within the first speech, there is no depiction of a Royal figure present at the miracle. This absence was an indication to his Royal addressee of the problematic status of the Royal body and its incompatibility with ideal settings. Instead, Bacon strategically placed emissaries and symbols of his vision for a 'restored' Royal orthodoxy throughout the narrative. For example,

the myth of the miracle of New Atlantis is delivered by a dual functionary of an ideal Jacobean, national episcopacy. The Governor of the Stranger's self-description bears this out: 'by office governor of this House of Strangers, and by vocation I am a Christian priest; and there am come to you to offer you my service, both as strangers and chiefly as Christians…' (*NA* 368). This image of an ideal functionary was reinforced by the metaphoric vessel of the miracle 'a small ark or chest of cedar' (*NA* 372). As Elizabeth McCutcheon helpfully notes, cedar being a symbolic referent to the ark of Mercy within Solomon's Temple[6]. The contents of this Royal vessel were literally the words, letters and Books of God. Bacon enclosed the divine message within Royal stewardship. Later in the second speech, Bacon expanded on the symbolic import of cedar which illuminated a different aspect to the nature of the ark and the miracle in the first speech for Royalist orthodoxies. As the Governor explains how New Atlantis has retained knowledge of Solomon, that was lost within the Western heritage, he says that of particular import was his 'Natural History, in which he wrote of all plants, from the *cedar of Libanus* to the moss *that growth out of the wall*, and of all *things that have life and motion*,' (*NA* 383). As a consequence, through a variety of tropes of restoration, Bacon has linked the miracle of New Atlantis with both the ideal expression of Royal power and the 'restoration' of the lost natural knowledge and language of Solomon.

When aggregating Bacon's rhetorical points in the combination of the represented and constructed elements of the above passage, it is clear that he has presented the constitutive elements of an ideal comparative Royalist philosophy. Bacon's argument in this passage has three core elements. Firstly, the passage illustrates the need for Royalism to have functionaries of the state enunciating Royalist policies. The implication of Bacon's depiction of the Governor, was that one consequence of institutionalising natural philosophy was that it would produce advocates on behalf of the Royalist goal for a national episcopacy. Secondly, Bacon was pointing to the key role myth has within ideology. The first speech itself is a myth. The presentation of the first speech has been used to show myth's role in ideal modes of decorous addresses to different auditors (*vulgar* and learned). The proxy Royalist voice of myth (the Governor) was designed to indicate to the Royal addressee the capacity for myth to transform enthusiasts, in particular, and vulgar audiences more generally. Thirdly, Bacon's use of symbology of Solomon was used to highlight essential aspects of the Solomonic model. Given that King James used Solomon within his own propaganda, Bacon has sought to clarify which parts of Royalist thought were contributing to conflict and those that were ideal. Bacon's specific point to the King was to remove arguments such as Divine Right, with its

[6] See McCutcheon: 341.

focus upon the Royal body**,** and replace it with natural philosophy if he wanted to follow Solomon's lead. Put more simply, a 'political restoration' requires a 'restoration of language' within Royalism.

Bacon's rhetorical model in *New Atlantis* has a bifurcated hierarchy. To fully appreciate the distinction Bacon has drawn between vulgar and learned audiences it is useful to return to the critical commentary on Bacon's ideas of rhetoric. James Stephens offers a pertinent observation about the different engagement with rhetoric by vulgar and learned audiences that Bacon had drawn from Aristotle. Stephens cites this passage of Bacon from *De Augmentis*: 'For the proofs and demonstrations of logic are the same to all men; but the proofs and demonstrations of rhetoric ought to differ according to the auditors,' (Stephens 38). As Stephens goes on to observe 'both Aristotle and Bacon note that speakers and audience are fundamentally reasonable' (Stephens 38). Stephens' citation and his observation is critical to understanding Bacon's 'restoration of language'. The key to decorum and language centres upon the alignment between the rhetoric and the auditor. That being said, the realisation of ideal language and ideal social relationships encumber the speaker with a moral obligation with respect to truth.

It is through the symbolism of the cherubim in *New Atlantis* that the Royal addressee was presented with the fundamental ethos for an ideal language. McCutcheon's scholarship is useful again. As she points out, the symbol of the cherubim was used in the Bible as guardians of Eden in the Book of Genesis and as symbolic decorations in the descriptions of Solomon's temple in Book of Kings[7]**.** However, cherubim within Bacon's own corpus are drawn from Classical mythos and add to our understanding of his use of them in *New Atlantis*. The Cherubim, as a Christianised form of Cupid, Bacon describes as 'collective law of nature, or the principle of love, impressed by God upon the original particles of all things,' (Dewey 231)[8]. Within *New Atlantis*, the cherubim are marked upon the documents of the officials of New Atlantis as well as decorating Bacon's mythic imagining of the chariot of the father of Salomon's House[9]. All point to the role of the symbol of the cherubim as two ideals for Royalist ideology: the ethos of Adamic guardianship and the principle of love.

A primary point of this imagery for the King is that ideal language involves understanding mythic language, Christian ethos and the collective natural law of nature. Indeed, Bacon connects this specifically with the capacity for ideal language and rhetoric to 'restore' ideal political settings in the scenes related to the encounter with the enthusiast. One of Bacon's

[7] See McCutcheon: 341.
[8] This quote of Bacon's was drawn from 'The Wisdom of the Ancients.'
[9] See *New Atlantis* passage: 395-396.

first uses of the symbol of the Cherubim in *New Atlanti*s was upon a scroll of warning from the initial encounter with the Bensalmites. As the narrator describes: 'The scroll was signed with a stamp of cherubins' wings, not spread but hanging downwards and by them a cross,' (*NA* 361). This symbol, placed alongside a cross, plays a decisive role in transforming the psychological disposition of the explorers so as to make them compliant and receptive. As the narrator puts it: 'And above all, the sign of the cross to that instrument was to us a great rejoicing, and as it were a certain presage of good,' (*NA* 361). These passages link the role of mythic and Christian symbols within a process of the psychological restoration of a *vulgar* auditor. They are also images that are being used to connect the tropes of a 'political restoration' with a restored language.

When considering the critical implications of the textual analysis, I would like to highlight the relationship between the tropes of restoration within the passages analysed. The trope of enthusiasm helpfully directed our critical gaze to the connected relationship between the restoration of learning and political restoration within Bacon's rhetoric. Wherein Bacon had provided a representation of enthusiasm that enabled him to re-present the historical consequences of Calvinist notions of human predestination and the role Royalist dogma had in contributing to the rise of enthusiastic behaviour in *vulgar* auditors. Bacon's rhetorical structure that addressed a fundamental social-political divide was also a 'vertically' bifurcated one that was designed to provide a critical level of reader consideration for learned readers (including his Royal addressee) to consider issues of rhetoric itself. This critical structure used sophisticated textual signalling of generic affiliations to well-known narrative contexts such as Calvin's *Institutes*, the Bible, Classical mythos as well as Bacon's own corpus. This enabled Bacon to develop a rationale and ethos for ideal rhetoric and language that connected his restoration of learning and his political restoration. Finally, *New Atlantis* was constructed by Bacon to be an exemplar text that modelled the ideal of rhetoric and the style of restored language to which his learned readers ought to aspire.

The most important critical conclusions this chapter has developed within the wider purposes of this paper relate to the inter-relationship between these tropes of restoration. A repeated feature of Bacon's method inscribed in *New Atlantis* was Bacon's drawing upon significant orthodoxies and adapting them for his own purposes. Whether it was in relationship toward Calvinist epistemological assertions, Royalist perspectives upon dissent or Aristotelian notions of rhetoric, Bacon's poetics insert familiar arguments and images so as to clarify points of orthodoxy through rhetorical structures and argumentation. An important concern of *New Atlantis* was to demonstrate the role of public rhetoric and language had in contributing to the psychology of *vulgar* auditors and the potential social consequences of dogmatic

communication. Bacon's critical examination of Royalist orthodoxies centred upon realigning the foundations upon which language was based as well as to provide a model of critical self-examination of language for other thinkers. Central to realising Bacon's vision for a 'Great Instauration' was a 'restoration of language', which involved a marriage between mythos, a Christian ethos, and Aristotelian precepts of decorum in language. Bacon's meta-idea of restoration and his claims about language's role and its capacity to contribute to the realisation of Royalist ideas, were both to play a prominent role in the debates over what constitutes the ideals for Royalism across the course of the 17th century in Britain.

Chapter 2: The Baconian inheritance in the apologetics of Bishop Sprat and Abraham Cowley.

The overarching goal for this chapter is to illustrate the essential role Baconian psycho-sociological ideas played in the re-formulation of Royalist outlook and their troping of "Restoration" during the Restoration period. The textual scope for this chapter's critical analysis will be upon two texts: Bishop Sprat's History of the Royal Society Part 1 and Abraham Cowley's dedicatory poem 'To the Royal Society' drawn from the work *The History of the Royal Society of London, For the Improving of Natural Knowledge* (1667). The thematic focus for the textual analysis will be to examine the tropes of enthusiasm and restoration within these two texts, directed at addressing two critical areas. The first area will concentrate upon connecting the apologetics of the Royal Society with the wider goals of Restoration Royalist ideology. The second area will focus upon how a Baconian model was used to create a model of critical distance, using a rationale of natural philosophical ideas in the re-formulation of the Royalist discourse that underpinned the Restoration mode.

In his important article, *Methodology and Apologetics: Thomas Sprat's History of the Royal Society*, P.B. Wood argues for a reframing of critical perspectives upon Bishop Sprat's *The History of the Royal Society*. Wood argues that scholars ought to prioritise the persuasive function of the *History* for the Royal Society as it sought to communicate with its members and the wider Restoration community[10]. This brings to the forefront the historical context for critical scholars and transforms how we ought to consider the use of Baconian ideas. Within this frame, the fidelity or otherwise of Sprat or Cowley to Bacon's own ideas becomes less relevant; instead**,** their use of Baconian ideas becomes more pertinent.

Wood's prism focussed upon the relationship between the 'apologetic function' of the *History* and Sprat's use of Bacon's 'Method' as the key for his evaluation of the text. Wood describes the need for the Royal Society to produce an apologetic text as follows:

> The Royal Society during its early years found itself in an environment which was often openly critical, or what was in some cases equally damaging, oblivious of it. The problem facing the Society was, therefore, that of diverting criticism and establishing a permanent social basis, (Wood 2).

Later, Wood goes on to suggest that the 'criticism' the Society's members faced took the form of three charges: enthusiasm, atheism and materialism. In line with the focus of this thesis, my chapter will focus solely upon the criticism that relate to enthusiasm. The most significant part of Wood's quoted observations related to the Royal Society's need to establish a

[10] Henceforth, within this chapter Sprat's *The History of the Royal Society* shall be abbreviated and referred to as the *History* so as to be more readable.

permanent social basis. One of the main contentions of this analysis is that there was a fundamental similarity between the problem within the Royal Society and with wider Royalism that revolved around the issues of history and enthusiasm. To background this connection, it is important to remind ourselves of some relevant features of the historical context.

During the years between the death of Francis Bacon (1626) and the establishment of the Royal Society (1660), the problem of enthusiasm for Royalist natural enquirers increased. As Jacob and Jacob's evidence suggests, there was a social split within practitioners of natural philosophy that centred upon the use of Baconian ideas within wider social issues:

> **[**T]here is a discernible and crucial difference between the reformism of the Hartlibians, of Boyle, Benjamin Worsley, and Petty, and the radicalism of Seekers, True Levellers, Fifth Monarchists, Ranters, and Quakers. Both groups, reformists and radicals alike, belonged to the revolution, but by 1650 the revolution of the radicals had left the reformists far behind, (Jacobs and Jacobs 255).

The notable presence of enthusiasts, revolutionaries or even moderate reformers within past natural philosophical associations could not be ignored by the Royal Society in the post-Civil War political climate. Obviously, the credibility to assert that natural philosophy was restorative was directly impacted by the legitimate critique of their opponents that the Royal Society was replete with Royalist opposition**.** Clearly then, the reputation of enthusiasm impacted upon the Royal Society's goal of achieving a permanent social basis and direct evidence of the importance of enthusiasm for the apologetic program for the *History*. But, the more important impact of Jacob and Jacob's evidence is that it draws to the forefront the similarities between the problems of the Royal Society and the wider challenges facing Royalism.

The fracture in the Royal Society mirrored that within the Restoration society. For the wider Royalist movement, the issue centred upon Conformity, or put another way, with whom to reconcile, on what terms and which groups to exclude. In this sense, the Royal Society's problems were a microcosm of the wider Royalist movement. Yet, when viewed through the prism of the idea of 'Restoration', the centre of the comparison became one of understanding the past so as to guide 'their' engagement with the present and future. Within the narrowest prism of the apologetic needs of the Royal Society, the Society needed to provide a narrative of its past that involved differentiating and repositioning itself vis-a-vis enthusiasm. However, as Wood suggests, the aim of the Royal Society to gain a social permanent basis required their advocates to connect their ideas with wider social goals to be relevant as well as to gather and sustain wider support.

Royalism and the wider Restoration society also needed to understand their past. I would suggest that the most important issue that Royalist thought needed to reconcile was the Regicide against the radical claims of the Commonwealth. Unlike centuries of rival House claims for the throne, the Commonwealth by its very nature challenged the immutability of the Royalist system in Britain. Furthermore, the history of the Interregnum and the nature of the Royal Restoration itself was an overriding issue during the Restoration. Charles II's own role within this recent history stood as a particularly problematic issue for learned men. Despite Court efforts to mythologise the role of Charles II and the nature of his Restoration, for many Royalists the dissonance between the realities of the past and the narratives that were being used to present this past had to be interrogated.

It is a foremost contention of this chapter that Sprat and Cowley sought to connect the Royal Society's goals with the wider goals of the Royalist movement by forwarding Baconian method as a model for Royalist thinkers to use in their critical self-examination of their own past. Certainly, Sprat and Cowley associated their rhetoric and poetics with other parts of Royalist thought. However, within our critical purview, their most significant engagement with Royalist ideology was to provide an argument for a need for a critical distance when considering history and its relevance to the 'Restoration' project. They sought not just to provide an explanation of history, but to insert natural philosophical ideas as the basis for a model for understanding history itself.

The trope of enthusiasm is a useful access point for appreciating the engagement of Baconian Royalism and their engagement with the debates upon "Restoration." Early in Part 1 of the *History* Sprat argued that just as we (Royalists) 'cast out of *Divinity* it self, we shall hardly sure be persuaded, to admit it into Philosophy,' (Sprat 38)[11]. Sprat goes on to imply to his readers that the Royal Society had tried alternative approaches towards enthusiasm but that was 'a vain Attempt, to try to cure such Men of their groundless Hopes,' (Sprat 38). This position on enthusiasm has linked the Royal Society with the hard-line Cavalier position in the Conformity debate. One of the central reasons Sprat used to explain the prudency of the Royal Society's approach was that enthusiasm leads to a psychological disposition that leads to intransigent intellectual attitudes.

When we examine an example of enthusiasm that Sprat presented in support of his argument, it is clear that Sprat used Bacon's own social psychological ideas to explain and justify the

[11] Any italicised text within quotes from Sprat or Cowley are the author's own emphasis.

Royal Society's attitude toward enthusiasm. The example that Sprat cited as enthusiastic, involved those who sought immortality in their works:

> …In the Chase of the Philosopher's Stone, they are so earnest, that they are scarce capable of any other Thoughts; so that if an Experiment lye ever so little out of their Road, it is free from their Discovery; as I have heard of some Creatures in *Africk*, which still going a violent Pace strait on, and not being able to turn themselves, can never get any Prey, but what they meet just in their Way … The Truth is, they are downright *Enthusiasts* about it, (Sprat 37-38).

At the heart of Sprat's above critique is a psychological explanation for the problem of enthusiasm. Enthusiasm leads to an anti-social singlemindedness exemplified in the description that they were 'scarce capable of any other Thoughts,' (37). This critique of enthusiasm echoes Bacon's argument in Aphorism 46 from the *Novum Organum*. There Bacon argued that 'the human understanding when it has once adopted an opinion … draws all things else to support and agree with it,' (*NO* 97). One consequence of this psychological problem is epistemological as this mindset limits discovery to happenstance or 'what they meet just in their Way,' (38). This manifestation of anti-social singlemindedness clearly stands outside of the Baconian rationale for collective natural enquiry.

As important as the epistemological consequences of the problems of enthusiasm are in Sprat's argument, it is the anti-social aspects of his examples that are particularly pivotal to his apologetics. The actions of the enthusiasts were equated to 'Creatures in Africk, which still going a Violent Pace strait on,' (37). The poetics of violent allusion link the singular enthusiastic act of a search for the Philosopher's Stone with the violent past of the radical Puritans in the Civil War. Sprat used a device of 'insider disclosure' as he informed his readers about their knowledge practices: 'The Truth is, they are downright *Enthusiasts* about it,' (38). This passage clearly would have added credibility to the apologetic claims of the Royal Society as a whole. They were acknowledging their past as they disassociate themselves from it, their 'Vain Attempt'. But, it is also suggesting that Royalism can learn from the experience of the Royal Society and its engagement with the enthusiasts. According to Sprat, the single-mindedness of the enthusiasts precluded them from being a part of the "Restoration" project and Royalism more generally.

When we turn to Cowley's direct engagement with the trope of enthusiasm, we also see Cowley engaging in similar Baconian poetics. The most direct example is from the following lines of 'To The Royal Society', taken from Stanza VIII:

> A Star, so long unknown, appears,
> Though Heaven it self more beauteous grow,

It troubles and alarms the World below,

Does to the Wise a Star, to Fools a Meteor show. (ll. 165-168).

The comparative dichotomy lies between 'the Wise' and '[the] Fools' in the analogy. The difference between the two is solely a matter of judgement or interpretation. As the narrative develops it is through a comparative frame. The Wise see a simple, yet beautiful, star against the 'Heavenly' background of Divine Creation. The Fool animates Divine actions by claiming that a 'Star' is a 'Meteor'. This implied, prophetic judgement retrospectively informs the reader that it is this claim of prophesy by the Fool that has caused the 'troubles and alarms [of] the World below', (l. 67). But, it has a surrounding irony as it is actually a Providential event albeit a misunderstood one. For, it is natural philosophy that has emerged from this 'Celestial Dance' (l.163). This ironic comparative frame draws the level of the distinction to judgement in combination with use. Cowley's analogy here mirrors the problem of the enthusiast's understanding of his own participation in Providence in Bacon's *New Atlantis*.

Common to the rhetoric of Sprat and Cowley is the link they draw between false knowledge practices and social discord. These arguments were in service of a goal to distinguish natural enquiry from enthusiastic practice. However, Cowley is speaking to a larger frame than just apologetics with his critique of prophecy. He is also providing a critique upon Royalist discourses of "Restoration". Ecclesiastical scholar Warren Johnston is particularly helpful for our discussion on this point. He argues that:

> In fact, the style of these early Restoration works closely resembled apocalyptic expositions by radicals, which also used prophecy as an instrument of immediate political testimony, directly applying prophetic fulfilment to current events as a sign of divine advocacy, (Johnston 474).

Within the quoted passage of Cowley, we see that Cowley adapted apocalyptic imagery to make a specific point of differentiation. Taking Johnston's observation into account, it is also apparent that Cowley was also engaging with Royalist expositions not just enthusiastic claims. That Cowley was doing so is more apparent within the wider narrative of the poem, but we can also see the relevance to Royalist mythos in the prior cited passage. If 'A Star' is substituted for the political act of the Restoration of the King, then Cowley's critique functions in a similar way toward Royalist mythos of the King's return as it does toward the enthusiast. It is important to note that Cowley was not dismissing prophecy per se. But he was warning that an incorrect use of prophecy leads to catastrophic results.

To fully appreciate Sprat and Cowley's inter-relationship of the tropes of enthusiasm with tropes of restoration, it is necessary to return to the critical commentary upon the Restoration Royalist ideological debates. As Harold Weber's valuable article *Representations of King*

Charles II and his escape from Worcester outlines, Royalist circles, from the King himself outwardly to all important Royalist intellectuals, were actively providing narratives around the Royal escape, exile and return[12]. In A.D Cousins's article cited in my Introduction, Cousins places Sprat's notions of restored rhetoric at the heart of the 'Restoration' alongside John Dryden and Edmund Waller. As Cousins puts it, 'They claim that not only Charles, but England itself, is being restored: its language; its arts and sciences; its principles of government,' (Cousins 133). Without doubt, Cousins's observation about affirming the King's Restoration was central to the values of "Restoration". However, what is noteworthy about Sprat's rhetoric of Part 1 and Cowley's poem is the absence of the Royal personage within their narratives.

Cousins points to a number of quotes from Part 1 which showed Sprat exhorting and personally implicating the Royal personage within the 'Restoration', but when we turn to Sprat's narrative of history itself, the absence of Royal power in Sprat's account is notable. The reason for this I would argue was that part of the purpose of Part 1 of the *History* was to provide Royalist readers with alternative explanations for history that did not implicate Royal power in the generation of conflict. Reminding ourselves that Sprat was seeking a 'social basis' for the Royal Society, part of this involved demonstrating a need for Baconian ideas within the "Restoration". Sprat's strategy was to provide a need for Baconian ideas by critiquing all other knowledge traditions and their role in the British intellectual inheritance. It is my contention that Sprat removed the Royal presence from his historical narrative so as to avoid implicating Royal power in the problematic development of history.

The capacity for Baconian ideas to help humanity understand history was a prime argument Sprat and Cowley used in their engagement with the "Restoration" debates. Within the rhetoric of their narratives, the social psychological ideas of Bacon play a prominent role in their explanations of the history of knowledge. At the beginning of Sprat's *History*, readers are presented with the example of the 'first Corruption of Knowledge' that had come 'from the *Eastern* Parts of the World,' (Sprat 5). The specific causes for this corruption of knowledge involved intellectual culture and its customs. As Sprat's initial 'Eastern' example goes on to inform us, '[i]t was the custom of their wise Men, to wrap up their Observations on Nature, and the Manners of Men, in the dark Shadows of Hieroglyphicks; and to conceal them, as sacred Mysteries, from the Apprehensions of the Vulgar,' (Sprat 5). The intrinsic relationship that Sprat wanted to draw his readers' attention to is the interaction of the 'Manners of Men' and their 'Observations of Nature'.

[12] See Weber particularly 489-491 for Court mythos about Charles's II role.

Just as in Sprat's example of the enthusiast, Sprat links his argument with Baconian social psychological ideas in this passage. The link in the passage was his use of the Baconian phrase 'the Apprehensions of the Vulgar' in his exposition. The phrase is taken from Bacon's Aphorism 43 or the 'Idol of the Marketplace' from *Novum Organum*. It is effectively a summary of Sprat's argument writ large hence quoted in full:

> For it is by discourse that men associate, and words are imposed according to the apprehension of the vulgar. And therefore the ill and unfit choice of words wonderfully obstructs the understanding. Nor do the definition and explanations wherewith in some things learned men are wont to guard and defend themselves, by any means set the matter right. But words plainly force and overrule understanding and throw all into confusion, and lead men away into numberless controversies and idle fancies, (*NO* 96).

Within the passage from the *History* cited in the previous paragraph, Sprat does not justify the basis for the superiority of Baconian method of interpretation. That being said, Bacon's social psychological ideas are fundamental to Sprat's central claim that Baconianism provides a critical distance from which to distinguish the historic social misuse of language.

Returning to Sprat's narrative itself, Sprat has intimated that language and Baconian method have a pre-social origin seen in their presence at the 'First Corruption'. Sprat's social narrative of history has a basic pattern of implicating Pre-Greek, Greek, Roman and Christian intellectual history that connects their use of knowledge with social discord. By employing Baconian socio-psychological ideas Sprat was able to develop an implied critical distance for his evaluative statements. Sprat's structure of argumentation provided for a privileged and distinctive position for Baconian ideas superior to the traditions he critiques. Through repetition, this effectively became an interpretive model that is functioning to provide an alternative explanation for Royalists to use in their own interpretation of what the course of events leading up to Royal Restoration meant. Restoration becomes a terminal point within this construct. When we view the pre-social origin and the terminal point of Restoration together, Sprat's argument is that Baconian method will restore language and rhetoric to an Edenic state prior to this 'First Corruption'. In so doing, Sprat's is signifying that the Restoration is a Providential event and that Baconian inspired reforms are essential to the Restoration's transformative nature.

There are three examples where we can see various aspects of Sprat's interpretive model, his use of Baconian ideas and the relationship between language and truth. In backgrounding the 'High' Greek Renaissance, Sprat gave an account of the legacy of indecorous modes of rhetoric inherited from the Heroic tradition of 'Orpheus, Linus, Musaeus and Homer' who 'first softened Men's natural rudeness' (Sprat 6). Sprat explained at the heart of the

problematic inheritance was the uncivil and immoral use of language by custodial figures of knowledge who 'with a Mixture of Fables and the Ornaments of Fancy …' used their rhetoric so as '…to insinuate their Opinions into their Hearers Minds,' (Sprat 6). The logic of Sprat's own rhetoric matched Bacon's rationale of 'ill fit and unchoice words' in his argument of the *Idols of the Marketplace*. The decisive relationship of false knowledge practices and cultural conduct has now been linked with language through the social imperatives of rhetoric in the application of genre toward *vulgar* audiences. Sprat has iterated Bacon's argument upon rhetoric that we noted in *New Atlantis* and placed this notion at the causal centre of his meta-narrative for history. The profound nature of the consequences of indecorous rhetoric and false knowledge was defined by Sprat as having 'left some ill Influence on the whole Philosophy of their Successors,' (Sprat 6).

Sprat drew connections within his narrative of history with the project of "Restoration" and its historical context through the poetics of analogous comparison. One instructive example of many analogous comparisons is seen in Sprat's account of the Socratic mode within Ancient Greek culture. It is Sprat's phraseology that is the pivotal poetic device that builds the connections in his analogies for his readers. The key phrase in the following example is the word 'Sects' which links the 17th century context with the narrative's. Sprat describes to his readers the aftermath of Socrates's death and the battle for control over his legacy:

> …but after his Death they were divided amongst his Followers, according to their several Inclinations. From him most of the succeeding *Sects* descended: and though every one of them had its different Principles and Rendezvouses; yet they all laid claim to this one common Title of being *his Disciples*, (Sprat 8).

According to Sprat, the problem of recent history mirrored that of Classical history and it centred upon false knowledge practices and indecorous language begetting sectarianism. The fight over the inheritance of Socrates repeats itself across the narrative allowing Sprat to build the argument about the persistent role of false knowledge and indecorous rhetoric. Sprat's account of the Civil War makes explicit the challenge for the Restoration period with his historical examples. The topic is on the English language since Chaucer:

> 'to the beginning of our late Civil Wars, it was still fashioning, and beautifying it self. In the Wars themselves, which is a time wherein all Languages use, if ever, to increase by extraordinary degrees; (for in such busie and active times, there arise more new Thoughts of Men, which must be signified, and varied by new Expression) then, I say, it received many fantastical Terms, which were introduced by our *Religious Sects*; and many outlandish Phrases, which several *Writers*, and *Translators*, in that great Hurry, brought in, and made free as they pleased…' (Sprat 42).

This repetition of 'sects' in combination with the paralleled relationship between language and social discord connects the Classical problems with contemporary problems. Rhetoric and

poetics exacerbate conflict with the reverse relationship also being true where wars bring 'fantastical Terms' with them.

According to Sprat, the connection of language and the perpetuation of conflict was crucial to understanding history. Given the problem of conflict and language outlined above, the current contemporary peace is the precipitous time for a project of "Restoration". As Sprat puts it:

> '…such a Project is now seasonable to be set on foot, and may make a great Reformation in the manner of our Speaking and Writing. First, the Thing it self is no way contemptible: For the Purity of Speech, and Greatness of Empire, in all Countries, still met together,' (Sprat 41).

Clearly, Sprat wanted to extend the relationship between decorous language and social harmony. In the above passage, 'Purity of Speech' or rhetoric was now explicitly linked with political restoration and the 'Greatness of Empire'. As a consequence, Sprat argued for an extension of the Baconian project. Just as the Royal Society was necessary for the moderate and prudent discovery of truth in nature, so too a '… new English Academy confin'd only to the weighing of Words and Letters …' ought to be a part of the greater Restoration project (Sprat 42). So important was the relationship between language and social conduct for Sprat, that the "Restoration" required an institution that was to be a custodian of language itself.

One significant contribution of Sprat's cultural critique in his *History* was providing a rationale for Royalist governance and it was a cultural one as much as anything else. Restoration historian, Nicholas Jose, argues that one of the important consequences for Royalist ideology of the Civil War was that Royalists had to confine themselves to the '…pragmatic viewpoint that conquest – the usurpation of power by whatever means – of necessity bestowed the right to govern,' (Jose 7). Jose's observation is pointing towards a crisis in Royalist ideology in its confrontation with history through the destruction of the 'myth' of the immutability of the Crown. The link that Sprat's rhetoric draws between social conduct and false knowledge provides a valuable way Royalists could interpret the Civil War itself. In a sense, Sprat's history was servicing a gap in Royalism by providing an explanation for history and conflict that did not draw attention to the ambiguous nature of Charles's return.

Baconian social psychological ideas provided for Sprat a rationale for Royalist legitimacy through his ideals of civil conduct. Sprat was arguing toward other Royalist ideologues that the Baconian method not only gives us a better sense of history and culture. The structure of his rhetoric also forms a part of the method of critical self-awareness that he argues Royalism ought to use. Sprat's overarching argument in his historical narrative of conflict, is that Royalism needs Baconianism if it is to guarantee that history's mistakes will not be repeated.

Yes, clarity of language was a part of the greatness of Empire but the superiority of cultural conduct that the Baconian method would ensure provided for Royalism the rationale for legitimacy and a durable method for critiquing others. Only Royalism armed with Baconianism could guarantee the peace as it could define friend from foe, virtue from incivility and truth from falsehood. The growth of the Royal Society was to be the custodial guarantor for this project.

When we turn to Cowley's use of Baconian ideas in his engagement with Royalist ideology and "Restoration", we also see how Cowley deployed Bacon's conception of human psychology in his poetics. Cowley described the Baconian method as 'the mechanic Way' and he drew his readers' attention to the core source of all methodological problems at the beginning of Stanza IV. As the poem's narrator explains:

> From Words, which are but Pictures of the Thought,
> (Though we our Thoughts from them perversely drew)
> To Things, the Mind's right Object, he it brought:
> Like foolish Birds to painted Grapes we flew;
> He sought and gather'd for Our Use the true; (ll. 69-73).

The fundamental idea within Cowley's tropes of restoration is the use of judgement or 'Wit'. In this passage, Cowley was arguing for a break from traditional notions of originality and conventional adherence to tradition simultaneously. Originality was conventionally associated with the imagination as well as the modification of literary norms. However, traditional uses of imagination were untended with Wit and had caused poets to stray 'Like Foolish Birds to painted Grapes…' (l.72). Bacon's method is critical to the use of judgement because it replaces our psychological predisposition to use 'Our Thoughts' as the basis for our poetics and focuses our imagination on the material world or 'the Mind's right Object' (l.70, l.71). According to Cowley's rhetoric, for clarity of judgement restraint must be placed upon the imagination through the use of Bacon's method. This was not a wholesale dismissal of originality due to this restraint of imagination and Cowley's anchoring poetics to the material world. Baconian method alongside contemporary instrumentation would bring new horizons for poetic knowledge or 'New Scenes of Heaven already we espy, / And Crowds of Golden World on high;' (ll.136-137).

These neo-classical images of 'Golden World[s] on high' are not a call by Cowley towards a Neo-Classicist re-interpretation of tradition. Cowley dismisses traditional imitation and strict adherence to poetic tradition particularly if we are to understand history through mythos. Cowley makes his specific critique of neo-classical mythos in Stanza IV:

Who to the Life an exact Piece would make,

Must not from others Work a Copy take;

No, not from Rubens or Vandike; (ll.79-81).

Of course, scholars can only speculate to which works of these Court painters of Charles I Cowley was referring. Nevertheless, we are entitled to claim that it was a critique of the mythological narratives of Cowley's own period and its immediate past when we consider the wider narrative within which these Baconian arguments are placed.

The overarching narrative of 'To the Royal Society' is a history of philosophy. But, this narrative of the history of philosophy was, itself, an allegory for Royalist imprisonment within its own mythos and an examination of inter-relationship between history and mythos. The connections between Cowley's use of the Baconian method and his critique of neo-classical mythologising of history had particular focus upon the Royal body and Royal agency within the poem. The poem begins with its potent line of personification: 'Philosophy, the great and only Heir' (l.1). This line drew readers' attention to the connection between knowledge and tradition through the concept of inheritance. But, according to Cowley's poetics, tradition was failing its core function of generational transfer of knowledge and power. We are informed of this immediately: 'Though full of Years He do appear, … Has still been kept in Non-Age till of late' (l.4, l.8). Without doubt, the surface narrative is similar to Sprat's in that it is providing a critical space within Restoration's intellectual landscape for Baconian natural philosophy by criticising the British inheritance from Classical modes of discourse. However, unlike Sprat's unapologetic polemics supplementing the Court's mythos, Cowley wanted to interrogate the precise problems of Royalist ideology and its mythos within his poetics by drawing attention to the Royal body.

Cowley's critical position was a sophisticated one embedded within the depiction of agency within the poem. The Royal 'Heir' depicted through the parallelism of personification of 'Philosophy' cannot 'manage [sic] [n]or enjoy [sic] his vast Estate:' (l.8). Nor, can the Royal presence use 'his own natural Powers to let him see,' (l.17). Of course, within the surface narrative the 'Guardians and the Tutors' were iterations of a traditional Baconian critique of Scholasticism and the text-book tradition within early modern pedagogy (l.14)[13]. But, Cowley's allusion of Royal capture and denied inheritance, also wanted Royalists to reconsider whether Royalist ideology could clearly see its own history and realise its own natural powers.

[13] Patricia Reif's scholarship on the text-book tradition is a useful source to locate Cowley's critique within the wider movement that challenged scholastic pedagogy in the 17th century.

The lack of direct Royal agency within the poem is key to Cowley's argument. His model is in contrast to the conventional and contemporary mythos of the 'escape narratives' that the Court and other Royalist poetics were asserting. The traditional conventions of escape narratives were particularly problematic for learned Restoration Royalists like Cowley because of the realities of recent history. As Weber explains: [a]ll escape narratives, in fact, begin with a battle waged by the king against his own people, while the escape itself assumes the successful disguise of a majesty that court art defines as inherent, inescapable, and omnipresent,' (Weber 493). It was not only inaccurate and inadvisable to pose the King in opposition to the people within the Restoration period. Yet, Royalist mythos was struggling to maintain the fiction that Royal power and the Royal body was 'inherent, inescapable and omnipresent' when the reality was the King was until very recently 'a penniless and despised exile…' (Weber 494).

Cowley's critical posture toward Court mythos was to provide an alternative narrative around the Providential causes of Restoration. Yes, Royalists should celebrate the return of the King, but the mythos of Royal narratives needed to use Baconian method in their approach to history. As his narrator puts it, '[t]he real Object must command, /Each Judgement of his Eye…' (ll.87-88). Cowley's alternative narrative positioned Bacon as the agent of liberation, a Biblical figure who '…, like Moses, led us forth at last, [from] The barren Wilderness he past,' (ll. 93-94). Cowley's response to Court mythos was a knowing engagement in heroic revisionism and not an attempt at providing a real history. Cowley's contribution to the Royalist debates about "Restoration" was focussed upon what Royalism ought to found its mythos of its past within its project for the future.

Part of Cowley's argument for his reconstruction of Royalist ideology involved directing his readers toward the Jacobean era as a source of images and ideas. One issue that Cowley's revisionism sought to clarify in his use of Jacobean era images was the problem of Royal authority and the assertions of Royal prerogatives. Cowley's stance is clearly defined by his narrator in Stanza II:

> Bacon at last, a mighty Man, arose,
> Whom a wise King and Nature chose
> Lord Chancellor of both their Laws, (ll.37-39).

In Cowley's rhetoric, Royal power is equi-potent with Natural law. Cowley's position echoes Bacon's advice to his Royal addressee that Royal power ought not be based around the Royal body. Within the poem, the Royal heir has been captured by false guardians who have used traditional notions of 'Authority' to restrain Royal power and have left it impotent. Cowley's

revisionist depiction of Bacon, in a baroque moment of heroic action ridding the 'Orchard' of an immaterial 'scare-crow deity', forms part of an argument for a 'restored' basis for Royal power. The 'Orchard', a metaphoric representation of an ideal space, within this poem is a landscape of the mind. The composite meaning of Cowley's images constitute an argument for a restoration of ideal Royalist thought, a ridding of it of 'senseless Terrors' from 'superstitious men' (l.56, l.57).

Instead, Cowley wanted to restore Royalist philosophy by reorientating the Royalist gaze toward nature and the material world. The images that elucidate Cowley's ideals are those related to the atom. As Cowley explains:

> The numerous Work of Life does into Atoms shut.
> You've learn'd to read her smallest Hand,
> And well begun her deepest Sense to understand, (ll.148-150).

According to Cowley's poetics, Royalism ought to be grounded upon the 'Atoms' as this illuminates the 'deepest Sense' of Nature's plan. Robert Hinman described Cowley's ideals at an 'intersection of the truly august and the truly humble,' (Miner 86)[14]. I would suggest that the truly august and truly humble within 'To the Royal Society' meet in his images of the Atom. According to Cowley, it is 'smallest Things of Nature' that are important as 'they let me know, / Rather than all their greatest Actions do' (ll. 157-158). The rationale for the need for a focus of the material world is illustrated by the consequences of what happens to those that do not. The 'Blows of Ignorance' of the Fool, when he interpreted the 'greatest Action' or the arrival of the 'Meteor', contained the lesson of prophetic catastrophe. The other example of the Royal heir being captured by immaterial ideas illustrated the potential impotency of false knowledge.

According to Cowley's poetics, the rhetoric of ideal Royalist ideas needed a Baconian prudency of wit. Poets or natural philosophers ought to avoid 'th' Excess / of low Affliction, and high Happiness,' (ll. 105-106). Cowley's ideal for behaviour was not just directed at the poet's or reader's own psychological disposition but was also concerned with rhetoric. A part of Cowley's ideals for "Restoration" included a decorum for poetics that ideally should have 'candid Stile like a clean Stream does slide' (l. 179). The onus is firmly placed upon the Royalist ideologue within Cowley's system of thought as they are the ones that have a set of obligations to interpret the world by correctly focussing upon the 'real Object', to not be excessive and to be candid in style.

[14] I have not directly sighted Hinman's own work but have relied solely upon Miner.

In a sense, these above arguments for an ideal Royalist philosophy were also the rationale for why Bacon ought to be the focus of Royalist mythologising. Obviously, Bacon was dead and was not literally meant to be the cause of the "Restoration'. Instead, Bacon's heroic actions that are important in Cowley's poetics centre upon his liberation of Royalism from the false chains of traditional doctrines and their guardians. Bacon's prophetic status was his understanding for Royalism and humanity to align knowledge with nature so as to realise Divine Providence. Bacon's heroic actions manifest the truly august; Bacon's method aligns this action with the truly humble – the atom. These are the pillars of Cowley's Royalism and it is these types of acts that ought to be the focus for Royalist myth-making.

When considering Cowley's project as a whole alongside Sprat's, it is important to recognise that the similarities outweigh the differences. Broadly speaking, Cowley worked from an essentially constructive stance toward the wider 'Restoration' push in a similar way to Sprat. But, as much as Cowley and Sprat were a part of movement that sought to provide a new mythos for Royalism centred upon its project of 'Restoration', it was also very much couched as a work in progress that required Baconian ideas to ensure its longevity. For Sprat, Baconian psycho-sociological ideas provided a critical distance as well as cultural criteria for discriminating virtuous conduct and potential sources for social discord. For Cowley, Baconian methods provided not just a rationale and template for 'restorative' rhetoric and poetics, it also presented a more durable and political diffuse structure for Royalist ideology. Cowley's fearless introspection of Royalist orthodoxies encapsulated and exemplified a model of critical self-awareness that places the responsibility for Royalist fortunes within the hands of the wider ideological movement and away from the hazards of the Royal body. For both, it is 'Gideon's little Band' that 'God with Design has pickt' and it is the Royal Society and its Baconianism that will guarantee the Restoration and Royalism, perhaps, in spite of the potential enthusiastic assertions by the King himself (ll.117-118).

Chapter 3: Samuel Butler and Royalist scepticism to the "Restoration" project.

The "Restoration" project was forwarded by many parties, of which the Baconian Royalists of the Royal Society were but one. As such, Samuel Butler's poetic responses to "Restoration" were directed against a broad movement within Royalism. Having noted that, this chapter will solely consider Butler's opposition to "Restoration" through the prism of his response to Baconian ideas. Scholarship to date has already drawn into conversation Butler's opposition to "Restoration" with respect to Baconian claims through the textual analysis of his key satires. With some notable exceptions, scholarship upon the relationship between Butler and Bacon has tended to focus upon issues relating to Butler's response to Baconian 'method' so as to clarify his stance more broadly toward the 'New Science'. Rather than taking that approach, my critical frame will focus upon Butler's poetic response to Bacon's claims about language that underpin Bacon's broader claims for a 'restoration of language'.

The overarching goal of this critical frame is to supplement prior critical perspectives upon Butler by bringing into the critical conversation passages of salient texts not usually considered when analysing Butler's response to "Restoration". The scope of the textual coverage will be confined to key passages in *Hudibras* Part 1 Canto 1 and images and arguments from his verse-satire 'The Elephant in the Moon' (Short Verse). The textual analysis will initially demonstrate how Butler's different understanding of the origins of language led him to a different conception of the relationship between art and nature from the Baconian model outlined in earlier chapters. From this foundation, I will then explain how passages of characterisation from *Hudibras* Part 1 Canto 1 are examples of Butler's poetic understanding of language and are used to forward a different ethical structure for the poetic representation of mythos and history. Finally, I will then reconnect the rhetoric and poetics that Butler outlined in those passages with his direct response to Baconian Royalist conceptions of language inscribed in 'The Elephant in the Moon'.

Scholars have noted that tropes of enthusiasm consistently appear in Butler's poetics when directed against Puritans and the emblem of Restoration Baconianism, the Royal Society. One particularly acute comment on Butler's poetics by A.D. Cousins is that 'Butler's revaluation of his society makes its most telling points not by denying that a "Restoration" has happened, but by turning the cavaliers' own standard against them,' (Cousins 135). One important implication of Cousins's observation is that Butler used ideas, images and rhetoric of the subject of the satire against themselves. The repeated troping of enthusiasm was an important mechanism by which Butler connected very different political opponents, Puritanism and

Baconian Royalists, for his audience. Miner's scholarship connecting *Hudibras* with the Royal Society argues that 'The elephant is already in the moon, and Sidrophel is already the deceived Restoration virtuoso, or his prototype,' (Miner 176). Rather than explore Sidrophel, it is my contention by examining tropes of enthusiasm that characterise Butler's Puritan Ralpho, we can see Butler engaging with different claims of 'Restoration' particularly those concerning language.

Within Cousins's article 'The Idea of "Restoration" and the Verse Satires of Butler and Marvell' cited above, Cousins provides evidence drawn from three of Butler's satires that illustrated Butler's repeated critique of the language of the Court and the 'enthusiastic' Royal Society avatars[15]. When viewed alongside Weber's evidence (presented in Chapter 2) on Royalist scepticism toward Court mythology surrounding the political act of Restoration, it would seem that Butler was also participating in the interrogation of the disjunction between the Court's behaviour and the ideals it was forwarding. The socio-political use of mythos in representing history appears to be a paramount concern for Butler in a similar way to that of other Royalist sceptics. The wider import of Cousins's work is that he has provided evidence that suggests that the intersection of language, mythos and history was a significant fracture point within Royalist debates upon "Restoration".

Needless to say, the narrative of Butler's mock-epic satire *Hudibras* is centred upon providing an account of the Civil War. *Hudibras* Part 1 is clearly a Royalist political polemic, yet it does not participate in the celebration of the political act of Restoration. Part 1 was written during the period of 1658-1662, a period that would have placed Butler as a witness to the final throes of the Civil War and the period of the political act of Restoration[16]. One obvious indication of Butler's attitude lies in his invocation of the mock epic tradition through his parallel to Cervantes's *Don Quixote*. Butler did not believe that the Neo-Classical epic tradition was an appropriate form for representing the English Civil War.

Butler's poetic philosophy appears to have a foundational principle that language and form for poetry should match the subject matter. This is not a radical proposition in the poetic tradition. However, usually this relationship was expressed through positive framework of literary decorum such as the epic as appropriate for heroism. Butler in *Hudibras* appears to hold that the inverse ought to be so. As a consequence, the farce, folly and hypocrisy of the Civil War are reflected within the Butler's adaption of form and his presentation of language.

[15] See Cousins 133-137 for his textual analysis of Butler's verse-satires.
[16] Wilders claims that 1658 was when Butler started *Hudibras* on xviii of his introduction. The historical evidence he provides are in Appendix B 452-454.

In the earlier chapters, we noted how each Baconian author sought to give an account of language's origin. Butler also sought to give an account of language by examining its origins. The contrast between his account and the Baconian view lies at the heart of Butler's critique of the Baconian claims of "Restoration". One salient passage that illustrates Butler's understanding of the origins of language occurs midway through his initial characterisation of Ralpho in Part 1 Canto 1 of *Hudibras*. When characterising the mysticism involved in Ralpho's enthusiasm, Butler's narrator contends that his 'primitive tradition reaches / As far as Adam's first green breeches:' (I. I. ll. 525-526). It is important to bear in mind that this passage occurs in a satire. One of the major advantages of satire is its capacity to explore two opposite positions; and although the image presents a simple argument, this brief passage deserves some unpacking.

The surface meaning of Butler's couplet is identifying a core claim of knowledge-traditions that practised acts of enthusiasm to gain access to divinity. In the couplet, there are two images that connect Ralpho's description with enthusiastic practise. The phrase 'primitive tradition' refers to the act of seeking traces of the Creation. The image of Adam's presence defines Ralpho's enthusiastic practise with that of the search of aspects of Eden. Though we saw Bacon allude to origins of language in *New Atlantis*, it is unlikely that Butler was directly critiquing Bacon here given Baconianism is not linked to Ralpho as other false figures are within these passages[17]. However, there are comparative insights that we can gain by a closer examination of Butler's imagery regarding the origins of language.

The key word in the passage that reveals Butler's critical stance toward language is 'breeches'. Within the poem, clothing is a pivotal device that indicated to readers which knowledge tradition the character represents. Clothing also functions to connect images with the rhetoric embedded in the poetics. Consequently, the relationship between clothing and language formed the poetic bridge between the dramatic satire and the critical posture. Butler's critical posture toward language in this passage lies in appreciating the pun upon the term 'breeches'. One side of the pun relates to the meaning of the homonym of 'breech': as in a breach of rules. Within the context of an Edenic simile, the pun works two ways. The breach is a clear referent to Disobedience that caused the Fall of Man. The other meaning relates to breeches as clothing or within the poetics Adam's act of clothing himself in Eden. Butler has created a simile that connects disobedience, the act of Disobedience *par excellence*, through clothing to language.

[17] I. I. ll. 530-540 onwards Butler provides a variety of examples of occult enthusiasm.

It is instructive to illustrate how Butler substantiates the notion that language is man-made. The contrast in the depiction of Hudibras's and Ralpho's use of clothing is critical to understand Butler's ideas on language. Beginning with Butler upon Hudibras, we are informed that Hudibras:

> … although he had much wit,
> H' was very shie of using it,
> As being loath to wear it out,
> And therefore bore it not about,
> Unless on Holy-dayes, or so,
> As men their best Apparel do. (I.I. ll.45-50)

Butler characterises Hudibras as changing his clothing or language to suit occasions[18]. Whether the poet is being ironic in characterising Hudibras as having 'much wit' or not, the point is that he 'was very shie of using it'. Judgement or wit, for Hudibras was only fit to be used on Holy-Dayes or for social advantage. The point is not so much that Hudibras or Ralpho are without reason, it is that they do not apply reason with sound judgement. Butler's use of reason is different from our own, perhaps leading to some confusion. Butler was not inscribing a contradiction between reason and madness: reason leads to madness due to the fundamental inheritance of the Fall being Man's disobedience. The problem of language is that it shares this illegitimate inheritance and exacerbates conflict and confusion.

The final significant aspect of Butler's argument that language was man-made lies again within another trope of enthusiasm. For Ralpho 'had *First Matter* seen undrest: / He took her naked all alone, / Before one Rag of *Form* was on,' (ll. 554-556). Here, Ralpho seeks to disintermediate language by taking Nature or '*First Matter*' unadorned. The relationship of similitude between clothing and language is the basis for Butler's distinction between art and nature. Language is man-made and art likewise. Ralpho's search for '*First Matter*' is ironised by Butler through how crucial language and Ralpho's dogmatic use of it is within the epic.

On one level, Butler and Baconianism agree that dogmas and ignorance reflect themselves in language and in social conduct. For if anything characterises *Hudibras,* it is that false knowledge leads to confused rhetoric and civil discord. This similarity marks a profound difference that centres upon notions of language. For Bacon and the Baconians, ideally truth was inextricably linked to virtue. This was underpinned by Divine guarantee but also through natural philosophy's focus upon Divine Creation or nature. Within this model, language not

[18] Hudibras's clothing is presented periodically through i.i.ll. 303-396.

only ought to be virtuous to promote social harmony, but it needed to be virtuous if it is to reflect the natural basis of language and truth. Whereas for Butler, through Man's Disobedience, reason is always compromised and subject to folly. Consequently, Butler argued that Man ought to be suspicious of language and rhetoric. His evidence is his poetics; and the evidence is damning. His own poetics of history develop his conception beyond the Edenic origins of humankind and its language.

The difference between Butler and the Baconian models of poetic representation manifests itself in how to approach history. To explore Butler's ethics of poetic representation, I would like to turn to focus the passages on Ralpho's heritage. Given its importance, I have quoted the whole of an extended metaphor:

> An equal stock of Wit and Valour
> He had laid in, by birth a Taylor.
> The mighty *Tyrian* Queen gain'd
> With subtle shreds a Tract of Land,
> Did leave it with a Castle fair
> To his great Ancestor, her Heir:
> From him descended cross-legg'd Knights,
> Fam'd for their faith and warlike fights
> Against the bloudy Caniball,
> Whom they destroy'd both great and small.
> This sturdy Squire had as well
> As the bold *Trojan* Knight, seen hell,
> Not with a counterfeited Pass
> Of Golden Bough, but true gold lace. (I.I. ll. 459-472).

The narrative context that has been drawn upon for this extended metaphor are scenes from Book VI of Virgil's *Aeneid*[19]. The metaphor is complex and requires a multi-stage unpacking.

The first parallel between Butler's narrative and Virgil's arises in the couplet: 'This sturdy Squire had as well / As the bold Trojan Knight, seen hell,' (ll. 469-470). In Virgil's epic, 'the bold Trojan Knight', Aeneas visits the underworld to find out his heritage. Virgil's epic was written to serve a specific historical goal of mythologising Roman history to justify the new Imperial order for his patron, Emperor Augustus. The epic comparison to Ralpho on the

[19] Virgil's *Aeneid* Book VI 89-109 has a variety of passages with claims of inheritance. '…thus the prophetess took the word: "Seed of lineage celestial, Troy-born son of Anchises, light is the descent to Avernus,"'(92). This is the beginning of the speech where we are informed of the myth of the 'Golden Bough'.

surface is unflattering. Ralpho the Puritan, through his enthusiasm, does not see Heaven but, just as his Trojan counterpart, '[sees] hell.' The key to understanding Ralpho's journey lies within his heritage.

When we examine the language of the couplet more closely, it becomes apparent that 'hell' has a vernacular meaning. Wilders's foot notation on Butler's usage of the word 'hell' helpfully points out that hell was what 'Tailors call that Place Hell, where they put all they steal,' (Wilders 15). This obviously sheds light on the innocuous fact of line 460 that 'was 'by birth a Taylor,' (l. 460). Within the architecture of clothing and language in the poem, Butler is alluding to Ralpho creating his own language. As a comparative figure to the Heroic journeyman of the Underworld Aeneas, Ralpho is figured as an everyday, self-fashioning thief.

This depiction of Ralpho invites readers to question the relationship between language and truth. Butler develops his conception of the relationship between language, its use and truth further when he details Ralpho's heritage. As the narrator informs us, Ralpho's heritage extends back to the Classical age:

> The mighty *Tyrian* Queen gain'd
> With subtle shreds a Tract of Land,
> Did leave it with a Castle fair
> To his great Ancestor, her Heir: (ll. 461-464).

As Wilders again helpfully points out, Dido had stolen lands from around Carthage tricking her gull by using 'Oxes Hides, which she had cut into small thongs', so as to increase the amount of land she could purchase within a bargain (Wilders 15). The surface parallel of 'Ralpho the heir' to this theft has a direct historical and political significance. As an Independent, Ralpho represents the theft of lands that occurred and were not repatriated to their former owners over the course of the Civil War. During the period of publication of *Hudibras* Part 1 circa 1662, the political debate over these issues were those of Indemnity and Oblivion[20]. Butler is reminding his reader of the need for historical memory. Pointedly, Butler has followed Virgil's model and used myth for a very specific historical point of clarification. The poet's own use of Classical imagery stands in contrast to Ralpho's.

Yet, the metaphor has another level of critical commentary. Seemingly, the comparison between the Squire and Aeneas would imply that the Royalist movement was represented by the mythic Hero. However, Butler's allusion immediately reverses itself with the concluding

[20] Ronald Hutton's "Part Three: The Restoration Settlements" 125-184 was the principal historical source used for context.

lines of the quotation. Aeneas, we are informed, had used ‘a counterfeited Pass / of Golden Bough…’ and it is Ralpho who had used the legitimate pass of ‘true gold lace,’ (ll. 471-472). I would suggest that this reversal was designed to prompt reader reconsideration of the comparison. The implication of Aeneas using a counterfeited pass has been inscribed so as to underline that Classical sources are not the source for Divine wisdom. Ralpho is a foolish Christian; but a Christian nonetheless. As such, Ralpho holds ‘true gold lace’, the language of Biblical wisdom. The problem of Ralpho is not an indictment of Biblical knowledge or its language, it is that the heritage of enthusiastic inspiration was based upon misuse and deceit.

Butler’s metaphor is a wider warning about the hazards of the poetic use of Classical and Biblical mythos within poetry. Ralpho’s heritage as ‘a Taylor’ or tailor configures Ralpho as a poet or creator of language. Ralpho’s ‘true gold lace’ is poetic language. Most of the couplets upon enthusiastic knowledge practices carry similar messages. To cite but one example of the specific problems of Ralpho’s use of Classical images, we can turn to Butler’s description of the enthusiastic practice of astrology. We are informed that they ‘Make *Mercury* confess and peach / Those thieves which he himself did teach,’ (I.I. ll. 593-594). In effect, the use of Classical language with divinely inspired poets is a grand cross-generational Ponzi scheme. The messenger of the Classical Gods, Mercury, has been reduced to a pedagogical tool for a lineage of thieving poets. Making this metaphor explicit, Butler leaves no doubt that enthusiasm is a problem of poets and poetry, in these lines:

> Such language as no mortall ear
> But Spiritual Eaves-droppers can hear.
> So *Phoebus* or some Friendly Muse
> Into small Poets song infuse;
> Which they at second-hand rehearse
> Through reed or bag-pipe, verse for verse.

To draw together the implications of this extended metaphor for my comparison between Butler and Bacon’s conception of language, consider the wider narrative and historical context of the metaphor. The narrative context for Butler’s poem is that of a mock-epic that seeks to describe episodes from the Civil War. Butler has supplanted disputes of violence with a central rhetorical conflict between Hudibras and Ralpho. This is a central mechanism used to reduce the status of the epic form. The clear implication is that the historical context of this Civil War is unsuited for traditional epic modes. Yet, Butler has invoked the epic not to discredit it but to redirect it. The topic of the poem that merits epic status is that of language and its use in poetry.

The direct historical context supports this conclusion. The poetry of Restoration was using Classical parallels mixed with Biblical images so as to clarify the surface topic of *Hudibras,* the Civil War. As the opening lines inform us: [For] 'When civil Fury first grew high, / And men fell out they knew not why,' (I.I. 1-2). Butler's answer clearly points the finger at the Royalist opponents, but it is also directed at others providing alternate visions of 'hell' given they clearly 'knew not why'. A decisive part of this ignorance is memory. Historically the issue is oblivion and it is the problem of the forgetting of history that Butler seeks to recount. Poetically it is a problem of imaginative misunderstanding and misappropriation. The misuse of mythos with respect to history leads to confusion. Ralpho's enthusiastic characterisation is a model problem of the combination of false knowledge, imagination run amok and mythos amplifying the impact of his self-fashioning via the tailoring of language.

Miner claims that amplification was a prominent feature of narratives in Restoration poetry[21]. Wherein, poets of this 'mode' use amplification to test the boundaries of the relationship of art and nature within an agreed consensus view of a created, order universe. Mythos for the Baconians was a key way for the clarification or 'refinement' of language. They employed it to amplify their claims for the capacity of natural philosophy to 'restore' the human estate or to bring order to the chaos of reality. Butler's response to the Baconians was to illustrate how myth is complicit in the amplification of the hubris of man's folly with his tropes of enthusiasm. The problem of mythos is not just that myth comes from a false inheritance, but that it amplifies the individual imagination, elaborating fantasy to social and historical dimensions. This problem becomes acute for representation when myth is used for the interpretation of history. The confusion of Butler's characters was designed to highlight the problem for Royalism interpreting history through myth; Ralpho the enthusiast, a self-fashioned tailor of Classical and Biblical images, is a mirror toward the 'small Poets [whose] song infuse…/ …second-hand rehears[als]' of Restoration times. Neither is a 'Restoration of language possible' nor is the political act of Restoration a subject for myth.

Butler's poetic mode in *Hudibras,* its Hudibrastic style and diction, bursts at the seams of the epic tradition. Butler's disobedience toward stylistic tradition and language mirrors the disobedience in man. The combination of the subject matter of the Civil War; Butler's poetic diction; and the confused perspectives of the characters, work together to amplify each. When Butler turns his gaze directly upon Baconianism in 'The Elephant in the Moon', Butler uses the form of the verse-satire to contain amplification. This poetic choice concentrates the reader's attention upon the psychological issues of enthusiasm.

[21]To see Miner's views on amplification (32).

The meta-topic of 'The Elephant in the Moon' is the Royal Society and their claims about natural philosophy. One of the central issues in contention between Butler and Baconianism is the claim that Bacon's method can constrain the imagination. This contention can be occluded by the similarity between the views of Butler and Bacon. Drawn from his 'Miscellaneous Observation', we can see Butler's underlying position in the following quote: '[r]eason is the only helm of the understanding; imagination is but the sail, apt to receive and be carried away with every wind of vanity, unless it is steered by the former,' (Wilders and De Quehan 276). Bacon, Sprat and Cowley would undoubtedly concur with this statement. What is at issue is whether Baconian method can enhance the capacity of reason to steer the ship?

Butler uses the standard poetic devices of irony and hypocrisy in 'The Elephant in the Moon'. The key to realising the irony and hypocrisy of the 'scientists' relies upon two embedded, bifurcated contexts that are notionally drawn on a dichotomous division of inside/outside. The first division is drawn between the imaginative perspective of the scientist being on the inside and the natural world being on the outside. The other division is drawn between the deliberations of the insiders, the Royal Society, and the external social world. The template for Butler's poetic and rhetorical landscape is the Baconian claims of the Royal Society members. As Bruun's scholarship and Wilder's foot notation have shown, the images are drawn from their published works. As the following analysis will substantiate, *The History of the Royal Society* was also critical source that Butler used for his imagery.

Turning to the text itself, the image of the elephant is central to Butler's critical stance. It is my contention that the elephant symbolically represents the enthusiastic imagination. The image of the elephant plays a pivotal role in the irony and hypocrisy in the poem. It is through the focalisation of one of the members of the Royal Society, that we are informed of the elephant in the moon.

> Quoth he, 'A stranger sight appears
> Than e'er was seen in all the spheres
> A wonder more unparalleled
> Than ever mortal tube beheld.
> An elephant from one of those
> Two mighty armies is broke loose,
> And with the horror of the fight
> Appears amazed and in a fright. (ll. 121-128).

The surrounding plot context for this passage, of a Society member reporting an elephant in the moon, appears to be a fictional representation of a Royal Society gathering focussed upon

Kepler's lunar theories[22]. Prior to the appearance of the elephant, the irony would appear to be the mistaken understanding of amplification, wherein two extreme opposing effects of amplification have been used and confused within the extended metaphor of the experiment. One aspect is the amplification effect of the telescope viewing the moon in Kepler's theory. The other aspect is the magnification effects of the microscope referring to the gnats and fleas within the lens that signal to the reader Hooke's *Micrographia*[23].

This construct certainly notionally undermines the methodology of Baconian natural philosophy. However, the confusion of the instrumentation and the consequent sensory misperception are not the heart of Butler's critique. Butler informs us of the precise problem of amplification, in the following passage:

> When one who for his excellence
> In heightening words and shadowing sense
> And magnifying all he writ
> With curious microscopic wit,
> Was magnified himself no less (ll.167-171).

The problem of amplification involves the desire of the viewer to magnify himself. The desire depicted here is much the same as Ralpho. Language is used to shadow the senses or reason as well as to disguise the viewers 'microscopic wit'. In light of Sprat's condemnation of every other knowledge tradition's misuse of language to deceive *vulgar* audiences, it appears that Butler is hoisting the Baconians on their own petard.

Butler goes onto develop his argument upon enthusiastic amplification in the next stanza. The size of the elephant is compared with creatures of Earth in the lines: 'It is a large one, far more great / Than e'er was bred in Afric yet;' (ll.131-132). If this line seems familiar, it is because it is an allusion to the description that Sprat used to describe the problem of enthusiasm (quoted earlier in Chapter 2).

> …as I have heard of some Creatures in *Africk*, which still going a violent Pace strait on, and not being able to turn themselves, can never get any Prey, but what they meet just in their Way … The Truth is, they are downright *Enthusiasts* about it, (Sprat 37-38).

This passage certainly substantiates two of Cousins's earlier observations. The first being, that Butler uses the rhetoric of the object of his satire against it. The second being, that the central

[22] Using Robert Thyer's: *The Genuine Remains in Verse and Prose of Samuel Butler, Author of Hudibras*. In two Volumes. London 1759, Bruun gives a detailed account of who the various characters might be in the satire. Wilder's notation also asserts various connections. The author has not personally sighted Thyer's work.
[23] See Bruun p387 where he identifies ll. 167-172 as referring to Hooke's work.

issue of the problem of the Baconian project for Butler is the problem of enthusiasm. But, I think the extended metaphor and the troping of enthusiasm has another level of sophistication to it. This is revealed in the division between the inside/outside dichotomy of the poem.

The insider/outsider dichotomy within the poem helps Butler to consider two aspects of enthusiasm. Within the plane of the imagination of the viewer (the scientist) or the 'inside', the elephant, like enthusiasm itself, overwhelms all control of the two armies. The elephant's acts are a representation of the psychology of the observer. The conduct of the 'scientist' has been rendered 'amazed and in fright' from the 'horror[s]of this fight,' (ll. 127-128). He is literally an observer preoccupied with the lunar - with *lunacy*. In a sense, this passage is an act of self-examination. This is a clear contention against the notion that natural philosophy can obtain critical distance. However, within this dichotomy, when the outside or reality bears upon this lunatic fantasy, the mountainous elephant is revealed to be a mouse!

The second aspect of the insider/outsider dichotomy shows Butler exploring the socio-cultural aspects of enthusiasm. It is not just ironic that these Baconians, who sought to solve enthusiasm, have ended up amplifying enthusiasm with their own rhetoric. It is that they are hypocritical as well. The particular passage that defines the elephant 'bred in Afric' as a creature of enthusiasm was from the *History of the Royal Society*. As the problem of the elephant was revealed, the members were willing to continue the deceit. The *History,* which was designed to clarify the issue of enthusiasm for the wider world, was instead part of a deceit to cover it up. Interestingly, this reveals another aspect of Butler's conception of enthusiasm. In this example, reason and judgement have not wholly ceded the field to enthusiastic imaginative madness. Here, the deliberations of the enthusiasts, and consequently the problem of enthusiasm, is that it can cause 'grave and wise' men such as these Royal Society avatars to knowingly suborn the pursuit of truth (l. 493). Certainly, Butler appears to be, as Cousins puts it, warning his readers that 'the Society institutionalizes an irrational, finally dishonest, dream of man "suborning" nature,' (Cousins 137). I would suggest we can be more precise and assert that Butler is presenting a picture where enthusiasm is both irrational and knowingly dishonest, the problematic implication for the institutionalisation of enthusiasm Butler is proffering to his reader being all the greater.

When considering the different critical observations that each poem contributes to our understanding of Butler's engagement with Baconian 'Restoration' claims, it is clear that the trope of enthusiasm plays a central role in both. For both Butler and the Baconians, there was a clear link between false knowledge, indecorous rhetoric and social discord; and they used the trope of enthusiasm to explore this relationship. However, as much as this is true, Butler's

different understanding of the origins of enthusiasm and language leads him to a completely different conclusion on the capacity of language to 'restore' the human condition. Whilst it is likely he was not responding directly to Baconian ideas in his mock-epic, it is clear that Butler wanted to address their ideas of mythos and its capacity to shed light upon the greater course of history. Through his rhetorical consideration of the problems of the amplification effects of mythos and his poetic application of languages capacity to amplify and stress the traditions of the epic form, Butler expands the impact of his 'mock' epic depiction of inane, misplaced rhetorical disputes between Hudibras and Ralpho into a challenge toward Neo-Classical norms.

Unsurprisingly, Butler's critical challenge toward Baconian "Restoration" claims in 'The Elephant in the Moon' is far more direct. Butler used the more modest form of the verse-satire to highlight how Man struggles to amplify his psychological and sociological state through his knowledge and language. His troping of enthusiasm within the poem explores two aspects of enthusiasm that we did not see in his mock-epic. Firstly, Butler directly challenges the Baconian notion that method can constrain the use of the human imagination to fulfil our psychological desire to amplify our selves. Secondly, Butler also explored the direct sociological implications of enthusiasm within the Royal Society by condemning them of enthusiasm via their own notions. In so doing, Butler was able to demonstrate that the 'madness' of enthusiasm, whilst certainly not based on truth, can be enacted by reasonable men. Such is the sophistication of Butler's critique that one can reasonably think that Butler was softer in his criticism of the Baconians in his verse-satire than he was of the Puritans in *Hudibras*. However, the fact that readers are left with the image of 'grave and wise' men continuing in 'fresher and fiercer brawls' despite having recognition of their own enthusiasm, suggests to me that we should be even more disturbed by this picture than by his epic farce (l. 593, 592).

Conclusion:

The problem of enthusiasm was clearly important for the Royalist thinkers examined in this paper. All four Royalist authors linked the false knowledge claims of the enthusiasts, as they saw them, with the potential threat of or the historical manifestation of Puritan political dissent. That such a consensus exists suggests that underpinning Royalist ideology was a pre-existing political discourse that causally linked knowledge, language and socio-political conduct. This underlying discourse is perhaps part of the reason why there are similarities between Bacon's 'Great Instauration' and the central idea of "Restoration" of post-Civil War Britain. Of course, Bacon's own thinking and his legacy significantly contributed to the shape of the Royalist debates in Restoration era, but it is also important to note that there were undoubtedly many other intellectual influences that linked knowledge, language and political behaviour that also shaped Royalist ideological debates of the Restoration era. Yet, the evidence drawn from the focal texts of this paper highlights specific areas in which Baconian ideas contributed new elements to Royalist ideology.

One significant contribution to Royalism by Francis Bacon's *New Atlantis* was to present a new ideal institutional arrangement for the Jacobean political establishment. One way of conceptualising the implications of Bacon's presentation of ideal, rhetorical addresses in *New Atlantis*, is that they form an example of how ideal pedagogy can generate a harmonious political culture. Certainly, Bacon's rhetoric in the opening scenes and the first speech on Providence are where we see Bacon clarifying Calvinist dogma in a two-way critical address to both the enthusiastic auditor and the Royal addressee. But, the overarching point Bacon was making toward learned, Royalist readers was to illustrate the power as well as the limits of rhetoric to transform different auditors.

As a consequence, another significant contribution Bacon's *New Atlantis* was to have upon the Royalist intellectual heritage involved providing a rationale for a critical distance from which Royalist thinkers ought to approach their own ideology. Bacon's tropes for a 'restoration of language' were not interested in a perfect alignment between language and the natural world per se. Or, as Brian Vickers points out, Bacon 'never looked to the marriage of words and things,' (Vickers 227). Rather, I would suggest that Bacon's tropes on a restored language involved a self-reflexive recognition by learned men of the key Aristotelian principle that ideal rhetoric aligns subject matter, ethos and the mind of the auditor toward moral and harmonious social conduct. The composition of Bacon's ideals of a restored rhetoric, seen in his poetic presentation in *New Atlantis*, involves these three aligned core elements: mythos stripped of its *fabula*; a Christian ethos based upon the principle of Love;

and the selection of appropriate narrative genres according to subject matter and intended auditors.

When considering the evidence of Bacon's legacy manifested in the rhetoric and poetics of Thomas Sprat and Abraham Cowley, the most notable common feature was their use of Baconian social psychological ideas. Like Bacon, Sprat and Cowley sought to reposition the relationship between natural philosophy and radical Puritanism by acknowledging the existence and relevance of the trope of enthusiasm. Part of their attempts to redefine natural philosophy's reputation involved illustrating how useful Bacon's social psychological ideas were to understanding the problem of Puritanism through their engagement with enthusiasm. Sprat and Cowley provided narratives that confronted the problem of enthusiasm differently, yet both sought to address the problem by connecting it with wider problems facing Royalism. Just as Bacon had, Sprat and Cowley used tropes of restoration to connect their rhetoric on learning and language with the political restoration of the British establishment.

For Sprat, the problem of enthusiasm involved a simple solution of exclusion. His rationale for exclusion of the enthusiasts was based upon Baconian psychological ideas. Sprat represented enthusiasts as obsessively single-minded with violent and anti-social potential. Within Sprat's historical narrative, enthusiasm was just one recent example in a history of false knowledge traditions using ill-founded concepts for immoral and anti-social ends. Just as Bacon implied that the institutionalisation of natural philosophy would mark a Providential shift in human history, Sprat also asserted that the widespread adoption of Baconian ideas would mark a terminal point for human history's era of conflict. Interestingly, Sprat wanted to extend Bacon's ideas upon the institutionalisation of knowledge to include a sister institution for a restored language modelled on the Royal Society. Clearly Sprat, like Bacon, believed that for a Providential shift in the course of history to occur; language, rhetoric, social conduct as well as method all needed to be restored through Bacon's ideas and his institution.

Cowley's most important contribution to the development of the Baconian inheritance was to iterate Bacon's notions that one ought to be critically self-aware as a Royalist ideologue. One crucial implication of Bacon's ideas for Cowley was that a poet or philosopher must have a critical distance from the Court's own ideology. One consequence of Cowley's critical stance toward the Court's own ideology is seen in his extended metaphor of the orchard. This traditional, ideal space of heroic repose Cowley reimagined as a prison of the Royal mind haunted with scholastic guardians. In so doing, Cowley's poetics were part of larger argument to supplant vision with practical action as the model for the vocational ideals of poets and philosophers alike. As such, Baconian ideas were used by Cowley as part of a rationale for a

reconstitution of the *vita activa* ideals of Restoration Royalist thought. These ideals are part of a wider argument by Cowley for a 'restored' Royalist mission where the power of judgement, the potency of action and the prudency of conduct lie in the custodianship of the Royalist ideologues themselves and away from the problematic Royal personage.

Despite the efforts of Sprat and Cowley to mythologise the figure of Bacon and cleanse the Baconian inheritance of the legacy of enthusiasm in the Restoration Royalist debates, the trope of enthusiasm was nevertheless used by other Royalist voices to critique Baconian Royalism and their idea for "Restoration". As far as Butler was a measure of the critical response to Baconian claims, it would seem the central contention with the Baconian inheritance was the extent to which the Baconians themselves maintained the critical distance and prudency of wit that they themselves advocated for others. In many ways, Butler would have concurred with Bacon's scepticism toward the capacity for humans to manage their imagination and discern truth untended. Where the two parted was on the paramount idea of "Restoration".

At the foundation of Butler's critical posture toward Baconianism was his opposition to Bacon's radical re-imagining of the consequences of the Fall of Man. Bacon's notion that humanity could be partially restored to a dominion over nature was actually a radically unorthodox Christian position. Despite the fact that Butler's own poetics upon language might themselves not have been wholly orthodox, it is my view that Butler's understanding of Eden and its consequences much more closely align with Christian orthodoxy than Bacon's. The underlying idea informing Butler's stance is: that restoration was the preservation of Christian salvation and beyond the capacity of humans to realise in the material world. As such, one way of viewing Butler's response to Bacon is that of a more traditional Christian identifying and objecting to a radically new interpretation of Christian origin narrative.

A significant part of Butler's evidence against Bacon and his idea of Restoration was history itself. For Butler, historical narratives of heroism and the revival of Biblical and Neo-Classical mythos only serve to iterate the original hubris of Eden and amplify its consequences from the private sphere to the historical stage. Either directly or indirectly, Butler indicts the Baconians with their own narratives. With or without learning, with or without Aristotle's principles of rhetoric**,** according to Butler's poetics, both the foolish Ralpho or the learned men of 'The Elephant in the Moon' are prone to self-deceit and the lure of hubristic behaviour. It is not so much that Butler decried Bacon's notion of critical distance nor his scientific method per se. But Butler was sceptical about the claims that the Baconians

made about his society's capacity to be restored and clearly believed that they exhibited the very behaviour that they asserted Baconian method would restore.

Overall, the impact of Baconian ideas upon Royalist ideology expressed themselves in three interconnected ways. Firstly, Baconian ideas provided a mandate for Royalist ideologues to be the principal assessors or custodians of Royalism via a variety of critical methodologies. Secondly, Baconian ideas provided a critical perspective through which they could reconcile the wider arc of history with the recent catastrophes that had challenged Royalist orthodoxies. Thirdly, Baconian ideas also provided a new foundation for Royalism that linked a reformist agenda for institutional change with a rationale for critically examining culture and language in a more durable formation that did not contend with Royalist ideals of a primordial hierarchy structuring the Created universe.

For Royalist literature, Baconian ideas of language and rhetoric clearly participated in the shifting debates about the relationship and relevance of the Classical models for early modern poetics. Clearly, one implication of Bacon's own poetics was that poetry itself needed prudent restraint for it to be ethical. However, Baconianism still argued for a role for mythic idealisation, heroic exhortation and the poetic imperative to direct his readers toward ideal social conduct. Yet, there appear to be fissures between the goals of Baconian method to see nature as it is and the rhetorical goals of transforming human behaviour. This seems to be another iteration of the tension between the imperatives of Truth and the social ideals of Virtue: a tension Samuel Butler believed was impossible to resolve and too dangerous to ignore.

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