

MIRRORS MIRRORING

MIRRORS MIRRORING: FRANCIS BACON
AND MARVELL'S "UPON APPLETON HOUSE".

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A thesis, submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, McGill University, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

Department of English

Date:

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This thesis proposes a Baconian reading of Marvell's "Upon Appleton House". Bacon's theories, particularly of language and the tradition of knowledge, are adduced as foundations for reasoning and starting points for investigation of Marvell's poem. A Baconian-Marvellian hypothesis can at best claim only an experimental validity however, as Marvell's eclecticism argues against any single source having prior claims to consideration. Nevertheless, Bacon's influence is seen as pervasive and as providing for the poem's internal coherence.

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Cette thèse avance une interprétation du poème "Upon Appleton House" de Marvell, dans le cadre de la philosophie de Francis Bacon. Cette perspective se base principalement sur les idées de Bacon relatives au langage et à la transmission des connaissances humaines. L'esprit changeant et éclectique du poète cependant oppose l'application méthodique d'un système philosophique au poème, et nous ne pouvons donc qu'établir un certain rapprochement entre le philosophe et l'œuvre poétique. Néanmoins, les principes Baconiens illuminent le sujet traité par Marvell et font ressortir la cohérence du poème.

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Introduction

When Marvell wrote "Upon Appleton House" Bacon's influence dominated the scientific and philosophical speculations of the day. Yet the possible correspondence of Bacon's natural science with Marvell's views concerning nature and his reflections on the use of man's cognitive faculties has never been investigated.

This thesis proposes a Baconian reading of "Upon Appleton House". I will be primarily concerned with Bacon's views on language and the tradition of knowledge. But this specific intention can do no more than suggest a special emphasis. A Baconian reading must trace the broad outlines of Bacon's philosophy and deal particularly with a number of individual topics: for example, Bacon's theory of idols, Bacon's theory of signs and of memory. The reason why these topics must be individually consulted lies in the fact that they are closely interrelated: they are separate but partial illustrations of Bacon's new inductive method for the discovery of forms and are therefore themselves better understood within the framework of a general exposition of Baconian method.

I suggest the advantages of the proposed analysis are two-fold, combining diverse and frequently adopted attitudes and methodological approaches to the poem. Faced with a work plentiful in sources and suggestive power, but broken by frequent narrative interruptions and perspectival shifts, some critics¹ have opted for a 'wide-angle' presentation that reflects the diversity without attempting to overcome

¹Joseph H. Summers, Introduction to Andrew Marvell, (New York: Laurel Poetry Series, 1961), pp. 17-25, and, D.C. Allen, Image and Meaning, (Baltimore, 1960), pp. 115-153.

the discontinuity. Others² in trying to lend some figure of direction and discipline to the poem, have been forced to confine their studies within more or less narrow limits. As Rosalie Colie has observed:

...critics seeking to illuminate a particular aspect, line or tradition of the poem, have legitimately ignored its elements that were irrelevant to their particular concerns.³

The preceeding hasty condensation is of course not an exhaustive summary of critical attitudes and procedure, but is meant to identify the methodological advantages that, I suggest, may be combined in a Baconian analysis. A continuous and consistent reading that nevertheless respects and employs the diversity of the poetic material is the anticipated result. It would be absurd, however, to contend that "Upon Appleton House" is a Baconian manifesto, just as, in my opinion, it is absurd to argue that the poem is 'really about' Hermes Trismegisthus. All that the critic can legitimately expect from his pursuit of a particular concern is that it should draw from the quarry of sources and historical circumstance materials that add a few pieces to the puzzle of method and meaning. This is not to say that a Baconian reading would in any sense be a critical posture of limited insight. On the contrary, the issues that fascinated and preoccupied the great Lord Chancellor are directly related to Marvell's foremost topical concerns. Moreover, because the epistemological and ontological problems presupposed in Bacon's idea of method are characteristic

²Donald Friedman, Marvell's Pastoral Art, (London, Routledge, Kegan Paul, 1970) pp. 199-252, and, Wären Sophie Røstvig, "Upon Appleton House and The Universal History of Man", English Studies, XLII, (Dec.), pp. 337-351.

³Rosalie Colie, My Echoing Song, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970), p. 182.

of his age, a close Baconian interpretation, though 'speculative', might yet succeed in revealing by analogy how the poet's methods work in furthering his purposes.

It is not my intention to vindicate pertinent Baconian theories from imputations of pretence or simulacrum, nor otherwise to attempt to salvage Bacon's oft-assailed reputation as an important philosopher. I propose to show how, as parts of the working machinery of a comprehensive scheme, Bacon's ideas might contribute to a systematic and cogent reading of the poem. For example, the 'idols of the market place' disclose Bacon's belief in the corrupting influence of language on thought. The doctrine, indeed, is shared by several empiricists, notably Shaftsbury and Berkeley. But what of Bacon's conviction in the positive aspect and function of language? In order to elucidate it, it is necessary to describe beforehand his new inductive method for the discovery of forms, and consequently all vicious mental dispositions (not those of the market place only). Why is it important? Because language is for Bacon instrumental in the tradition of knowledge. How does this relate to Marvell's poem? Marvell, like Bacon, is interested in the problem of rehabilitating Man and the sciences of Man, and historical circumstances, together with the prescription of the panegyric form in which he writes, require that he effect a transfer of the virtue and knowledge of Fairfax to Maria. Actually, the relevance of Bacon's 'logic of instruction' has a more immediate impact than the celebration of Fairfax and Maria would of itself suggest. The need and readiness to praise is in my view subordinated to the more urgent necessity to teach and to learn. Accordingly, though the autobiographical character of the 'meadows' and 'woodlands' episodes has always been recognized, I suggest Marvell's self-portrait is impressed on the entire

poem. Fairfax and Maria, unlike the speaker and his readers, cannot ask for greater elevation and dignification. It is in the speaker's 'voyage of discovery' (a Baconian epithet) that Bacon's method and Marvell's aspirations are mutually illustrative and supportive of sustained and coherent progressions.

Bacon's theory of language is a 'sign' theory. Sign theories do not begin with Bacon; they extend continuously from classical antiquity to the Renaissance. I feel obliged, however, to credit Renaissance thought with certain innovations. Firstly, the classical sign theory is based on the auditory impression created by verbal signs:

Formulated by St. Augustine, this theory rests on the view that signs are fundamentally verbal in nature.⁴

For Bacon, language, that is, words, belong to a more general category of signs and the emphasis is decidedly on their visual or 'gestural' quality. This emphasis is useful in dealing with Marvell's poetry, which communicates through images, by means of pictorial instead of phonetic signs. Secondly, in the traditional sign theory of scholastic philosophy signs point to non-sensible realities prior to objects in the order of being;

And, notwithstanding the scholastic demand for a theory of cognition explaining man's knowledge of the world of nature, the object to which medieval thinkers normally addressed themselves was the world of spiritual reality, with preeminent attention to God.⁵

In Bacon's view signs attach exclusively to a material 'Universal Fabric' which through the ministrations of sense and the operations of judgement might be more clearly

⁴Marcia L. Colish, The Mirror of Language, (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1968), p. viii.

⁵Ibid., p. 1.

perceived. Even where Bacon's opinions and traditional sign theory appear to bear comparison, the referential background of Bacon's method sets an old conceptual tool to new tasks. His treatment of the commemorative aspect of language is a case in point. Both Bacon and traditional Christian thought reject the platonic doctrine of reminiscences. For both, language "reveals to the subject a knowledge of the object which had previously been introduced into the mind by the object itself."⁶ Bacon's rhetoric, however, does not consist, as does that of the Schoolmen, in simple accuracy of verbal formulation in connecting the sign with the object to be evoked in the mind of the subject. 'Locis', or artificial, logical places of memory, both decide the appropriateness of signs and their usefulness as instruments for the domination of a recalcitrant, resisting nature. Choice of materials accumulated from the observation and experience of reality therefore is based not only on the persuasive conveying of axioms of greater and lesser generality or utility, but the very objects and directions of continuing inquiry into nature. An exposition of Bacon's rhetoric is therefore essential to a description of his method. This facet of Bacon's thought again bears directly on Marvell's interest in teaching, learning, and the tradition of knowledge. As we shall see, the speaker's rehabilitation consists not only in achievement of conceptual and verbal precision, but in a method and a willingness to observe and prod the possibilities of nature. Proof begins with seeing and experiencing, not with the assumption of fixed 'positions' for contentious argumentation. Colie keenly discerns Marvell's open-

⁶Ibid., p.5

ness to experience:

There is something tentative about the way the poet moves through his landscape and through his poem, writing as if he were actually living the scenes and experiences that are his subject, as if he were himself uncertain of what was about to happen next, or how an incident might turn out, or how it ought to be understood or interpreted.⁷

Bacon's hostility to the static 'positions', or false proofs, of scholastic rhetoric corresponds to an important characteristic of Marvell's mind and poetry. As Marvell's frequent use of the dialogue form indicates, contrasting points of view and relative moods are for his imagination never static; dialogue and argument are always the vehicles of a dialectical progression aimed at resolving oppositions. This also, incidentally, argues in favour of a unified interpretation of the poem.

In Bacon's method, the emblem conspicuously stands out both as a classification of linguistic 'utterance' and as an instrument in the tradition of knowledge. It is also useful in penetrating the subject of Marvell's imagery. Bacon maintains that the function of the emblem is to lead intellectual principles onto a sensory level in order that they might be more readily apprehended. Again, perhaps Bacon's idea of emblem is not unique. The concrete symbolism of abstract ideas is typical of the Renaissance. But the emblem's importance as a feature of Bacon's method redeems its second-handedness. According to the precepts of his 'scientific logic', the emblem is not only the rhetorical garment of thought but the very vehicle of thought. Belonging to the general category of signs, it is also a 'language': Maria, the Halcyon, Thwaites, Fairfax's garden, the 'double wood', the lane 'passable and thin', are just such non-verbal, gestural signs. Why must intellectual

⁷Colie, p. 182.

principles be brought onto a sensory level? Because sense experience is the foundation of knowledge. What benefits result from so concretizing the abstract? The edification of Man. Bacon adopts Plato's observation that "Virtue, if she could be seen, would move great love and affection."⁸ This role, of making abstraction sensible and therefore apprehensible, is precisely the undertaking of emblems. Quite apart from Rosalie Colie's discovery of traditional pictorial and emblematic keys in her historical study of the surrounding culture⁹, the principles underlying emblems are of general bearing on the poem. Emblems reduce the abstract to the concrete while insisting on the continuing significance of the abstract meaning. Marvell employs this technique in converting conventional symbols into literal truths; for example, the 'sybil's leaves' are read by the Prelate of the Grove in the woodlands, in other words, traditional images of prophecy are identified as ordinary forest leaves. The symbolic reference is intensified as these heraldic forms are actually placed alongside things normally contained in the empiricist's field of vision. Marvell's way of reifying the ideal points not only to an awareness of sources but to a poetic self-consciousness that inquires into the nature of figurative meanings and how they are created. Commenting on the reflexive character of Marvell's images, in the particular case of the 'garden' metaphor, Milton Klonsky has observed as follows:

But there is still a deeper involution of insight, as though a mirrored eye should see itself seeing itself, for this image of Marvell's is the reflection of a similar image from Plotinus' *Enneads*, the image of an image...¹⁰

⁸F.H. Anderson, the Philosophy of Francis Bacon, (New York, Octagon Books, 1971), p. 124.

⁹Colie, pp. 181-294

¹⁰Milton Klonsky, "A Guide Through the Garden", Sewanee Review, LVII (Winter, 1950) p.16

A hypothesis on the interrelationship of the organs and the objects of perception emerges from the poet's consciousness of his awareness. Considered epistemologically, the issue of Marvell's introverted imagery is charged with a peculiar force, a paradoxical necessity: because the mind mirrors nature, nature is herself 'art's mirror': the clearest perception of this reality is therefore, for the poet of knowledge, to picture the mirror's mirroring. Figures are in consequence literalized, the ideal reified, and "Upon Appleton House" takes on in sharp outline a representative cast, 'for the poem itself is an image.'¹¹

It may be that the emblem is thus made to bear a heavy load as a key to understanding the poem. Emblems, it is true, are thought of as compact miniatures and "Upon Appleton House" sprawls across some seven-hundred lines of verse. But the idea underlying the emblem yet strikes at the very roots of the poem's descriptive sensibilities. In contrasting the general features of "The Garden" and "Upon Appleton House", J.B. Leishman has commented as follows:

... between "The Garden" and "Upon Appleton House" there are some real affinities, and stanzas from the shorter poem might well have been incorporated at various places in the longer one. Nevertheless, while there are certain dialectical or argumentative passages in "Appleton House", passages in which the visual and the conceptual, the dialectical and the descriptive, are combined in much the same way as in "The Garden", "Appleton House" still remains primarily a descriptive poem, a catalogue of delights, while in "The Garden" description is throughout subordinated to argument, is essentially illustrative.¹²

The critic's remarks on the descriptive type of insight at work in "Upon Appleton House" are echoed by Colie's

¹¹Ibid., p. 16.

¹²J.B. Leishman, The Art Of Marvell's Poetry, (London: Hutchinson & Co., 1966), p.292.

observation: "The house poem is a coherent series of pictorial descriptions."¹³

A word on Marvell's use of 'baroque' techniques might assist in shedding more light on this descriptive tendency. Marvell employs anamorphosis both to disrupt and shape his reader's perspectival assumptions.¹⁴ The relativism to which this gives rise points to important issues in Bacon's philosophy as it relates to learning and the communication of knowledge. Bacon believes that the emancipation of the intellect is impeded by man's tendencies to construe wisdom as traditional opinion and to hastily project conceited human 'anticipations' upon nature. His method, especially as it may be observed in his refutation of prior philosophies, carefully dismantles fixed attitudinal structures just as Marvell's special effects establish "that fixed interpretations, of the world, of experience, of man experiencing, are always risky undertakings, to be ventured at one's peril."¹⁵

Anamorphic art suddenly concentrates its energies inward. It consists of juxtaposition or superimposition rather than extension, and is formed of contiguous rather than continuous parts. The following stanza usefully illustrates these features:

They seem within the polisht Grass
A Landskip drawn in Looking-Glass.
And shrunk in the huge Pasture show
As Spots, so shap'd, on Faces do.
Such Fleas, ere they approach the Eye,
In Multiplying Glasses lye.
They feed so wide, so slowly move,
As Constellations do above.¹⁶

(LVIII)

¹³ Colie, p. 196.

¹⁴ Ibid, pp. 205-211.

¹⁵ Ibid, p. 183.

¹⁶ All quotations and textual references are from H.M. Margoliouth, Andrew Marvell, (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1971) vol. 1.

The technique is here not simply visual but optical, and has for effect the total immobilization of the machinery of nature, of space and time. The elements of narrative action abruptly lose fluidity, the scenes grind to a halting still-life, the poem is a picture. The epistemological implications of this readiness to picture scenes, and the presuppositions concerning the natural world on which it is based, add, I suggest, a further dimension to the general principles within which some critics have framed the poem. According to Donald Friedman, for example, the poem stands for the process and concept of metamorphosis.¹⁷ In the rapid, abrupt, and sometimes chaotic shifting of intellectual and physical location, this critic rightly perceives the continuous seasonal transformations of nature. But the frequent 'frozen' moments indicate, I suggest, that nature is not simply change. Man and society are therefore not subject to the unconscious will and control of a completely natural law. The world is a flux consisting of polar oppositions, metamorphosis and stasis, between which oscillate various types of meaning and of truth. Indeed, I would urge that in the figure of Maria, stability is seen as the ontological end of action. Colie's reflections on the Maria episode strongly suggest this position:

What had fluctuated is brought to stasis, as the halycon-girl stills the fluid scene; the rapidly changing elements of earlier passages, the lapping, relaxed particulars of the river scene just before Maria's entrance, are at this point all arrested, frozen into a moment of still life, caught in an instant of immobility as a painting catches its shifting actuality.¹⁸

This stability in turn implies the sovereignty of human faculties, methodically informed, over things, and this,

¹⁷Friedman, p. 231

¹⁸Colie, p. 207.

as we shall see, is not only the goal of Bacon's philosophy but the vehicle of a reading of the poem as disciplined and purposeful. Ultimately, Friedman himself tentatively endorses this approach, without, unfortunately, elaborating it:

If there is any resolution (to physical and moral fluctuation) it is in the metaphors themselves that form the substance of "Upon Appleton House."¹⁹

Ann Berthoff regards "Upon Appleton House" as a typical production of Marvell's allegorical imagination.²⁰ This view, as she is herself well aware, is perfectly consonant with the 'moralized picture' of emblem. But allegorical and emblematic concerns compete for methodological preeminence with the rest of Marvell's technical equipment. Pictorial effects, as we have seen, are encouraged by anamorphosis. Rebus too, combines visual and intellectual perception:

An emblem should not be confused with the rebus, as it is by Hartman (Marvell, St. Paul, and the Body of Hope, p. 187). A rebus is a visual pun akin to such symbols as Dickensian names, word-play made visible. The semantics of the rebus is absolutely different from that of the emblem, which always has a temporal ambience.²¹

The rivalry, however, is friendly in furthering the same ontological purpose, and is in any case resolved in the Maria episode in such a way as to make any difference appear semantic only, that is, consisting in the presence of a temporal ambience serving to unite the emblem with the surrounding narrative on the one hand, and in the absence of this ambience lifting anamorphic passages above the literal surface on the other. In either case, however, the result is the 'illud tempus' of a motionless actuality. The Maria episode marks the total domination by the emblem

¹⁹ Friedman, p. 246

²⁰ Ann Berthoff, The Resolved Soul, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970) pp. 3-33.

²¹ Ibid., p. 25.

of the surrounding narrative, detaching it from the rest of the poem and lending it an anamorphic quality (that of separation from the narrative matrix).

The above passages point to the areas where Bacon's method might be useful in understanding Marvell's poem. My aim will be to offer, even if only in synthesis, an outline of the different ways in which Marvell's art is used to express the relationship between the individual and reality, between history and nature, between the ancient and the modern, as proposed and elaborated in Bacon's method.

Before proceeding in the following two chapters to an exposition of Bacon's method and to a Baconian interpretation of the poem, it might be useful to examine as background the themes, motifs, and structure of "Upon Appleton House", for it is Marvell's longest and most complicated production.

The poem is both the account of the peripatetic poet's day-long stroll over the estate of his employer and a panegyric written in honour of Lord Fairfax. The poem has frequently been criticized as rambling and discontinuous,²² yet 'episodic' might be a more apt description because the poem is clearly organized into six distinct sections. The first (stanzas 1-10) describes the house and its master, introducing the major theme of humility and the presiding idea that outward form or appearance indicates moral quality in varying degrees. i.e., Fairfax's house is chauvinistically praised above that of the 'foreign architect'. The second (stanzas 11-35) consists of a historical narrative relating the history of the house and the geneology of Lord Fairfax. The moral concern takes the form of a justification by lawful violence of the man of action (which incidentally vindicates Lord Fairfax's title

²² Colie, pp. 181-191.

to the estate and more closely associates the man with the house). The third section (stanzas 36-46), a description of Fairfax's garden in peculiarly militaristic terms, is no doubt a compliment to the Lord's celebrated rule as a general. Subtler meanings are implied concerning the five senses, the prelapsarian garden of Eden, and England in her political aspect during the civil war. In the fourth major division of the poem (stanzas 47-60) the poet moves on to the very complicated 'meadow' episode and relates the death of a rail at the hands of a careless mower, the rural celebrations of the mowers after their work is done, and the subsequent flooding of the meadow. The episode has political, social, and psychological overtones in many casual, apparently gratuitous comparisons of yet striking, almost oxymoronic effect. The fifth episode comprises the retreat from the flood to the higher wooded grounds. The biblical and philosophical implications of the flood are emphasized by the specific identification of the sanctuary as a 'green and growing ark.' The occasion is also one of disproportionate sensory activity or gratification of the sanctuary activity or gratification wherein the various orders of nature are personified as incarnations of the poet's own perceptual and intellectual faculties. The conclusion of the poem consists of an elaborate compliment to Fairfax's daughter Maria and in keeping with the theme of humility, a biting self-criticism following upon the excesses of the woodland's interlude. Obviously Maria's triumphant presence is intended as a solution to the disorders of the woodlands and meadows stanzas.

The poem is of course concerned with describing, or recreating in a celebratory act, the house and estate at Nunappleton. The opening stanza clearly introduces the reader to the 'sober frame' not merely of the house, but

of the poem as well. The comparison of a building with a poem, the architect with the poet, was a favourite with Marvell's contemporaries Herbert, Crashaw, and Davenant. The disparaging comment directed against the 'Forrain architect' has in fact generally been taken as a reference to Davenant and to his epic Gondibert, of which Marvell was notoriously contemptuous. Though pointed and specific, the gibe is topically pertinent and related to what may be the 'moral of the story.' The most prominent feature of both house and poem is the unassuming humility of a divine economy.

Let others vainly strive t'immure
The Circle in the Quadrature!
These holy Mathematicks can
In ev'ry Figure equal Man.

(VI)

The theme of humility is illustrated by motifs which, in their broadest outlines, expand on the significance of appearances: throughout things are characterized, identified and delimited by outward form, the man by his decorously designed house, the birds by their 'equal nests', the tortoise by his shell (man by his body), the salmon-fishers by the equipment of their livelihood, the created world by the 'dark Hemisphere', poetry itself by normative principles of form and design, the human psyche by a proportion and harmony which it enjoys (or should enjoy) with its environment. Each major section of the poem is introduced by a dominant image, the first by a house, the meadow by an abyss, the woodlands by a green and growing ark, the garden by a fort, and the resulting overriding impression is that images rather than things are being described. This is not imitative art in the Aristotelian sense but art which describes descriptive processes, which qualifies 'nature' as a combination of

empirical observation and metaphorical expression. In the meadows section, for example, the various episodes are called 'scenes' which 'turn with Engines strange', the cattle 'seem within the polisht Grass, A Landskip drawn in Looking-Glass' (lines 457-458), and further microcosmic compressions indicate that the whole is indeed a 'little world made cunningly'. How else could such ostensibly disastrous events as the death of the rail be dispelled as mere 'pleasant Acts'? Very solemn inferences are managed with an almost unconscious ease and then shuffled aside in the masque-like procession of images:

Or sooner hatch or higher build:
 The Mower now commands the Field;
 In whose new Traverse seemeth wrought
 A Camp of Battail newly fought:
 Where, as the Meads with Hay, the Plain
 Lyes quilted ore with Bodies slain:
 The Women that with forks it fling,
 Do represent the Pillaging.

(LIII)

Although these upheavals are rendered innocuous by the microcosmic reality of the poem, deliberate efforts are made to relate the microcosm to the macrocosmic universe, especially in the final two stanzas of the poem. The little world at Nunappleton is said to contain the same items as the greater world though 'in more decent Order tame'. As Marvell's frequent references to dark hemispheres, Antipodes, and constellations suggest, the macrocosmic universe provides the referential background without which Nunappleton would be destitute of all particularity. Moreover, the poem represents Marvell's greatest project and is replete with epic overtones; it is clear that the poem, though modest in size, is ambitious in formulating a comprehensive world view. Besides, only the most splendid type of panegyric would be suitable for a man of Fairfax's

stature and dignity. Specific evocations of the Aeneid are provided where, for example, Marvell writes 'Of that more sober Age and Mind,/ When larger sized Men did stoop/ to enter at a narrow loop.' (lines 24-30). The reference is to Aeneas entering the tiny rustic dwelling of Evander, there to learn the lessons of humility.²³

The poem's poetic centre is located in two very unassuming couplets which appear to serve a purely decorative purpose: in fact they constitute both the physical and underlying conceptual topography of the piece.

Art would more neatly have defac'd
 What she had laid so sweetly wast;
 In fragrant Gardens, shady Woods,
 Deep meadows, and transparent Floods.

(X)

Montaigne, whose ideas and attitudes may have influenced Marvell,²⁴ had very definite opinions on the opposition of art and nature.

We cannot erre in following Nature very rawly
 and simply. I have not by the power and vertue
 of reason corrected my natural complexions, nor
 by art hindered mine inclination.²⁵

Montaigne's argument is also the justification of that pastoral, sensual love poetry, and of its exponent, Saint-Amant, for which everything is permitted because nothing is by nature forbidden. But Marvell always closely scrutinizes and recapitulates the significance of his precedents, and I do not think that "Upon Appleton House" can be incorporated into the ethos of lotus-land. Moreover, the 'art' of Maria is clearly praised as a law and a model for mankind to follow. The significance of Marvell's lines

²³ John Wallace, Destiny His Choice (Cambridge University Press, 1968), pp. 241-243.

²⁴ Colie, p. 182-184.

²⁵ Michel de Montaigne, Essays, (New York, Everyman Edition, III, 1948), John Florio trans., p. 316.

therefore depends on the meaning assigned 'art' and 'nature'. The problem involves discovering the right art and the right method for understanding nature.

We may readily perceive the elaboration and logical development of the relationships of art and nature beginning with the passage relating the history of the house as nunnery. The nuns seek to refine nature in both a physical and a spiritual sense (XXII). Their dishonesty and artifice is repeatedly evinced by the use of cosmetic imagery (XIV). The condemnation of deceitful wives belongs to the whole poem as the indictment is repeated at the end in connexion with the overriding concern of humility:

Go now fond Sex that on your Face
Do all your useless Study place,
Nor once at Vice your Brows dare knit
Lest the smooth Forehead wrinkled sit:
Yet your own Face shall at you grin,
Thorough the Black-bag of your Skin;
When knowledge only could have fill'd
And Virtue all those Furrows till'd.

(LXXXXII)

The nun's happiness is shown to be fragile and illusory when, as in a fairy tale, it disappears when confronted with the lawful and providential violence of William Fairfax, and Marvell very effectively impresses upon the reader the opposition of the nuns' idleness with his hero's purposeful beneficial, and socially consequential action (XXXI). The nun's only weapons are their 'tongues', a useless and foolish rhetoric which only disassembles wisdom. As we shall see, their use of language is in stark contrast to Bacon's active and functional 'logic of instruction.'

The subtle challenges to Lord Fairfax's deliberate retirement from the world, initiated in the Nunappleton episode by implied comparison with the fateful actions of his ancestor, William Fairfax, are extended in the geometric garden-stanzas. The admonition is, of course, not peremptory

and is couched in guarded terms suggesting the overriding preeminence of a providential design. But the episode neatly fuses philosophical observations on Fairfax's seclusion with images of an unhappy England in her political aspect.

Oh Thou, that dear and happy Isle
The Garden of the World ere while,
Thou Paradise of four Seas,
Which Heaven planted us to please,
But, to exclude the World, did guard
With watry if not flaming Sword;
What luckless Apple did we tast,
To make us Mortal, and the Wast?

(XLI)

Like England, guarded with 'wat'ry sword', the perfect symmetry and order of Fairfax's garden, aiming a fort at every sense, make it impregnable to attack from without. Both England and the garden, from the point of view of what is outwardly observable, are figures of perfection, but both are fatally corruptible from within. The civil wars and Fairfax's quaint pastoral antics are furthermore skillfully conjoined in a root cause; the unwillingness of Fairfax to pursue his destiny relentlessly across the havoc of war:

And yet their walks one on the Sod
Who, had it pleased him and God,
Might once have made our Gardens spring
Fresh as his own and flourishing.
But he prefer'd to the Cinque Ports
These five imaginary Forts:
And, in those half-dry Trenches, spann'd
Pow'r which the Ocean might command. (XLIV)

Despite the elaborate compliment to Fairfax, the tone of the geometric garden episode is defensive and vigilant, conditioned no doubt by the civil wars, and in a broader historical context, by the Fall itself: 'What luckless Apple did we taste, / To make us Mortal and The Wast ?' (11-327-28) The protective shell of Fairfax's retirement

recalls the walls which fence in the nun's 'liberty'. The nuns, true to their spiritual inclinations, refine nature, combining its 'finest parts' in esoteric mixtures; Fairfax's garden is in a like sense artificial, a curious imprinting of conventional values and human expectations upon nature.

The error of expecting nature to conform to human wishes is further explored in the "meadows" episode, where Marvell is specifically concerned with the most notable manifestation of human artifice and convention, society itself. The frustration of vain human aspirations is here masterfully conveyed by a continued impression of moral ambiguity. In fact the ambiguity is perspectival as well as moral: first the mowers are reduced in size, made tiny even when compared to grass-hoppers; but these grass-hoppers are giants and the mowers therefore at two removes from their ordinary statures. (XLVII) The text itself is no barrier to the illusion as the poet is drawn into the narrative structure in a startling incident. Thestylis complains and accuses: 'When on another quick she lights, / And cryes, He call'd us Israelites;' (lines 405-406).

And the erring poet is further objectified when the independent voice of a narrator refers to him in the third person: 'But now, to make his saying true, Rains rain for Quails, for Manna Dew' (lines 407-408). The perspectival shift is not capricious; the reader himself may now legitimately ask whether he is 'in it or without'.

The rail incident can be read as an allegory of the civil wars, and since the rail is called in French 'le roi des cailles', and in Italian 'il re de quaglie', the murdered bird might plausibly represent Charles I.²⁶ But the tone of the passage remains in my opinion indifferent.

²⁶ Margoliouth, p. 285 (note #11. 395-6).

to such an interpretation, the mawkish sentimentality suggesting something more in the nature of parody:

Unhappy Birds! what does it boot
To build below the Grasses Root;
When Lowness is unsafe as Hight,
And Chance o'retakes what scapeth spight?
And now your Orphan Parents Call
Sounds your untimely Funeral.
Death-Trumpets creak in such a Note,
And 'tis the Sourdine in their Throat.

(LII)

One may question the sarcasm which makes light of the unfortunate creature's demise, but the cruelty is in keeping with the moral ambiguity surrounding the mowers themselves. The peaceful activity of reaping is continuously punctuated with unfortunate accidents or unpleasant associations and the presence of the reaper Death is pervasively felt throughout the episode.

The difficulty of reading the mowers passage as straightforward political allegory lies in reconciling the playful tone with such weighty matter. The flow of associations is too easy and casual, the georgic activities of the mowers too delightful for the passage to stand convincingly as a sober history of a scourge visited by God upon an entire nation. On the other hand Marvell's "Mower Poems" are not to be taken lightly and the mowers passage in "Upon Appleton House" may simply be yet another example of irony (the greenness of the grass being less an ideal bucolic incident than a mirror to reflect complicated passions). Marvell delights in describing the simple joys of the countryside but the reader must keep in mind that his garden environments are hardly places where riches are superfluous, envy and ambition unknown, and peace and happiness within the reach of all men. In any case, it is the fundamental ambiguity underlying the entire episode that resists unified interpretation. This ambiguity expands

into chaos as the natural world irreverently sweeps aside the 'great work of time' in the confusion of a flood that works especially ambiguous or paradoxical effects upon the face of things' (LX) and forces the speaker to seek refuge in the higher, wooded ground.

As the speaker himself becomes the focal point of the reader's attentions in the woodland's episode, contacts with nature are more immediate, spontaneous, and direct, the ideas and images evoked, although following along the same thematic lines, more profound and disquieting.

Fairfax's geometric garden is an excellent model of the defensive life of retirement which excludes the world without; the meadow treats the convention of society with ironic ambiguity, revealing the sorry contradiction of a life which purports to be both societal and ideal; in his flight to the 'green' and 'growing' ark, the speaker's tone again changes from ironic ambiguity to the sarcasm of unmasked satire (LXXVII-LXXVIII). The voice of the narrator is put to specifically autobiographical purposes as the poet escapes from the 'busie Companies of Men' of the meadow and relates the flow of his protean transformations spontaneously as they occur. Just as the huge bulk of the 'Trunk' as emblem of the whole wood (of Fairfax, of Vere, and by way of platonism, of man) is thrust up as a 'fifth element', so the elements of the idyllic retreat merge peculiarly with the percipient mind which describes them to create a single sentient environment or person, a combination of the various orders of nature, including, Man:

Thus I, easie Philosopher,
Among the Birds and Trees confer:.
And little now to make me, wants
Or of the Fowles, or of the Plants.
Give me but Wings as they, and I
Streight floting on the Air shall fly:

Or turn me but, and you shall see
I was but an inverted Tree.

(LXII)

Marvell's retreat into the wood proposes yet another form of retirement from action, but although his flight is occasioned by motives similar to those which cause the nun's and Fairfax to withdraw from society, the woodlands episode very clearly represents Marvell's personal dilemma, a conflict of self-indulgence and abstinence, and his psychological insights here take the form of vivid self-scrutiny. The tone of the passage fluctuates from a delicate balancing of irony and commitment on the one hand (LXXI-LXXII) to an equally measured combination of irony and sarcasm on the other (LXXVII-LXXVIII).

In the woodlands, though exposed to all manner of sensuous delight, one may be 'ensnar'd' and 'fall' without serious consequences. Our poet enjoys a temporary spiritual immunity, a momentary reprieve in which to fathom his strong inclinations to pleasure and lethargy.

How safe, methinks, and strong, behind
These Trees have I incamp'd my Mind;
Where Beauty, aiming at the Heart,
Bends in some Tree its useless Dart;
And where the World no certain Shot
Can make, or me it toucheth not.
But I on it securely play,
And gaul its Horsemen all the Day.

(LXXVI)

The experiment is typically twofold, consisting in part of an almost pathological abandonment to pleasure, and in part of a sustained intellectual and psychological analysis that carries the idea of union with nature to its ultimate logical end and enables it to achieve its most powerful expression. The Prelate of the Grove, clad impressively in a trailing cope, is invested with all the force of the vegetable universe and the folk wisdom

that it has fostered, but he also calls upon all the resources and traditions of western civilization. These stanzas contain the Baconian idea that nature constitutes a second book of revelation, in which God's grand design might be perceived by readers skillful in the wisdom of interpretation.

The tone of the 'Prelate' stanzas is only half-serious and not nearly as sublime as that which might have attached to so powerful a figure. Clearly, Marvell deliberately avoids presenting the idea embodied in this figure in a highly serious vein, for the reason that he is suspicious of the consequences of a complete surrender to the forces of the vegetable world. Professor Rostvig sees the woodlands episode, as she does each individual section of the poem, as a type of perfection prefiguring the heavenly kingdom.²⁷ I suggest that Marvell, like Bacon, is concerned with types of mental and moral error which amplify and more clearly illustrate the right ethical and intellectual disposition, symbolized in the poem by the excellence of Maria. In the concluding stanzas of the meadows episode, for example, the speaker seems to me stupefied and disoriented by his lethargy. The poet's retirement too, like that of the nun's and Fairfax, is ultimately constricting and unsatisfactory.

But now away my Hooks, my Quills,
And Angles, idle Utensils.
The young Maria walks to night:
Hide trifling Youth thy Pleasures slight.

(LXXXII)

At the end of the brief fishing excursion it is clear that the poet, as a 'Bank unto the Tide', is entirely the creature of the poem, or rather of the ideal location which

²⁷Rostvig, p. 347.

it here purports to describe. But the fishing episode is very much a deliberate arrangement prepared in anticipation of Maria's intervention. Maria is obviously Marvell's pupil and Fairfax's daughter, but the impression she creates is rather that of an emblem. Maria herself does nothing, and although she is gifted in the wisdom of many languages, she says nothing. She is ushered unto the scene much like effigies of the Virgin Mary were transported about in small carts through villages and fields in medieval times. There can be no doubt however that she is intended to represent the presiding genius of the place and the resolution of the enigmas, paradoxes, ironies and conflicts of the poem. In defence of these oft-assailed stanzas, although the conventional compliment to the historical person neatly fulfills a requirement of decorum, I will show how it is of far less importance than the place occupied by this episode in the record of Marvell's evolving attitudes.

Just as the huge bulk of the 'fifth element' assimilates the wood, the commingled strains of Fairfax and of Vere, and the platonic image of Man, Maria too genealogically and metaphorically is a 'sprig of mistletoe which 'on the Fairfacian Oak does grow.' Ideationally as well she fulfills with logical continuity the till now unresolved problem of retirement and action. Again her value is largely emblematic for in fact the theme pertains specifically to the person of Lord Fairfax himself, as was seen especially in the garden episode. It is therefore appropriate that Marvell should conclude his disquisition on retirement and action with the following couplet:

While her glad Parents most rejoice,
And make their Destiny their Choice.

(LXXXXII)

Maria is Fairfax's daughter but she is also Marvell's pupil, a child of Nature too but proleptically the nurse of Nature, and in her various historical aspects are reflected topical concerns which, to focus once more on a favourite metaphor of the poem, appear as in glass or simply as a glass:

But by her Flames, in Heaven try'd,
Nature is wholly vitrifi'd.

(LXXXVI)

Nature, Man, and the sciences of Man were 'rude heaps' negligently or perhaps even accidentally thrown together. The estate and family at Nun Appleton (of which Marvell is something of a 'member') is peculiarly more structured and no two lines of the poem more pointedly condense and realize the erstwhile sprawling and somewhat disorganized panorama as the following designation:

You Heaven's Center, Nature's Lap.
And Paradise's only Map.

(LXXXVI)

If the poet's playground is indeed Heaven's centre, the precise local situation must surely be in the tiny micro-cosmic figure of Maria herself:

'Tis She that to these Gardens gave
That wondrous Beauty which they have;
She streightness on the Woods bestows;
To Her the Meadow sweetness owes;
Nothing could make the River be
So Chrystal-pure but only She;
She yet more Pure, Sweet, Streight, and Fair,
Then Gardens, Woods, Meads, Rivers are.

(LXXXVII)

Because she represents the culmination of Marvell's vision as a poet, the significance of her coming differs not only from that which has preceded it in "Upon Appleton House", but from all the realities and possibilities explored across the entire canon of his works. On a super-

ficial level Maria may be said to be roughly comparable with Little T.C., and Friedman suggests that all the disasters of mutability are implied in the picture we have of this remarkable creature.²⁸ Nothing could be in my opinion more foreign to the sensibility of the poem in its description of Maria. Unlike little T.C., Maria is not a palpable, fleshly thing but an emblem or paragon, a reflection or emanation of God as well as a creature.²⁹ What is more, one might discern a deliberate contrast to T.C.'s glorious conquests in the following lines:

Blest Nymph! that couldst so soon prevent
Those Trains by Youth against thee meant;
Tears (watry Shot that pierce the Mind;)
And Sighs (Loves Cannon charg'd with Wind;)
True Praise (That breaks through all defence;)
And feign'd complying Innocence;
But knowing where this Ambush lay,
She scap'd the safe, but roughest Way.

This 'tis to have been from the first
In a Domestick Heaven nurst,
Under the Discipline severe
of Fairfax, and the starry Vere;
Where not one object can come nigh
But pure, and spotless as the Eye;
And Goodness doth it self intail
On Females, if there want a Male.

(LXXXX-LXXXI)

This is no triumph but a wise and skillful evasion of conflict and her cheerful, prefigured nuptials are very much removed from the disasters of unrequited love. Maria's social aspect is overwhelming, represents a radical departure from the escapism which has preceded it, and spreads admonition backwards in dramatic time to comprise Fairfax's geometric garden and the nun's seclusion as well as the poet's more recent flight.

²⁸ Friedman, pp. 243-244.

²⁹ Rostvig, p. 348-51.

There is no doubt that, quite apart from the immediate purpose of the polite convention describing a lady's influence upon an evening landscape, Marvell intends the Maria episode to evince a life of both ideal and societal aspirations. The result is perhaps unique in his poetry. Marvell clearly experimented with many formulas, but nowhere, not even in the conclusion to "The Garden", is there one as forward-looking and optimistic as in these stanzas. The subjective and inward-looking speculations of the speaker of "The Garden" are of the same kind as those of our poet in the grove, but less passionately and immediately experienced, and the grove here gives upon new possibilities hitherto unexplored. The departure from the specious and sensual satisfactions of the route of "To His Coy Mistress" and the grim faith of the mystical lover of "A Definition of Love" is even more obvious:

Hence She with Graces more divine
Supplies beyond her Sex the Line;
And, like a sprig of Mistleto,
On the Fairfacian Oak does grow;
Whence, for some universal good,
The Priest shall cut the sacred Bud;
While her glad Parents most rejoice,
And make their Destiny their Choice.

.(LXXXVIII)

The vision is one of a return to normalcy, to social activity and responsibility, and humility in accepting the human condition and human history as embodiments of the will of God.

The divine humility of Maria agrees entirely with Bacon's conception of Revelation and with the position which it occupies in his philosophy. The steps by which it is approached in Marvell's poem, I suggest, also correspond to the prescriptions of Bacon's method. I have not

³⁰ Anderson, p. 53.

in this introductory chapter sought to 'prove' these assertions. Indeed, I recognize that this thesis is not really susceptible of empirical demonstration. Marvell's poem will continue to transcend its poetic sources, and even more completely exceed the influence of philosophical analogues. This thesis, like Professor Rostvig's study, is hypothetical in nature. I submit, however, that a Baconian reading will be useful for the reasons already mentioned.

Bacon And Marvell

Although Bacon's method, in its numerous parts and subtle connections, warrants elaborate exegetical comment, the individual steps, the nature and importance of their interrelatedness may, I believe, for the purpose of recognizing their patterns in Marvell's poem, be stated simply enough. I propose to make a few brief prefatory remarks, and then to expand on the working machinery of Bacon's system of 'intellectual arts'. Further Baconian ideas will be discussed in connection with the features of "Upon Appleton House" to which they relate.

It is true that the bulk of Bacon's thought and opinions bears on matters not directly related to ethical concerns such as virtue and righteous conduct. The source of this relative indifference to ethics is Bacon's respect for the independence of theology and the sharp distinction this engenders in his general conceptions between natural philosophy and revelation. Although I am primarily concerned to show how Marvell adopts Baconian procedures, borrows Baconian images, and integrates Baconian ideas into the scheme of his poem, it would perhaps be advisable to establish beforehand that ethical conceptions are not entirely proscribed by Bacon in the systematic interconnections of reason and nature proposed in his natural philosophy. Anderson has commented on this issue as follows:

Sacred theology is derived from the Word of God and not from natural knowledge, even as the breath of life is breathed into man by God and does not arise in natural generation. It is written that "the heavens declare the glory of God" but not that they declare his will. Yet by "the light and law of nature" man can have some notions of virtue and vice, justice and injustice, good and evil. The term "light of nature" has two meanings: one, that which "springs from sense, induction,

reason, argument, according to the laws of heaven and earth"; and the other, that which "flashes upon the mind (anima) of man by an inward instinct according to the law of conscience."¹

Ethics may be discussed therefore, in the context of the use and objects of man's cognitive faculties "for among the offices of reason is the cognition of the divine mystery and the derivation of inferences from it."² For this reason, it is appropriate to consider the moral as well as the epistemological implications of Bacon's 'intellectual arts' when investigating their possible presence in "Upon Appleton House".

Professor Rostvig has pointed to Fairfax's familiarity with arcane neoplatonic and hermetic texts in order to establish their possible influence on Marvell and lay the foundations of her interpretation of his poem. I suggest that "Upon Appleton House" and Bacon are more simply and directly related. Marvell was appointed tutor to Mary Fairfax in 1651, and by the middle of the seventeenth century Bacon's reputation was at its height, as Anderson attests:

Bacon's reputation underwent a great increase in England some score of years following his death. Shortly after the middle of the century the "Advancement of Learning" became a major crusade... Bacon was greeted as the "secretary of nature," hailed as the "modern Aristotle," and praised as the "restorer of physics" and, therefore, as the "architect" of future philosophy. Virtuosi quoted his works by page, paragraph, sentence, and phrase; and the topics which he had listed for investigation became prescriptions for marking the area and the boundaries of human knowledge.³

¹ Anderson, p. 172.

² Loc. Cit.

³ Anderson, p. 293.

Certainly Marvell was aware of this enthusiasm for Bacon's works, and as a scholar of international culture it is unlikely that he would have been ignorant of vigorous native currents and developments.

The great ideas, issues, and debates of any age cut across numerous cultural currents. Seventeenth century poetry, for example, does not come into existence ex nihilo; nor does it misconceive the tenor of its formative influences by failing to consider and reflect scientific discoveries, political events, worldly exploration, fashion, and taste. As a man of wide scholarship, and some official importance, it is not surprising that Marvell's poetry neatly condenses for study the foremost concerns and interests of his age. More to the point, Berthoff affirms Marvell's connections with the philosophical speculations of the seventeenth century as follows:

The seventeenth century saw the development of new conceptions of mind, of mental operations, of the limits of knowing. These new conceptions are, I am suggesting, discernible not only in the scientific and philosophic discourses of the time but in such lively explorations of the relationship of ideas and language as those to which the creations of Marvell's allegorical imagination attest.⁴

Knowledge, and the conditions attaching to the acquisition of knowledge, are, as we shall see, issues of profound and special interest to Marvell in "Upon Appleton House". These concerns also attracted Bacon's concentrated energies and yielded his most noteworthy conclusions. In Bacon's philosophy knowledge is a combination of empirical observation and rational evaluation: its sources are, predominantly, nature, but also, significantly, individuals.

⁴ Berthoff, pp. 203-204.

In reflecting nature and the mind of man, knowledge is composed of constant, universal elements. Accordingly, the pursuit of knowledge is the responsibility of mankind and requires the participation of all men.

The last point remains...that perfection of the sciences is to be looked for not from the swiftness nor ability of any one inquirer, but from a succession. For the strongest and swiftest runners are perhaps not the best fitted to keep their torch alight since it may be put out by going too fast as well as too slow. It seems however...that the victory may no longer depend upon the unsteady and wavering torch of each single man but competition, emulation, and good fortune be brought to aid. Therefore men should be advised to rouse themselves, and try each his own strength and the chance of his own turn, and not to stake the whole venture upon the spirits and brains of a few persons.⁵

Knowledge then, as a 'res communes', evinces a chiefly public character. This perception contrasts sharply with the Medieval and Renaissance alchemical tradition,⁶ according to which learning is the prerogative of an intellectual elite, and also provokes a confrontation between a Baconian analysis of "Upon Appleton House" and the premises underlying Professor Rostvig's hermetic interpretation. But the 'Universal History' and the vision of a universal science, the vehicles of Professor Rostvig's insights into the poem, really represent a humanistic ideal of very broad scope and influence. The activities of the 'Prelate of the Grove' indeed incorporate these Renaissance aspirations by analogy into the poem, but may be taken as animating a Baconian as well as a hermetic theme:

But a just story of learning, containing the
antiquities and originals of knowledges and

⁵ J. Spedding, The Works of Francis Bacon, (London: 1892), vol. 6, p. 675.

⁶ Stewart Easton, Roger Bacon and His Search For A-Universal Science, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1952), pp. 67-86.

and their sects, their inventions, their traditions, their diverse administrations and managings, their flourishings, their oppositions, decays, depressions, oblivions, removes, with the causes and occasions of them, and all other events concerning learning, throughout the ages, of the world, I may truly affirm to be wanting.⁷

Quite apart from the numerous incidents and images of "Upon Appleton House" that argue in favour of the Baconian confluence of genealogical and intellectual continuities, to be discussed and illustrated later, I would point to Berthoff's general observation that Marvell's work is "essentially a public poem"⁸ as characterizing its basic attitude to knowledge.

Bacon's objections to the knowledge of his day must be taken in context. His animosity is directed principally at the introverted speculations of the schoolmen, which ignored nature and the possible relations it disclosed in the mind of man. The solution to the problem of knowledge proposed in Bacon's method, and the basis of his system, is for Man to learn again to look at reality 'with an ignorant eye' (as Wallace Stevens would express it):

It seems to me that men look down and study nature as from some remote and lofty tower. Nature presents to their gaze a certain picture of herself, or a cloudy semblance of things on which the practise and prosperity of men rest, are blurred by distance. So men toil and strive, straining the eyes of the mind, fixing their gaze in prolonged meditation, or shifting it about to get things into better focus. Finally they construct the arts of disputation, like ingenious perspective glasses, in order to seize and master the

⁷ Francis Bacon, The Advancement of Learning, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1952), p. 33

⁸ Berthoff, p. 163

subtle differences of nature. A ridiculous kind of ingenuity, is it not, and misdirected energy for a man to climb his tower, arrange his lenses, and screw up his eyes to get a closer view, when he might avoid all that laborious contrivance and tedious industry and achieve his end by a way not only easy but far superior in its benefits and utility, namely be getting down from his tower and coming close to things?⁹

Only when Man is face to face with God's creation, he insists, can the God-given glass shine again with its original splendour and the clouds of conceit and affectation be dispersed. In "Upon Appleton House", Marvell would seem to share Bacon's implicit belief in the visual sense as man's most reliable tool for effectively apprehending reality, for it is characteristic of his poem to be "intensely visual and explicitly symbolic, and for the symbols to depend upon visual images."¹⁰ Marvell equates seeing with experiencing and, as for Bacon, psychological regeneration in the form of vision is the foundation of reformed knowledge; it is because the "beams of things reflect according to their true incidence"¹¹ in the mind of recaptured innocence that the redeemed landscape of Appleton is a place "Where not one object can come nigh/ But pure, and spotless as the Eye." (ll. 725-6) In terms of Bacon's logic of invention, nature-as simple nature and Axiom-and the process by which we come to know it are reciprocally conditioned.

According to Bacon, the advancement of learning depends upon four intellectual arts. Bacon's classification bears interesting connection with that of ancient and Ramistic systems, but it would require a lengthy

⁹ Spedding, vol. 3, p. 581.

¹⁰ Berthoff, pp. 180-181.

¹¹ Bacon, Advancement of Learning, p. 60.

digression to discuss these differences here.¹² The intellectual arts are invention, judgment, memory, and elocution or tradition. These correspond to four of the five departments of Ciceronian rhetoric in name only, for they do not designate a categorically distinct subject (Rhetoric) but a procedure to be followed in all areas of knowledge. Except for the purposes of exposition and organisation, the fourfold division of Bacon's intellectual arts is of questionable informational value. As part of a working scheme, each phase is closely interrelated with the others: for example, the idols of the market place are discussed under judgment but pertain to language and communication, ranged under elocution; the 'probationary' and 'magistral' methods of presentation, classified as elocution, parallel the commemorative and creative aspects of invention; the summoning of stored information, again a function of invention, presupposes the custody of facts in memory; imparting the process of knowing together with the knowledge itself (elocution) implies both the induction of judgment through which it is acquired and the idols that impede its acquisition, and so on. Although, for reasons of convenience and in order to keep the material within the formal bounds proposed by Marvell's poem, I will more fully treat the acquisition and tradition of knowledge (judgment and elocution), the whole machinery of Bacon's intellectual arts is at work in the following discussion and illustrations.

The fruits of Bacon's procedure are not simply the physical truths of a naive materialism, but intellectual and ethical realizations, rules based upon psychological

¹² Wilbur Samuel Howell, Logic and Rhetoric in England 1500-1700, (New York: Russell and Russell, 1961), p. 364-375.

and epistemological insights. Because they have not considered the totality of Bacon's system, even in its broadest outlines, historians of the philosophy of science have frequently misconceived and simplified the character of Bacon's fundamental conceptions. One result of this tendency is the common but mistaken notion that Bacon is a thoroughgoing materialist who locates the 'arché' of being in the unintelligible chaos of unformed nature. This idea derives, I believe, from Bacon's deserved reputation as the inventor of technology, that is, of the humanitarian conception that the role of science is the improvement of the conditions of life for the 'relief of man's estate.' As well, in failing to appreciate the sincerity of Bacon's religious convictions, commentators have drawn conclusions based only on partial evidence of his method and intentions. Critics frequently lose sight of the important fact that in Bacon's philosophy nature, time, and the productions of time are finite manifestations of the will of God. The material universe and the idea of extension are therefore absolute neither as reflecting the goals nor as establishing the limits and conditions of knowledge, for it is not the object-world which is absolute but (excepting the Divine) the idea of knowledge itself. As the general scheme of Bacon's intellectual arts suggests, the basis of knowledge inheres in man's faculties, methodically informed, and the character of knowledge always reflects the source from which it originates. Thus knowledge is at all times not a copy but an interpretation of what is given, albeit an interpretation based upon the experience of what is given. The doctrine of idols, it is true, aims at publicizing and correcting errors in judgment, but this is so precisely because the normative determinants of knowledge are of the mind. But, as stated in the beginning, the purpose of

this thesis is not the vindication of Bacon's philosophy. Nor is it my intention to engage in polemics. The oft ignored religious framework and background to Bacon's thought and the misconceptions surrounding the exact nature of his empiricism have been discussed by others.¹³

Bacon's idea of invention may be interpreted as a declaration of intention to employ both the retentive and creative faculties of the mind, a purpose that cuts across the normal divisions of his system. Invention comprises the two techniques of summoning speech or arguments out of the knowledge of which the mind is already possessed, and of creating new arts and sciences for the improvement of the conditions of life.

Judgment is the logical tool or method to be used in the acquisition of knowledge. Observation and experience of reality are the foundations of knowledge. By observing and experimenting with particular instances, common 'simple natures' may be abstracted, and from these basic forms axioms of increasing certainty, accuracy and efficiency for understanding and controlling nature are formulated. Knowledge therefore proceeds by induction from particulars to 'simple natures' to irrefutable truths. Particulars are of course communicated to the mind by the senses. The 'simple natures' are in fact 'forms' and reflect underlying geometrico-mechanical structures common and essential to numerous particulars. The reason further generalizes upon these forms in establishing maxims of general bearing, ideal norms or relations, universal essences. Bacon's method asserts that "the senses are the door to both the

¹³ Fazio Allmayer, Francis Bacon, (Palermo: Bompiani, 1928), pp. 37-57. And Mary Horton, "In Defence of Francis Bacon: A Criticism of the Critics of the Inductive Method," Studies in History and Philosophy of Science, 4, 241-278, N. 73.

imagination and the intellect,"¹⁴ and therefore proposes a single logical procedure underlying all the various knowledges. In subjective branches of philosophy, such as ethics, reason plays much the same role as in physics. From the continuous flow of sense perception, reason proposes insights of increasing generality which are as much reflections on the nature of the mind itself as empirical determinations of the character of events. These insights, in order to be both comprehensible in popular discourse and effective in making a lasting impression (persuasion is the province of ethics) are animated by the imagination in rhetorical figures or emblems. These images combine ideal and sensible attributes, for they enable intellectual principles to address themselves directly to man's perceptual faculties.

In both physics and ethics the generalized maxims of reason are derived from the sense perception, but are by no means entirely contingent on it. On the contrary, ideally they respectively control nature and determine the character of man's actions. These progressive stages of broadening reference, revealing more comprehensive realities, suggests Plato's inductive inquiry into forms of increasing generality and, indeed, "the Baconian philosophy...exhibits in its methodology many platonic principles."¹⁵ Furthermore, Bacon's method does not consist in merely turning the consequences of physical effects in upon themselves. The 'forms' of reality are always combinations of reason and empirical natures, for Bacon never accepts the evidence of the senses uncritically.

Bacon is most conscious of possible methodological difficulties arising from his reverent attention to

¹⁴ Anderson, p. 150.

¹⁵ Anderson, p. 124.

particulars. Any meaningful inquiry must begin, therefore, by focusing attention on an area 'cut off of infinity' which delimits the chaotic multiplicity of particulars in nature to intellectually comprehensible data. The proposition "the nature of everything is best seen in its smallest portions" is for Bacon axiomatic and generally applicable to the several sciences of man:

Inductive investigation begins with particulars and proceeds to definition. Particulars are "infinite" and cannot be dealt with in knowledge except as exemplifications of determined natures which are common to many instances. In the recognition of these natures a "cutting-off of infinity" from indeterminate multiplicity takes place through the segregation of natures. With the termination of infinity goes the recognition that the forms of things are not infinite like particulars but are limited; that the discovery of the structures and ways of infinite individuals is possible only because particulars partake of a limited number of forms which produce by their conjunctions natural things in infinite variety.¹⁶

This basic feature of Bacon's method may be observed in the general assumptions and structures of "Upon Appleton House". The NunAppleton grounds are just such a place 'cut off' from the infinite extension of 'The Wast'. The phenomenal reality of Fairfax's estate is accordingly shown to 'contain' or reflect on 'things greater'. These greater things are furthermore declared to be of the same type as those immediately described:

Your lesser World contains the same.
But in more decent Order tame;
You Heaven's Centre, Nature's Lap.
And Paradise's only map.

(LXXXXVI)

Friedman recognizes the interrelatedness of the estate and of the world without, and characterizes it as Marvell's realization "that the 'lesser World' (which is both Mary

¹⁶ Anderson, p. 217.

Fairfax and NunAppleton) is made up of the same intractably decadent materials as the greater world or macrocosm."¹⁷

I am not sure that Marvell's clear perception of a physical truth and law is necessarily accompanied by such morose reflections concerning an overwhelming and decadent materialism. The hope is that the lessons taught and rhetorically illustrated at NunAppleton, man's power to apprehend the patterns of material reality, to 'map' his 'paradise', may oppose and overcome the endless chaos of unformed nature. The interrelatedness of the two worlds is indeed the foundation of this promise. In Baconian terms, once the multiplicity of material particulars has been relatively confined, the realization is possible, indeed logically inevitable, that form is not as distributed as the matter by which it is sustained existentially. A limited number of forms or structures, called 'simple natures', contribute and are common to instances in their infinite variety. These unique essences enable man to understand and control nature, to transform the wilderness into a garden, to map his paradise.

The theological foundation of Bacon's interest in the world of sense is the scriptural doctrine according to which Nature is meant by God to answer the needs of man. This idea neatly corresponds to the obliging Nature of "The Garden", especially as wonderfully illustrated in its fifth stanza. In "Upon Appleton House", on the contrary, it is possible to argue (as Friedman does) that Marvell reveals a cynical materialism. The following couplets may be read as evidence of this attitude:

'Tis not, what once it was, the World;
But a rude heap together hurl'd;
All negligently overthrow'n,
Gulfes, Deserts, Precipices, Stone.

(LXXXXVI)

¹⁷ Friedman, p. 245.

But this passage is not necessarily in stark contrast to the Protestant conviction that history and nature are governed by providence. Accidents are not only possible, but their incidence on earth is numerically overwhelming. What is fortuitous to the mind of man, however, may yet be preordained in the mind of God. Indeed, Marvell's perspective is distinctly orthodox. Unlike the scientific world-view, which ascribes all that happens to the operation of empirically deductible norms, man's instruments of prediction or prophecy, Marvell's humble acceptance of all that happens (phenomenologically) makes for the possibility of God's preeminent role. Bacon too accepts unequivocally the adventitious conditions of being imposed upon Nature by its Creator, and this recognition is reflected in his methods of discovery and invention. In his scrupulous observation of particulars, and in the inductive methods of his inquiry, Bacon opposes with hostility the mind that draws inferences after cursory examination of a few positive examples and suppresses countervailing 'negative instances'.¹⁸

Bacon's suspicions of hasty and fixed interpretations are reflected in Marvell's images, and his images, in turn, comment on his presuppositions concerning knowledge and knowing. In this connection, it is necessary to point out that Marvell's images have been related to other seventeenth century views on the nature and use of the interpretive faculties of the mind. Epistemologically, the 'proleptical' character of knowledge in Cudworth can be related to what Berthoff calls Marvell's 'proleptical metaphors'.¹⁹ Prolepsis is a kind of redundancy or anticipation such as is conveyed by the phrase 'to shoot a man down'. Stylistically, proleptical metaphors emphasize the

¹⁸ Cited by Anderson, p. 100.

¹⁹ Berthoff, pp. 201-204.

generative power of the concept to predetermine form. Prolepsis, then, is a type of pre-judgement that controls its productions. Marvell's penchant for converting myths and conventional symbols into literal truths perhaps suggests the conceptual resonance of prolepsis, but it is important to assess this inclination in the light of the impression this visual punning is meant to create. Far from implying a pre-established perspective, I believe Marvell means deliberately to shatter perspectival assumptions. Any certainty salvaged by the poem for its readers is the fruit of the experience of passing through a precarious realm of unstable, even fitful judgment. Colie has commented on the absence of conventional measuring rods in "Upon Appleton House" as follows:

Marvell has simply looked back at the world displayed before him and chose fictionally to present the NunAppleton scenes as confused, confusing, and thoroughly problematical. In his Apologie, Montaigne rendered the world as confused and uncertain, measured against the assumed reference-world of hieratic order; in "Upon Appleton House" Marvell presented a world with no fixed reference-point, no text like Sebonde's against which to measure the world under scrutiny, so that its shiftiness and particularities seem in Appleton's nature, intrinsic to it rather than the result of a particular astigmatism or particular perspective.²⁰

Far from evoking Cudworth's faith in conceptual predicates, I suggest Marvell echoes Bacon's distrust of hasty 'anticipations' of nature. Bacon metaphorically describes Man's proclivity to fixed theoretical interpretations as a giant holding up preconceptions received in tradition or presented to the mind after short periods of observation and experiment:

...so do men earnestly desire to have within them an Atlas or axletree of thoughts, by which

²⁰ Colie, pp. 182-183.

the fluctuations and dizziness of the understanding may be to some extent controlled; fearing belike that their heaven should fall. And hence it is that they have been in too great a hurry to establish some principles of knowledge, round which all the variety of disputations might turn without peril of falling and overthrow.²¹

The 'confused, confusing, and thoroughly problematical' nature of Appleton prevents the mind from generalizing upon a few positive instances. Marvell masterfully employs 'baroque' techniques to frustrate his readers expectations and assumptions, as at the very beginning of the 'meadows' stanzas:

And now to the Abbyss I pass
Of that unfathomable Grass,
Where Men like Grasshoppers appear,
But Grasshoppers are Giants there:

(XLVII)

Not only are the mower's statures reduced, commensurate with that of grasshoppers, but these grasshoppers are giants and the men consequently microscopic. The effect undermines the reader's ordinary perception of scale, just as the following delightful couplets influence his perception of local situation:

Then as I careless on the Bed
Of gelid Straw-berryes do tread,
And through the Hazles thick espy
The hatching Throstles shining Eye,

(LXVII)

Through the cluster of hazels the poet miraculously fixes his attention on the bird's black and shining eye, in which, we might imagine, he stands reflected and in which the whole visual picture of Appleton is momentarily concentrated. The poet's remarkably clear vision belies the fundamental ambiguity the incident provokes, for the precision is only in the perception of detail, the throstle's eye, and the surrounding 'clusters' remain a

²¹ Bacon, Advancement of Learning, p. 59.

'maze'. The local situation of perception is itself somewhat confused, as by the interposition of a mirror between the eye of the perceiver and the perceived object, or by the sudden transformation of the perceived object itself into a reflecting glass:

Marvell's details are the result of exact vision: in the "Hazles thick," for instance, the poet sees not the whole thrush upon her nest, but its "shining Eye," distinct from the surrounding leaves, a sharp eye which in its own right catches the sharp eye of the poet. Montaigne and his cat; Marvell and the thrush-who plays with whom, who observes whom?²²

The confusion earlier achieves even greater intensity when Thestylis addresses and chides the till then independent voice of the narrator-poet (LI). These devices enable the poem to confront and question the established norms of its own fictional reality and correspond to Bacon's close and often polemical scrutiny of fixed interpretations of the world. Who plays with whom? Who is within and who is without? The mirror's mirror.

The doctrine of idols, dealing with the errors and vanities of learning, is also included in Judgment. Generally, the theory of idols is that the relations between nature and the mind of man are not what they should be. They are divided into idols of the tribe, of the cave, of the marketplace, and of the theatre. The idols of the tribe derive from the corruptions to which reason is subject, and are therefore innate and common to all men. They include man's preoccupation with received opinions, "for the nature of man doth extremely covet to have somewhat in his understanding fixed and unmoveable, and as a rest and support of the mind."²³ The idols of

²² Colie, p. 206.

²³ Bacon, Advancement of Learning, p. 59.

the cave describe errors peculiar to individuals and are therefore adventitious. They "arise respectively from (a) an attachment to a predominant subject, (b) an excessive tendency either to unite or to differentiate, (c) a partiality for a particular age in history, and (d) a desire to contemplate larger or lesser objects."²⁴ These procedural pitfalls are circumvented by the 'true investigator', and, as we shall see, Fairfax's garden suggests the correct methods that oppose them. The idols of the marketplace deal with the evils derived from man's necessary participation and cooperation in society, and centre on problems of language and communication. The idols of the theatre are the most fortuitious and describe the evil influence and tyranny of prior philosophies. It is in emancipating knowledge and the mind of man from the dictatorship of the ancients and their scholastic acolytes that Bacon is most given to historical polemics.

The emphasis in this thesis is primarily on Bacon's theories of language and communication, but the idols of the marketplace are by no means the only 'vicious mental dispositions' discussed in Marvell's poem. The nun's episode, for example, is a refutation of scholastic rhetoric, historically an idol of the theatre and psychologically an idol of the cave. Fairfax himself, though of course commended as Marvell's man of virtue, is not altogether beyond reproach. Friedman's psychological observation on Fairfax's 'flowery fort' is here pertinent:

The implication is strong that Fairfax cannot altogether erase the character that led him to military supremacy.²⁵

The idols of the cave describe the inability of certain individuals to avoid the influence of their habitual enquiries and endeavours when undertaking activities

²⁴ Anderson, p. 101.

²⁵ Friedman, p. 209.

unrelated to them.²⁶ As a gardener, Fairfax has been unable to abandon his soldierly conceptions and frame of mind.

Traditional interests in memory are adapted by Bacon to answer the needs of his natural philosophy and his observations again here reflect attitudes that cut across the divisions of his system of intellectual arts. Memory is the faculty that allows for the invention of arguments, but it also functions as a guide to research by indicating directions of inquiry suggested in established orders of sequence. Thus for Bacon memory serves a more practical purpose than it does traditionally as the mere supplier of brilliant prearranged arguments.

The last phase of Bacon's method, and the most important for our purposes, is elocution or tradition. It posits the conditions that attach to the communication and transfer of knowledge and is divided into the organ of tradition (language), the methods of tradition (the magistral and initiative, or probationary), and the illustration of tradition (rhetoric).

The initiative method reflects the logic of invention and aims at the continuing progress of knowledge. It consists not only in the master imparting units of information to the student, but in the transplanting the very steps by which the knowledge was obtained from the mind of the master into the mind of the student. This guarantees the extension of formative patterns and consequently assures the fruits of new discovery.

The magistral method is the logic of instruction. It makes the best use of knowledge at its present stage of development and divulges the contents of established facts and propositions to novices. Its proper purposes

²⁶ Bacon, Novum Organum, p. 109.

may be perverted however, if it is used to banish doubt and extinguish the spirit of inquiry. Stored knowledge, regardless of the quantity, is not an end in itself.

Bacon vigorously opposes the consolidation of knowledge that leads to the tyranny of dogma. Pride is the impulse that motivates this obstruction to new discovery, and pride is manifested in elaborate structures of useless erudition.

In "Upon Appleton House", the 'Forrain Architect's' vain intentions are framed on the 'model' of his brain; the 'quarries' and 'forests' are reduced to 'caves' and 'pastures' as he draws upon the resources and exhausts the materials of stored knowledge to erect his palace of wisdom, a personal monument not meant to 'answer use'. This ambition is in stark contrast to the humble practicality of creatures incapable of 'higher' conceptions:

Why should of all things Man unrul'd
Such unproportion'd dwellings build?
The Beasts are by their Denms exprest:
And Birds contrive an equal Nest;
The low roof'd Tortoises do dwell
In cases fit of Tortoise-shell:
No Creature loves an empty space;
Their Bodies measure out their Place.

(11)

The body of knowledge too cannot thrive in a vacuum, but depends upon the constant nourishment of ideas. Hence the singular importance of language, communication, and methods of tradition, the life-lines of learning. The mass and weight of knowledge is useless and unimportant without the forms in which it may be 'articulated', by analogy, in the language of space:

But unto this part of knowledge, concerning method, doth further belong not only the architecture of the whole frame of a work, but also the several beams and columns thereof; not as to their stuff, but as to their

quantity and figure.²⁷

And this brings us to consider the organ of tradition.

Bacon's idol's of the marketplace describe the pernicious influence of words on thought. Words corrupt the understanding by naming things which do not in fact exist or by hastily and ill-defining actual things 'irregularly derived from reality'. A blurring of mental vision results from the power of words to reflect independent meanings in no way related to constant, perceptible, or demonstrable norms:

Yet certain it is that words, as a Tartar's bow, do shoot back upon the understanding of the wisest, and mightily entangle and pervert the judgement.²⁸

Bacon adopts and interprets the biblical fable according to which Adam was in the garden capable of naming God's creatures according to their true natures,²⁹ for the mind of man is "a mirror or glass, capable of the image of the universal world, and joyful to receive the impression thereof, as the eye joyeth to receive light."³⁰ But how is this mirror to be polished and furbished anew? The answer lies in a different form and use of language, in a new method of tradition of knowledge.

The emphasis in Bacon's theory of communication is therefore, away from the auditory impressions created by verbal signs towards different types of non-verbal representation. Words are, after all, only one of many possible different kinds of signs:

This then may be laid down as a rule; that whatever can be divided into differences sufficiently numerous to explain the variety of notions (provided these differences are perceptible to the sense)

²⁷ Bacon, *Advancement of Learning*, p. 65.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 61.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

³⁰ *Loc. Cit*

may be made a vehicle to convey the thought of one man to another.³¹

Non verbal representation is itself divisible into signs which communicate meanings by virtue of 'contract' or agreement, such as letters, real characters or ideograms, and gestures or hieroglyphics, which are more immediately congruous with the thing or notion signified. Concerning signs of the first type, alphabetical symbols enable people who are ignorant of one another's languages to read one another's writing. But these symbols have the disadvantage of suggesting the ordinary language and diversity of words because different populations have dissimilar reactions to similar sounds. Gestures and hieroglyphics are both manifestations of emblem, differing only in that gestures are transitory in nature and hieroglyphics fixed by permanent form. Bacon believes the non-arbitrary, non-conventional, natural, and spontaneous character of such symbols are valuable as potentially uniting men of different tongues in a single understanding by overcoming the barriers of language.³²

By concentrating on what is common and essential in languages and ignoring what is unique and empirically accidental, emblems realize Bacon's intention to "restore to mankind the commerce between the mind and things."³³ This objective points to the common ground these productions come to occupy with Marvell's images. Both belong to a thoroughly mediated world of representation interposed between the realms of abstraction and of sense that informs our understanding of both. On another level of insight, both may be seen as conjoining argument and illustration.

"Upon Appleton House" is in part a depiction of Lord

³¹ Ibid., p. 62.

³² Anderson, p. 179.

³³ Ibid., p. 189.

Fairfax's estate. The poem's descriptions are congruous with contemporaneous accounts of the place in showing how the house rose out of the countryside, how they were linked and interdependent. Certainly, some topographical features, such as Fairfax's garden and the locations of the meadows, woodlands, and the river Wharfe, were painted 'from life', and the appearance of these structural elements in the poem, if not exact in their details, most probably, at least in overall effect, convey what the estate must have looked like.³⁴ On the less concrete level of atmosphere, Marvell evokes with evident pleasure the cultural, rural, and folk activities of the place. But "Upon Appleton House" is of course not a realistic picture of the estate. Anyone who so took it would find it impossible to pin down the exact 'spots' from which it was 'painted', for it is seen from an intellectual, not a real viewpoint, and the 'spot' is in fact a moving point. The moving point traces a line between opposites which its median route establishes as the poles of comparisons and the instruments of exposition. The progression distinguishes and subsumes nature and the mind of man, the microcosmic and the macrocosmic universe, the private and the public, just as the heraldic Halcyon flies "betwixt the Day and Night" (1670) in a moment and a space, twilight, which comprises both. The 'Halcyon's movements and Marvell's voyage are by no means mere 'empirical' occurrences, but symbolic references that imply an ideal end, for "the point of reference, which prescribes the path of recognition and representation, does not simply exist in the sense of being given in advance but results only from

³⁴ Allen, p. 158.

the direction of vision and from the ideal goal towards which the vision aims."³⁵ The voyage's guiding lights, Fairfax and Vere (Virtue and Truth), raise the poet's 'slow steps' to an exemplary pattern for succeeding generations who 'hither come in Pilgrimage/These sacred places to adore,/By Vere and Fairfax trod before' (ll 134-136). The journey is therefore also a devotional and ceremonial act which, when repeated, recreates the reality it symbolizes. The ritual character of the pilgrimage, enabling the faithful to participate concretely in its figurative meaning, recalls Bacon's speculations on the natural, sensory origins of language in gestures which immediately capture the thing signified, be it material or ideational. Emblems eliminate the idols that interpose themselves between man's perceptual faculties and nature by "reducing conceits intellectual to images sensible"³⁶ so that they may more effectively impress themselves upon the senses and qualify to be received into man's store of knowledge. Bacon's method treats both mental and material reality, all knowledge, as uniformly sensory and indicative. In "Upon Appleton House", Marvell clearly engages in a lively exploration of similar principles. Berthoff discerns the emblematic character of Marvell's images and the immediacy with which emblems signify by assuming sharply defined pictorial ie. perceptible outline. Indeed, being and signifying, the sensory and the indicative, seem insensibly to coalesce.

Narration is, of course, often checked-by confrontation in which the dialogue is mysteriously general; by soliloquy or frankly open address to the audience, which, like an aria, interrupts the story. Such static moments, I believe, are emblematic in character. An emblem is a narrative

³⁵ Ernst Cassirer, The Philosophy of Symbolic Forms: The Phenomenology of Knowledge, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966), p. 138.

³⁶ Bacon, Advancement of Learning, p. 62.

moment from which the particular occasion has, to various degrees, been refined. Seen at a distance, the irrelevant details obscured, a huntsman stalking, a bold pirate boarding, a child weeping all become speaking pictures, shapes which say the meaning of what the figures do; what they do tells us what they are. The resultant abstraction facilitates application; indeed it creates application.³⁷

The 'conceptual recognition' of emblems enables Marvell to establish the symbolic import of ordinary events and of insights, to palpably and concretely specify correspondences within the fictional reality of his poem:

He can't portray the world of Antony and Cleopatra, for example; but realizing that, he can also see how a mere walk in a garden, say, by its very limitations, can sharply define insights that ripple out and apply in areas of experience unavailable to him directly. His detachment becomes a subtle form of action in and upon the world about him.³⁸

Though the voyage is both local and universal, combines an exact with a generalized observation, the often confusing and problematical reality of Appleton remains uniform, for the expanding "ripples" of experience and application adhere throughout to the same idiom and normative patterns. The poem's "powers of cohesion are mysterious"³⁹ but are clearly grounded in constant relative proportions of expanding time and space, in systematic, purposeful progressions from particular to general and vice-versa. This is the secret of the poem's internal coherence and continuous directions:

Yet, although the imagery inverts so much, and so strikingly conveys the poet's sense of freedom from the gravity even of himself, and all the cares the self must bear in the ordinary world, we discover that the man in the poem is

³⁷ Berthoff, pp. 24-25.

³⁸ S.L. Goldberg, "Marvell: Self and Art", in Andrew Marvell, ed. John Carey, (Baltimore: Penguin Critical Anthologies, 1969), pp. 160-175 at p. 163

³⁹ Colie, p. 190.

in fact never turned upside down: he stays upright through everything. However high his raptures, he walks upon the ground, moves from here to there; even when he seems prone in ecstasy he is mysteriously on his way to somewhere else.⁴⁰

These shifts from close to wide-angle perception are achieved, as we shall see, through the agency of emblems that normally both exist as parts of the narrative matrix and disclose 'universal essences'.

The most explicit comparison of particular and general, actual and ideational voyaging, occurs at journey's end where the salmon-fishers are equated with 'Antipodes' and 'Dark Hemispheres'.

But now the Salmon-Fishers moist
 Their Leathern Boats begin to hoist;
 And, like Antipodes in Shoes,
 Have shod their Heads in their Canoos..
 How Tortoise like, but not so slow,
 These rational Amphibii go?
 Let's in: for the dark Hemisphere
 Does now like one of them appear.

(LXXXXVll)

This stanza also marks the final extension of the median treatment of polar oppositions, for antipodean regions and experience are 'exactly opposite' to ordinary reality in the same way that a mirrored figure is both reproduced and reversed in its reflection. The idea is captured by the inversion of 'shoeing' one's head with 'canoos', and the image achieves perfect completeness in suggesting how this perception is related to the technical equipment of travelling, for the 'canoos' containing 'heads' are Bacon's "little bark of human reason" with which we may "sail round the whole circumference of the old and new world of the sciences."⁴¹ The 'canoos' are furthermore both instruments and tangible manifestations of enlightenment,

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 203.

⁴¹ Cited by Ernst Cassirer, The Platonic Renaissance in England, trans. James P. Pettegrove (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1953) at p. 52, quoting Bacon's De Augumentis Scientiarum, Bk. ix, ch. ii.

their wooden structures permutations of the tree of knowledge, for the intellect is in Bacon's view self-perpetuating. Marvell toys with this idea in the introductory stanza to the woodlands episode by neatly punning on the word 'imbark'.

But I, retiring from the Flood,
Take Sanctuary in the Wood;
And, while it lasts, my self imbark
In this yet green, yet growing Ark;

(LXI)

The wood is at once hieratic and instrumental, corresponding to Bacon's magistral and initiative methods for storing and increasing knowledge, philosophical analogues of Noah's mission to gather, preserve, and perpetuate God's creation.

Marvell's journey pursues a middle course between nature and the mind of man in an effort "to understand the relationship between the inevitably abstract mind and the recalcitrant materialism of the world of the senses."⁴² The middle route, like Marvell's elegant conceit in "A Definition of Love", is actually a 'planisphere', a map, into which the poles of abstraction and concretion have merged. The ideal and the real freely interpenetrate, for Marvell perceives "the abstract character of reality and the reality of abstractions."⁴³ This is not quite the same thing as the ordinary productions of the poetic imagination and the world of sense but a conscious and ironic redefinition of the figurative meanings themselves in literal terms. A useful example of this tendency to literalize a metaphor or metaphoric process occurs where the 'Prelate of the Grove' reads the forest leaves. The sybil's palms are themselves, of course, conventional images of prophecy, but they are here suddenly converted into their phenomenal form only to be reconstituted

⁴² Friedman, p. 174.

⁴³ Berthoff, p. 7.

() metaphorically. The image has come to life. Values and concepts too, instead of dictating method and form, are themselves the subjects of a descriptive treatment that places them alongside what is normally contained in the empiricist's field of vision. Fairfax's garden, as we shall see, is a perfect model or emblem that accomplishes the reification of the ideal of virtue, that reduces the principle of virtue to sensorily tangible data.

The concrete symbolism of abstract ideas is not limited to religious or moral conceptions. Purely metaphysical notions too are treated in a like way. If we again turn to stanza (LVIII) for illustration we may understand how "the 'Looking-Glass' and 'Multiplying Glasses' are guises of the eye of the imagination by which the poet, in his perception of the landscape, sees the very idea of space."⁴⁴ How weak by comparison is Friedman's assertion the "apart from the contemporary interests in experimental optics, nothing justifies this spate of farfetched analogies except Marvell's determination to create the power of the meadows to change as compellingly as possible."⁴⁵ The idea that Colie and Berthoff elaborate is precisely the relationship between 'contemporary interests', Marvell's images, and epistemological and ontological problems. It may indeed be possible to expand the category of concrete ideas beyond the moral and philosophical to include literary modes. For example, although Berthoff sees the concrete symbolism of abstract ideas as a function of the allegorical imagination, allegory itself is caught in our angling poet's far-flung net and figuratively constituted as the 'Prelate of the Grove'.

Certainly Marvell was aware of the workings of the allegorical imagination and it is therefore not unreasonable

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 177.

⁴⁵ Friedman, p. 234.

to suggest that he focused his critical attentions on them much in the same way in which he scrutinized his literary precedents. His critical insights are always expressed as brilliant poetic inventions, and the 'Prelate', like the 'Mower'. is a typical production of Marvell's skill in conjoining argument and illustration. A different view is held by Friedman, who suggests that "the disguise penetrates no deeper than the surface."⁴⁶ This alternative, adds little to our knowledge and appreciation of Marvell, and it is furthermore always dangerous to assume that so subtle a poet is not always in complete conscious control in managing his material.

Although predominately visual keys unlock the poet's mind to the reader, Marvell is not confined to flashing the glossy surfaces of his symbolic fantasies; his inquiring mind, like a Leonardo autopsy, turns the subject inside out to reveal the internal structure. This is yet another way of literalizing a metaphor or metaphoric process:

Out of these scatter'd Sibyls Leaves
Strange Prophecies my Phancy weaves:
And in one History consumes,
Like Mexique-Paintings, all the Plumes.
What Rome, Greece, Palestine, ere said
I in this light Mosaick read.
Thrice happy he who, not mistook,
Hath read in Natures mystick book.

And see how Chance's better Wit
Could with a Mask my studies hit!
The Oak-leaves me embroyder all,
Between which Caterpillars crawl:
And Ivy, with familiar trails,
Me licks, and clasps, and curles, and hales.
Under this antick Cope I move
Like some great Prelate of The Grove.

(LXXIII-LXXIV)

⁴⁶ Friedman, p. 238.

On the literal level the poet obviously discerns meanings in the dappled play of sunlight and of shade projected on the ground. These meanings, of 'Natures mystick Book', comprise and summarize the three great traditions of western civilization, the Greek, the Roman, and the Hebrew. Clearly the light mosaic is a condensation and visualization of the universal history of man. The expert of this hermetic science is appropriately invested with priestly prerogatives. In this connection Honig's perception of the allegorical interpreter is pertinent:

The figure of the allegorical interpreter seems to take upon himself certain functions which have always been associated with the priest. And, whether he is officially invested with priestly prerogatives or not, a relationship between allegory and the interpreter's role is revealed which points back to an earlier religious practise when the prescribed values were so impacted in the worship that the two could not have been differentiated.⁴⁷

A major allegorical form consists in what is called the history of the traditional book. The traditional books of the west are the Iliad, the Aeneid, and the Bible (the productions of Greece, Rome, and 'Palestine'). The meanings we are familiar with in these texts are the accretions of centuries of interpretive activity. Homer, for example, was said on the one hand to have ascribed certain qualities to the gods which were a disgrace amongst men: on the other hand his gods were taken as personifications of naturalistic truths. This interpretive area, as Honig indicates, is where allegory subjoins with myth in the traditional figure of the priest. Marvell's druidic poet-priest is himself a description of the phenomenon and how it works. He is not simply a fictional character involved in allegorical narrative, but

⁴⁷ Edwin Honig, Darke Conceit: The Making of Allegory, (London: Faber & Faber, 1960), p. 21.

the idea of allegorical narrative itself concretized, anatomized, and open for inspection.

In reducing allegory itself to sensible form, in penetrating and animating the operations of this agent, and in positioning this personification in the ordinary fictional reality of his poem, Marvell gives effect to Bacon's theories that ideas are potential in nature, that the function of reason is "diligent inquiry into the inner workings of things,"⁴⁸ and that rhetoric imaginatively illustrates the discoveries of reason in visually significant productions. It may be argued that the concrete symbolism of abstract ideas is typical of Marvell's Renaissance culture and may furthermore also be discerned in the recent medieval past of The Romance of the Rose, in the ancient remembrance of Psychomachia, or in the more distant gloom of Hesiod's Works and Days. A few important premises should be borne in mind however. Firstly, Berthoff's assertion that identifiable currents of contemporaneous philosophical speculation flow through Marvell's poem tends to specify its content. To acknowledge Marvell's awareness of Bacon is no more unusual than to see De Bauvais in the Romance of the Rose or early Christian polemical tracts in The Psychomachia. Secondly, in experimenting with Bacon's 'intellectual arts' Marvell was not presented with the impossible task of animating each entry in Bacon's encyclopedic mind, but with the more tractable chore of adopting an internally coherent system "underlying all the various knowledges."⁴⁹ Thirdly that distinctive features of Marvell's symbolism sustain the Baconian connection. We have seen how Bacon, through emblems, treats intellectual principles as sensory objects of knowledge. Marvell's technique of translating symbols

⁴⁸ Anderson, p. 208.

⁴⁹ Howell, p. 366.

() and symbolic patterns into phenomenal form and reconstituting them metaphorically reduces representation itself to perceptible form, poetically duplicates Bacon's procedure as it is applied to philosophical principles. Finally, the same important interests, concerns, and aspirations characterize the works of philosopher and of poet: the regeneration of a decadent nature, the elevation and glorification of fallen Man, and the reform of the corrupted sciences of Man.

In the preceding pages I have tried to indicate certain methodological and conceptual affinities that, I think, establish the experimental validity of a Baconian-Marvellian hypothesis. But Berthoff's assertion and the Baconian connection suggested here have not yet been illustrated 'rhetorically'. The theme of the acquisition and tradition of the knowledge of virtue in the language of emblems will provide a continuous exposition of Bacon's ideas in Marvell's mind and poem. Bacon's rhetoric itself, as the reader will have observed, is yet to be discussed. For reasons that I hope will appear, it will be dealt with, exclusively, in the following chapter.

⁴⁹ Howell, p. 366.

Bacon's Rhetoric And "Upon Appleton House".

The rather chauvinistic commendation of Appleton House's modesty, and Marvell's criticism of the exaggerated architectural splendours of other country houses and 'country house' poems, relate directly to the idea and use of language and to Bacon's theory of emblems. The columns 'so highly raised' suggest the Biblical Tower of Babel, and the analogy is consciously extended. The 'Forrain Architect' "thinks by Breadth the World t'unite/Though the first Builders fail'd in Height." (ll 23-24) The Biblical incident relates the origins of the 'curse of the confusion of tongues'.

4. And they said, Go to, let us build us a city and a tower, whose top may reach unto heaven; and let us make us a name, lest we be scattered abroad upon the face of the whole earth.

5. And the Lord came down to see the city and the tower, which the children of men builded.

6. And the Lord said, Behold, the people is one, and they have all one language; and this they begin to do and now nothing will be restrained from them, which they have imagined to do.

7. Go to, let us go down, and there confound their language, that they may not understand one another's speech.

8. So the Lord scattered them abroad from thence upon the face of all the earth: and they left off to build the city.

(Genesis 11, 4-8)

Bacon and Marvell share and employ this scriptural background to full advantage in their parallel discussions of language. For Bacon, as for Marvell, the root cause of man's fallen language and corrupted understanding is pride.

In the age after the flood, the first great judgement of God upon the ambition of man was the confusion of tongues; whereby the open trade and intercourse of learning and knowledge was chiefly imbarred.¹

¹ Bacon, Advancement of Learning, p. 18.

The regeneration of language therefore implies the related activities of replacing pride with humility and of discovering a language in which men of different understandings might be united. In "Upon Appleton House", I suggest this dual purpose is accomplished by rhetorical emblems of virtue, for "we are persuaded by pictures"² instead of by the cursed language of words.

We may begin to see how opposed views on the nature and use of language first clash and then are resolved in the historical romance episode. In dealing with the Nun-appleton stanzas it would be well to keep in mind as a background the hostility of the Protestant North to the monastic ideal. The greatest individual exponent of the Northern Renaissance, Erasmus, strikes a typical attitude in satirizing monastic orders. The monks are "brainsick fools, highly in love with themselves and fond admirers of their own happiness."³ Puritan England naturally seconded these harsh sentiments and Bacon, a spokesman for Puritan judgements of recent history, characterizes the Reformation as a time "when it pleased God to call the church of Rome to account for their degenerate manners and ceremonies, and sundry doctrines obnoxious and framed to uphold the same abuses."⁴ The ceremonial and idolatrous tendency of the Catholic worship that especially disgusted the reformers are also ridiculed by Marvell:

Some to the Breach against their Foes
Their wooden Saints in vain oppose.
Another bolder stands at push
With their old Holy-Water Brush.
While the disjointed Abbess threads
The gingling chain-shot of her Beads.

(XXXII)

The 'pathetic impotence of these 'relics' before the provi-

² Berthoff, p. 194.

³ Erasmus, The Praise of Folly, (New York: Galaxy Books, 1964), p. 28.

⁴ Bacon, Advancement of Learning, p. 19.

dential violence of William Fairfax implies a more serious criticism than the opprobrium of bad habits and it is even directed against Marvell's patron, though in blunted form. The nuns and William Fairfax represent a clash of mighty opposites suggesting the enlarged reference of Blake's 'contraries': the nuns are attached to a convent, of course, but they also belong to a greater psychological community of obedience; Fairfax, on the contrary, is a frank exponent of the individual will. His destiny is clearly in his own hands to shape as he pleases and, in stark contrast to the nun's, his commitment to action enables him to escape the perversions of enforced idleness.

As a medieval and a catholic institution, Nunappleton (in addition to commemorating a phase in local, national, and universal history) must surely have suggested to Marvell the learning of the church Schoolmen. Marvell's themes are not only political but epistemological as well. The nun's 'tongue' is both 'sharp' and 'smooth', as the situation requires. It is no more than a tool used to accomplish predetermined ends, in this case an abduction. This attitude to language suggests both the 'ornamental' view of rhetoric as a help to scholars seeking to achieve brilliant effects in the forensic and demonstrative manners, and scholastic interpretations of Aristotle, which had ignored experimentation in favour of false proofs of rhetorical and dialectical involution. According to Bacon, these wholly verbal structures result from the isolation of the mind, from the inability or unwillingness of the 'secluded intellect' to recognize Nature as a legitimate object of knowledge. The nuns indulge in their capricious and introverted pastimes in secret, away from the world:

These Walls restrain the World without,
But hedge our Liberty without,

(XIII)

Bacon compares the monastic minds devising of logical schematisms, the 'pulling of pastes' for 'curious tastes', to a spider spinning cobwebs of useless erudition out of his own body:

Even as their bodies were shut up in the cells of monasteries, so were their minds confined to a few authors...And it became their endeavor, to spin..."laborious cobwebs of learning...admirable for the fineness of the thread and work, but of no substance or profit."⁵

And although the nun's official responsibility is to inspire virtue, her methods are ironically expressly designed to frustrate this very purpose, for virtue cannot be demonstrated through the reasonings of "disputations and conclusions, which have no sympathy with the will of man."⁶

Unlike Fairfax, the nun is false and therefore unfit to impart knowledge of virtue, to which she nevertheless pretends. The pedagogue's abuses of ambition and pride are here seen as perversions of the magistral method. The nun's knowledge is of course a received doctrine, a 'holy legend', incapable of regeneration and, in fact, slavishly duplicated in 'linen' and in 'lives', (ll 125-126) The nuns have made of stored knowledge an end in itself, but this is a way full of obstruction, for it does not contribute to the advancement of learning but enables the bigoted and pedantic to shelter themselves behind the dignity of knowledge, to enforce belief rather than encourage the spirit of critical examination. The nun's art therefore discloses the ulterior motive it is intended to conceal, for rhetorical arguments are deployed in order to secure advantages and not to discover truths. Fairfax's accusation is therefore probably justly asserted:

...!Tis thy state
Not Thee, that they would consecrate.

(XXVlll)

⁵ Cited in Anderson, pp. 133-134.

⁶ Ibid., p. 123.

If Thwaites forsakes her 'promised faith' and joins the convent, her estate passes to the nuns in perpetuity, for she is then without possibility of legitimate issue. The nuns would not only wrongfully deprive subsequent generations of both corporeal and intellectual hereditaments, but abolish the race of men altogether:

Yet, against Fate, his Spouse they kept;
And the great Race would intercept.

(XXXI)

The voyage of mankind is indeed a 'race', and Marvell's punning on this word, as in the fourth stanza of "The Garden", is topically pertinent. As we shall see more graphically in connection with a later episode, Bacon's belief in the importance of handing down the 'lighted torches' of knowledge from parent to child and from master to student is reflected in Marvell's poem. Here the aridity and cupidity of a false rhetoric palpably threatens the continuity of progress through successive generations. Fortunately the providential hero foils this sordid scheme and determines once and for all the convent's fate.

Thenceforth (as when th'Inchantment ends
The Castle vanishes or rends)
The Wasting Cloister with the rest
Was in one instant dispossessed.

(XXXIIII)

It is as the guarantor of a cultural and genealogical tradition that the figure of William Fairfax assumes a mosaic or messianic,⁷ and it is in his 'gesture' of opposition to the nuns that he acquires concrete emblematic features:

But, waving these aside like Flyes,
Young Fairfax through the Wall does rise.

(XXXIII)

Inversely, the nun's indigent circumstances are complemented

⁷ Rostvig, p. 342.

by a moral, an intellectual, and, of course, a genealogical bankruptcy, "their wisdom being loquacious and unproductive of effects."⁸

Emblems are not only discussed thematically but investigated experimentally and technically. For example, in the mower's stanzas structures of emblematic communication seem curiously to provide background and internal coherence, for the whole episode is viewed as and framed within the elaborate machinery of Renaissance theatre. Marvell's readers are suddenly viewers of 'a series of emblematic scenes'.⁹ The 'Masque of Nature', the pictured activities of the mowers, is again a direct evocation of the sensory origins of language in gestures. These gestures or emblems function as representations of objects or inward states and desires; in other words, they possess symbolic value. Vico, following and acknowledging Bacon's influence, actually calls such emblems 'dumb shows'.¹⁰ The connection is perhaps of some practical assistance in solving the riddle of the episode's ambiguity. Criticism has been unable to reconcile the playful tone and ideal visions of the created world with the sober scenes and reflections of the slaughterhouse that undermine and spoil them:

The World when first created sure
Was such a Table rase and pure.
Or rather such is the Toril
Ere the Bulls enter at Madril.

(LVI)

The dumb show or mime as a comic form depending upon visual manifestations of humour commands a large enough reference to accommodate conflicting viewpoints or criteria. Indeed, humour consists in the clear demarcation and perception of incongruities, of the 'show' and the apprehended reality.

⁸ Bacon, Novum Organum, p. 117.

⁹ Colie, p. 212.

¹⁰ G.B. Vico, La Scienza Nuova, (Bari: Bompiani, 1911), p. 142.

For in the world of humour the apparent truth of things proves over and over again to be mere show. But humour can sense the real immanent truth behind show and acknowledge it as such.¹¹

The 'jeu d'esprit' of the mower's episode is perhaps lacking in taste but the mime is traditionally uninhibited and often frankly crude.

Marvell deliberately draws attention to the representative character of his 'scenes', (Llll). What the mime represents is man at odds with nature and at war with himself. The mower's stanzas therefore embroider the theme of "The Mower Against the Gardens." The critical distance proposed by the theatrical perception logically complements Marvell's conception of the Mower. Marvell's literary precedents, the shepherds of a prelapsarian Golden Age, were mere manifestations of nature, their spontaneous passions direct expressions of natural harmonies. Marvell ironically employs the norms of the genre in order to refute it, for his mowers reflect isolation and even hostility to nature instead of incorporation into the pastoral landscape. The irony penetrates and comments on the medium itself, for emblems in principle accurately and palpably capture the thing signified. In directly and consciously figuring the ambiguities and equivocations of humour, Marvell anticipates and prepares the narrative incident of a flood that perpetrates paradoxical effects upon the face of things.

Let others tell the Paradox,
How Eels now bellow in the Ox;
How Horses at their Tails do kick,
Turn'd as they hang to Leeches quick;
How Boats can over Bridges sail;
And Fishes do the Stables scale.
How Salmons trespassing are found;
And Pikes are taken in the Pound.

(LX)

¹¹ Cassirer, The Platonic Renaissance in England, p. 178.

The chaos of the 'mowers' episode recalls the curse and the confusion of Babel, which first introduced ambiguity and (grim) humour into the language and thinking of man.

In stark contrast to the disorderliness of rude and fallen societies is the ideal and immutable structure of the planned paradise. Fairfax's geometric garden of course intends the political relation it is always dutifully attributed in criticism. The underlying psychological motif is perhaps more significant however, in the same way that a secret cause may be more pertinent than an effect that is too much with us. Marvell asks:

What luckless Apple did we tast,
To make us Mortal, and the Wast?

(XLI)

The solution to our dilemma, here rhetorically illustrated in emblem, is for us to make "...our Gardens spring/Fresh as his own and Flourishing." (l 347-348). Prominent features of Fairfax's personality and career, together with the particular circumstances of life at Appleton possessed a decidedly Platonic character or, to a mind preconditioned in Platonic lore, might at least easily suggest Platonic analogues. Socrates' search for truth was aimed at the discovery of a principle of living based upon rules of righteous conduct. Plato's orientation is clearly contrary to that of Aristotle, who classified 'practical' sciences as of a lower order of abstraction, and therefore, of less importance than the purely theoretical pursuits of metaphysics. Socrates had taught the worthlessness of public opinion, the predominance of conscience over the command of temporal ambition, and the folly of prolonging any activity, even life itself, at the expense of those principle which ought to guide it. Fairfax's opinions and exemplary conduct clearly mark him as a paragon of Socratic virtue.

His retirement from public life was occasioned by his unflinching opposition, based upon his horror of continued bloodshed, to Cromwell's campaign against the Scottish insurgents. He is, we are told, a man who 'ambition weeds' and 'conscience tills'.

Socrates' pedagogical method consisted in a free and informed exchange of ideas in conversation, the prerogative of philosophy being a right to ask questions. Virtue and knowledge were by him generously imparted to a small congregation of friends and students. Fairfax was a man of considerable learning and his presence and influence are readily intuited in Marvell's dialectical treatment of major themes throughout the poem. Retirement, action, and virtue, were probably discussed by poet and patron as matters of mutual concern amongst intellectual equals. The 'domestic Heaven' of Appleton, where a narrow and privileged circle of thinkers, the 'furniture of friends', engage in delightful and edifying conversation under the benign guidance of Fairfax recalls the atmosphere of Socratic Athens. Quite apart from the intricate treatment the notion of teaching and learning receives in the poem, historically Marvell's official responsibility at Appleton was the tutoring of Maria, and the credit for her prodigious accomplishments is dutifully transferred by the poet to the 'Discipline Severe' of Fairfax and Vere. The goal of Socratic instruction, virtuous living, is brilliantly embodied and justified by Maria whose excellence is such that, ironically, she surpasses in virtue and offers moral tuition to her mentor. The compliment, of course, instantly reflects upon the moral and pedagogical prowess of Fairfax himself.

In drawing upon a Socratic model and traditions in sketching his ideal of virtue Marvell was not deviating from Baconian methodology for "even as for Plato the ascent

to dialectic is made through three subsidiary stages of perception-elementary sense awareness, operative knowledge of particulars in use, and cognition of universals in the less comprehensive sciences--so with Bacon metaphysical doctrines are attained only on the reaching the apex of the pyramid of knowledge after having passed through the lower sections or divisions, natural history and physics."¹²

If Bacon's method of sifting through or eliminating particulars in order to arrive at 'simple natures' and universal forms is kept in mind, Fairfax's geometric garden stands out as the visible manifestation, proof, and 'essential form' of virtue. Commenting on its general features, D.C. Allen has pointed to its simplicity and freedom from the heterogenous mass of particulars:

This is one of the least particularized of all gardens; it pales before those of the late Greek romances; Perdita's garden is a Luxembourg compared to it; "The Garden" could give instruction to its planter. It contains only three kinds of flowers; it has no birds, for they and the butterflies have fled to the wood where Marvell will write his life story. The only living creature in the garden besides the poet, the Fairfax family, and us is the bee.¹³

The 'true investigator',¹⁴ Fairfax, is here praised as having ascended to the highest knowledge accessible to man, to a form or conception of virtue of universal generality and application. Real forms in nature reflect underlying geometrico-mechanical structures, the productions and discoveries of reason upon which rest the most general propositions. Accordingly and by analogy the symbol of Fairfax's virtue, the garden's pure, mechanical symmetries upon which rest the total form, reflects these sub-structures. The garden is therefore of a composite nature, an emblem of the "marriage in perpetuity between the empirical and

¹² Anderson, pp. 130-131.

¹³ Allen, p. 128.

¹⁴ Cited in Anderson, p. 143.

rational faculty".¹⁵ on the real side, a publicly observable object on the literal level of Marvell's poem and on the premises of Fairfax's estate, and, on the ideal side, an intellectual and ethical conception. As a rhetorical emblem of virtue, an 'image sensible', the garden addresses itself immediately to perception, for the five 'forts' aim 'a battery of beams' at each sense.

Although the ordinary language of words is inadequate for dealing with abstractions and requires the assistance of emblems,¹⁶ these rhetorical figures are themselves, of course, made up of words. By illustrating the moral maxims cogitated by reason in images, the words exceed the sum of their parts. The responsibility of selecting these verbal garments and vehicles of thought is incumbent on the imagination. It is fitting therefore that the vigilant bee should demand 'the word', and admit only the 'right' word that assists in fixing the real form of moral perfection. (l. 320) Any loose or confusing language would obviously mar the garden's serene formal precision. The exactitude, as the bee evidently knows, is therefore necessarily verbal as well as conceptual if the subject, Divine Virtue, is to be both proved and imparted. It is, of course, not merely a 'word', but a kind of understanding that works this notional machinery of moral perfection. The bee adds to its symbolic value in providing a vital clue concerning the mental powers that account for and sustain Fairfax's achievement. Bacon delineates the intellectual attributes of the 'true investigator' as follows:

The empirics like the ant only collect and use; the dogmatists like spiders make cobwebs out of themselves. But the bee holds to a middle course. It gathers its materials in the field, and these it digests and transforms by an ability appropriate to itself. Not unlike to the bee, says Bacon, is the true investigator of nature. He refuses merely to collect and to put away in his memory history

¹⁵ Cited in Anderson p. 189.

¹⁶ Bacon, Novum Organum, p. 113.

and experiment; nor does he manufacture his dogmas by the mere power of his mind. Rather, through a union between the experimental and the rational in the exercise of his powers of discovery, he produces enlightened conclusions from those materials which he has received from his senses and assimilated by his understandings.¹⁷

The empiric and the dogmatist, the ant and the spider, manifest different types of psychological and intellectual imbalance, respectively tendencies to consider individual elements or the whole of Nature at once. This is explained by a differing emphasis of mental powers: the ant diligently records and accumulates observations and distinctions; the spider is quick to proceed from few and isolated instances to propositions and laws of the most general bearing. The bee alone benefits from the ideal cooperation of these faculties, possessing a mind both penetrating and comprehensive. The 'double wood', again a figure of Fairfax (and of Vere), also typifies this well-tempered and fruitful intellectual procedure. The forest is indeed at first grossly classified according to the genus 'wood' instead of the species 'trees'.

When first the Eye this Forrest sees
It seems indeed as Wood not Trees:

(LXI11)

But once approached and entered, it discloses an elaborate particularity:

Dark all without it knits: within
It opens passable and thin;
And in as loose an order grows,
As the Corinthian Porticoes.

(LXIIV)

The benefits obtained from a judicious use of both methodological approaches to nature are a rational base for speculation as stable as the 'great Trunk' and a richness

¹⁷ Cited by Anderson, p. 143.

of detail corresponding to the most elaborate of the Greek architectural orders. Nature is in this way made to divulge her secrets to the Prelate of the Grove:

Here in the Morning tye my Chain,
Where the two Woods have made a Lane;
While, like a Guard on either side,
The Trees before their Lord divide;
This, like a long and equal Thread,
Betwixt two Labyrinths does lead.

(LXXXVlll)

Curiously, Bacon's perceptions of knowledge are entirely conditioned by his understanding of the universe as a labyrinth to be deciphered or 'read' with the assistance of the 'thread' of method:

But the universe to the eye of the human understanding is framed like a labyrinth; presenting as it does on every side so many ambiguities of the way, such deceitful resemblances of objects and signs; natures so irregular in their lines, and so knotted and entangled...No excellence of wit, no repetition of chance experiment, can overcome such difficulties as these. Our steps must be guided by a clue, and the whole way from the very first perception of the senses must be laid out upon a sure plan.¹⁸

The ideal interdependence of faculties is indeed necessary in order to realize virtue for "it is almost useless to know what virtue is if, at the same time, one is ignorant of the ways of acquiring it."¹⁹ As the garden palpably demonstrates, virtue may also be imparted in rhetorical figures. The imparting the knowledge of virtue suggests its corresponding acquisition by a mind ready to receive it. The vehicle of the transmission of knowledge is rhetoric. In Bacon's view, rhetoric also has the pedagogical function of creating visible images of moral concepts. Rhetoric achieves its dual purposes through the interventions of the imagination, which acts as a messenger

¹⁸ Spedding, vol. iv, p. 40.

¹⁹ Anderson, p. 174.

between logic and ethics. Logic is the instrument and symbol of reason, and inspires decisions; ethics is concerned with human will, desires, and passions, and precipitates action. The imagination introduces the complex of sense impressions to reason, which judges and selects; reason then intrusts its decisions to the imagination which informs desires and incites the will to righteous conduct. The imagination imparts the contents of its message to the will through emblems.

...The affections are given over to "continual mutinies and seditions," and reflection would easily become their captive and slave if the eloquence of persuasion did not make a confederacy between the reason and the imagination to keep them in place. Take the case of moving men to virtue. Was it not Plato who maintained that, since Virtue cannot be made manifest to sense by corporeal shape, she should be shown to the imagination "in lively representation."²⁰

The dual function of pedagogical and moral tuition is admirably combined by Marvell in a splendid image that embodies this complex of ideas in 'lively representation'.

The double Wood of ancient Stocks
Link'd in so thick, an Union locks,
It like two Pedigrees appears,
On one hand Fairfax, th'other Veres:

(LX11)

Again the metaphoric substance of knowledge is wood, for the Renaissance manifested its ideal of learning by a determination to construct a 'tree' or encyclopedia of knowledge. Ramus too had conceived of his method as a single tree branching out into the several disciplines. In Bacon and Marvell the idea is really much more elaborate because not only are abstract notions of Virtue and Truth concretized in the image, but a statement is made concerning the ideal interdependence and cooperation of human faculties,

²⁰ Anderson, p. 123.

the psychological realities through which Virtue and Truth are realized:

Sense sends all sorts of impressions to the imagination, and, out of these, reason makes its judgments. Reason, before putting its decrees into operation, having made its choice and demonstration, returns these impressions to the imagination, with the result that voluntary motion is both preceded and incited by the imagination. Imagination is a Janus with two faces. The face that beholds reason has the image of truth; that towards action the print of goodness.²¹

Just as Bacon's conception of rhetoric represents the imagination as a Janus with two faces, one reflecting the image of Truth (reason) and the other Virtue (ethics), so Marvell's 'double wood' represents the ideal union of Truth (Vere ie. 'Vera') and Virtue (Fairfax). The agency of Bacon's idea in Marvell's image gains additional authority with Margoliouth's suggestion that "the two woods are joined together at one point just as the Vere and Fairfax pedigrees are joined."²² Obviously Maria is the 'knot' or point at which the pedigrees converge. In other words, according to the prescriptions of the initiative method, continuous voyaging in the form of generation is indispensable to the advancement of learning, for if the infinite potential of man's mind to "comprehend the universal nature of things" is to be realized, impediments such as "shortness of life, ill conjunction of labours, ill tradition of knowledge over from hand to hand, and many other inconveniences whereunto the condition of man is subject, must be overcome."²³ Friedman too recognizes both genealogical and philosophical implications in Marvell's forest for "not only are the trees regarded as emblems of the

²¹ Ibid., pp. 170-171.

²² Margoliouth, p. 288.

²³ Bacon, Advancement of Learning, p. 3.

bravery of their masters, but they are characterized as living pillars of continuity."²⁴ The 'discipline severe' of the wise adults redeems the dead weight of stock knowledge, for the 'double wood' is an organic, growing thing.

For it is in knowledges as it is in plants: if you mean to use the plant, it is no matter for the roots; but if you mean to remove it to grow, then it is more assured to rest upon roots than slips; so the delivery of knowledges (as it is now used) is as of fair bodies of trees without the roots; good for the carpenter, but not for the planter. But, if you will have sciences grow, it is less matter for the shaft or body of the tree, so you look well to the taking up of the roots.²⁵

Bacon foresaw the destiny of knowledge as reflecting the whole 'Universal Fabric' of creation, for Progress, the 'Author of Authors', is also Time.²⁶ Marvell too marks the philosophical congruence of extension and duration. The 'trees', or knowledge, located at Appleton witness the beginning and end of Time personified in Nature:

And, as they Natures Cradle deckt,
Will in green Age her Hearse expect

(LXI1)

The figure of the 'double wood' is furthermore an outstanding example of the reflexive character of Marvell's images:

) When Bacon calls rhetoric the illustration of tradition, the image behind his words is that of shedding light so as to make anything visible to the eyes.²⁷

What is here made visible in 'lively representation' is the illustration of tradition itself.

"Upon Appleton House's" mysterious powers of cohesion and the Prelate's uncanny sense of direction derives from the presence of these rhetorical figures. If we think for

²⁴ Friedman, p. 235.

²⁵ Bacon, Advancement of Learning, p. 64.

²⁶ Ibid., p. 15.

²⁷ Howell, p. 371.

a moment of the literal level of the poem as a 'tabula rasa' of consciousness, then these figures are descriptive signs or buoys which in a manner of speaking float on the surface of the text and guide the 'slow steps' of speaker and reader along the 'right road' and away from the 'perilous path'. They are also the pictures of Appleton House which we, the furniture of friends, may observe as they hang for our edification and delight. The emphasis in Bacon's theories of language and communication, as we have seen, is away from the auditory impression created by words, for they belong to a more general category of signs, and emblems are less equivocal and sufficiently numerous to represent the variety of notions. The Prelate too has clearly apprehended this vital truth:

And where I language want, my signs
The bird upon the bough divines;

The source of these wonderful images is of course the knowledge of Fairfax and of Vere, the Janus of the imagination impressed with the faces of Virtue and Truth. The patrimony that the nuns had in the distant past wrongfully attempted to 'intercept' is therefore not simply corporeal but moral:

And Goodness doth itself intail
On Females, if there want a Male.

(LXXXX1)

'Intail' is of course a hereditary tenure of freehold land. The natural, intellectual, and ethical estate is the promise of generation to mankind, as Bacon conceived it. It is Maria then who genealogically and figuratively embodies the essential principles her parents represent:

And, like a sprig of Mistleto,
On the Fair Oak does grow;

(LXXXX111)

The meaning of Appleton is therefore appropriately made to depend on the figure of largest symbolic reference,

ironically also a creature of diminutive physical stature:

'Tis She that to these Gardens gave
That wondrous Beauty which they have;
She streighthness on the Woods bestows;
To Her the Meadow sweetness owes;
Nothing could make the River be
So Chrystal-pure but only She;
She yet more Pure, Sweet, Streight, and Fair,
Then Gardens, Woods, Meads, Rivers are.

(LXXXVII)

Appleton itself is a reflection of her heavenly virtues, "the external appearance of things an emblem of inner significances."²⁸ for "knowledge only could have fill'd/ And Virtue all those Furrows till'd." (735-736) The knowledge of virtue is demonstrated and imparted in emblematic images, and as the genius and exponent of the imagination Maria realizes the Baconian dream of uniting mankind in a single understanding, of exorcising the 'curse' and the 'confusion of tongues':

She counts her Beauty to converse
In all the Languages as hers;
Nor yet in those her self employes
But for the Wisdome, not the Noyse;
Nor yet that Wisdome would affect,
But as 'tis Heavens Dialect.

(LXXXIX)

Hers is the wisdom of languages, the emblematic 'silent scene', and not the 'Noyse', the verbal cacophony of the nun's 'lungs' and 'tongues'. At her approach, for she is herself an emblem, the humiliated poet symbolically hides the very tools with which he has fashioned the words of his poem.

But now away my Hooks, my Quills,
And Angles, idle Utensils.
The young Maria walks to night:
Hide trifling Yough thy Pleasures slight..

(LXXXII)

²⁸ Kitty Scoular, Natural Magic, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), p. 173.

Maria's powers and perfection, as Professor Rostvig suggests, can be understood only as supplied from a supernatural source, for she is "a reflection or emanation of God as well as a creature."²⁹ She therefore combines in her person the summit of man's sacred and secular natures. The purpose and results of this ideal interdependence of Natures is conceived by Bacon as follows:

For man by the fall fell at the same time from his state of innocency and from his dominion over created things. Both these losses can even in this life be repaired; the former by religion and faith, the latter by arts and sciences.³⁰

Maria's mind (and language) is as it was when it first issued forth from the hand of the Creator, and she is capable of naming the creatures of her garden according to their true natures.

But by her Flames, in Heaven try'd
Nature is wholly vitrifi'd.

(LXXXVI)

The ambitions of the New Science, control and ascendancy over a recalcitrant, resisting material world, are also here brilliantly realized both by Maria herself (LXXXIII) and by the heraldic halcyon, an extension of herself (LXXXIV-LXXXV).

See how loose Nature, in respect
To her; itself doth recollect;

(LXXXIII)

As a verification of the poem's muted continuities it would be well to remember that Maria's achievement is possible only because the knowledge and use of signs and emblems (LXXII), the skill of reading and interpreting nature (LXXIII), was preserved for mankind by the Prelate in the 'ark' at a time when it was threatened by the chaotic, unformed materialism of a flood that overwhelmed the fallen society of the mowers. We too are rescued, having participated in the perilous 'voyage of discovery', and at

²⁹Rostvig, p.349.

³⁰Cited by Anderson, p.258.

journey's end we are deposited on the shores of a new world, a 'New Atlantis'. Ironically the new world is the old world, the house to which we return in the evening is that from which we departed in the morning, but differently perceived, for we have in the course of voyaging avoided the 'rocks' (LX) of decadent materialism and the shipwreck of words. Bacon's promised land, his New Atlantis, also describes the unformed chaos of the material world where

...there was nothing left to be seen but a small ark, or chest of cedar, dry, and not wet at all with water, though it swam...and there were found in it a book and a letter,...And for the letter, it was in these words:

"I Bartholomew, a servant of the Highest, and apostle of Jesus Christ, was warned by an angel that appeared to me in a vision of glory, that I should commit this ark to the floods of the sea. Therefore I do testify and declare unto that people where God shall ordain this ark to come to land, that in the same day is come unto them salvation and peace, and goodwill, from the Father, and from the Lord Jesus."

There was also in both these writings, as well the book as the letter, wrought a great miracle, conform to that of the apostles, in the original gift of tongues. For there being at that time, in this land, Hebrews, Persians, and Indians, besides the natives, every one read upon the book and letter, as if they had been written in his own language. And thus was this land saved from infidelity (as the remain of the Old World was from water) by an ark."³¹

³¹ Bacon, New Atlantis, p. 203.

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