

Notes

Introduction

1. John Lukács, *At the End of an Age* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2002), 3.
2. *Ibid.*, 95.
3. *Ibid.*, 97.
4. Donna J. Haraway, *Simians, Cyborgs, and Women: The Reinvention of Nature* (New York: Routledge, 1991), 184.
5. *Ibid.*, 185.
6. *Ibid.*, 191.
7. *Ibid.*
8. *Ibid.*, 195.
9. *Ibid.*, 198.
10. *Ibid.* For a history of the natural sciences' influence on the social sciences, see Richard Olson, *The Emergence of the Social Sciences, 1642–1792* (New York: Twayne, 1993), 10–25. Also Sal Restivo, *Science, Society, and Values: Towards a Sociology of Objectivity* (Bethlehem, PA: Lehigh University Press, 1994).
11. Haraway, *Simians*, 198.
12. *Ibid.*, 199.
13. *Ibid.*, 201.
14. Susan J. Heckman dismisses Haraway's model for the creation of scientific knowledge based on an intercourse with Nature theorized by Haraway as being reactionary, an attempt to revive a premodern system: "That alchemical model is a poor choice for a model for feminist science seems clear without liabilities. To hark back to a prescientific model merely reinforces the charges that feminist science is 'irrational' and 'illogical.'" For Heckman, an epistemology based on conversation between the knower and the known, one that emphasizes connectivity, simply replicates the sexist binary of female/emotional/imaginary and male/rational/literal.

- Susan J. Heckman, *Gender and Knowledge: Elements of Postmodern Feminism* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1990), 131.
15. Francis Bacon, *Novum Organum—With Other Parts of The Great Instauration*, ed. Peter Urbach and John Gibson (Chicago: Open Court, 1994), bk. 1, iii. Further citations from this text will include the book (bk) number followed by the aphorism number. When referring to the preface of *Novum Organum*, only the page number(s) the quotation appears on in this edition will be cited.
 16. *Ibid.*, bk. 1, ii.
 17. *Ibid.*, preface to *The Great Instauration*, 7, emphasis added.
 18. *Ibid.*, preface to *The Great Instauration*, 30, emphasis added.
 19. James Bono, *The Word of God and the Language of Man: Interpreting Nature in Early Modern Science and Medicine* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1995), 217–18.
 20. Bacon, *Novum*, bk. 1, cxxix.
 21. Carolyn Merchant, “The Secrets of Nature: The Bacon Debates Revisited.” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 69, no. 1 (2008): 148.
 22. Evelyn Fox Keller, *Reflections on Gender and Science* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1985), 37.
 23. Sandra Harding, *Whose Science? Whose Knowledge? Thinking from Women’s Lives* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991), 43.
 24. Ultimately, Keller concludes that the Baconian scientific mind is hermaphroditic, which is established by the co-opting and denial of the feminine (*Reflections*, 41). Catherine Gimelli Martin adroitly resists interpreting Bacon’s instauration as based on the struggle between an easily identified male scientist and feminine Nature. Rather, Martin reads Bacon as often confusing gender designations. For example, Martin points to the gender ambiguity in Bacon’s scientific mind in *The Masculine Birth of Time*: “At this point in Bacon’s complex dialectic, the masculine impulse of conquest gives way to the birth of a receptive feminine mind in both partners, as ‘true’ sons of science guide an ambiguously gendered ‘nature’ by assuming ambiguously gendered minds.” Further, Martin turns to Bacon’s interpretation of the myth of Atalanta to challenge the clear gender assignments inappropriately ascribed to him: “even his ‘sons of science’ are at times identified as female and their opponents as masculinized forces of nature.” “The Feminine Birth of the Mind: Regendering the Empirical Subject in Bacon and His Followers,” in *Francis Bacon and the Refiguring of Early Modern Thought*, ed. Julie Robin Solomon and Catherine Gimelli Martin (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2005), 71–73. See also Ruth Gilbert,

- “The Masculine Matrix: Male Births and the Scientific Imagination in Early-Modern England” in *The Arts of 17th-Century Science: Representations of the Natural World in European and North American Culture*, ed. Claire Jowitt and Diane Watt (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2002), 109–24.
25. Perez Zagorin, *Francis Bacon* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1998), 122.
 26. Nieves, Mathews, *Francis Bacon: The History of a Character Assassination* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1996), 411.
 27. See Iddo Landau, “Feminist Criticism of Metaphors in Bacon’s Philosophy of Science,” *Philosophy* 73, no. 283 (January 1998): 47–61; and Peter Pesic, “Wrestling with Proteus: Francis Bacon and the ‘Torture’ of Nature,” *Isis* 90, no. 1 (March 1999): 81–94.
 28. Francis Bacon, *De Dignitate et Augmentis Scientiarum Libri IX*, ed. Richard Foster Jones (New York: Odyssey Press, 1937), 390.
 29. This poem is one of three Herbert wrote to celebrate the publication of *Novum*.
 30. Sessions suggests Herbert’s overenthusiastic poem might have been in part due to Herbert’s own ambition: “On the one hand, it is clear from the occasion of the poem (and others to Bacon) that Herbert went beyond the necessity of his position as Public Orator to praise the *Magna Instauration*. Was it a desire to ‘use’ Bacon, in the way that the Lord Chancellor himself had suggested all men should in his essay ‘Of Negotiation?’” William A. Sessions, “Bacon and Herbert and an Image of Chalk,” in *Too Rich to Clothe the Sunne: Essays on George Herbert*, ed. Claude J. Summers and Ted-Larry Pebworth (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1980), 170.
 31. Cristina Malcolmson briefly touches on the relationship between Herbert and Bacon. Discussing the two Latin letters and three Latin poems Herbert wrote in honor of Bacon’s gift of his *Instauration Magna* to Cambridge, Malcolmson sees Herbert going beyond his duties in his effusion for Bacon: “Even the most dedicated of Herbert’s admirers would have to admit that this outpouring of attention from Herbert suggests his interest in future patronage from the prestigious Bacon.” From their correspondence and Herbert’s translation of *The Advancement*, Malcolmson further concludes Herbert to have been very versed in Bacon’s scientific theories. *George Herbert: A Literary Life* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 81–86.

32. Samuel T. Coleridge, "Francis Bacon," in *Coleridge on the Seventeenth Century*, ed. Roberta Florence Brinkley (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1955), 54.
33. *Ibid.*, 55.
34. Percy B. Shelley, "A Defense of Poetry," in *Shelley's Prose*, ed. David Lee Clark (London: Fourth Estate, 1988), 280–81.
35. See also William O. Scott, "Shelley's Admiration for Bacon," *PMLA* 73, no. 3 (June 1954): 228–36.
36. Thomas B. Macaulay, "Lord Bacon," in *Critical, Historical, and Miscellaneous Essays* (New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son, 1860), 487.
37. Thomas Stearns Eliot, *Homage to John Dryden: Three Essays on Poetry of the Seventeenth Century* (London: Hogarth Press, 1927), 30.
38. L. C. Knights, "Bacon and the Seventeenth-Century Dissociation of Sensibility," in *Explorations: Essays in Criticism Mainly on the Literature of the Seventeenth Century* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1947), 122.
39. *Ibid.*
40. *Ibid.*
41. Mathews, *Francis Bacon*, 422.

Chapter 1

1. See also Bacon's discussion of scholastic contempt for experimentalism: "One evil that has grown to an extraordinary degree comes from a certain opinion . . . that it is beneath man's dignity to spend much time and trouble on experiments and particulars that come under the senses and are materially bounded, especially since they are usually laborious to look into, too base for serious thought, awkward to explain, degrading to carry out, endless in number and minute in subtlety" *Novum Organum—With Other Parts of The Great Instauration*, ed. Peter Urbach and John Gibson (Chicago: Open Court, 1994), bk. 1, lxxxiii.
2. Perez Zagorin, *Francis Bacon* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1998), 76–77.
3. Bacon, *Novum*, bk. 1, i.
4. Western epistemology up to the end of the sixteenth century, as Michel Foucault describes, was based on resemblance, the guiding principle that "made possible knowledge of things visible and invisible, and controlled the art of representing them." *The Order of Things: An Archeology of the Human Sciences* (New York: Vintage Books, 1994), 17. Foucault identifies four types of similitudes: *convenientia*, *aemulatio*, *analogy*, and *sympathies*. These similitudes look to negate any visible

distinction or difference, always moving toward a unified universe. For example, *aemulatio* overcame perceived distance to bring things into reflective contact with each other: “There is something in emulation of the reflection and the mirror: it is the means whereby things scattered through the universe can answer one another.” In this sense, reality acts as a mirror that allows the human observer to see himself reflected everywhere: “The relation of emulation enables things to imitate one another from one end of the universe to the other without connection or proximity: by duplicating itself in a mirror the world abolishes the distance proper to it; in this way it overcomes the place allotted to it” (19). As opposed to modern scientific epistemology that effaces the observer in the world, the search for similitudes demanded recognition of one’s presence and relationship to, not distance from, the universe, which is composed of a “series of concentric circles reflecting and rivaling one another” ad infinitum (21). The demand placed on the knower was not to separate but to join with the thing to be known.

Within this episteme of resemblance, the micromacrocosmic paradigm provided a foundational model. Foucault suggests precise ways that the micromacrocosmic paradigm functioned in this epistemology: first, by providing assurance of a connected, unified reality and second, by circumscribing the universe. Ultimately, contemplation of the external would lead the knower toward self-discovery, blurring the very lines between self and other that Bacon would work so hard to make clear. Instead of a distanced observer, the premodern natural philosopher would eventually discover the macrocosm within the self. It was the knowledge of these analogies that would enable the human imagination to provide order and unity to a chaotic universe. This epistemology incorporates the self into the world.

5. Bacon, *Novum*, bk. 1, xlv.
6. *Ibid.*, bk. 1, xli.
7. *Ibid.*, preface to *The Great Instauration*, 23.
8. *Ibid.*, bk. 1, xlix.
9. *Ibid.*, bk. 1, xlvi.
10. *Ibid.*, bk. 1, xxxviii.
11. For further discussion of Bacon’s doctrine of idols see Foucault, *Order of Things*, 50–58; Zagorin, *Francis Bacon*, 62–68, 82–86; William A. Sessions, *Francis Bacon Revisited* (New York: Twayne, 1996), 126–29; and Julie Solomon, *Objectivity in the Making: Francis Bacon and the Politics of Inquiry* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), 44–46, 133–36.

12. Bacon, preface to *The Great Instauration, Novum*, 15.
13. Stephen A. McKnight cautions against those critics who do not read Bacon's use of the term *idolum* as denoting false idols of religious worship: "Bacon is arguing that humanity is guilty of focusing on its own creations or fantasies and that this prevents the study of God's Creation." *The Religious Foundations of Francis Bacon's Thought* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2006), 79.
14. Francis Bacon, *The Masculine Birth of Time in The Philosophy of Francis Bacon*, trans. Benjamin Farrington (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964), 66. For discussion of dating of *The Masculine Birth*, see Farrington's introduction to his translation.
15. Bacon, *Novum*, bk. 1, lxxxix.
16. James Bono finds Bacon constantly insisting that the human knower acknowledge "the tendency of man's mind to distort the world" as "a central legacy of the Fall." *The Word of God and the Languages of Man: Interpreting Nature in Early Modern Science and Medicine* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1995), 225.
17. Bacon, preface to *The Great Instauration*, 14–15.
18. Bacon further elaborates the idea that superstition comes from an intermixing of religion and natural philosophy in his discussion of the idols of the theater: "There is also a third kind who out of faith and piety mix theology and tradition with their philosophy; among these, the vanity of some has led them astray to look for and derive science from spirits and supernatural beings. Thus the root and cause of error and false philosophy is threefold, Sophistical, Empirical, and Superstitious" (*Novum*, bk. 1, lxii).
19. Bacon, *Novum*, bk. 1, lxxxix.
20. Charles Whitney, *Francis Bacon and Modernity* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1986), 24.
21. *Ibid.*, 23.
22. McKnight, *Religious Foundations*, 49.
23. *Ibid.*, 53.
24. Bacon, preface to *The Great Instauration*, 3.
25. Bacon, *Masculine Birth*, 62, emphasis added.
26. Mary Midgley, *Science as Salvation: A Modern Myth and Its Meaning* (New York: Routledge, 1992), 1.
27. *Ibid.*, 2.
28. Martin Carrier analyzes the tension between two seemingly conflicting models of scientific progress, those of scientific realism and of unlimited progress. The former envisions an end point for the accumulation of

scientific knowledge. If science's purpose is to make available the "truth" of our universe, then eventually such knowledge will be achieved: "The issue rather is conceptual in nature: the view that science gets more and more things right entails—or appears to entail—the view that the endeavor of disclosing nature will be brought to completion at some time." "How to Pile up Fundamental Truths Incessantly," in *Science at Century's End: Philosophical Questions on the Progress and Limits of Science*, ed. Martin Carrier, Gerald Massey, and Laura Ruetsche (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2000), 94. According to scientific realism, the scientific mind possesses the ability to completely map out Nature's most minute, intricate workings and that a time will inevitably come when science's work is done. Such a view does posit a stable, finite, knowable universe. It is interesting to note that Carrier finds scientific realism depicts a model of scientific progress as a "geographic picture": "You chart the surface of the earth, and if you are successful you inevitably reach a point at which no pristine territories are left" (97). This metaphor for science is evinced by Bacon's linking his instauration to Columbus's exploration of the New World. Carrier contrasts scientific realism to the postmodern realization of science as a limitless project, espoused by Thomas Kuhn. As Carrier summarizes the view of science as unending task, science is no longer seen as building toward a final point, hence no longer teleological. Science as the steady accumulation of ever increasingly accurate pieces of data about Nature is supplanted by science as a series of conceptual models overthrown. However, by unhitching science from any teleological ambitions, Carrier argues that science becomes more concerned with propagating itself than with progress. I would add that the postmodern critique denies to science its ability to sustain myth, which is central to the Baconian conception of science.

29. Among Baconian scholars, there is discrepancy as to when Bacon actually wrote *New Atlantis*. Along with other major works, Rawley dates the composing of *New Atlantis* between 1621 and 1626. Lisa Jardine and Alan Stewart, *Hostage to Fortune: The Troubled Life of Francis Bacon* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1999), 476. Rawley's dating finds support in the fact that this is the period following Bacon's impeachment and exclusion from court politics. However, twentieth-century scholars argue for a much earlier dating of the text's composition. See Graham Rees, introduction to *The Oxford Francis Bacon*, vol. 6: *Philosophical Writings 1611–1618* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996); and Catherine Drinker Bowen, *Francis Bacon, The Temper of a Man* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1993), 167.

30. For discussion of More's use of irony in *Utopia*, see Clarence H. Miller, introduction to *Utopia* (New Haven, CT: Yale Nota Bene, 2001); Hannan Yorán, "More's *Utopia* and Erasmus' No-place," *English Literary Renaissance* 35, no. 1 (Winter 2005): 3–30; Eric Nelson, "*Utopia* through Italian Eyes: Thomas More and the Critics of Civic Humanism," *Renaissance Quarterly* 59, no. 4 (2006), 1029–57; and Thomas S. Engeman, "Hythloday's Utopia and More's England: An Interpretation of Thomas More's *Utopia*," *The Journal of Politics* 44, no. 1 (February 1982): 131–49.
31. Denise Albanese sees *New Atlantis* as actually revising the genre of utopian literature by putting itself forth as a blueprint for social reform. As Albanese remarks, "The *New Atlantis* belies the *Utopia* even as it invites juxtaposition with it: unlike More's, Bacon's text is ready, as the Virginian colony is, to take on all voyagers, to convert all readers." "The *New Atlantis* and the Uses of Utopia," *English Literary History* 57, no. 3 (Autumn 1990): 505.
32. Scholarship contrasting *Utopia* and *New Atlantis* has explored the significance of Bacon's rejection of More's Utopian custom of a bride and bridegroom being permitted to see each other naked prior to marriage. In contrast to this custom, the Bensalemites have the institution of the Adam and Eve's pools: in place of the engaged couple viewing each other naked, a surrogate for each party examines the bride and bridegroom naked separately. Moreover, while the Utopian practice is meant to ensure sexual compatibility, the Bensalemites look to confirm either person's fertility, to reveal any "hidden defects in men and women's bodies." Bacon, *New Atlantis*, 44. Through this comparison, critics of *New Atlantis* identify the urgency for Bacon to contain personal desire that jeopardizes the state's co-opting of the domestic realm. See Carolyn Merchant, *The Death of Nature: Women, Ecology, and the Scientific Revolution* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1980), 173; Sessions, *Francis Bacon*, 157; Solomon, *Objectivity*, 98; Susan Bruce, "Virgins of the World and Feasts of the Family" in *English Renaissance Prose: History, Language, and Politics*, ed. Neil Rhodes (Tempe, AZ: Medieval & Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1997), 125–46; and Whitney, *Francis Bacon*, 199–201.
33. Thomas More, *Utopia*, ed. Clarence H. Miller (New Haven, CT: Yale Nota Bene, 2001), 49.
34. Francis Bacon, *New Atlantis* (London: Dodo Press, 2006), 34.
35. Bacon, *Novum*, bk. 1, lxxxii.
36. *Ibid.*, bk. 1, c.

37. Bacon, according to Steven Matthews, cites this passage as the “most prominent Scriptural support” for his belief that God had sanctioned his Instauration. Matthews quotes a passage from the *Valerius Terminus* in which Bacon interprets Daniel 12:4 as prophesying his own age when navigation and science will flourish together: “so to interpret that place in prophecy of Daniel where speaking of the latter time it is said, *Many shall pass to and fro, and science shall be increased*; as if the opening of the world by navigation and commerce and the further discovery of knowledge should meet in one time or age.” Quoted in Steven Matthews, *Theology and Science in the Thought of Francis Bacon* (London: Ashgate, 2008), 90.
38. Bacon, *New Atlantis*, 29.
39. For further discussion of the analogy that Bacon sees between European exploration and scientific knowledge as represented in the frontispiece to the *Great Instauration* see McKnight’s *Religious Foundations*, 47–53.
40. According to Whitney, Bacon circumvents the perennial problems that other Western writers of political utopias face, that of “how to overcome the flux of historical change and achieve stability, or how to achieve development in the face of historical degeneration,” by cordoning his utopia off from the “ages civil a moral philosophy” that have marred the past two millennia of Western intellectualism. *Francis Bacon*, 197.
41. Bacon, *Novum*, bk. 1, lxxiv, emphasis added.
42. Stephen McKnight elaborates on how Bacon draws on Plato’s myth of Atlantis from *Critias* and *Timaeus*. McKnight suggests, “Bacon apparently wishes to augment the apocalyptic religious images associated with the New Jerusalem with the prospects of the renewal of Atlantis.” McKnight concludes that texts confusing classical and Christian past speak to Bacon seeing England’s religious reforms as intimately joined to his restoration of scientific learning. *Religious Foundations*, 31–37.
43. Travis DeCook offers an insightful analysis of ark imagery in *New Atlantis*. According to DeCook, the ark that appears off the coast “epitomizes the Bensalemites’ special election”: in contrast to the centuries of religious controversy that has plagued most of Christendom, Bensalem experienced an immediate transmission of biblical truth. Further, DeCook reads Bensalem as serving as a quasi-ark: “Bensalem is the sole survivor of a glorious, ancient world: we are told that, ark-like, it remained unscathed from a flood, the divine revenge leveled on its militant neighboring nation Atlantis.” “The Ark and Immediate Revelation in Francis Bacon’s *New Atlantis*,” *Studies in Philology* 105, no. 1 (Winter 2008): 109.

44. Bacon, *New Atlantis*, 30–31.
45. *Ibid.*, 26–27, emphasis added.
46. Francis Bacon, “Of Innovation,” in *Francis Bacon, The Major Works*, ed. Brian Vickers (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 388.
47. In his discussion of modernity and Bacon, Whitney examines the tension between the themes of innovation and tradition in Bacon’s writing. What marks Bacon as modern, according to Whitney, is the apparent discontinuity between his desire for the new and his being tied to a “traditional matrix” of change, one grounded in reform: “Bacon’s modern discontinuity (oversimplifying for now) results from this circumstance: in places Bacon calls clearly for a revolution in thinking that will lead to radical changes in culture, but in the process of definition and elaboration the call comes to be opposed by the recalcitrant older ideas of change as reform that are used to grasp at it.” *Francis Bacon*, 12. The contradiction Whitney sees between the old and the new, the struggle for the novel but the dependence on the familiar, distinguishes Bacon as participating in modernity. On this basis, Whitney rebuts the claim that Bacon’s religious language was merely clever rhetoric but reads the pervasive Judeo-Christian symbolism in Bacon’s writings as speaking to the roots of modern secular thought in religion and mysticism.
48. Christopher Kendrick, “The Imperial Laboratory: Discovering Forms in the *New Atlantis*,” *English Literary History* 70, no. 4 (Winter 2003): 1033.
49. Bacon, *New Atlantis*, 24.
50. DeCook articulates exceptionally well the potential for unintentional irony that *New Atlantis* might fall into. According to DeCook, Bacon predicates his scientific utopia on the fantasy of the transparency of scripture: “He employs this fantasy primarily to express his dreams of an instauration of natural philosophy unencumbered by the consequences of Christian history’s perennial problem of the temporality of its sacred text.” “Ark and Revelation,” 122.
51. Bacon, *New Atlantis*, 35–36.
52. Bacon, preface to *The Great Instauration*, 18.
53. Charles Webster, *The Great Instauration: Science, Medicine and Reform 1626–1660* (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1975), 25.
54. *Ibid.*, 506.
55. For further discussion of the convergence of Baconianism and Puritan millenarianism and utopian projects, see Christopher Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down: Radical Ideas During the English Revolution* (London: Penguin Books, 1991), 366–71; and Carola Scott-Luckens,

- “Providence, Earth’s ‘Treasury’ and Common Weal: Baconianism and Metaphysics in Millenarian Utopian Texts 1641–55” in *The Arts of 17th-Century Science: Representations of the Natural World in European and North American Culture*, ed. Claire Jowitt and Diane Watt (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2002), 109–24.
56. Webster, *Great Instauration*, 469.
 57. Lewes Roberts, *The Treasure of Traffike* (London, 1641), 9, http://eebo.chadwyck.com.ezproxy.lib.lehigh.edu/search/full_rec?SOURCE=var_spell.cfg&ACTION=SINGLE&ID=13028924&ECCO=N&FILE=../session/1304700198_24476&SEARCHSCREEN=CITATIONS&DISPLAY=AUTHOR&SUBSET=1&ENTRIES=2&HIGHLIGHT_KEYWORD=default (accessed March 12, 2010).
 58. Gabriel Plattes, dedicatory epistle to *A Discovery of Infinite Treasure, Hidden Since the World’s Beginning* (London, 1639), http://eebo.chadwyck.com.ezproxy.lib.lehigh.edu/search/full_rec?SOURCE=var_spell.cfg&ACTION=SINGLE&ID=99850059&ECCO=N&FILE=../session/1304700512_25984&SEARCHSCREEN=CITATIONS&DISPLAY=AUTHOR&SUBSET=4&ENTRIES=10&HIGHLIGHT_KEYWORD=default (accessed March 12, 2010).
 59. Peter Harrison, “Original Sin and the Problem of Knowledge in Early Modern Europe,” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 63, no. 2 (April 2002): 240.
 60. Joseph Glanvill, *Scepsis Scientifica* (London, 1667), http://eebo.chadwyck.com.ezproxy.lib.lehigh.edu/search/full_rec?SOURCE=var_spell.cfg&ACTION=SINGLE&ID=11839211&ECCO=N&FILE=../session/1304699817_23002&SEARCHSCREEN=CITATIONS&DISPLAY=AUTHOR&SUBSET=1&ENTRIES=2&HIGHLIGHT_KEYWORD=default (accessed September 10, 2010).
 61. Ibid.
 62. Sarah Irving argues that Bacon’s narrative of recovering Eden served not only as a foundation for seventeenth-century epistemological endeavors, but also authorized the British imperial project. See *Natural Science and the Origins of the British Empire* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2008).
 63. Robert Hooke, *Micrographia, or Some Physiological Description of Minute Bodies* (London, 1665).
 64. Bacon, preface to *The Great Instauration*, 15.
 65. For an overview of seventeenth-century views on Adam’s state in the Garden, see Harrison, “Original Sin,” 241–45.
 66. Hooke, *Micrographia*.

67. John Bunyan, *The Pilgrim's Progress*, ed. David Hawkes (New York: Barnes & Noble Classics, 2005), 96.
68. *Ibid.*, 153.
69. *Ibid.*, emphasis added.

Chapter 2

1. R. C. Bald, *John Donne, A Life* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), 450.
2. John Stubbs, *John Donne, The Reformed Soul* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2006), 399–400.
3. For biographical accounts of Donne's illness, see Bald, *John Donne*, 450–55; David L. Edwards, *John Donne, Man of Flesh and Spirit* (New York: Continuum, 2001), 127–30, 172–74; and Stubbs, *John Donne*, 399–405.
4. See Terry Sherwood, *Fulfilling the Circle: A Study of John Donne's Thought* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), 180–82; and Ramie Targoff, *John Donne, Body and Soul* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 130–54.
5. For discussion of Donne and the new science, see Michael Francis Moloney, *John Donne, His Flight to Medievalism* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1965), 53–67; Deborah Aldrich Larson, *John Donne and Twentieth Century Criticism* (London: Associated University Press, 1989), 143–60; and Anthony Low, "Love and Science: Cultural Change in Donne's *Songs and Sonnets*," *Studies in the Literary Imagination* 22, no. 1 (1989): 5–16. David Hawkes discusses Donne's reaction to Baconianism in *Idols of the Marketplace* (New York: Palgrave, 2001), 143–68.
6. Catherine Gimelli Martin, "The Advancement of Learning and the Decay of the World: A New Reading of Donne's *First Anniversary*," *The John Donne Journal* 19 (2000): 165.
7. *Ibid.*, 189.
8. For further discussion of this tension in late sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England between progressive and decay models of history, see Richard Foster Jones, *Ancients and Moderns: A Study of the Rise of the Scientific Movement in Seventeenth-Century England* (St. Louis, MO: Washington University Studies, 1961), 22–40. In his chapter outlining this debate, Jones cites Godfrey Goodman's *The Fall of Man, or the Corruption of Nature proved by the light of his Natural Reason* (London, 1616) as representative of the historical view of the world's and humanity's perpetual decline. Goodman, as Jones summarizes, perceived the world in a ubiquitous state of degeneracy: "As man through his fall

brought death upon himself, so he imposed death upon all nature. In general, Goodman's idea is that the course of man and nature has been one of continual decline from a perfect state to the decay of old age." Jones, *Ancients and Moderns*, 26. Goodman further perceives a parallel relationship between the inferior present state of Nature in its "fruitlessness" and "bareness" and the degeneration of the arts and science. As the earth has more and more lost the plenty of Paradise, mankind has experienced an analogous deterioration in its intellectual capability. In contrast to Bacon's devaluing of ancient learning, Goodman declares that "for the Ancients, what so ever you shall observe in practice amongst them, you shal find that it stood with great wisdom and providence, if you please to have relation to the time and the occasion." Quoted in Jones, *Ancients and Moderns*, 27. Also see Carolyn Merchant, *Reinventing Eden: The Fate of Nature in Western Culture* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 65–71.

9. Jonathan Sawday, *The Body Emblazoned: Dissection and the Human Body in Renaissance Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 34.
10. John Donne, *Devotions upon Emergent Occasions and Death's Duel*, ed. John F. Thornton and Susan B. Varenne (New York: Vintage Spiritual Classics, 1999), 117.
11. Scholars date the composition of *The Refutation of Philosophies* to the first decade of the seventeenth century. Perez Zagorin suggest Bacon to have written the text between 1606–1607 (*Francis Bacon* [Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1998], 34). Benjamin Farrington dates the composition of this text to 1609. See Farrington's preface to *The Philosophy of Francis Bacon*, trans. Benjamin Farrington (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964).
12. Francis Bacon, *The Refutation of Philosophy* in *The Philosophy of Francis Bacon*, trans. Benjamin Farrington (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964), 129.
13. See also Merchant, *Reinventing Eden*, 74–75.
14. Sylvia Bowerbank, *Speaking for Nature: Women and Ecologies in Early Modern Europe* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004), 11.
15. *Ibid.*, 12.
16. *Ibid.*, 9.
17. Bacon, *Refutation*, 130.
18. *Ibid.*, emphasis added.
19. *Ibid.*, 129. In the preface to *Micrographia*, Robert Hooke characterizes the empirical investigation of Nature in terms nearly identical to those of Bacon: "The footsteps of Nature are to be trac'd, not only in her

- ordinary course, but where she seems to be put to her shifts, to make doublings and turnings, and to use some kind of art in endeavoring to avoid our discovery.” *Micrographia, or Some Physiological Descriptions of Minute Bodies* (London, 1665).
20. In Aphorism 66, Bacon attributes Aristotle’s false doctrine of primary elements to conclusions drawn from hastily observing the natural world in its “free state”: “Again when man looks at Nature in its free state, he comes upon species of things, of animals, of vegetables and of minerals, and so slips easily into the thought that there are in Nature certain primary forms of things which Nature is striving to bring forth.” *Novum Organum—With Other Parts of The Great Instauration*, ed. Peter Urbach and John Gibson (Chicago: Open Court, 2000), bk. 1, lxvi. Without resisting the ready picture that Nature presents of itself, the mind will produce an understanding of the natural world that bears no resemblance to material reality and create fantasies that reflect its own flawed perception.
 21. Zagorin, *Francis Bacon*, 122.
 22. Bacon, *Novum*, bk. 1, xcvi.
 23. Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (New York: Vintage Books, 1995), 41.
 24. Francis Bacon, “Proteus, or Matter. Explained of Matter and its Changes,” in *De Sapientia Veterum (The Wisdom of the Ancients)* (1605; repr., London: Dodo Press, 2008), 29. I wish to acknowledge here that in the original Latin version Bacon uses the phrase “*vexet, atque urgeat*” [vexing and urging]. Yet, “torture” has been used as accepted translation. See John Devey’s translation of Bacon’s “Proteus” in *The Moral and Historical Works of Lord Bacon* (London: G. Bell & Sons, 1888), 227.
 25. *Ibid.*, 30.
 26. In her article examining the contemporary polemics surrounding the use of torture in late sixteenth-century England, Elizabeth Hanson contextualizes Elizabeth I and her Privy Council’s resort to torture as “conceptually allied” to the epistemology of the new science. Hanson discovers a homology between the work of the interrogator and that of the scientist: in both scenarios the “paradigmatic activities” position the knower as distanced from the hidden truth that the object of inquiry possesses. For Hanson, the use of torture during Elizabeth I’s reign exposes not the exertion of the sovereign’s will on the body of the accused, but rather the emerging method of accessing truth. “Torture and Truth in Renaissance England,” *Representations* 34 (Spring 1991): 53–84.
 27. Bacon, “Proteus,” 30.

28. For an alternative reading of Bacon's "The Myth of Proteus," see Peter Pestic, "Wrestling with Proteus: Francis Bacon and the 'Torture' of Nature," *Isis* 90, no. 1 (March 1999): 81–94.
29. Donne, *Devotions*, 132.
30. *Ibid.*, 133.
31. Targoff, *John Donne*, 139.
32. Donne, *Devotions*, 52.
33. Sawday, *Body Emblazoned*, 63.
34. Jonathan Sawday, "The Fate of Marsyas: Dissecting the Renaissance Body" in *Renaissance Bodies: The Human Figure in English Culture c. 1540–1660*, ed. Lucy Gent and Nigel Llewellyn (London: Reaktion Books, 1990), 126.
35. Donne speaks to this issue of torture and truth—whether the body is to be compelled or coerced into giving over its truth—in "Love's Exchange," where he further differentiates between dissection and torture. Donne here presents torture as having nothing to do with the pursuit of truth at all. In the final stanza the speaker conceives of himself as a tortured, "racked" body splayed for anatomical examination:

For this Love is enraged with me,
 Yet kills not. If I must example be
 To future rebels; if th' unborn
 Must learn, by my being cut up, and torn:
 Kill, and dissect me, Love; for this
 Torture against thine own end is,
 Racked carcasses make ill anatomies. (36–42)

Torture serves as a demonstration of political power. Due to his defiance of Love's tyrannical rule, the speaker realizes the emotional torment Love inflicts as serving a pedagogical function: through the torture of the speaker's emotional being, those who might resist Love's authority, "future rebels," find admonishment. Yet Love's plans backfire, in that the speaker's brutalized corpse will not strengthen Love's reign, but ultimately prove its undoing. Ironically, the torment that Donne's speaker suffers, evidenced by his mutilated body, will act as a sign of Love's cruelty and despotism and so enervate Love's regime. To read the stanza this way understands torture as a spectacle, concerned not with the extraction of a confession from the criminal, but with the reassertion of the monarch's power. That is, the value of public torture lies in how well it affects the intended audience. Furthermore, the hostile treatment of the speaker

through the act of torture disrupts the ability to glean truth from the body through dissection.

The poem also resists seeing dissection as a further punishment visited on the criminal. Donne's speaker, envisioning himself as the cadaver, embraces his own dissection. Despite the violent imagery connoted in the use of "torn," Donne separates torture and dissection. While on a literal level the mutilated corpse presents practical difficulties to the anatomist, epistemologically the speaker's claim that "racked carcasses make ill anatomies" suggests the imperative for the body's collusion in its dissection. The speaker distinguishes between the body mutilated by the state authority and those suitable for anatomical exploration. In this sense, torture, realized as a repressive act, and dissection are antithetical projects: the former, a method of objectification; the latter, a mutual affair that blurs the subject-object dichotomy. The depiction of dissection in "Love's Exchange" evinces the willing submission and collusion on the part of the corpse that engenders their anatomy.

36. Donne, *Devotions*, 66.
37. *Ibid.*, 72.
38. *Ibid.*
39. *Ibid.*
40. *Ibid.*, 55.
41. *Ibid.*, 68.
42. All quotations from John Donne's poetry come from *The Complete Poetry and Selected Prose of John Donne*, ed. Charles M. Coffin (New York: Modern Library, 2001).
43. Critical discussion of Holy Sonnet XIV centers on the issue of the speaker's agency, particularly in regard to the religious framework underlying the poem. John N. Walls Jr. reads the spiritual bind of Donne's speaker as referencing the paradoxical position that the Christian is in as described in the Psalms. The speaker's lament in Holy Sonnet XIV and that offered in Psalm 13 share similar elements, "including the lamenter's description of himself and his need, his naming of his enemies, his recognition that he has no power over them, and his demand that God act on his behalf against his enemies." Walls articulates the dilemma Donne's speaker finds himself in as being one who is "powerless to effect that which he desires." "Donne's Wit of Redemption: The Drama of Prayer in the 'Holy Sonnets,'" *Studies in Philology* 73, no. 2 (April 1976): 200. Barbara Lewalski, in *Protestant Poetics and the Seventeenth-Century Religious Lyric*, reads the speaker's utter powerlessness to admit God's intervention as Donne's espousal of Calvinism: "The Calvinist sense of man's

utter helplessness . . . could hardly find more powerful and paradoxical expression than in this declaration that Christ be liberator of the soul only by becoming its jailer.” *Protestant Poetics and Seventeenth-Century Religious Lyrics* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1979), 272. However, Anthony Low rebuts Lewalski’s argument, noting that no Calvinist would actually ask of God to take him from a “state of hopeless reprobation to election.” “John Donne: ‘The Holy Ghost Is Amorous in His Metaphors’” in *New Perspectives on Seventeenth Century English Religious Lyric*, ed. John R. Roberts (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1994), 218. While I agree for the most part with Walls’s account of the speaker’s predicament, I read the speaker’s plea to God to be more complex. That is, it is the speaker’s ineffectualness that engenders God’s forceful retaking of him. My interpretation foregrounds the ambivalent sense of agency that the speaker possesses: he is unsure as to whether he is compliant or resistant to God’s efforts to save him. Donne asserts an ambiguity as to whether the speaker is “untrue” to God, hence opposing his salvation, or merely weak, and so eventually complicit in God’s attempts to rescue him.

44. Arthur L. Clements offers an insightful discussion of the paradoxical imagery Donne employs to describe God’s intervention. Clements’s reading challenges the tripartite division of the poem according to the different tasks of members of the Trinity: the Father who knocks, the Son (Sun) who shines, and the Spirit who breathes. However, as Clements cautions, such an easy allocation of jobs is not allowed for in the poem: “that each of the other Persons is ‘involved’ in the activity as any one; in other words, the paradox of three-in-one is truly and profoundly a paradox and is operative as such in the poem.” “Donne’s Holy Sonnet XIV,” *Modern Language Notes* 76, no. 6 (June 1961): 484–85. Clements looks to reassert the paradoxical nature at the heart of the speaker’s depiction of his request for God to both destroy and re-create him, “the paradox of death and rebirth” (487). Rather than a three-fold framework to the poem, Clements discovers the poem’s dual structure as juxtaposing marriage and destruction. This tension within the poem explains the position that the speaker conceives of himself regarding his salvation: “He will never be essentially free unless God enthralls him and never chaste, this pure, innocent, holy, unless God ravishes him” (489).
45. Certain critics of the poem argue the speaker’s declaration that God must forcefully take him as related to the speaker’s resistance to the feminine role that he must assume. Low locates the rhetorical power of the poem in the speaker’s reluctance to take on the role that “he knows

he must but cannot play: that of spouse to God" ("John Donne," 218). That is, for Low, the speaker's hesitancy to effeminize himself necessitates God's more aggressive intervention. Elizabeth Hodgson likewise identifies the speaker's reluctance to assume a feminine position to a masculine God as central to spiritual bind: "If the speaker is insistently and sexually masculine in the poem, he also fears his own bridal virginity to God's saving grace." *Gender and the Sacred Self in John Donne* (Newark, DE: University of Delaware, 1999), 105.

46. Bacon, *Novum*, bk. 1, cxxiv.
47. Donne, *Devotions*, 78.
48. *Ibid.*, 79.
49. Targoff remarks that for Donne the spots that manifest on his body in Meditation 13 become signs of God's presence: "The very spots that had seemed leprous and tainted become 'markes' of God's grace, and he pities the cleaned skinned man as he who overlooked or disregarded" (*John Donne*, 142). While I agree with Targoff, I find that the spots pose more of a dilemma for Donne in whether they are signs of a compliant body or evidence of its insurmountability.
50. Donne, *Devotions*, 79.
51. Bacon, preface to *The Great Instauration, Novum*, 19 and "The Masculine Birth," 62. Donne, *Devotions*, 117.
52. *Ibid.*, 145.
53. Stubbs identifies Donne as one of the few outspoken Jacobean critics of torture, who condemns the practice as a "threefold offense against the dignity of God's greatest creation, the human form, against the Christian Messiah, Jesus Christ, who was incarnated in that form, and finally against the Holy Ghost, who also inhabits and inspires it." *John Donne*, 18.
For further discussion of the practice of torture in Elizabethan and Jacobean England, see John Langbein, *Torture and the Law of Proof* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976), 82–90, 137–38; James Heath, *Torture and English Law: An Administrative and Legal History from the Plantagenets to the Stuarts* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1982), 109–40; and Edwards Peters, *Torture* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), 79–80.
54. John Donne, "Easter Sermon, 1625," *Harold B. Lee Library Digital Collection*, <http://contentdm.lib.byu.edu/cdm4/document.php?CISOROOT=/JohnDonne&CISOPTR=3215&REC=7> (accessed August 23, 2009).
55. John Carey, *John Donne: Life, Mind and Art* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981), 19; and Stubbs, *John Donne*, 10.

56. Stubbs, *John Donne*, 45.
57. In addition to the ethical arguments, recent critics of state-sanctioned torture have attempted to evaluate the practice of its scientific pretense. Chronicling the development and promotion of modern psychological torture methods, Alfred McCoy exposes the “scientific patina” that proponents of torture ascribe to the practice: “Testing has found that professional interrogators perform within 45 to 60 percent range in distinguishing truth from lies—little better than flipping a coin.” *A Question of Torture: CIA Interrogation, from the Cold War to the War on Terror* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2006), 194. Similarly Steven Kleinman and Matthew Alexander decouple the terms “science” and “torture.” In their *New York Times* editorial, Kleinman and Alexander disabuse the public of the misconception that “enhanced interrogation techniques” possess any scientific legitimacy: “One might think that any interrogation method considered legal must also be effective . . . In fact, none of the methods contained in the current Army manual on interrogation have ever been scientifically tested for effectiveness.” “Try A Little Tenderness,” *New York Times* (March 10, 2009), accessed July 15, 2009, <http://www.nytimes.com/2009/03/11/opinion/11alexander-1.html>.

Chapter 3

1. Carolyn Merchant, *The Death of Nature: Women, Ecology, and the Scientific Revolution* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1980), 165.
2. See Susan Snyder, *Pastoral Process: Spenser, Marvell, Milton* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998) 11, 16.
3. Francis Bacon, *The Essays*, in *Francis Bacon, The Major Works*, ed. Brian Vickers (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 187.
4. *Ibid.*, 187–88.
5. *Ibid.*, 188.
6. Francis Bacon, *Novum Organum—With Other Parts of The Great Instauration*, ed. Peter Urbach and John Gibson (Chicago: Open Court, 2000), bk. 1, civ.
7. Bacon, *Masculine Birth of Time* in *The Philosophy of Francis Bacon*, trans. Benjamin Farrington (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964), 72.
8. Merchant, *Death of Nature*, 165.
9. Nicholas Murray, *World Enough and Time: The Life of Andrew Marvell* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999), 48.
10. Linda Anderson, “The Nature of Marvell’s Mower,” *Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900*, Winter 1991, 131.

11. Snyder, *Pastoral Process*, 61.
12. For accounts of the scandalous circumstances surrounding the publication of *Miscellaneous Poems*, see Murray, *World Enough*, 253–55; and John Dixon Hunt, *Andrew Marvell: His Life and Writings* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1978), 184–85, 189–90.
13. Andrew Marvell, *The Poems*, 131, 152. In the Penguin Classic Edition of Marvell's complete poems, Elizabeth Story Donno suggests a similar dating of "The Garden," "The Mower Against Gardens," and the Mower Poem sequence. Andrew Marvell, *The Complete Poems*, ed. Elizabeth Story Donno (New York: Penguin Books, 1986), 100–110.
14. Robert N. Watson, *Back to Nature: The Green and the Real in the Late Renaissance* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), 124.
15. Judith Haber, *Pastoral and the Poetics of Self-Contradiction: Theocritus to Marvell* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 114.
16. James J. Bono, *The Word of God and the Languages of Man: Interpreting Nature in Early Modern Science and Medicine* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1995), 217.
17. *Ibid.*, 92.
18. Richard Foster Jones, *Ancients and Moderns: A Study of the Rise of the Scientific Movement in Seventeenth-Century England* (St. Louis, MO: Washington University Studies, 1961), 45.
19. *Ibid.*, 92.
20. *Ibid.*
21. Recently, Baconian scholars have realized the historiographical dimension to his instauration. Denise Albanese succinctly outlines the humanistic and the new scientific views of the present. The humanist tradition devalues the present as the youth of human learning, yet the proponents of the new science recast the classical authors as representing the infancy of our intellectual development: "Classical antiquity is not the parent of the present moment, but instead its infancy, and authoritative eloquence as the generator of culture is reduced to unproductive childish prattle." *New Science, New World* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1996), 34. Also see Jones, *Ancients and Moderns*, 41–61.
22. Bacon, *Masculine Birth*, 63.
23. *Ibid.*, 8.
24. *Ibid.*, 72.
25. Interestingly, Luce Irigaray makes much the same point regarding the imperative of procreation as obstructing any emotional closeness between heterosexual couples: "'Mother' and 'father' dominate the

- couple's functioning, but only as social roles. The division of labor prevents them from making love. They produce or reproduce." "The Sex Which Is Not One," in *From Modernism to Postmodernism*, ed. Lawrence Cahoon (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2006), 256.
26. Bacon, *Essays*, 88.
 27. *Ibid.*, 89.
 28. *Ibid.*, 88.
 29. For further discussion of Bacon's fear of desire disrupting the reproduction of the state and scientific knowledge, see Peter Pesic, "Desire, Science, and Polity: Francis Bacon's Account of Eros," *Interpretation: A Journal of Political Philosophy* 26, no. 3 (Spring 1999): 333–52.
 30. Merchant, *Death of Nature*, 189.
 31. *Ibid.*, 164.
 32. Iddo Landau, "Feminist Criticism of Metaphors in Bacon's Philosophy of Science," *Philosophy* 73, no. 283 (January 1998): 54. Also see Peter Pesic, "Wrestling with Proteus: Francis Bacon and the 'Torture' of Nature," *Isis* 90 (1999): 81–94; and Perez Zagorin, *Francis Bacon* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1998), 121–24.
 33. Katharine Park, "Women, Gender, and Utopia: *The Death of Nature* and the Historiography of Early Modern Science," *Isis* 97 (2006): 490.
 34. Francis Bacon, *Thought and Conclusions*, in *The Philosophy of Francis Bacon*, trans. Benjamin Farrington (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964), 83.
 35. Robert Boyle, *Certain Physiological Essays and Other Tracts* (London, 1661), 41–42. Carolyn Merchant offers a similar reading of this passage from Boyle's essay in *The Death of Nature*, 189.
 36. Bacon, *Novum*, bk. 1, cvii.
 37. *Ibid.*, bk. 2, xxxi.
 38. William Harvey, *The Works of William Harvey*, trans. Robert Willis (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1989), 153.
 39. Merchant, *Death of Nature*, 156.
 40. Snyder, *Pastoral Process*, 53.
 41. *Ibid.*, 48–49.
 42. *Ibid.*, 55.
 43. Bacon, *Novum*, bk. 1, xlv.
 44. Anderson, "Marvell's Mower," 133.
 45. Jonathan Crewe, "The Garden State: Marvell's Poetics of Enclosure," in *Enclosure Acts: Sexuality, Property and Culture in Early Modern England*, ed. Burt Richard and Jonathan Michael Archer (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1994), 273.

46. Watson, *Back to Nature*, 125.
47. Tayler finds the syntax of the line ambiguous: “luxuriant” modifies either the grass in the meadows or Damon’s own thoughts. Edward William Tayler, *Nature and Art in Renaissance Literature* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1964), 157. My reading of the line argues that Damon, through his own sexually aware perspective, sees the meadows as sexual.
48. Leah S. Marcus remarks on how the image of the blade of grass abutted on both sides by a flower recreates the phallus. *The Politics of Mirth: Jonson, Herrick, Milton, Marvell, and the Defense of Old Holiday Pastimes* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), 234–35.
49. Marcus finds in Damon’s condemnation of the meadow’s “gaudy May-games” the Mower’s failure to appreciate the religious import that Archbishop Laud attempted to instill in such festivals. As Marcus argues, Damon’s reaction to perceiving himself as betrayed by the “unthankful meadows,” which continue the festivities without him, reveals his failure to adopt Laud’s interpolation of such festivals as “humble acknowledgement of his individual inadequacy, a recognition of the vastness of the political and religious design of which he is a part.” Marcus, *Politics of Mirth*, 236. I agree with Marcus’s assertion that in “The Mower’s Song” Damon’s egocentric worldview is jeopardized by the meadow’s participation in the “gaudy May-games” without him, yet I also read here Damon’s recognition of Nature’s sexual autonomy. In “Damon,” the allusion to the May-games festivities appears, as I interpret these lines, sanitized, childlike, and not overtly sexual; however, in “The Mower’s Song,” the May-games possess more sexual connotation for Damon’s sexually aware perspective.
50. My reading of Damon’s journey from “Damon” to “The Mower’s Song” employs a psychoanalytic model of maturation, that of the infant’s transition from a stage of perceived unity with the mother to its recognition of separateness. On this basis, I am indebted to Snyder, who likewise argues for the applicability of psychoanalysis in reading the pastoral protagonist’s development. Snyder, *Pastoral Process*, 3, 11, 16, 17.
51. Tayler, *Nature and Art*, 154.
52. Bacon, preface to *The Great Instauration*, 15.
53. Eric Katz, “The Big Lie: Human Restoration of Nature,” in *Environmental Ethics: An Anthology*, ed. Andrew Light and Holmes Rolston III (Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, 2002), 392.
54. *Ibid.*, 396.

Chapter 4

1. Francis Fane, "From the dedication to *Love in the Dark*," in *Rochester, The Critical Heritage*, ed. David Farley-Hills (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1972), 36.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid.*, 37.
4. James William Johnson, *A Profane Wit: The Life of John Wilmot* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2004), 30.
5. Charles Webster, *The Great Instauration: Science, Medicine and Reform 1626–1660* (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1975), 159.
6. *Ibid.*, 158.
7. Francis Bacon, *The Advancement of Learning* (1605; repr., London: Dodo Press, 2005), I.ii.6.
8. Carole Fabricant, "Rochester's World of Imperfect Enjoyment," *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 73, no. 3 (July 1974): 338.
9. Fabricant concludes that the earl's poetry reveals human sexuality as entrapped in a cycle of automated, mechanized motions that dull any vitality or pleasure that may be anticipated. For Fabricant, Rochester's prevailing metaphor for the human body is that of a machine, one that is "slowly but surely falling apart": "I do not randomly choose the image of disintegrating machine. For throughout Rochester's poetry the sexual takes on increasingly sinister overtones until it finally emerges as mechanical grotesquerie." *Ibid.*, 345. Predicated on such frail grounds, sex at best provides a transient solace. Also see Sarah Wintle, "Libertinism and Sexual Politics," in *The Spirit of Wit: Reconsiderations of Rochester*, ed. Jeremy Treglown (Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1982), 133–65; and Jonathan Brody Kramnick, "Rochester and the History of Sexuality," *English Literary History* 69 (2002): 277–301.
10. Melissa Sanchez, "Libertinism and Romance in Rochester's Poetry," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 38, no. 3 (2005): 442.
11. William Chernaik, *Sexual Freedom in Restoration Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 81.
12. *Ibid.*, 90.
13. My analysis of Rochester's critique of the scientific basis of libertinism draws on that offered by Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno's *Dialectic of Enlightenment*. In their chapter "*Juliette* or Enlightenment and Morality," Horkheimer and Adorno examine the libertine ethos as a manifestation of the Enlightenment's scientific mindset. Horkheimer and Adorno find libertinism as reflecting this same corruption in evacuating sexual relations of transcendent potential. Efficiency and utility

- inform the libertine's sexual exploits. Romantic love, with its attendant emotions of compassion and sympathy, is a delusion that only the naïve or unenlightened fall for; for the libertine, no degree of love ever escapes its physicality. Horkheimer and Adorno's critique of libertine ethics, I find, echoes Rochester's own despair voiced in his verse; Rochester deconstructs the materialism of the libertine outlook from within this mindset. *Dialectic of Enlightenment*, trans. John Cumming (New York: Seabury Press, 1972), 100–140.
14. Chernaik, *Sexual Freedom*, 30.
 15. All quotations from Rochester's poetry come from *The Complete Poem of John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester*. Edited by David M. Vieth (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1962).
 16. Francis Bacon, preface to *Novum Organum—With Other Parts of The Great Instauration*, ed. Peter Urbach and John Gibson (Chicago: Open Court, 2000), 39.
 17. Francis Bacon, *De Dignitate et Augmentis Scientiarum Libri IX*, ed. Richard Foster Jones (New York: Odyssey Press, 1937), II.13. *De Dignitate* is the expanded Latin version of *The Advancement of Learning*.
 18. Bacon, *Advancement*, II.xii.1.
 19. See Kate Aughterson, "Redefining Plain Style: Francis Bacon, Linguistic Extension, and Semantic Change in 'The Advancement of Learning,'" *Studies in Philology* 97, no. 1 (2000): 96–143; and Ryan Stark, "From Mysticism to Skepticism: Stylistic Reform in Seventeenth-Century British Philosophy and Rhetoric," *Philosophy and Rhetoric* 34, no. 4 (2001): 322–34.
 20. Bacon, *Advancement*, II.iv.1.
 21. *Ibid.*, II.iv.2.
 22. Robert E. Stillman, *The New Philosophy and Universal Languages in Seventeenth-Century England* (Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Press, 1995), 96.
 23. Bacon, *De Dignitate*.
 24. Bacon, *Advancement*, II.xii.1.
 25. Bacon, *Advancement*, II.xii.2.
 26. Bacon, *Novum Organum*, bk. 1, xlix.
 27. For further discussion of the centrality of language and Hobbes's politics see Fredrick G. Whelan, "Language and Its Abuses in Hobbes' Political Philosophy," *The American Political Science Review* 75, no. 1 (March 1981): 59.
 28. Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*, ed. C. B. McPherson (London: Penguin Books, 1985), 99.

29. *Ibid.*, 113.
30. *Ibid.*, 428.
31. Hobbes writes further on the source of the abuses in language and thought, as well as their political consequences, in his treatise on the English Civil War, *Behemoth* (1681).
32. Hobbes, *Leviathan*, 117.
33. *Ibid.*, 93.
34. *Ibid.*, 92.
35. Thomas H. Fujimura, "Rochester's 'Satyr Against Mankind': An Analysis," in *John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester: Critical Essays*, ed. David M. Vieth (New York: Garland, 1988), 208.
36. *Ibid.*, 206.
37. Chernaik, *Sexual Freedom*, 30.
38. *Ibid.*, 31.
39. Fujimura, "Rochester's 'Satyr,'" 209.
40. Chernaik, *Sexual Freedom*, 86.
41. *Ibid.*
42. Marianne Thormählen, *Rochester: The Poems in Context* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 74.
43. Thormählen likewise juxtaposes "The Mistress" to "Absent from thee": "In both poems, then, pain is actively sought and envisaged as the preliminary to uninterrupted bliss." *Ibid.*, 75. My contention with this reading is that the "Absent" speaker does not construct a correlation between the absence he experiences and the paradise of his beloved's "safe bosom" (10); rather the speaker's time away from this other Eden loses him this bliss.
44. Hobbes, *Leviathan*, 99.
45. *Ibid.*, 88.
46. *Ibid.*
47. David M. Vieth, "'Pleased with the Contradiction and the Sin': The Perverse Artistry of Rochester's Lyrics," in *John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester: Critical Essays*, ed. David M. Vieth (New York: Garland, 1988), 183.
48. Chernaik, *Sexual Freedom*, 114.
49. *Ibid.*, 114–15.
50. Thomas Stearns Eliot, *Homage to John Dryden: Three Essays on Poetry of the Seventeenth Century* (London: Hogarth Press, 1927), 30.
51. Stanley Fish, *Surprised by Sin: The Reader in Paradise Lost*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997), 251.

Conclusion

1. Carolyn Merchant, *Reinventing Eden: The Fate of Nature in Western Culture* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 3.
2. *Ibid.*, 37.
3. Albert Borgmann, "The Nature of Reality and the Reality of Nature," in *Reinventing Nature? Responses to Postmodern Deconstruction*, ed. Michael E. Soule and Gary Lease (Washington, DC: Island Press, 1995), 36.
4. Martin W. Lewis, *Green Delusions: An Environmentalist Critique of Radical Environmentalism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1992), 7.
5. *Ibid.*, 8.
6. *Ibid.*, 15.
7. *Ibid.*, 18.
8. *Ibid.*, 19.
9. *Ibid.*, 251.
10. Sylvia Bowerbank also compares Lewis's stewardship model of environmentalism to Bacon's call of humanity to control Nature. Bowerbank finds that both Lewis and Bacon offer a program directed toward achieving "sustainable development" that "will be created, not by nature, but by humanity." *Speaking for Nature: Women and Ecologies of Early Modern England* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004), 10.
11. Lewis, *Green Delusions*, 19.
12. As with Lewis, the character of Prometheus held symbolic importance for Bacon's epistemological agenda. In *Wisdom of the Ancients*, Bacon devotes more time to his interpretation of the myth of Prometheus than any other. For Bacon, the story of Prometheus conceptualizes humanity's privileged position within Creation:

"The principle cause is this: that man seems to be a thing in which the whole world centers, with respect to final causes; so that if he were away, all things would stray and fluctuate, without end or intention, or become perfectly disjointed, and out of frame; for all things are made subservient to man, and he receives use and benefit from them all." Francis Bacon, *The Wisdom of the Ancients* (1605; repr., London: Dodo Press, 2005), 56.

Two aspects of Bacon's interpretation have unique relevance in the context of Lewis's idea of "Promethean environmentalism." First, Bacon reads in the myth humanity's role as caretaker of the natural world. Harmony between humanity and Nature comes only through our active management of it; without human control, Nature would revert to chaos and disorder. Second, not only does Bacon find in the myth humanity's centrality, but also its entitlement to utilize the natural

- world for its benefit. While Lewis does caution against human reckless dependence on the natural world, both he and Bacon use the symbol of Prometheus as a trope for an anthropocentric worldview.
13. Eric Katz, "The Big Lie: Human Restoration of Nature," in *Environmental Ethics: An Anthology*, ed. Andrew Light and Holmes Rolston III (Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, 2002), 391.
 14. Val Plumwood, *Environmental Culture: The Ecological Crisis of Reason* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 26.
 15. *Ibid.*, 3.
 16. *Ibid.*, 108.
 17. Merchant, *Reinventing Eden*, 226.
 18. *Ibid.*, 230.
 19. *Ibid.*, 241.
 20. *Ibid.*, 228.
 21. Plumwood, *Environmental Culture*, 107.
 22. *Ibid.*, 120.
 23. *Ibid.*, 222.
 24. By May 20, British Petroleum estimated that the rate at which crude oil was leaking from the Macondo well was 5,000 barrels, or 155,000 gallons, per day. However, this number was contested for grossly underestimating the amount of crude oil spilling into the Gulf of Mexico. Finally, on September 23, Timothy Crone published the first peer-reviewed article estimating the rate of the leak. Observing the live feed of the gushing wellhead, Crone calculated the rate of leak from April 22 to June 3 to be between 56,000 and 68,000 barrels a day. "Magnitude of 2010 Gulf of Mexico Oil Leak," *Science* September 23, 2010, accessed February 22, 2011, <http://www.sciencemag.org/content/330/6004/634.abstract>).

The final estimate of the amount of crude oil that spilled into the Gulf of Mexico has been set at 6.6 million barrels, or 206 million gallons. In the report commissioned by the Gulf Coast Claims Facility, John Tunnell Jr. places this number in perspective by contrasting the DWH oil spill to the 1979 Ixtoc oil spill, which spewed 4.5 million barrels into the Gulf. Though the area affected by the Ixtoc spill was considerably greater—1,500 linear miles to the 400 linear miles affected by the DWH oil spill—Tunnell cautions that such numbers may be deceptive. Tunnell notes the difference in environmental sensitivity between the two areas impacted:

"Ecologically the DWH spill occurred in a very sensitive area of the Gulf, which includes the highly productive coastal wetlands and marshes of the Mississippi Delta. These salt and brackish marshes are a

number 10 on the ESI [Environmental Sensitivity Index], being sensitive to oiling and difficult to clean up . . . By comparison, regarding the Ixtoc oil spill, the fine-grained sand beaches of the western and southern Gulf are a number 3 on the ESI scale, so they are not as sensitive, and they can recover more quickly.”

The qualitative difference in the environments affected suggested the greater gravity of the DWH oil spill. John Tunnell Jr., “An Expert Opinion of When the Gulf of Mexico Will Return to Pre-Spill Harvest Status Following the BP Deepwater Horizon MC 252 Oil Spill,” Report commissioned by Gulf Coast Claims Facility, Washington, DC, 2011, 19–21.

25. After successfully intersecting with the main pipeline and sealing it permanently with cement, the Macondo well was declared killed on September 19.
26. Naomi Klein, “After the Spill,” *The Nation*, January 31, 2011, 11.
27. Leslie Kaufman and Shalia Dewan, “Oiled Gulf May Defy Direst Predictions,” *New York Times*, September 14, 2010, accessed January 26, 2011, <http://www.nytimes.com/2010/09/14/scienceearth/14spill.html?n=Top%2fNews%2fScience%2fTopics%2fAnimals>.
28. Rebecca Mowbray, “Microbes Make Oil Vanish, Scientist Says,” *New Orleans Times-Picayune*, August 25, 2010, accessed January 26, 2011, <http://iw.newsbank.com>; emphasis added.
29. Brian Skoloff and Harry R. Weber, “6 Months After Oil Spill, Much Remains Unknown,” Huffington Post, accessed January 26, 2011, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2010/10/20/6-months-after-gulf-oil-s_n_769358.html.
30. Klein, “After the Spill,” 18.
31. For further discussion of the unknown long-term effects of the DWH oil spill, see David Biello, “Lasting Menace: The Deepwater Spill’s Unwelcome Legacy,” *Scientific American*, June 1, 2010, accessed February 3, 2011, <http://www.scientificamerican.com/article.cfm?id=lasting-menace>.
32. Tunnell, “An Expert Opinion,” 12.
33. *Ibid.*, 14.
34. *Ibid.*, 3.
35. *Ibid.*, 22.
36. In “The BP Oil Spill: Economy versus Ecology,” Merchant speaks to the same tension between the economic need to view the natural world as a closed system and the ecological reality of Nature as an open, “unpredictable,” “chaotic” system. Merchant finds in the Gulf oil spill disaster the parable admonishing against the hubris of treating the nonhuman world as

- controllable: “The problem as BP has tragically and belatedly discovered is that Nature as an active force cannot be confined. The pressures created by deep sea oil cannot be contained in mechanized, engineered systems isolated from the environment.” *American Society for Environmental History* 21, no. 2 (Summer 2010).
37. In addition to the long-term concerns over the entrained crude oil in the water column, concerns emerged over the toxicity of the dispersants used. Charles W. Schmidt offers a concise overview of this issue. See “Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea: Dispersants in the Gulf of Mexico,” *Environmental Health Perspectives* 118, no. 8 (August 2010), A341–43.
 38. Mowbray, “Microbes.”
 39. Klein, “After the Spill,” 17.
 40. Schmidt, “Between the Devil,” A340.
 41. Schmidt points out that a 2005 report for the National Research Council notes the “mystery” surrounding the long-term effects of chemical dispersants in the marine ecosystem. “Between the Devil,” A341.
 42. US House Committee on Science and Technology, Subcommittee on Energy and Environment. Testimony of Dr. Samantha B. Joye (June 9, 2010), accessed February 28, 2010, http://democrats.science.house.gov/Media/file/Commdocs/hearings/2010/Energy/9jun/Joye_Testimony.pdf.
 43. For further discussion of Joye’s testimony, see Schmidt, “Between the Devil,” A344. Elizabeth Kujawinski, Melissa C. Kido Soule, David L. Valentine, Angela K. Boysen, Krista Longnecker, and Molly C. Redmond published the first peer-reviewed study of the use of chemical dispersants during the DWH oil spill. Though their findings confirm that the oil was biodegrading at an expected rate, Kujawinski and her team of researchers from Woods Hole Oceanographic Institution concluded that the dispersants used have not degraded, but remain in the water column, posing a significant threat to marine life in the Gulf. “Fate of Dispersants Associated with the Deepwater Horizon Oil Spill,” *Environmental Science and Technology* 45, no. 4 (2011): 1298–1306.
 44. Katz, “Big Lie,” 396.
 45. In her initial report about the Gulf oil spill, Naomi Klein turns to Bacon’s writings to help explicate the mindset that led to the recklessness exhibited by BP toward the environment. Klein suggests that BP’s “Initial Exploration Plan” “reads like a Greek tragedy about human hubris” in that Nature appears in the document as both “predictable and agreeable” to industrial aspirations. Klein argues the view that allowed BP to conceptualize Nature as a willing partner in industrialism grows out of

Bacon's mechanization of the natural. Citing Merchant's *The Death of Nature*, Klein writes, "In 1623 Sir Francis Bacon best encapsulated the new ethos when he wrote . . . that nature is to be 'put in constraint, molded, and made as it were new by art and the hand of man.' Those words may as well have been BP's corporate mission statement." "A Hole in the World," *The Nation*, July 12, 2010, 17.

46. Merchant, *Reinventing Eden*, 241.

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