ABSTRACT

To Teach, Move, Meditate, and Oppose:
Lucy Hutchinson's Rhetoric in *Order and Disorder*

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Lucy Hutchinson's biblical poetic paraphrase, *Order and Disorder*, employs rhetorical strategies that enable her to teach and move her audience, meditate for her own spiritual benefit, and oppose the atomistic doctrine of Lucretius. In this dissertation, I begin to examine the poem using a rhetorical analysis that draws upon the Aristotelian causes as a framework. The poem's final cause is to persuade Dissenting readers to trust and praise divine Providence and to pursue virtue; its formal cause is a type of plain style that relies upon tropes and sparingly employs schemes; and its material cause is the biblical story that the poem paraphrases, while weaving other biblical texts, images, and ideas into the Genesis narrative. This analysis of Hutchinson's Non-Conformist rhetoric sheds light on the Calvinist Dissenter plain style, demonstrating how her interpretive strategies align with her Biblicism and distinguish her writing from

Enlightenment rationalist notions of "plain." It also reads the poem as a meditation, showing that Hutchinson's rhetoric functions both to persuade herself as well as her Dissenting readers in the midst of difficult political and personal circumstances in the aftermath of the Restoration. This analysis of the character of Non-Conformist rhetoric highlights the various ways in which Hutchinson's poem contests Lucretius's atomism and epistemology. This study sketches a more thorough picture of Hutchinson's rhetorical aesthetic than scholars have yet completed. It demonstrates that this seventeenth-century woman's biblical epic poem places her in the position of not only a poet but also a teacher of doctrine, a rhetorician who moves her audience, a private Christian meditating on Scripture for the sake of her own soul, and an intellectual who directly counters Lucretian philosophy.

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Lucy Hutchinson's Rhetoric in *Order and Disorder*

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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

As Johanna Harris and Elizabeth Scott-Baumann recently noted in *The Intellectual Culture of Puritan Women, 1558-1680*, "puritanism fostered artistic endeavor and intellectual curiosity as much as iconoclasm" (Introduction 4). One Puritan whose remarkable interest in art, theology, and philosophy has gone virtually unnoticed is the wife of the regicide John Hutchinson: the poet, translator, and biographer, Lucy Apsley Hutchinson. She displayed both her theological and her rhetorical acumen in the various genres she attempted but especially in her epic poem *Order and Disorder* (1679). A linguistically gifted writer, she undertook this poem after she had completed the first English translation of Lucretius's atomistic and Epicurean poem *De rerum natu*ra, leading David Norbrook to assert that Hutchinson wrote "one of the most intellectually ambitious bodies of writing of any seventeenth century woman" ("John Milton, Lucy Hutchinson" 62). Known primarily as the author of her husband's biography, *Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson*, she has attracted the interest of many scholars due to her writing's historical and political information.

Scholarship is thinner for her biblical epic poem, *Order and Disorder*, because of its mistaken authorial attribution. The first five cantos were published anonymously in 1679, and Anthony Wood attributed the entire poem to Hutchinson's brother, Sir Allen Apsley, in 1691, twelve years after her death. In 2001 Norbrook brought to light that the entire poem is indeed Lucy Hutchinson's work. Though scholars have discussed her memoir for many years and her translation since it was published in 1996, not much work has yet illuminated her epic poem.

Some scholars have begun to take interest in *Order and Disorder* and the way it illumines the issues of seventeenth-century notions of gender and gender roles, which has also been a central discussion in regards to her memoir.[1] Shannon Miller, aligning Hutchinson with Hobbes and Locke, argues that Hutchinson rejects patriarchal theory and embraces consent theory, giving more agency to women in her epic than Milton does in *Paradise Lost*. Much more scholarship should be done on the issue of gender in *Order and Disorder*, but my interest in this poem primarily regards Hutchinson's rhetoric in relationship to her theology and explicit biblical purpose, which has received little critical attention.

A few scholars, such as Jonathan Goldberg, Robert Wilcher, Reid Barbour, and, especially, David Norbrook, have begun analyzing how Hutchinson's

poetics relates to her theological aesthetic. Much of Barbour and Goldberg's interest involves analyzing Hutchinson's appropriation and adaptation of material from *De rerum natura* for her poem. While Goldberg and Barbour are interested in Hutchinson's use of her Lucretius text, Wilcher analyzes Hutchinson's possible response to Milton and the ways her poem incorporates the genre of romance. Wilcher shows the different ways that Hutchinson and Milton adapt biblical narrative, arguing that while Milton freely adds to and colors biblical narrative, Hutchinson frequently asserts that she will not address issues with her own fancy that the Bible does not, although, he claims, she does add romantic conventions to the later (previously unpublished) cantos of the poem. Wilcher also briefly notes that Hutchinson likely uses the technique employed by Francis Quarles in his *Emblemes*, especially the use of "types" and "emblems."

Norbrook has published the most work on Hutchinson. Comparing *Paradise Lost* to *Order and Disorder* on several levels, he, like Wilcher, maintains that Hutchinson is probably responding to *Paradise Lost* because she uses phrases similar to those in Milton's poem and sometimes seems implicitly to rebuke Milton for straying from biblical sources. Norbrook also claims that her poem contrasts with Milton's in the ways it prioritizes nature and proclaims Calvinistic theology. Norbrook primarily focuses on the political implications of

Hutchinson's poetics, observing, for instance, that Hutchinson's poetry, like other republican poetics, is "consciously and polemically anti-Augustan" ("John Milton, Lucy Hutchinson" 41). Because of both Dissenters' dissatisfaction with the Restoration Settlement, their poetry frequently criticized courts and rejected characteristics of courtly poetry. Norbrook also, like Barbour and Goldberg, notes that she borrows phrases from her Lucretius translation. He makes only a few observations about her rhetoric but does not expound upon the theological and biblical basis for her poetics.

While previous scholarship on Hutchinson's poetics begins to be helpful for readers' understanding and appreciation of the poem, many questions remain unanswered. Her use of classical rhetoric, for instance, is central to her aesthetic. The poem begins with a preface that paradoxically claims that it will employ a plain style, while the poem itself is replete with rhetorical schemes and especially tropes. Also, paradoxically, the poem proclaims strongly Calvinist doctrines and anti-art sentiments. The manner in which her faith and theology affects the poetry itself and how she reconciles them has yet to be fully discussed. What can her poem reveal about the Calvinist Dissenter aesthetic, and how does she employ rhetoric in a way that she can justify to her conscience? Lastly, the rhetorical relationship of her poem to her Lucretius translation has not yet been

fully explained, especially in light of the notion that she may indeed be opposing instead of merely appropriating Lucretius's atomism.

To begin to examine the rhetoric of the poem, readers must first appreciate the rhetorical education Hutchinson received. Don Paul Abbott explains that sixteenth and seventeenth-century grammar schools were founded upon the ideals of Renaissance humanism. Therefore, "the main aim of the schools was also a major goal of Renaissance Humanism: the creation of elegant and eloquent expression" (147). Grammar schools used instruction in classical rhetoric to equip students to be eloquent orators and writers (147). Abbott emphasizes the centrality of Latin and rhetoric in the grammar school curriculum (153). One of the main ways that grammar students learned rhetoric was through imitating Cicero and other eloquent authors. Abbott claims, "If there is one constant in Renaissance education, it is a belief in the necessity, indeed, the inevitability of imitation as the principle method of learning" (157). He lists the five imitation exercises as translation, paraphrase, metaphrase, epitome, and imitation proper (159). Lucy Hutchinson's works give evidence of at least three of these exercises within her translation of *De rerum natura* and *Order and Disorder*. In *Order and Disorder*, Hutchinson paraphrases the biblical text of Genesis 1-32, but she also constructs a metaphrase, turning prose into verse. Interestingly, despite the Renaissance humanists' belief in the necessity of education for girls, they did not

think rhetoric to be a necessary subject for them to study (168). However, some females did receive a full grammar school education.[2] Abbott notes that "women were typically educated at home by a tutor or family member" (170). Lucy Apsley did have tutors, but, even so, she had a tremendous education for a seventeenth-century girl, as she testifies in the extant fragment of her autobiography.

Lucy Apsley's parents had high aspirations for her education before she was even born. She recounts a story often told to her that her mother, while pregnant, had a dream in which a star came down to her, and her father interpreted the dream that their new child would be "a daughter of some extraordinary eminency" (*Memoirs* 14). As a result, Lucy states, her parents "applied all their cares, and spared no cost to improve [her] in [her] education" (14). As a result, she "read English perfectly" by the age of four and had "at one time eight tutors in…languages, music, dancing, writing and needlework" (14). She recounts that her father wanted her to learn Latin, and she "was so apt that [she] outstripped [her] brothers who were at school" in the language (14-15). Kenneth Charlton remarks that Apsley's education "was unusual, since…the acquisition of feminine 'accomplishments'…came to predominate in the education of upper and middle class girls in the seventeenth century" (110). Her education seems to have surpassed the vast majority of seventeenth-century

females, preparing her to compose the first English translation of *De rerum natura*, a memoir of her regicide husband's involvement in the English civil war, and, of course, her biblical epic poem.

How the knowledge resulting from her classical rhetorical education combined with her Calvinistic faith to produce her long poem is my central interest in this project. I make use of historical material regarding Hutchinson's biographical circumstances in order to offer a rhetorical reading in light of the poem's explicit theological purposes. In my analysis of *Order and Disorder*, I consider her other original works and translations: *Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson*, *On the Principles of the Christian Religion*, her translation of *De rerum natura*, and her commonplace books. My approach is to examine closely the rhetorical techniques in her epic poem as illuminated by her Biblicism and theology.

In the second chapter, I begin to address the problem of the seeming contradiction that Hutchinson presents in the preface of *Order and Disorder*. As Norbrook notes, in her very claim to write without ornament, she employs a rhetorical scheme. Recognizing that such a disowning of stylistic ornament is itself a long-standing topos, Norbrook concludes that readers should not take her disclaimer seriously. However, this passage raises the question: what exactly is the character of the plain style that she adopts? She clearly does not want to

write artificially, but obviously she employs schemes and tropes throughout the poem. I argue that, to understand her notion of plain writing, readers must consider her purpose of leading her readers to worship God rather than admire her poetic skill. I also examine the eloquent speeches that characters give within *Order and Disorder*, which reveal her rhetorical philosophy. For Hutchinson, although classical rhetoric can be dangerous in its capacity to elicit emotion and can also be completely unfruitful if the Spirit does not enable faith, the art of persuasion should be used to move the hearts of believers to trust their Maker and his Providence. Lastly, I begin to examine the poem as a meditation, discussing Hutchinson's Augustinian notion of emotion and the will and the ways in which she uses the poem to preach to her own will and to remind herself of Providence.

Once I establish Hutchinson's rhetorical philosophy and the final cause of her poem, I begin to examine its formal cause, or specific rhetorical style, by explicating the poem's tropes. After describing relevant aspects of the history of the plain style and the various ways that people have defined "plainness," I argue that tropes in the poem are plain, in the sense that they function toward the same ends as biblical tropes. Like biblical and particularly Pauline rhetoric, Hutchinson's tropes function to inform and persuade her Dissenting readers by illustrating suprasensible concepts, encouraging evaluation, promoting their

moral transformation, and creating networks of new meaning. Tropes allow Hutchinson to communicate persuasively and with greater complexity, sometimes teaching multiple lessons in a single line, all to the end of eliciting her Dissenting readers' trust in Providence and the reader's pursuit of virtue.

Next, I analyze important schemes in the poem, demonstrating that Hutchinson's employment of schemes does not attempt to play aimlessly with words but rather takes up a biblical style, especially of both the Psalms and the Pauline epistles. I then explicate passages from *Order and Disorder* in which schemes are pervasive, arguing that schemes often reveal the character of their subject, emphasizing without dissecting certain mysterious theological concepts and conveying the weightiness of stark postlapsarian realities.

In the fifth chapter, I argue that throughout this poetic biblical paraphrase, Hutchinson dilates the narrative with rhetorically-embellished passages, inserting other biblical principles into it. Against Wilcher's claim that Hutchinson incorporates elements of romance into later cantos of the poem, I contend that she adds to the central action of Genesis in order to emphasize moral instruction from other biblical texts. Hutchinson elaborates upon her descriptions of characters such as Enoch, Noah, Isaac, Rebecca, Rachel, and Jacob as well as inserts passages derived from biblical principles outside of Genesis to complement the poem's final cause, serving deliberative and epideictic ends.

Related to her rhetorical style that so often employs comparison is Hutchinson's additions of typology and emblems to the narrative. I argue in the sixth chapter that Christological typology in the poem teaches about the special Providence of redemptive history and that Hutchinson most often situates these familiar types in the narrative after introducing her original emblems, which teach about general Providence and often give her readers moral instruction. Placing the emblem before the type serves to call her Dissenting readers to virtuous action and then to motivate by calling them to remember what Christ has done on their behalf. I then examine the labeled and unlabeled emblems that exist in isolation from types and demonstrate that emblem-writing about the book of God and the book of nature serves as a spiritual exercise for Hutchinson herself, an encouragement to Dissenting readers to pursue virtuous action and trust Providence, and a response to Lucretius's atomism.

Finally, chapter seven analyzes the ways in which *Order and Disorder* responds to *De rerum natura*. The end of both poems is worship; *Order and Disorder* seeks to evoke worship of the transcendent Christian God, while *De rerum natura* praises human reason. In contrast to scholars such as Goldberg who emphasize her appropriation of Lucretius's text in agreement with its philosophy, I argue that some of the core principles in Hutchinson's aesthetic result from her distinguishing her own poetry from that of Lucretius. I show

that she differentiates her project from his by situating human beings within the created order, esteeming their value while establishing their humility; praising God's creation of humanity but constantly expressing the lowness of the speaker and the greatness of the divine; and denouncing pride throughout the poem. A related way that Hutchinson seeks to show how her poetry is different from *De rerum natura* is by rejecting Lucretius's dissection of mystery with his reason. Hutchinson's epistemology, instead, happily accepts transcendent truth and mystery. *Order and Disorder* points to and revels in mystery, starkly contrasting with Lucretius's poem, which has the ultimate goal of removing mystery. Further, her poem responds to *De rerum natura* by emphasizing that art should align with biblical truth and have worshipping God as its goal. I then examine how the poets' differing ends lead to changes in the rhetorical details of their projects by citing specific elements from *De rerum natura* in order to show how Hutchinson appropriates them only to change their effects. This chapter argues that, in contrast to scholars who have argued that she merely synthesizes Epicureanism and Christianity in her poem, Hutchinson takes a more active role in repudiating Lucretius than has previously been acknowledged.

Lucy Hutchinson certainly joins the ranks of Aemilia Lanyer and Margaret Cavendish as an important seventeenth-century female poet; in many ways—philosophically, theologically, and rhetorically—her poetry is innovative,

thoughtful, and sophisticated. This study, an analysis of the character of Non-Conformist rhetoric from a Calvinist Dissenter addressed to other Calvinist Dissenters, sketches a more thorough picture of Hutchinson's rhetorical aesthetic than scholars have yet completed, demonstrating that the biblical epic poem *Order and Disorder* places Hutchinson in the position of not only a poet but also a teacher of doctrine, a rhetorician who moves her audience, a private Christian meditating on Scripture for the sake of her own soul, and an intellectual who directly critiques Lucretian epistemology and philosophy.

CHAPTER TWO

A Plain Contradiction?: Hutchinson's Rhetorical Purpose and Her Portrayals of Eloquent Speeches

Christians throughout church history have debated the role of pagan rhetorical practices in Christians' speech, writing, and especially preaching. While some proponents of classical rhetoric have endorsed adapting it for Christian purposes, others have concluded that Christians should speak and write plainly without rhetorical figures that they believed constituted unnecessary adornment. After the Protestant Reformation, many iconoclast Dissenters rejected classical rhetoric, especially for preaching. As Peter Auksi notes, "The preaching manuals of the early seventeenth century constitute a high-water mark for the plain style" (304). Likewise, as Jamela Lares notes, Dissenter sermons aimed at "preaching to the common person in terms that could be understood, aiming at the clarity of the message more than its beauty" (9). Instead of ornate and lofty language, these Dissenters, suspicious of pagan rhetoric, promoted simple syntax and clear expositions of biblical texts.

During Lucy Hutchinson's lifetime, many people spoke with scorn about employing classical rhetoric at all. N.H. Keeble summarizes the qualities evident in seventeenth-century Dissenter prose as "clarity, simplicity and plainness," a

repudiation of "the rhetorical excess of Euphuism, the luxuriance of 'tropical' romance styles, the syntactical sophistication of Ciceronianism and the erudite ingenuity of the metaphysicals" (240). Dissenters tended to avoid rhetorical flourishes because they saw their capacity to deceive and manipulate an audience. Brian Vickers lists what he calls the revival of Platonic attacks on classical rhetoric in the mid-seventeenth century: "rhetoric is a harlot, a slave, her ornaments are those of a false and deceitful cosmetic, and the proper course is to strip her bare until we discover 'the naked truth', the cant ideal of simplicity for this rhetorical imagination" (54). Certainly, this trend towards plainness and skepticism of classical rhetoric influenced Hutchinson; in fact, she claimed to write in the plain style.[1]

What may seem odd to readers at first is Hutchinson's claim to write plainly while simultaneously employing rhetorical figures. Explicitly asserting that she will employ a plain style in her poetry, Hutchinson claims that readers will find in *Order and Disorder* "nothing of fancy…no elevations of style, no charms of language" because she asserts that she has neither the giftedness nor the desire to write that way (*Order* 5). This disclaimer appears to be the recognized *topos* of *recusatio*, an admission of the author's inability to compose in a certain style and the assertion that the author will therefore write plainly, but it raises the question of what the quality of plainness is for Hutchinson's poem. As

David Norbrook observes, "Hutchinson's poem is far from artless, and it benefits from her long training in writing verse" (Introduction xxix).[2] Though scholars have noticed that Hutchinson's style actually is not as plain as she claims, none have yet attempted to fully explicate her version of plain style.

Her practice suggests a nuanced view of rhetoric that warrants examination. Clearly, Hutchinson does appropriate various classical schemes and tropes in *Order and Disorder*, as I shall examine in the next two chapters, but first I should answer the question of what she, as a Dissenter writing to other Dissenters, might mean by her claim to write in an unadorned style even while simultaneously employing classical rhetorical figures. Resolving this seeming conflict requires determining her persuasive purpose and how this purpose influenced her use of classical rhetoric in *Order and Disorder*. In this chapter, I argue that to understand her notion of plain writing readers must consider her purpose of leading her readers to worship God rather than to admire her poetic skill. I also examine the eloquent speeches that characters give within *Order and Disorder.* Through these speeches, Hutchinson implies that, although classical rhetoric can be dangerous in its capacity to elicit emotion and can also be completely unfruitful if the Spirit does not enable faith, the art of persuasion should be used to move the hearts of believers to trust their Maker and his Providence.

The Apostle Paul's Plain Style and Rhetorical Philosophy

The seeming contradiction regarding Hutchinson's plain style is remarkably similar to the tension in New Testament texts on this very subject. The apostle Paul especially shared this same tension with Hutchinson: he claimed to write with plainness yet communicated with classical rhetoric. In 2 Corinthians, Paul insists upon the importance of leading his audience to God's wisdom without obstructing their view with human wisdom:

> And I, brethren, when I came to you, came not with excellency of speech or of wisdom, declaring unto you the testimony of God. For I determined not to know anything among you, save Jesus Christ, and him crucified. And I was with you in weakness, and in fear, and in much trembling. And my speech and my preaching were not with enticing words of man's wisdom, but in demonstration of the Spirit and of power: That your faith should not stand in the wisdom of men, but in the power of God. Howbeit we speak wisdom among them that are perfect: yet not the wisdom of this world, nor of the princes of this world, that come to nought: But we speak the wisdom of God in a mystery, even the hidden wisdom, which God ordained before the world unto our glory. (2:1-7)

Emphasizing his weakness, Paul disavows human wisdom, yet any reader somewhat familiar with Paul's epistles knows that he often employs classical rhetoric. As Duane F. Watson observes, "Paul makes considerable use of metaphor, parallelism, antithesis, chiasm, figures of repetition, anticipation, apostrophe, prosopopoiia, rhetorical questions, and personification" (133). Hutchinson follows Paul in expressing the same paradoxical disdain for classical rhetoric while simultaneously using it. The question then is what Paul meant by

speaking and preaching not in the wisdom of men and what implications this answer has for Hutchinson's poetics.

The first principle that readers must conclude about Paul's notion of rhetoric is that artful human speech alone is unable to induce faith. Michael A. Bullmore argues that Paul rejected using persuasion in such a way that he could attribute his hearers' faith to his words and he could boast in his preaching as an accomplishment (222). Instead of relying upon his own intellectual and rhetorical powers, Paul claims, he attempts to rely on the wisdom and power of God working through him. He seems to differentiate between proclaiming truth and manipulating with language. While other practitioners of rhetoric rely solely upon human wisdom in their persuasion, Paul states that he trusts the power of his message and the Spirit who will apply that message to his audience's hearts. In 1 Corinthians 1, Paul distinguishes between Christian wisdom, exemplified in the humble Christ, and the wisdom of men, touted by Greek and Jewish scholars and rhetoricians:

> For Christ sent me…to preach the gospel: not with wisdom of words, lest the cross of Christ should be made of none effect. For the preaching of the cross is to them that perish foolishness; but unto us which are saved it is the power of God. For it is written, I will destroy the wisdom of the wise, and will bring to nothing the understanding of the prudent. Where is the wise? Where is the scribe? Where is the disputer of this world? Hath not God made foolish the wisdom of this world? For after that in the wisdom of God the world by wisdom knew not God, it pleased God by the foolishness of preaching to save them that believe. For the Jews

> require a sign, and the Greeks seek after wisdom: But we preach Christ crucified, unto the Jews a stumbling block, and unto the Greeks foolishness; But unto them which are called, both Jews and Greeks, Christ the power of God, and the wisdom of God. Because the foolishness of God is wiser than men; and the weakness of God is stronger than men. For ye see your calling, brethren, how that not many wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble, are called: But God hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise; and God hath chosen the weak things of the world to confound the things which are mighty; And base things of the world, and things which are despised, hath God chosen, yea, and things which are not, to bring to nought things that are: That no flesh should glory in his presence. But of him are ye in Christ Jesus, who of God is made unto us wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption: That, according as it is written, He that glorieth, let him glory in the Lord. (1:17-31)

In his redefinition of wisdom, Paul emphasizes that Christian wisdom that does not rely upon worldly wisdom will look foolish to many. Though Paul claims simplicity and weakness, wanting to speak through Christ's wisdom rather than the world's, he does employ classical rhetoric. Even 1 Corinthians 1:17-21 expresses his desire to communicate with Christ's wisdom through antithesis and anaphora. Therefore, Paul must not be implying that Christian wisdom is incommensurable with classical rhetoric. Instead, he seems to be indicating that one cannot rely upon persuasive techniques alone. Later in this chapter, I will show that Hutchinson's rhetorical philosophy also includes this caveat that words along cannot persuade listeners or readers.

Duane Litfin helpfully explains that Paul's ultimate desire is for God to use his words to move hearts. Litfin describes the classical perspective about the

rhetorical situation, which consisted of an audience and the orator's efforts yielding the orator's desired results. The orator's "task was simply to understand [his audience] and to work with what he received" (246). Litfin claims that Paul rejected this notion of persuasion, refusing to take on "the task of inducing belief in his listeners" (247). Instead, Litfin argues, Paul wanted the Holy Spirit to work in his audience's hearts through his message rather than because of his message (247). Paul desired to ensure that the Spirit and the Word were what moved his audience rather than his eloquence.

The next principle about Paul's rhetorical philosophy that is instructive for considering Hutchinson's is his concern to minimize himself. Litfin remarks that Paul shuns "any attempt to make himself look impressive" (212). Instead, Paul's concern is that the Holy Spirit uses his words to persuasively lead people to God rather than to himself. In other words, he seeks to use classical rhetoric to bring attention and honor to God and rejects the desire to earn praise or glory for himself as a great communicator whose words create or obstruct people's faith. Paul's humility yet boldness characterize his ethos in both letters to the Corinthians in which he simultaneously emphasizes both bringing glory to God and acknowledging his own weakness to minister more broadly to them. Auksi explains that "Paul fears or condemns all the cultural gifts that enable the creature to praise himself rather than the Creator" (143). Therefore, his

employment of classical rhetoric is subtle enough that Bullmore can argue that "Paul chose a simple and unaffected style which drew no attention to itself" (225). Hutchinson, like Paul, censures the kind of eloquence that depended upon man's self-conscious display of himself. Instead, both Paul and Hutchinson seek to acknowledge their weaknesses and fully rely upon God's power to do the persuasive work through their faithful communication of his truth. This humility also contrasts with the poetic voice of Lucretius's poem, as I demonstrate in chapter seven.

Hutchinson describes her poetry as plain because she wants to distinguish it from showy poetry that emphasizes the eloquence and skill of the artist. Her anxiety to write plainly echoes Augustine's regret over his love of classical rhetoric before his conversion. He recollects, "[I]n eloquence it was my ambition to shine, all from a damnable vaingloriousness and for the satisfaction of human vanity" (*Confessions* 38). Aware of the dangers of eloquence, Hutchinson deliberately wants to avoid this kind of prideful ostentation. Cicero claimed that the orator who speaks in the grandest style "undoubtedly has the greatest power. This is the man whose brilliance and fluency have caused admiring nations to let eloquence attain the highest power in the state" (*Orator* 377). The attention that this style brings to the orator's (or poet's) artistry is precisely what Hutchinson seeks to avoid. Although Hutchinson employs many rhetorical figures, this

feature of her poetry should not lead readers to believe that her desire to write in plain style is disingenuous. As displayed through her poetry, Hutchinson does not pretend to discard rhetorical tropes and schemes in and of themselves. Rather, commending the kind of poetry that leads people to think of and adore God, she employs classical rhetoric, not to highlight her own ingenuity but, ultimately, to move her readers to adore God. Therefore, Hutchinson's poem is biblical not only in content but also in its end. Like Scripture that elicits praise and teaches while employing rhetorical flourishes, Hutchison's poetry's end is to showcase not the brilliance of its author but the majesty of its subject.

Preaching and Hutchinson's Rhetorical Philosophy

In seeking to draw attention to her subject matter rather than herself, she takes up not only Pauline principles but also a popular approach to preaching of which she was undoubtedly aware.[3] English Dissenters valued the plain style in order to teach accurately and understandably, to "avoid arrogant self-display which attracts attention to manner rather than matter," and to speak "with due awe and seriousness" about their faith (Keeble 240). The seventeenth-century Calvinist clergyman William Perkins admonished pastors to preach in this way. He argued that sermons should be "both simple and clear, tailored to the understanding of the hearers and appropriate for expressing the majesty of the Spirit" (72). Lares explains that the Puritan sermon strove to address "the

common person in terms that could be understood, aiming at the clarity of the message more than its beauty" (9). Hutchinson's desire to write plainly is a hope that, like a Puritan sermon, her poem will highlight its content rather than its author.

Believing that her poetic narrative consists of more than just words to entertain or amuse her readers, she claims, "I would rather breath forth grace cordially than words artificially" (*Order* 5).[4] The *Oxford English Dictionary* clarifies that the seventeenth-century usage of "cordially" means "[h]eartily, with all one's heart, in a way that proceeds from the heart." Hutchinson expresses her desire to write from her heart rather than her head. Instead of the brilliant artfulness of words, she wants to express from her heart the grace she has received. The Calvinistic notion of grace starkly contrasts with human effort; she believes that she did nothing to receive the grace of God, and she likewise wants this unearned favor of God to permeate her own poem and draw her readers to worship him. She appeals through ethos as a virtuous writer who will not deceive or manipulate her audience but will, instead, share with them what she knows to be beneficial for them.

Hutchinson's aim and method is similar to what Augustine prescribed for preaching. He explains that Christians should use classical rhetoric for the

purpose of encouraging virtue in their listeners, rather than causing them to find only pleasure in the oratory itself:

> [L]et us turn this end [pleasure] to another end; for instance, to aim…to make good morals esteemed or evil morals avoided….Thus it is that we use even the ornament of the moderate style not ostentatiously, but wisely, not content with its own purpose, namely, merely to please the audience, but rather striving for this, to help them even thereby to the good toward which our persuasion aims. (*De Doctrina* 165)

Charles Sears Baldwin summarizes this crucial point of Augustine: "To make [charm] an end in itself, [Augustine] is careful to show, is indeed sophistic; but to ignore it is to forget that preaching is a form of the oratory of occasion" (203). Augustine admonishes that the rhetor should not try only to please, entertain, and dazzle the audience because classical rhetoric should be rightly used for more noble, protreptic purposes.

Centuries after Augustine, Perkins articulated similarly that ministers should preach plainly, in the sense of not highlighting their own skill, even though he does believe that the art of rhetoric has value. He admonished preachers that the sermon

> is the testimony of God and the profession of the knowledge of Christ, not of human skill. Furthermore, the hearers ought not to ascribe their faith to the gifts of men, but to the power of God's Word. But this does not mean that pulpits will be marked by a lack of knowledge and education. The minister may, and in fact must, privately make free use of the general arts and of philosophy as well as employ a wide variety of reading while he is preparing his

> sermon. But in public exposition these should be hidden from the congregation, not ostentatiously paraded before them. (71)

Therefore, Perkins saw a definite need for Christian teachers to read and learn from a wide array of sources, but the way he presents that knowledge should never be showy and take attention away from the content to admire the speaker.

This approach strongly contrasts with sprezzatura in that its goal is not to display the rhetor's own artless brilliance. Harry Berger Jr. defines sprezzatura as showy, "the cultivated ability to display artful artlessness, to perform any act or gesture with an insouciant or careless mastery that delivers either or both of two messages: 'Look how artfully I appear to be natural'; 'Look how naturally I appear to be artful'" (9). Sprezzatura is not only showy, but it is also inherently deceitful and a practice of courtiers (11). Perkins's notion of hiding learning achieves the ends of, in a sense, hiding the rhetor rather than skillfully and manipulatively displaying how effortless the rhetor's talent and cleverness seem. Education and art for the courtier enable him to impress others, but they enable plain-style preachers like Perkins to draw attention to their subject matter. The plainness, or hiddenness of the teacher or preacher's knowledge, ensures that the sermon will lead the congregation to the praise of God rather than man. Whereas Augustine is concerned that rhetors not attempt to entertain the audience, Perkins discourages rhetors from relying on their own knowledge and gifts to lead their audience to faith. Perkins displays suspicion of knowledge and

the ostentatious use of classical rhetoric as does Hutchinson because for both of them, eloquent words can lead people astray.

The Dangers of Rhetoric for the Wrong Ends

In *Order and Disorder*, Hutchinson portrays the use of classical rhetoric as potentially perilous. In several instances, eloquent speech moves people to sin or to justify their sin. For example, Lot's daughter persuades her sister to seduce their father by giving her a speech, complete with schemes and tropes. After fleeing from Sodom and Gomorrah, the sisters fear that they will never have families of their own, so one sister devises an incestuous plan. She begins by evoking a simile, comparing them to "wild beasts in this melancholy den" (13.315) in order to convince her sister of their desperate situation. She then calls her the "fairest rose" (13.321), comparing her to a beautiful but unappreciated flower and employs anaphora to continue this point: "Where thy fresh beauty never can be known; / Where thou no fruits of love shalt ever taste" (13.322-23). This flattering sister stirs up the emotion of the other by eloquently insisting that their lives will consist of only misery because they will have neither lovers nor children. The cave they inhabit, she claims in antithesis, is "living…thy house and, dead, thy grave" (13.326). This speech using classical rhetoric effectively persuades the other sister to agree that they should mutually seduce their father. This example in the poem suggests Hutchinson's conviction that classical

rhetoric easily moves unregenerated hearts to sin and is therefore dangerous in the wrong hands and employed in the wrong way.

Not only does classical rhetoric enable Lot's daughter to deceive her sister, but it also empowers Esau to justify his wickedness. Esau poses five consecutive rhetorical questions to move his own heart and excuse his sin. Eloquent speech (even when speaking to himself) allows him to fulfill his sinful desires, taking the wives he wants, even though those marriages violate God's law and his parents' wishes. He asks, for instance, "What should I seek in her that I must wed / But beauty wherewith pleasure may be fed?" (17.487-88). Here, he convinces himself that superficial beauty and his pleasure are the only reasons why he should choose a particular wife. This passage displays the peril of rhetoric that plays to mere pleasure, even when the rhetor and the audience are one and the same. At this point in the narrative, Esau possesses what Scott F. Crider calls "the sophist within, that part of us who arises, especially in haste or anger, to utter sham arguments" (4). Esau leads his own heart to sin through rhetorical questions, showing again Hutchinson's notion that eloquent speech can easily lead an unregenerate heart (or keep it) astray.

Hutchinson's Augustinian Notion of Rhetoric Ordering the Affections

Even though some characters in her poem reveal the potential destructiveness in rhetoric's affective potential, Hutchinson does not denounce all embellished language. She claims in her Preface, "how imperfect soever the hand be that copies it out, Truth loses not its perfection, and the plainest as well as the elegant, the elegant as well as the plain, makeup a harmony in confession and celebration of that all-creating, all-sustaining God, to whom be all honour and glory for ever and ever" (5). Located within this admission that elegance and plainness can complement each other in confession of faith and praise is both chiasmus and alliteration. The chiasmus emphasizes that eloquence and plainness both have value. Two criteria determine the value of either kind of speech: if they confess and celebrate the God who is "all-creating" and "all-sustaining." These schemes of repetition display the very principle that Hutchinson here defends: eloquence does not necessarily detract an audience from the truth and can, in fact, bring glory to God as she seeks to do here. Both unadorned and eloquent forms of oratory have value and can even harmonize with each other as long as they proclaim truth. Thus, *Order and Disorder* addresses two persuasive purposes: both to teach Dissenting readers the truth and to move their hearts to affectively believe that truth. Not incidentally, these

were the two goals of Reformation preaching. Auksi explains that Reformation sermons aimed to teach plainly but also to arouse emotion:

> The theorists of Reformation spiritual discourse – from Luther and Calvin to the instructors of English homilists… - would all subscribe to…clear and intelligible instruction of the mind, above all else, but a strategy cognizant also of the human appetite for variety, stimulation, and moving of the heart. However plain, humble, or hidden, rhetoric offered a crucial inroad into that affective life. (294)

Like pastors whom she respected and undoubtedly heard, Hutchinson wants to achieve what she believes is her readers' good, to teach them and to help them to rightly order their affections. To do so, she employs some tropes and schemes, although not in a way that would detract from those aims.

In her resolution to use artistry to elicit Godward worship from her readers, she resembles Augustine, who asserts that "the man who wishes to speak not only with wisdom but also with eloquence…will do more good if he be able to do both" (*De Doctrina* 51). Augustine had written that the Bible itself expressed truth and wisdom in eloquence, therefore justifying classical rhetoric's appropriation for Christian ends. He argued that in the Bible, "the subject-matter is such that the words in which it is expressed seem not to have been sought out by the writer, but seem to belong naturally to the matter itself, as if, to express a comparison, wisdom came forth from its own dwelling-place, that is, from the heart of the wise man, and eloquence, its inseparable handmaid,

followed, even though uninvited" (55). For Augustine, wisdom is necessarily eloquent. In Hutchinson's theological prose work that highlights important theological principles, she similarly uses the term "hand-maid" to describe what learning is to a Christian, helpful if it is properly employed: "[W]isedome and learning, parts and acquirements, are of use as hand-maids to devotion in a sanctified soule, but in an unsanctified soule they puffe it up and make it con sume in the flames of vaine glory, pride, and arrogance" (*On the Principles* 125). For Hutchinson, one central aspect of education, rhetoric, was dangerous for "unsanctified" souls like Lot's daughters and Esau, but this art can greatly help or enhance the Christian who employs it for the good of her audience; knowledge and art can serve redemptive purposes.

Readers of *Order and Disorder* can better understand Hutchinson's poetics and her ultimate end through the Augustinian lens of using eloquence to elicit Godward affection. Hutchinson was likely familiar with Augustine's *De doctrina Christiana*, at least through secondhand sources because it "was the single most cited text by a human author on both biblical hermeneutics (and thus *inventio*) and eloquence (and thus *elocutio*)" in the seventeenth century, (Lares 14).[5] Augustine believed that Christians should employ classical rhetoric in the service of God. Debora Shuger explains that rhetoric is important for an Augustinian notion of "rightly ordered will and emotions" because "it reaches not only the

intellect but the heart" (132). She also claims that Reformed English thinkers would have had this Augustinian notion of emotion and will (134). Peter Candler similarly emphasizes the Augustinian aim of persuasion: "To persuade, for Augustine, is not to convince one of a theory of right action, but is synonymous with the movement of the will toward its proper object" (58). More than just intellectual or moral edification, Augustine believed that eloquent speech can rearrange human affections. Shuger explains how eloquence in writing or speech effects change:

> [E]motional persuasion aims at the transformation of moral and spiritual life by awakening a rightly ordered love, by redirecting the self from corporeal objects to spiritual ones. But it turns the heart toward spiritual reality by fulfilling, not subverting, man's need for the sensible and corporeal. It gives invisible truth a local habitation and a name through metaphor, symbol, prosopopoeia and all the figures that create drama, vividness, and force—primarily the figures of thought. (138)

Classical rhetorical tropes such as metaphor can function as a vehicle for truth to penetrate the mind and heart. This Augustinian notion of employing eloquence to move hearts is one that Hutchinson shares. She admits that she wants to craft an "affect[ing] and stirr[ing]" (*Order* 4) poem that will draw her readers into worshipping God.

Seemingly subscribing to Augustine's belief in a right appropriation of classical rhetoric, Hutchinson does employ sometimes elaborate rhetorical

techniques in an attempt to persuade her readers to adore God. Augustine explains this reason for the grandness of rhetoric:

> But when God is being praised either for Himself or for His works, what a glory of beautiful and splendid language wells forth for one who can go to the very lengths of praise of Him whom no one fittingly praises, but whom no one fails to praise in one way or another. But if He be not worshipped, or if with Him or even before Him idols be worshipped, either demons or some other creature, the grievousness of this offense, and the exhortation to men to be converted from it, ought certainly be expressed in the grand style. (*De Doctrina* 119, 121)

For Augustine, ornate language is appropriate when praising God, and the most elaborate rhetorical style should be used to admonish people to repent and turn their loves toward the right ends. Likewise, Hutchinson seeks to use persuasive techniques in her poetry to move people's hearts in this way. She states the goal of her poem when she explains that it will succeed if its readers are "affected and stirred up…to admire the glories and excellencies of our great Creator, to fall low before him, in the sense of our own vileness, and to adore his power, his wisdom, and his grace, in all his dealings with the children of men" (*Order* 4). She desires that her poem make her Dissenting readers sense their fallen condition and praise God for his provision and Providence for fallen humanity. To arouse emotion and right affections from her readers, she turns to sometimes elaborate metaphors and other rhetorical embellishments.

Rhetoric Alone Cannot Regenerate Souls

Even though Hutchinson's aim is to move hearts, she echoes Paul's conviction that eloquent speech alone can never generate faith within people without the work of the Holy Spirit. In order for rhetoric to change the audience's affections, she believes that it must be received by willing hearts. She illustrates this principle in Lot's speech to the Sodomites. Though he attempts to dissuade them from their passionate rebellion, it is to no avail. She expresses their resulting action with a simile, likening their violence to a fast-flowing flood:

> [Lot], stepping forth, employed his eloquence
> To turn their thoughts from such a foul offence;
> But they, like a strong flood whose rapid course,
> A little stopped, fathers more violent force,
> Demand the strangers with more instant rage. (13.41-45)

His eloquence does nothing but temporarily contain the mob. Though he attempts to move their hearts, his speech functions merely as a flimsy dam that briefly stalls the inevitable result of ensuing violence. This passage indicates the insufficiency of rhetoric alone; eloquence can be useful but not fully trusted to move the hearts of people who do not have God's Spirit.

Whereas readers do not hear the eloquent but useless speech of Lot, they do receive the text for the ornate but still unpersuasive speech of Enoch. He takes up the grand style in a speech addressed to people acting rebelliously against God. Hutchinson even couches this speech in alliteration. Leading up to

the speech, she alliteratively proclaims that he "Against that wicked world his witness bore" (6.568), and immediately after he finishes, she asserts "Thus he that wicked world warned" (6.609).[6] Enoch's speech similarly contains heavy alliteration, especially at its end, but its anaphoric quality is even more striking than its alliteration. After Enoch gravely claims, with martial imagery to signify God's vengeance, that he "hath set his battles in array" (6.576), he uses anaphora to call sinners to repent. First, he asserts that God attends to every detail; therefore, "No one vile deed, no one vile sinner" will be hidden from him (6.579). Enoch repeats "Nor" three times, denying that anyone, despite great effort, will be able to escape from him (6.584-86). Repetition continues as Enoch emphasizes that God will show justice to every person without exception and then ascribes blame to those who have rebelled against God:

> All wicked deeds shall all apparent be;
> All men his justice shall in judgement see;
> Their godless speeches too, whereby they oft
> Blasphemed his spirit, and his sure threats scoffed,
> His people and his service did deride,
> His Knowledge, Justice, Providence, denied,
> His holy laws as harsh commands did blame;
> Presumptuous invocations of his name;
> Their frequent, false and blasphemous abuse;
> Their careless, light, profane, irreverent use (6.587-96)

Anaphora emphasizes the thorough judgment that God will exact upon the wicked and the personal offensive character of their blasphemy, particularly in their speech-making. They have rejected God's gifts and attributes through their

own sins of speech. In this speech of 33 lines, Enoch employs anaphora in 11 of the lines and then uses alliteration at the ends of successive lines in its conclusion. Sinners, he proclaims, are not "from the least excuse exempt" (6.604), and their sins God's "judgment justif[ies]" (6.605), "Which must extend to all eternity" (6.607). Clearly, Enoch's intention with his speech was to move his audience, but Hutchinson compares his hearers to "rocks" that "were still unmoved" (6.610). This conclusion suggests Hutchinson's conviction that rhetors may virtuously use classical rhetoric, and it may still be completely unpersuasive. Something else must occur in the hearts of listeners. Like Paul, Hutchinson seems to affirm that unless God's Spirit makes change possible, the art of persuasion will not move the audience's affections.

Moving Receptive Listeners toward Virtuous Action

Though rhetoric sometimes effects negative change and sometimes no change at all in the characters within *Order and Disorder*, Hutchinson also attributes great utility and power to classical rhetoric and its potentially positive outcomes. For example, Lot's messenger enlivens his tale to Abram, his rhetoric communicating vivid imagery and urgency for Abram to react. The messenger describes the battle that has ensued in Sodom and Gomorrah and Lot's subsequent capture with several epic similes. He lengthily compares a flood that destroys everything in its path to the proud enemies who destroyed the towns

(11.204-13), and he then compares the Sodomites' retaliation, their marching with shiny weapons, to "bees which from the hive send forth new swarms" (11.255-56). The disastrous result of the bees battling against the flood is gruesome. The messenger constructs the ghastly comparison of acorns to human limbs: "And mangled limbs lay scattered on the ground / Falling as thick from men's redoubled strokes / As riper acorns from the shaken oaks" (11.269-71). As plentiful as acorns fallen from great trees are, the arms and legs of these defeated men litter the ground. With a simile, he likens the Sodomites standing for a time "like firm rocks / Amongst the raging waves" (11.278-79), but soon they flee and become like "faint herds" (11.286).

The messenger then uses anaphora to indicate the various places these soldiers fled:

> Some to their towns, some to their trenches came;
> Hurried with dread, some in the slimepits fall;
> Some in the rocks their wretched lives conceal;
> Some seek the shelter of a well-known cave;
> Some the thick woods and some the steep hills save;
> Some in the reeds, come in the sedge did hide. (11.288-93)

Drawing out the catastrophe of this defeat and the emotion of the defeated soldiers, the messenger employs anaphora, eliciting emotion from Abraham to call him to action. Anaphora also shows these unfortunate soldiers' ultimate fate: "some dying, / Some prisoners, some from fierce pursuers flying" (11.301-02). Again with anaphora, he emphasizes the large area affected by the battle:

"No house nor temple 'scaped the vistor's rage, / No mercy showed to any sex or age" (11.309-10). This gory and graphic depiction of the battle that resulted in Lot's capture serves to communicate his account with intensity so that Abram will quickly come to Lot's rescue.

The messenger's grand story of grisly battle does encourage Abram to retaliate against the Syrians and bring aid to Lot. In fact, Abram interrupts Lot's messenger, cutting his story short, because he is incensed and ready to act. Abram exclaims, "No more let's waste / …time in story which our haste / Will not allow" (11.319-21). Then he "swiftly to this expedition led" (11.324). This narrative appeals to Abram and effectively moves his affections to swiftly act on behalf of Lot. In a similar way, the larger Genesis narrative of *Order and Disorder* employs classical rhetoric in order to appeal to emotions and draw Dissenting readers to action. Precisely what kind of emotion and action Hutchinson's narrative seeks to arouse is evident in another example of one character's persuasive speech to another: Adam's consolation of Eve.

Making Knowledge Affective

Hutchinson affirms the use of grand rhetorical style in accordance with the purpose that Augustine prescribes for it. Supreme eloquence, Augustine explains, serves to move audiences to act upon something about which they have been obstinate. In other words, rhetors should use the grandest style to move

people's hearts to do what they already know to do. The grand style is appropriate in this case because the audience already has the necessary knowledge, but they lack the emotion or desire to put their knowledge into action:

> [I]f the audience needs to be aroused rather than to be informed, in order that they may not be slow in living up to what they already know, and that they may give their assent to what they are convinced is true, greater powers of oratory are required. In such a case, entreaties and reproaches, exhortations and compulsion, and every other means conductive to stirring the heart, are necessary. (*De Doctrina* 47)

This occasion for the grand style applies well to preaching when the audience is already aware of the truth, yet their hearts are not sufficiently moved by it.

For believers who know the truth but do not believe it with their hearts, classical rhetoric can be extremely persuasive, as evidenced through Adam's postlapsarian conversation with Eve as he becomes a kind of preacher to her.[7] Norbrook believes that "Adam's long reply is a palimpsest of [John Hutchinson's] favourite Biblical texts" (Introduction xlvi), but it is more than merely a string of Bible verses; it also employs classical rhetoric as Adam persuades Eve to believe in her heart what she already knows in her head. He begins consoling her after she, in despair, poses seven successive rhetorical questions. Although he initially reminds her of Providence and God working even the results of the Fall for their good, the last half of his monologue sounds

like a grand-style sermon as he employs many different rhetorical devices to remind Eve of the truth, ultimately inspiring her not to despair but to trust God.

First, he admits that their sin is grievous and has indeed separated them from their Creator. He emphasizes their fallen condition with alliteration, antithesis, and simile, agreeing with Eve that sin hides God from their sight. They find their sin everywhere, Adam underscores: “Which wheresoe’er we look, without, within, / Above, beneath, in every place is seen” (5.511-12). Sin envelops them like a “misty night” (5.515), precluding their sure knowledge that “Above the sullen shrouds / God sits, and sees” (5.513-14) all of creation, especially humanity. This passage, packed with alliteration, must be interpreted as Adam’s emotional agreement with Eve that their condition is dire, but he aims to move her affections to trust God who now seems hidden from them.

With metaphor and personification Adam quickly shifts to comfort Eve that God will redeem their bleak reality. Comparing day to a “vacant room” that is filled by ominous “shadows” (5.521), Adam admits that in their postlapsarian reality, good is mixed with bad; however, he then likens night to a pregnant woman: “[God] makes new glory spring from night’s dark womb” (5.522). Even though shadows plague the day, God commands night give birth to light, a visible reminder that he orchestrates all events for the good. Adam proceeds to present various scenarios, some with personification and metaphor, in parallel

structure, emphasizing the constant faithfulness of God to providentially care for the world. For example, Adam compares winds to furious warriors that God controls: “When the black prince of air lets loose the winds, / The furious warriors he in prison binds” (5.523-24). Likewise, cold he personifies as a king that God in his time overthrows: “When cold doth in its rigid season reign, / He melts the snows and thaws the air again;” (5.527-28). All of nature, Adam convinces Eve, reminds humans of God’s continual control over their world and lives.

Transitioning from consolation to what seems most like preaching, Adam proposes various situations and suggests God’s role in them and how humans should respond. Using simile, Adam likens “dangers” that they will endure to “gaping monsters” (5.539), yet he instructs Eve, “Let us despise them” followed by the alliterative phrase “firm in this faith still” (5.541). Even though they will experience fear, Adam stresses to his wife that they should securely trust in God. He then lists different results of the Fall that will threaten them, often repeating “if” in anaphora, but then reassures her of how they should react. For example, Adam combines two metaphors in his encouragement to Eve about what she should do when her feelings trouble her:

> If discord set the inward world on fire,
> With haste let’s to the living spring retire,
> There quench and quiet the disturbed soul,
> There on Love’s sweet refreshing green banks roll (5.549-52)

Comparing internal discord to a fire in the soul, Adam insists that they must treat the fire with water from the "living spring" of God, which will "quench and quiet" that blazing sense of inner disharmony.

Adam also comforts Eve about the way that they might remember Paradise and long for it again, and he does so with similes: "we look back on Paradise, late lost, / Joys vanished like swift dreams, thawed like a frost, / Converting pleasant walks to dirt and mire" (5.555-57). In Adam's own remembrance of Eden, he sadly likens their prelapsarian happiness to dreams that quickly end, and, in contrast, he compares their postlapsarian life to a thawed frost that turns everything to mud. His rhetorical figures sympathetically display his ethos, showing Eve that he too remembers the greatness of life before the Fall and longs for it as she does. Therefore, she will likely be able to believe him when he gives her the follow-up admonishment, which he presents by personifying Mercy. Adam repeats "let us," making his monologue sermonic in style:

> Let us lie close in Mercy's sweet embrace,
> Which when it us ashamed and naked found,
> In the soft arms of melting pity bound,
> Eternal glorious triumphs did prepare,
> Armed us with clothes against the wounding air,
> By expiating sacrifices taught
> How new life shall by death to light be brought. (5.562-68)

Adam calls his wife to remember the way they felt when God lovingly showed them mercy, even while explaining the consequences of their sin. He also refers Eve to the typological meaning of their animal skin clothing that God made for them: God requires a sacrifice for sin but will provide it and then paradoxically bring life from death. This new clothing, a prefiguring of Christ's righteousness, Adam describes as military protection. The fallen world might "wound" them, but ultimately, they rest securely in their shadowy knowledge that God will provide redemption for them.

Adam continues to comfort Eve in martial language that in the midst of the warring creation, the good will eventually conquer evil:

> All things in fighting posture be:
> Yet in the promise we a prospect have
> Of Victory swallowing up the empty grave;
> Our foes all vanquished, Death itself lies dead, (5.570-73)

Personifying Death, Hutchinson alludes to 1 Corinthians 15:54: "So when this corruptible shall have put on incorruption, and this mortal shall have put on immortality, then shall be brought to pass the saying that is written, Death is swallowed up in victory." Theirs will be a grand military victory, Adam proclaims.

Adam also calls Eve to consider the biblical notion of this fallen life as comparable to the pains of childbirth. In times to come, Adam confidently asserts, they will "hug the birth that issues from these throes" (5.580). He

compares their resurrected lives to come as children that result from the hard labor of life in a fallen world. Adam's oratory then comes to a climax as he presents encouragement through antithesis: "When fear chills thee, my hope shall make thee warm, / When I grow faint, thou shalt my courage arm" (5.590-91). This speech of 80 lines is replete with examples of classical rhetoric employed for the good of the listener, in this case, Eve. This speech is an addition to the biblical text; Genesis never describes the comfort and consolation Adam gives to Eve, but at its end Hutchinson reveals that she inserts it to serve as a sermon to herself as well as Eve and, implicitly, Hutchinson's Dissenting readers.

Preaching to the Rhetor

Hutchinson herself identifies with the mourning Eve, and in addition to putting classical rhetoric in Adam's mouth to comfort Eve, through writing the poem, she reminds herself of God's promises in an attempt to move her own heart. After Adam assures Eve of many good attributes of God and his Providence, Hutchinson's narrator follows this speech with her own (what seems like Hutchinson's biographical) insertion: "Ah! Can I this in Adam's person say, / While fruitless tears melt my poor life away?" (5.599-600). As Norbrook observes, "This is the closest the narrator has come to revealing a personal dimension, and in breaking the poem's frame it reminds us that Adam's voice is

her own creation" ("John Milton, Lucy Hutchinson" 60). She knows that she has put words into Adam's mouth, and she feels disingenuous because, like Eve, Hutchinson also struggles to trust her God's Providence. Comparing tears to heat that melts away life, she proclaims that she knows in her head that her tears are futile, yet she needs to trust God's Providence with her heart.

When Hutchinson composed *Order and Disorder*, she was likely in the midst of mourning over her late regicide husband whom she apparently adored and coping with the failure of the Good Old Cause for which they fought. Norbrook points out that the only date on the manuscript is 1664 (Introduction xvi), yet she may have finished *Order and Disorder* in the 1670s; the first five books were not printed until 1679 (x-xi). Her husband was imprisoned in 1663 and died in 1664; therefore, it is likely that she refers here to her own struggle with Providence in not only political circumstances but in the very personal tragedy of her beloved husband's death. As the author becomes part of the audience, she continues to use classical rhetoric to persuade herself.

Through Adam, she begins prescribing what truth she should believe and what actions she should take. She personifies "anguish," asserting that it can "live, reign, and increase" (5.612) if a person feeds it with a discontented verbal expression. However, anguish "grows faint / And wastes its strength" (5.613-14) "when the soul is not in it" (5.613) and when it is "not nourished with

complaint" (5.614). Hutchinson believes that she can help kill her anguish by not complaining. In contrast to personified anguish, she then personifies contentment as "Submissive, humble, happy, sweet" (5.615). Contentment can kill complaining and the stubborn will that causes it. With paradoxes, she explains this concept of life coming from death. If a person kills grief and grumbling with contentment, she silences the tortures of her soul and "A thousand deaths by one death doth prevent" (5.616). This death of "our rebellious wills, subdued thereby / Into th'eternal will and wisdom" (5.617-18) allows the mourner to trust God and his Providence. Out of this death, Hutchinson continually reminds herself, comes a new and better life. Paradoxically, the narrator asserts that this experience of killing discontentment within oneself and letting go of anguish is "sweet in that which we most bitter call" (5.620).

Hutchinson continues preaching to herself by using metaphors to search her heart for idolatry, letting God's blessings become overly important to her.[8] She reminds herself that God's gifts should lead people to worship the Giver and not the gifts themselves, which can become "fetters, yokes, and poisons" (5.628) if they themselves obtain human devotion. Paradoxically, these blessings that should be "good to us" (5.627) can become "The ruin of our souls' most firm healths" (5.630). These gifts Hutchinson likens to food that fills the soul's "life-

maintaining appetite" (5.631) so that it is no longer hungry for "substantial fruit our sound delight" (5.632), by which she means God himself. Hutchinson's implication is that God's good provision (such as a husband and children) can become binding and destructive to the soul if people begin to seek and enjoy them in place of God. In *Memoirs*, Hutchinson acknowledges the possibility that she might have loved her husband idolatrously: "If…I did not look so far beyond the creature as I ought, delighting more than I ought to have done in the mirror that reflected the Creator's excellence, which I should have always admired in its own fountain, I desire not to pursue that sin" (17). She believes that her husband may have been an "adored idol…taken from" her (16). Continually concerned with avoiding idolatry, she seeks to remind herself of the truth she knows that she should have the most affection for God rather than pine for one of God's gifts. Avoiding idolatry is also another way of stating her rhetorical purpose in wanting to encourage her readers to learn about the divine through her poetic narrative rather than idolatrously admiring her as its author.

She then attempts to explain to herself how God works through suffering in the lives of Christians. Comparing losses, what she claims are wrongly labeled "evils" (5.633), to "wholesome medicines tending to our cure" (5.634), Hutchinson reminds herself that God's removal of an idol in her life actually helps instead of hurts her. Paradoxically, what injures her most is what her soul

needs for healing. Remembering that what the Christian gives up for Christ is only momentary and small in the greater scheme of eternal reality, she employs metaphors to encourage herself:

> Besides, what we can lose are gliding streams,
> Light airy shadows, unsubstantial dreams,
> Wherein we no propriety could have
> But that which our own cheating fancy gave. (5.645-48)

Here, the idols people lose have the potential to become a kind of metaphor for the goodness of God, but Hutchinson emphasizes that Christians must realize that all their gifts are but metaphors. When rightly enjoyed, for Hutchinson, all gifts from God must display aspects of him to people. She distrusts the depravity of her own "cheating fancy," which, in this case, exaggerates worldly suffering. Wanting to remind herself that God owns everything, even the gifts he gives, she admonishes herself that she should not cling too tightly to anything but God. Everything that she possesses in this life is only transient.

Hutchinson then looks to elemental metaphors to distinguish between different kinds of sorrow. The best kind involves grieving in repentance over sin. Depicting God metonymically as "Love" (5.660), Hutchinson compares the experience of coming to him in contrition paradoxically as both a refining fire and spring showers. Love does his inward work, purging the dross and then refreshing the soul, producing tears of repentance that bring new life.[9] She then juxtaposes two different kinds of wind that can exist in the soul. Love eliminates

the "murmuring winds of passions" (5.663) that result in discontentment and enable "the life-breathing spirit's sweet fresh gale" to enter and thrive. In this kind of repentant sorrow, driving out the storm of unhappiness, Love ushers in the new breeze of the Holy Spirit (5.664). Hutchinson then introduces a contrast, likening "worldly sorrow" to "rough winter's storms" (5.667). Instead of refreshment, these winds bring utter destruction and prefigure Hell itself: "All graces kills, all loveliness deforms, / Augments the evils of our present state / And doth eternal woes anticipate" (5.668-70). Making this distinction helps Hutchinson to grieve in the right way, over her lack of trust in God instead of the loss of God's gifts that she could have loved too much.

Toward the end of her sermon to herself, Hutchinson revisits the notion of God guiding the world's every motion in an orderly fashion, "Not casual…like shafts at random shot" (5.677).[10] With this simile, she reminds herself of God's Providence, utterly antithetical to random arrows flying (and to the world of *De rerum natura*), that is easy for her to forget in the midst of her loss. In *On the Principles of Christian Religion*, Hutchinson articulates the truth about Providence that she knows intellectually, but in *Order and Disorder*, she seeks to make these truths change her emotions:

> God not only made the world out of nothing, but by his providence, both ordinary and extraordinary, governs and guides all the natures that he hath made, and all the actions and motions of his creatures, so that nothing is left to hazard, or contingency, or

> accident, but all is conducted by the providence of God to those just and holy ends he hath appointed, with an unsearchable wisedome and goodnesse, which wee are to believe and relie on in all things, though our narrow understandings cannot penetrate into his mysterious paths till the day of the revelation of the righteous judgment of God, when wee shall see a most beautifull order in all those things which now appeare so confused to our dimme sight. (28)

Adam's consolation and the narrator's digression both serve as rhetorical means of making these intellectual truths a matter of heart-felt belief, trust, and affection.

Hutchinson finishes canto five with another reminder to herself as well as her readers of their comfort in God himself. She emphasizes that the storm of worldly sorrow can distort people's view of God and their world, so she likens "God's grace" to a "crystal mirror" (5.693) that enables them to see rightly. The narrator proclaims that when God gives them grace to see, people recognize that Heaven is a "more glorious palace" than fallen creation (5.695). Then, paradoxically, they can "Rejoice in that which lately was our loss, / And see a crown made up of every cross" (5.697-98). The grace of God, she claims, leads her to view her suffering with a providential perspective. In her last admonishment to herself she employs a simile of birds going to their home to encourage herself to come back to trust in God and to sense his love: "Return, return, my soul, to thy true rest, / As young benighted birds unto their nest; / There hide thyself under the wings of Love" (5.699-700).[11] Love, a caring bird,

will cover her soul if it seeks rest in God, and God will ultimately redeem all sorrow, just as "the bright morning all…clouds remove" (5.702).[12] Confident that God will eradicate the clouds of her grief, Hutchinson finishes her discourse to herself and her readers in canto five. Ultimately, Adam's sermon to Eve and her sermon to herself preach God's goodness and wisdom to both the author and to her Dissenting readers, to stir up appropriate affection for God's Providence and to elicit trust in his plan.

Hutchinson gives her readers clues about her rhetorical philosophy in the speeches her characters make, and these speeches teach us about her larger narrative. Classical rhetoric is powerful to stir up feelings and therefore move the will of its hearers, as shown in speeches of Esau and Lot's daughters. This employment of persuasive techniques to move an audience away from virtue and towards mere pleasure, of course, is antithetical to Hutchinson's poem. Further, as the examples of Lot and Enoch show, persuasive techniques might move hardened hearts toward sin, but they alone are not enough to regenerate hearts, which confirms Hutchinson's concern, like the apostle Paul, that she not depend on merely the words of her poem to do the work of the divine.

Rhetoric can effectively serve positive purposes, however. The speech of Lot's messenger is in one sense rhetorically similar to Hutchinson's poem: as a speech depicting a narrative, its persuasive techniques effect change in its

listener, in this case Abram. Hutchinson's poetic version of the Genesis account likewise recounts a story with rhetorical flourish in order to effect change for her readers' good. Similarly, the ultimate purpose of *Order and Disorder* is what readers receive in miniature in Adam's preaching to Eve. The poem's aim is to lead Dissenting readers and even its author to learn about and worshipfully trust God. The poem suggests the potentiality of persuasion, for good or bad, to change not only its audience but also the rhetor. While the rhetoric of Esau's speech justifies his rebellious choices, the rhetoric of Hutchinson's poem works to encourage her to depend upon her God and his Providence, even in the midst of difficulties and suffering. Hutchinson elevates classical rhetoric, showing its power when directed toward what she sees as the right end. Understanding the rhetorical purpose of the poem enables readers to begin to make sense of Hutchinson's plain style and the seeming contradiction between her poetic claims and practices. "Plainness" has everything to do with her persuasive purpose, which guides her rhetorical style, leading her to favor tropes over schemes but using both to move her readers for their good rather than mere entertainment. This purpose also begins to set forth the distinction she will make between her poem and *De rerum natura*.

CHAPTER THREE

The Plain Style and Hutchinson's Usage of Tropes

In Hutchinson's lifetime, almost everyone advocated for writing and speaking with a plain style, although to different ends. The early forms of what would become Enlightenment assumptions about language and reason led many who advocated for religious conformity to believe that precise language and clearly defined words would lead to truth. Dissenters, however, advocated for writing and teaching in plain language in order to lucidly present their faith, avoid manipulation, and reject ostentation. Because of the diverse goals of the plain style, the exact definition of that term can be difficult to determine. N.H. Keeble points out that various groups described "plain" differently: "A great variety of styles may shelter beneath" this term (246). "And, when we deal with a movement as individualistic as nonconformity," he adds, "that variety will be particularly pronounced" (246). Kenneth J.E. Graham similarly notes that scholars disagree about defining the "plain style" precisely because there was no seventeenth-century consensus of what exactly constituted it (1). Such ambiguity clearly has consequences for understanding Hutchinson's "plain" rhetorical appeal. Hutchinson rhetorically aimed in *Order and Disorder* to move her readers' affections to adore God and to trust his Providence. But, in the specific

appropriations of classical rhetoric in her epic poem, what exactly is her variety of plain style?

David Norbrook makes some observations about Hutchinson's rhetoric. He notes, for instance, that she combines "biblical and classical conventions, though the latter are mainly confined to the occasional extended simile" and also that "the style often moves from high prophetic passion to a plain, meditative note" ("Milton, Hutchinson" 39). Although he points out that Hutchinson displays a range of rhetorical grandeur, Norbrook arguably downplays her reliance upon classical poetic conventions and does not thoroughly explain the Biblicism that produces her particular rhetorical style. The previous chapter addressed the final cause of *Order and Disorder*, and the next two chapters examine carefully the poem's formal cause or its rhetorical style, particularly the ways in which that style derives from biblical texts. The most prominent characteristic of Hutchinson's poetic style that I address in this chapter is her frequent usage of various tropes, "which [involve] a change or transference of meaning, and [work] on the conceptual level" (Vickers 315). Although she occasionally employs schemes that involve word order or repetition, which I address in the next chapter, she favors using tropes that establish meaning. An important layer of Hutchinson's Biblicism is that tropes in *Order and Disorder* function towards many of the same ends as biblical tropes that Paul in particular

favors, in both pedagogical communication and persuasion: Hutchinson's tropes inform and persuade readers by illustrating suprasensible concepts, encouraging evaluation, promoting their moral transformation, and creating networks of new meaning.

Various Definitions of "Plain"

Cicero's definition of "plain" style includes tropes, especially metaphors, which he finds particularly valuable. Cicero classifies the plain style as synonymous with "ordinary usage," a style that excludes "all noticeable ornament" (*Orator* 363). The plain style may use metaphor "because it is of the commonest occurrence in the language of townsman and rustic alike" (367), but the plain style "in metaphor will be modest…and somewhat subdued in using the other embellishments of language and of thought" (365). Therefore, according to Cicero, the plain style is not completely inconsonant with rhetorical embellishments but does require that these flourishes be subtle and meaningful. Metaphor is appropriate in the plain style, Cicero claims, when it makes "the meaning clear" rather than existing "for entertainment" (367).[1] S. Michael Halloran and Merrill D. Whitburn note that both Cicero and Aristotle believed that "a well-turned metaphor or simile can teach us something by making us see a relation we had not recognized. Figures of speech are ornaments, but not in the sense of detachable overlay. Ornamentation is the working out at the surface of

discourse a principle or order inherent in the substance" (62-63). In this way, Hutchinson's tropes ornament her poem, allowing, for example, the Genesis narrative to make various connections to other biblical texts and for Hutchinson to expound upon the meaning of Calvinistic doctrine within her poem. Although some passages probably contain too many tropes to be considered plain by Cicero's definition of "ordinary usage," the overarching style of *Order and Disorder* communicates a poetic narrative with subtle but frequent tropes, especially metaphor, that meaningfully and subtly keep with the Ciceronian notion of the plain style.

Even though *Order and Disorder* would mostly accord with a classical conception of the plain style, Hutchinson's tropes would disqualify the poem from some early-modern scientific notions of a plain style. Although Hutchinson claims to write without fancy, *Order and Disorder* revealingly presents many tropes that would not be plain enough to suit post-Restoration Anglicans. Keeble helpfully describes their outcries to Dissenters to make themselves more clear: "Conformists present themselves as the guardians of lucidity and perspicuity against the extravagant excesses of the nonconformists' metaphorical and figurative indulgence, imprecise and obscurely evocative phraseology, and wild flights of fancy" (242). Keeble records a shift in the persons advocating for communicating in the plain style during the Restoration. Prior to it, Dissenters

vouched for speaking plainly, and in the 1660s and 1670s when Hutchinson was likely writing, Anglicans criticized the Dissenters for not speaking plainly enough (244-45). Anglicans attacked not the simple syntax or humble intent but the Dissenters' "analogical method which distinguished their style" (249). Debora Shuger similarly notes that ironically, during Elizabeth and James's rule, Puritans accused High Churchmen of not communicating plainly, and after the Civil War, Anglicans accused Dissenters of the same (3). By the Restoration, Non-conformist "plain style" consisted of the simplicity of syntax but not the rejection of metaphor; by contrast, royalists privileged the simplicity of syntax as well as the rejection of metaphor.

Thomas Hobbes forthrightly expresses his disdain for metaphors in *Leviathan*, listing them as one of the "abuses" of speech, believing it wrong to use words "in other sense than that they were ordained for; and thereby deceive others" (34). Indeed, he lists "metaphors, tropes, and other rhetorical figures" as "[c]auses of absurdity" (43-44) because he believes that this kind of language cannot be used for "the seeking of truth" (44). Tropes allow authors to present truth by crafting analogous connections, but, desiring truth to be more concrete than that revealed by comparison, Hobbes and other early-modern rationalists believed that these connections had insufficient definitions and that the tropes were so vague that their meaning was undermined.

Dissenters arguably did not intend to deceive others by their analogical style, however, and they explicitly aimed to seek and communicate transcendent truth. Increasingly, those rationalists who highly valued the potential of science wanted Dissenters to express their doctrines without imagery or what they perceived as nonsensical analogies, but Dissenters rejected the early Enlightenment rationalists' desire to eliminate metaphor because that desire "was founded upon an inadequate conception of people as purely [calculative] rational creatures, of nature as legalistically predictable and of God as a distant moral benevolence" (Keeble 253). Ryan Stark describes the development of scientific plainness in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, arguing that Enlightenment beliefs replaced "the fundamental Christian intuition that language is connected to the Word at the beginning of the world" (5). He further notes that "tropes have a spiritual dimension" in the Renaissance, but after the Reformation, "word and tropes become only cold instruments, mere ornaments, trapping the human voice in the bric-a-brac of the material world" (5). Dissenters like Hutchinson put less faith in the ability of reason to understand the knowledge of God and instead acknowledged the mystery inherent in spiritual realities. Helen Constance White expresses a common assertion about seventeenth-century Christians: Because of their love of order, "As a rule the seventeenth century was not fond of mystery, in the realm of its religious ideas at

any rate" (206); however, Hutchinson defies this characterization. She does love order (Aside from the explicit content of her narrative, she continually admonishes herself and her readers to order their affections); however, she also finds spiritual mysteries beautiful and worshipful. Because God and his truths cannot be thoroughly mastered and comprehended, for Dissenters like Hutchinson, they must communicate their mystery through comparison. In contrast to scientific plainness, Hutchinson affirms the capability of tropes to convey rich networks of meaning and evoke understanding of various aspects of biblical texts, creation, and spiritual realities. Hutchinson's plain but analogous style aims to teach doctrine (or several doctrines simultaneously) as well as elicit Dissenting readers' wholehearted trust in their mysterious Creator who has made the world with a myriad of signifiers.

The Bible and Tropes

Many scholars have pointed out that biblical texts frequently explain concepts through comparisons, and Hutchinson's style can perhaps be best understood as employing tropes in ways that New Testament writers often do. Keeble explains that "the readiest source of…analogies was the Bible" (251), and Peter Auksi confirms, "The most common figure in all of Scripture…is metaphor" (253). The Bible is replete with tropes from which its students could learn and model their own writing and teaching; therefore, the best model for

Hutchinson's plain style is neither Cicero nor Enlightenment plain stylists but the way that many biblical writers employed tropes. In her commonplace book, she notes 1 Peter 2:7: "Unto you therefore which believe he is precious: but unto them which be disobedient, the stone which the builders disallowed, the same is made the head of the corner." She points out the metaphor that Christ is the cornerstone in this passage by observing, "The Scripture sets Christ forth to us by various metaphors here of a stone."[2] Shortly afterward, she records Matthew 13, a chapter full of Jesus's parables, both for people who react differently to the gospel and also for descriptions of the kingdom of heaven ("Religious"). Noting this passage full of parables, Hutchinson suggests that she finds merit and perhaps a model to emulate in the way that Jesus teaches through tropes. Jesus's parables indeed conveyed his message obscurely, but he suggests in Matthew 13 that they enabled his intended audience to have understanding while leaving his critics baffled. Hutchinson would have interpreted Christ's statement, "Who hath ears to hear, let him hear" (Matthew 13:9), as a principle of election. Those whom God chooses will gain some new knowledge of the truth from the mysterious teaching whereas parables perplex and frustrate the reprobate whose hardened hearts preclude their understanding. Hutchinson employs tropes to convey meaning because in doing so she imitates many New Testament texts and even Christ himself.

Hutchinson, like other Dissenters such as Robert Cawdray, justifies metaphors because of their frequent use in the Bible. In Cawdray's *A Treasurie or Storehouse of Similes: Both Pleasant, Delightfull, and Profitable, for all Estate of Men in General* (1600), he reasons that Christ taught using parables, and he claims that parables "are a kind of Similes" as a justification for his project. Cawdray also describes the other biblical uses of tropes in defense of this book on similes. Explaining that biblical prophets knew both God and nature, he claims that their tropes result from drawing relational connections from this knowledge:

> [Prophets] beautifie their matter, and (as it were) bravely garnish and decke out their termes, words, and sentences, with tropes, and figurative phrases, Metaphors, Translations, Parables, Comparisons, Collations, Examples, Shemes [sic], and other ornaments of speech, giving thereby unto their matter, a certaine kind of lively gesture, and so consequently, attiring it with light, perspicuity, easinesse, estimation, and dignitie, stirring up thereby mens drowsie minds, and awaking slouthfull, negligent, carelesse, sluggish and retchlesse people, to the consideration and acknowledgement of the truth; and to the following and imbracing of virtue and godlinesse.

Cawdray argues that Christians should make use of similes, metaphors, and other tropes based on the fact that both Christ and the prophets employed them to teach their audiences about divine truth and lead them to virtuous action.

Similarly, Hutchinson insists on the freedom to use rhetorical conventions because she aligns herself with rhetorical practices that she finds in biblical texts. She justifies writing poetry by reminding readers that "a great part of the

Scripture was originally written in verse" (*Order* 5). Hutchinson also explicitly likens the art of her poem to the art of biblical rhetoric: "we are commanded to exercise our spiritual mirth in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs; which if I have weakly composed, yet 'tis a consenting testimony with the whole Church, to the mighty and glorious truths of God…in this atheistical age" (5). Explaining her rhetorical purpose, she sees her poem as a form fit for worship like a hymn or song of praise. What she has "weakly composed" is a poem that paraphrases an Old Testament narrative but flavors it with tropes that New Testament texts often employ.

Of course, Hutchinson was a student of the Bible. She favored studying the Psalms as well as Paul's epistles, especially Romans. The Psalms and poetic adaptations of them were important to her, as evidenced by her transcription of five of Thomas Carew's poetic Psalm translations in her commonplace book. Romans also exerted great influence on Hutchinson. While imprisoned, her husband read and took notes on Romans weekly, and he also continually read forty-eight psalms (*Memoirs* 328).[3] Paul's biblical texts, such as Romans, are replete with the analogical or providential style that Hutchinson seems to imitate: "Paul's mental action employs metaphor almost continuously. This figure helps him to make the immaterial palpable and the sublime mystery colloquial" (Auksi 135). I argue that this Pauline metaphorical style is what

Hutchinson attempted to emulate in order to illustrate the way that God providentially orchestrates all of creation. In his epistle to the Romans, Paul asserts, "For the invisible things of him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even his eternal power and Godhead" (1:20). According to Paul, humans can understand spiritual realities by analogy as they consider creation. Similarly, Hutchinson's tropes communicate invisible spiritual principles through what people can sense.

Importantly, understanding Hutchinson's analogical style as Pauline contrasts with Jonathan Goldberg's suggestion that Hutchinson appropriates Lucretius's idea of image in the fourth book of *De rerum natura*, "to show us that we can believe in the materiality of what we cannot see on the basis of what we can" (159). Granted, Hutchinson's poem teaches readers to deduce a larger spiritual reality from a small event or object, and Lucretius's poem asserts truth on the basis of deducing the smaller reality from the larger. While Lucretius and Hutchinson do both use sensible realities to point to realities beyond human sight, scholars should recognize that Hutchinson likely draws this principle from biblical texts as well as Lucretius's poem.

Teaching Suprasensible Concepts and Moving Readers to Praise

Like biblical texts, Hutchinson employs various tropes to teach readers suprasensible concepts. This purpose is significantly the most common reason

for metaphors in the Bible, according to Peter W. Macky who calls this type of trope "the prototypical kind of metaphor" (58). He claims that in order to teach, biblical writers most often use metaphors in occasions "in which the subject cannot be described literally in adequate detail to solve the hearer's puzzle" (253). In order to better explain concepts outside the realm of the five senses, biblical writers compared spiritual, "mysterious (normally non-physical)," realities to well-known objects or experiences (58-9). These spiritual matters include "human inner states and processes; social states and processes; the supernatural realm; and the interaction between the supernatural realm and the human realm" (59). Macky cites Psalm 18:2 as an example, in which familiar and physical realities make spiritual mysteries more accessible: "The Lord is my rock and my fortress" (59). In a way similar to the Bible's employment of metaphors, Hutchinson's tropes in *Order and Disorder* illustrate such spiritual matters as total depravity, God's mercy and its effects on believers, and freedom. Serving a pedagogical purpose, tropes helpfully illuminate these abstract or theological notions that humans cannot examine with their senses. As C.S. Lewis argues, "all speech about supersensibles is, and must be, metaphorical in the highest degree" (97). Similarly, Shuger explains, "sacred rhetoric…treats the specific characteristics of style (e.g., schemes and tropes) not as formal decorations of meaning but as the appropriate expression of the psyche in its attempt to

apprehend and articulate transcendence" (194). Biblical texts often employ metaphors because so much of their content is outside the realm of the human senses, and Hutchinson's tropes also serve this function.

Perhaps not surprisingly the suprasensible concept that Hutchinson uses tropes most often to explain is sin and the doctrine of total depravity. Sin becomes a "burning" and "thirst[ing]" that Flood waters did not quench (8.317). Readers expect water to satisfy both burning and thirsting as it does in their experience, but God's Flood of judgment does not do away with sin completely. It is still lodged within human beings because of original sin. To illustrate the persistence and dangers of sin in the poem, this description evokes the normal human yearnings for water to alleviate both thirst and damaging fires. Many of Hutchinson's metaphors provide readers with physical realities to indicate a fuller picture of sin than what they might intuit with their senses.

Contemporary readers might expect Hutchinson to illustrate sin, but what might surprise them is the epideictic purpose behind these illustrations. For example, in the poem's depiction of Adam and Eve after the Fall, Hutchinson teaches readers about a suprasensible and benevolent attribute of God: mercy. Mercy is a "gentler fire" than that of wrath (4.347). Fire evokes the imagery of Hell, but Hutchinson calls readers to compare this fire of wrath and destruction to the gentle, purifying fire of mercy. The poem explains that people who

recognize their sin and yet experience God's pardon undergo a change in their souls, like the refinement of "precious ore" (4.349). Because of the refining fire of mercy, "Foul sinners once again illustrious grow" (4.352). Dissenting readers who do not understand or fully appreciate the experience of mercy would surely know the concept of a refiner's fire, itself a biblical simile from Malachi 2. Hutchinson's emphasis on fire at the point of the narrative in which Adam and Eve expect to die as a result of their sin demonstrates that this merciful fire spares sinners from their destruction in a far worse fire. Hutchinson compares the sanctification of Christians to the crafting of a valuable or beautiful object and shows that mercy does away with the terrifying, destructive fire. In its place is a fire that, though painful, is ultimately good and beneficial to those being purified, a message that she herself and other Dissenters coping with the disappointment and perhaps suffering as a result of the Restoration.

Dilations of the narrative with tropes like this one allow Hutchinson to read other biblical principles into the events following Adam and Eve's fall. The passage makes clear that Christ provides a "furnace" of mercy to allow the soul's "softening" (4.353) and refinement.[4] Additionally, Christ mercifully provides the "blood" to bathe sinners (4.354). This metaphor speaks to the human need for continual cleansing, showing the necessity of Christ's sacrifice for humankind. Combining these two biblical purification metaphors emphasizes the work of

God on sinful humanity's behalf and the benefit of his mercy for individual sinners and Hutchinson's Dissenting readers, cleansing and shaping them at great cost to his Son. This emphasis of the benefits of Christ's mercy for readers gives them reasons to praise the God who sacrificed on their behalf, and the occurrence of this dilation after Adam and Eve's fall shows the greatness of God's mercy in the face of inexcusable disobedience. Further, Hutchinson argues that people love mercy more when they recognize the alternative from which they have been saved. Therefore, she likens this experience of mercy and grace to tasting "pleasant" food (4.359). Hutchinson strives to give her Dissenting readers a sense of their own depravity to highlight God's mercy in pardoning them. Ordinary and sensory experiences of refining metal, bathing, and eating make suprasensible experiences of God's mercy, grace, love, and Providence almost tangible and, therefore, praiseworthy.

Evaluative Tropes

Often, Hutchinson's tropes that illustrate suprasensible concepts also work as "evaluative metaphors," using symbols "about which the hearers can be assumed to have made evaluations" (Macky 246). Evaluative metaphors are common in the Bible. Paul for instance cautions in Philippians 3:2 to "Beware of dogs," a metaphor that helped his original audience to evaluate the Judaizers. Also, an example of a positive evaluative metaphor occurs in Matthew 7:24 as

Jesus teaches that the person who obeys his words is like "a wise man, which built his house upon a rock" (246). *Order and Disorder* relies upon evaluative metaphors to help readers draw the appropriate lesson and respond properly to the events and subjects of the narrative. For instance, when Noah's son, Canaan, uncovers his nakedness, Hutchinson inserts a metaphor that compares people's corruption, especially in families, to spreading decay, assigning the blame to Canaan for his action but even more so to Noah who cursed him too harshly afterward. She compares the situation to cutting off the rotten limbs of his body when they were rotten all along because of the head (9.237-39). The metaphor adds to the biblical assertion of Canaan's guilt by displaying also the guilt of his father. Ultimately, she implies, Noah is at fault, both for parenting his children in such a way that Canaan would sin against him and for punishing him too severely. This metaphor certainly gives readers a repulsive image of sin and the hideous ways it can multiply in families. When readers consider a rotting head causing its arms to decay and then those arms being severed from the body, especially as used to describe a family, they likely recoil at such a horrific image. Such a reaction is appropriate because Hutchinson aims to portray the disgusting way that the family, an aspect of God's originally good creation, can become utterly tainted, as family members sin against each other. Hutchinson frequently

evokes this kind of comparison that will lead readers to evaluation, particularly in her many descriptions of sin and the Fall.

Persuading Readers to Avoid Sin

Beginning with the Fall, tropes punctuate Hutchinson's narrative in order to teach readers about the suprasensible notion of sin, often through evaluative comparisons, ultimately to dissuade them from it. Beginning in the temptation scene, Hutchinson assigns blame to and illustrates the predatory nature of Satan as she metaphorically paints Eve as a prey "caught in the foul hunter's net" (4.203). However, Eve is also culpable because Satan's "infectious counsel" (4.206) spreads within her as "unbelief" (4.205). This passage teaches about the definition of sin (unbelief) and its origin as from Satan: metaphor portrays Eve as a pitiable victim who has become infected with a kind of illness, leading readers to place the blame for the Fall on Satan and feel some empathy for Eve. Eve's unbelief and Adam's "sin" (4.238) open the door for death, which Hutchinson, in an evaluative metaphor, portrays as an intruder to show that such a horrible reality was never meant for paradise and God's perfectly created world.

Other evaluative metaphors illustrate the evils of sin and postlapsarian realities. The results of the Fall are disastrous for Adam, Eve, and their progeny. Hutchinson compares these new feelings of "Dread, guilt, remorse in the benighted soul" (4.233) to "raging billows" (4.234). What once was peaceful and

serene within them is now “disordered” (4.237). The storm metaphor evokes chaos and the ubiquitous potential for danger. In an early foreshadowing of the Fall, Hutchinson employs the biblical evaluative comparison that fallen people are “poor worms” whom the angels must humble themselves to serve (1.282).[5] Also, a consequence of the Fall is that postlapsarian labor can be hard and even vermin-like, “infest[ing]” the “weary lives of mortal men” (3.535-36). Further, the comparison of the now short life of humans to a “declining spark” (5.192) underscores the new reality of death. By choosing these negative and tangible images of wild storms, infestation, and a dying fire with which to compare postlapsarian human life, all of these metaphors persuade readers to make evaluations about what Hutchinson believes are the horrors of sin and the results of rebellion against God.

Hutchinson incorporates many tropes into the narration of Cain murdering Abel in order to explain sin to her Dissenting readers and to help them to evaluate and avoid it. For example, a simile comes from God himself in the narrative, giving a warning to Cain and presenting to him a binary of his choices. With anaphora and antithesis, God asks Cain, “If thou dost well, shall not regard be had / To thy good deeds…?” (6.112-13). However, God continues, “If thou dost ill, the guilt of thy offence / As a tormentor at thy door shall wait / And ever shall perplex thy future state” (6.114-16). In Genesis, God simply tells

Cain, "If thou doest well, shalt thou not be accepted? and if thou doest not well, sin lieth at the door. And unto thee shall be his desire, and thou shalt rule over him" (Genesis 4:7). Hutchinson inserts the simile into the narrative; in her poem, God compares guilt over sin to someone perpetually harassing and annoying the sinner, an unpleasant tangible experience. Assisting readers to appreciate Cain's emotional and spiritual turmoil during his temptation and surrender to his wrathful thoughts, this simile employs a physical experience to convey the suprasensible concept of Cain's interior struggle.

Evaluative metaphors teach by illustrating the various sources of sin, including wrath and despair. Hutchinson explains the nature of sinful wrath by likening this emotion in Cain to a contagious disease, like Eve's infectious unbelief, that only spreads and grows (6.123-24). She then compares it to fire that water does not extinguish but only worsens: "as a forge more violently burns / By casting water on, his sick mind turns / All cures to poison…" (6.125-27).[6] Even Abel's mild personality, the "cures," only increases Cain's hatred for him. Cain's wrath is dangerous to himself and to those around him like a fatal disease that diminishes the health of its host and will spread to other hosts upon contact; it is threateningly hazardous like an advancing fire that consumes everything in its path and cannot be extinguished. Also, the personification of "furious despair" (6.132) reveals Cain's emotions to have taken control of him as it tramples Cain's

"piety and fraternal love" (6.134). Despair, wrath, and ultimately unbelief lead Cain to murder his innocent brother. The tropes in this passage clearly illustrate the danger of sin, eliciting awe and even fear from readers who consider the dangerous potential of spreading fire and disease.

Hutchinson's description of Cain's sin continues as she explains the result of Cain's murder with the poem's first epic simile, anaphora, and a hyperbolic paradox.[7] The blessings now forbidden to Cain are underscored with repeated "No more" three times (6.257, 259, 261). Then Hutchinson crafts an extended maritime simile of almost 30 lines, likening Cain after his murder to a lightweight ship tossed by a storm and showing the devastation that results from the natural emotional consequences of sin. After he slays his brother, Cain experiences "Horror like thunder" (6.267), and his emotions of "Remorse, rage, spite" (6.268) beat against and weaken him like rocks beating the bottom of a ship in shallow water. The emotions he has as a result of his sin utterly torment and destroy him. He, like his parents after their fall, has "Affrights like whirlwinds" (6.269) and becomes "Swallowed at last in quicksands of despair" (6.270). These emotions that result from his murder overtake him to such an extent that he cannot escape through a distraction or even sleep. They become an interior sea that drowns him because he "Carr[ies] his torturer in his guilty breast" (6.294). Cain's is the picture of a dire and hopeless situation, and his

emotional turmoil and suffering depict the devastating consequences of sin. When people forsake God, Hutchinson emphasizes with repetition, they separate "From light, from life, from rest…" (6.296). Not only do they leave what is good, but they also enter into what is bad, while Hell paradoxically becomes part of them: "Hell enters them, and they abide in it" (6.306).[8] The human who rebels against God, the poem argues, both enters into Hell and also has Hell enter into him. Even though Cain undergoes this terrible transformation, his conscience still attempts to correct him, chasing him like spinning "whirligigs" (6.321). Such images enable Dissenting readers to envision Cain's interior torture and also what sin could do to them.

Illustrations of sin do not, of course, end with Cain but progress even further to depict all of humanity's rebellion against God, causing him to send the Flood of judgment. The sinfulness of pre-Flood humanity becomes an opportunity for Hutchinson to describe sin at length, lead Dissenting readers to evaluate it, and read a New Testament passage onto the Genesis narrative. Many tropes in this dilation illustrate Romans 1, what happens when "God…gave them up" (Romans 1:24). She compares the soul to a house: "When God forsakes the house defiled by sin, / All the whole crew of ugly fiends throng in" (7.97-98). These villains leave stains, sins, in the human soul that are "Unable of being cleansed" (7.100). Because Hutchinson's notion of the downward spiraling effect

of sin is difficult for readers to appreciate, this metaphor of an abandoned house filled with marauders helps them to see the dangers of this possibility. The imagery communicates invasion, destruction, and contamination by malevolent outside forces, discouraging her readers from believing that hedonistic living could ever be beneficial. Two epic similes then illustrate what happens when God's Spirit leaves unrepentant people such as these: like the spirit leaving the body at death and also like light fleeing after the sun sets (7.105-14). These comparisons emphasize what for Hutchinson are the dire consequences of hardened hearts excluding God. Without his Spirit, sinners become cold and dark like nighttime, and they become ugly, stiff, and putrid like a corpse. Here, Hutchinson uses similes to help her Dissenting readers grasp what she believes to be the terrible results of sin, both the broad condition and also the specific experiences of it, so that they view it rightly and choose virtue instead.

Addressing a suprasensible concept related to sin, Hutchinson employs comparisons to emphasize a false notion of freedom in order to imply what true freedom is. Rebellious humanity before the Flood had a faulty definition of freedom, the poem explains, digressing to persuade readers to embrace a more biblical understanding of it. The concept of freedom with which Hutchinson disagrees results from hardened and unrepentant humans before the Flood disregarding their consciences, their "guardian gone" (7.118), which alliteratively

emphasizes that this false freedom is characterized by absence. A simile further elucidates this notion of freedom: People whom God forsakes because of their rebellion against him are "As madmen who their friendly chains had broke" (7.123). People who are mentally deranged, the poem implies, need to be gently restrained, both for their own and others' safety. When they break free from those helpful and humane restraints, they experience a certain kind of freedom but to others' and their own detriment. Similarly, consciences restrain people; breaking this control results in only destructive consequences. A metaphor then illustrates the restraint that is humans' God-given conscience, which keeps them from experiencing harm. It is a "safe yoke / Which was a curb to their licentious will" (7.124-25). In this passage, a simile and metaphor illuminate the deceitful condition of these people, implying that they have a licentious and dangerous notion of freedom. These comparisons also depict the conscience as comforting and helpful, which prevents sinners from hurting themselves or others. Readers may not have frequent exposure to people who have mental illnesses, but this comparison certainly makes the concept of freedom more palpable. The image of madness extends an emotional appeal in what might otherwise be a dry argument of definition; the trope of madness evokes the sense of chaos and disarray, which, of course, is one of the main themes of the poem: Sin disorders the world, but God reorders it. This picture of chaos illuminates the picture of

rebellious humanity before the Flood, giving God a justification for his judgment and showing that the people are already destroying themselves and each other. Also, comparing confused lunatics to licentious free people communicates very concretely the dangers inherent in this notion of freedom.[9] These evaluative tropes enable Hutchinson to encourage her readers' judgment of certain, especially negative, suprasensible concepts, allowing her to both describe as well as denounce certain behavior in the narrative that she sees as dangerous for her readers.

Transformative Tropes

In addition to illustrating suprasensible concepts and leading readers to evaluate them, another way that Hutchinson follows the rhetorical strategies of biblical texts is through transformative tropes. In explaining and suggesting evaluation, many of her tropes seem oriented toward the moral transformation of readers, but some do so more explicitly than others. According to Macky, transformative tropes in Scripture combine the purposes of teaching and eliciting emotion. These metaphors "provide insight, arouse emotions, and call hearers to a new way of life" (259). He cites the example in which Jesus simultaneously explains the condition of sin, elicits emotion, and calls readers to action: "Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest. Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me; for I am meek and lowly in heart: and ye

shall find rest unto your souls. For my yoke is easy, and my burden is light" (Matthew 11:28). Hutchinson does indeed employ metaphors in the attempt to call readers to a new way of life. For example, she employs tropes to give Dissenting readers hope in the face of death. Even though Hutchinson martially personifies beauty as a loser in a war against grief and woe, which overcome it in the Fall (4.241-42), she does depict that beauty as living in successive children who alleviate the pain of grief and death. When describing Adam and Eve's first marriage, Hutchinson praises the good that comes from marriage generally. She personifies a "mother's grace" as "youthful" (3.449), but when it "Lies dead and buried in her wrinkled face" (3.451), her daughters keep it alive in their own faces, perhaps a biographical encouragement to herself as she ages. Children force parents to acknowledge the reality of their own aging and death but also, in a sense, their resurrection. Comparing life to a flaming fire, she explains that the mother's "dead cinder in their new flames glows" (3.452). This image of a flame shows the hopefulness that children bring to their parents. Adults notice themselves aging and losing their beauty, but they also observe their children obtaining life from them and maturing with the beautiful characteristics of their parents. Therefore, beauty does not merely die but is resurrected continuously, as new children are born. In her description of Adam and Eve's marriage, Hutchinson freely discusses the realities of the Fall such as death and the

dissolution of beauty, but this trope indicates a way that children give a small image of resurrection, linking the earthly hope of continued beauty to the eternal promise of a glorified body. As these tropes help illuminate a concept and arouse emotions about it, they work to transform Dissenting readers into hopeful people who meditate upon the realities of resurrection.

Another much later example of transformative tropes also seeks to shape readers' perspectives regarding beauty and its temporality. In Hutchinson's dilation of Sarah's death, she establishes that people should not justify themselves based upon their outward beauty, issuing a strong caution against boasting: "O boast not, fair ones, in the grace you have" (15.321). Two metaphors follow this admonition: the comparison of life to a fading flower (15.321-35)[10] and then the comparison of virtue to a sun: "But virtue is a sun that ne'er declines: / This still preserves our memories alive, / This glory human frailty doth survive" (15.336-38). With this juxtaposition of metaphors, Hutchinson emphasizes the transience of human life yet the constancy of virtue, and anaphora in the two lines following these metaphors confirm the priority of virtue over fading beauty. This passage associates the emotional topics of death and loss with the quickly diminishing beauty of flowers to persuade readers that they will indeed lose their outward beauty. In contrast, Hutchinson admonishes readers to instead be like the sun that always shines and never fades like flowers.

This strong image of light and constancy is arguably oriented specifically toward Dissenting women readers, suggesting that, although their beauty although their beauty is sadly fleeting, they still can leave behind something beautiful and that virtue's memory will endure for many generations after they die. This passage concrete and vivid example of the attempt to do what several of Hutchinson's tropes seek to do: to emphasize the goodness and reliability of God, the human need for him, and the importance of obeying divine commands.

Creating New Meanings

Hutchinson's tropes model biblical metaphor in the sense that they illuminate suprasensible concepts, encourage evaluation, and seek to transform the reader, often by teaching and eliciting emotion; one final way that tropes in *Order and Disorder* draw upon biblical models is in the way that they connect various concepts to create clusters of new meaning. Macky claims that biblical metaphors are often "dual-direction" tropes (62-3), offering the biblical example of 1 John 4:8: "God is love." He argues that in such passages, both words affect the meaning conveyed instead of one word clarifying the other; in this case, love helps people to understand the nature of the divine, but the metaphor also elevates the notion of love. In other words, God and love become connected. Janet Martin Soskice takes this concept of metaphor even further, explaining her "incremental theory" that describes "metaphor as a unique cognitive vehicle

enabling one to say things that can be said in no other way" (24). Arguing that this trope can construct an entirely new concept, she explains, "the combination of parts in a metaphor can produce new and unique agents of meaning" (31). Soskice argues that the trope of metaphor contains rich significance:

> The purpose of [a] metaphor is both to cast up and organize a network of associations. A good metaphor may not simply be an oblique reference to a predetermined subject but a new vision, the birth of a new understanding, a new referential access. A strong metaphor compels new possibilities of vision. (56-58)

Shuger also argues that metaphor is used in a similar way in biblical texts: "sacramental discourse creates a dense brevity because it employs a single trope or image to point to multiple spiritual senses" (168). She continues, "Instead of expanding horizontally through a discursive sequence of words, biblical prose weaves metaphor, type, extended personification, and symbol to create a vertical movement from signifier to multiple levels of signification" (168). In Hutchinson's poem, tropes similarly often tie together concepts to produce a unique signification.

For example, familial metaphors convey the cause and effect of certain sins in combination with each other. Hutchinson compares vice to a baby and idleness to its nurse to underscore the importance of industry (12.228). She also metaphorically presents pride and idleness as the parents of lust (16.65-6). These familial metaphors allow her to attach various vices to one another and attribute

to them a causal relationship. A baby's nurse nourishes him and enables him to grow; in the same way, sin generally grows stronger when a person has nothing productive with which to occupy his time. This nurse, idleness, conceives with pride their own baby of vice: lust. This metaphor effectively gives a new vision of how particular sins are generated by outlining the combination of factors that produce and nurture them, and it does so in a surprising way. In *Order and Disorder*, the family is usually a glorious gift of God, but when once vice affectionately accompanies another, the result is far from good.

Since all tropes, by definition, turn the meanings of words, other tropes can function in a similar way as Soskice's notion of metaphor that produces a new vision. Various tropes in *Order and Disorder* attribute new significations to concepts, creating clusters of meaningful connections. For instance, personification in the poem indicates the mutual suffering that creation experiences along with mankind. In the fall, the skies become "troubled" (4.311) as "the world's bright eyes" are hidden by "bloody veils" (4.312), and earth "yawn[s]" to "open all her graves" (4.316) to bury the dead. "Hell's fiery jaws…distend" to "[v]omit" lava from volcanoes, destroying much of the earth's vegetation and beauty (4.318-19). The ways that Hutchinson attributes human characteristics to the larger natural world links them together, emphasizing their postlapsarian mutual calamity. Not only are humans vomiting from sickness

and their eyes dimmed by sin, but non-human nature also imitates this suffering. Personification emphasizes their mutual suffering, displaying the similitude between humans and non-human creation.

Syllepsis[11] is another trope that works to create a new vision during the explanation of the significance of the Fall for women. Evoking two different definitions of "fruit," Hutchinson explains the effect of Eve's sin: "Eve sinned in fruit forbid, and God requires / Her penance in the fruit of her desires" (5.129-30). Because of the literal fruit that Eve took from the tree of knowledge in Eden, the fruit, or outcome, is that her desires will be continually frustrated in her postlapsarian relationships. The relationships with her spouse and children will cause her the most pain. Admitting the difficulty of the biblical call for wifely submission, Hutchinson confesses that the role of women in marriage potentially becomes "shackles" that women themselves "choose" (5.138), particularly if their husbands do not wisely love them.

Hutchinson then returns to the word "fruit" to suggest another painful outcome of Eve's sinful eating: child-birth and child-rearing. Although women "covet fruit" (5.147), pregnancy brings "pain" (5.149), and childbirth when the fruit has "ripened" brings "tortures" (5.150). Like the pain in marriage, the fruit of children brings different kinds of agony; these natural desires of women for spouses and children leave them sorrowful in the postlapsarian world.

Hutchinson evokes the imagery of breast-feeding to illustrate the continual pain mothers experience as their children grow and develop. A new mother experiences "broken rest" (5.157) as she continually provides milk to her infant, but even when those streams dry up as the mother weans her baby, new "streams" appear for her, this time of tears "from her eyes" (5.160) instead of milk from her breasts. While "Labouring to raise up virtue" (5.162) in their sinful children, parents weep in frustration, and Hutchinson compares the experience of child-rearing to "monsters" and "unnatural vipers" (5.165) that eat "their passage through their parent's womb" (5.166), renewing the experience of childbirth. This graphic imagery relates the gruesomeness and excruciating pain that accompanies both childbirth and, at times, the trials of child-rearing. As the mother of eight children, Hutchinson certainly knew the challenges and pain that accompany motherhood. Other metaphors in the poem for postlapsarian motherhood are tasting "the curse" and carrying a "heavy load" (5.178-79). The use of the word "taste" (5.178) implies an acute action that becomes internalized; to ingest a curse pronounces the experience of it as bitter and disgusting. The heavy load metaphor is one that still rings true in current usage to imply emotional weightiness and strain that people experience in difficult situations. Syllepsis alongside metaphor in this passage links the fruit eaten in woman's first disobedience to the consequences of her sin: the fruit of her desires, which will

cause her pain and her literal fruit, or offspring, who also will frequently hurt and try her. These tropes provide helpful connections and illustrate the ways in which Eve's sin brings about her sorrow, the fruit that will complicate and bring hardship into her own fruit. Hutchinson employs these tropes to warn all Dissenting readers (but seems to appeal to female readers in particular) of what the consequences of their own sin might be to motivate them toward virtue.

Another example of tropes conveying a new vision with multiple layers of meaning occurs in the passage depicting rebellious pre-Flood humanity. Here metonymy[12] allows Hutchinson to point towards and connect two signifieds. When God gives up rebellious humanity, their crimes become exacerbated to the point of destruction, and metonymy coupled with simile makes this point. She compares the sea to death and cumulative crime to "the salt floods" (7.202) that increase with the rising tide. As the tide rises, swelling sin promises impending death. "Salt floods" here associate two different concepts with each other. The term "salt floods" immediately signifies ocean, but this phrase also subtly references the coming Flood of judgment in this canto. She compares the ocean's tide coming in at the day's end to increasing sin that manifests in a world or people that God has forsaken. At sunset, the ocean tide comes in and beasts emerge, both threatening people.[13] Similarly, when God stops intervening between rebellious people and their sin, darkness and danger enter into their

worlds through a greater degree of insurgence and eventual destruction. Here, Hutchinson's metonymy for ocean, itself representative of increasing sin and therefore danger, connects in the reader's mind to the Flood of judgment, and sin and judgment should conjoin because the former causes the latter.

Hutchinson's poetic style is replete with metaphors and other tropes that Enlightenment rationalists might reject as overly ornate or ambiguous. However, Biblicist Dissenters who acknowledged the Bible's method of employing rhetorical techniques would see her style as acceptably plain because her tropes function in many of the same ways as biblical, especially Pauline, tropes: they teach and persuade through elucidating suprasensible concepts, encouraging evaluation, promoting the transformation of the reader, and creating networks of new meaning. Some tropes specifically work to transform the reader, but every trope indirectly works to this end: Hutchinson aims to teach about virtue, assure readers of Providence, and elicit praise of the divine. Unlike Hobbes and other early-modern rationalists, Hutchinson never gives up tropes within her plain style because she believes that humans can learn about spiritual realities through physical ones. Although her usage of comparisons to point to truth is similar to Lucretius's method of observing the physical to make conclusions about what is beyond sight, Hutchinson's tropes have a different end. Tropes allow her to provide some insight into mysterious spiritual realities,

especially as they relate to the human condition, and they also enable her deliberative and epideictic passages to be more persuasive than mere commandments. Notably, Hutchinson chooses not to employ tropes to illuminate the mysteries of God himself (which is central to the contrast of her poem and *De rerum natura*); she is careful to leave some mystery unexplained and enigmatic. Rather, her focus is elucidating the mysterious realities that have direct relevance for human response and virtue. Hutchinson's style is plain in similar ways that biblical rhetoric is plain, but every trope serves a purpose beyond mere adornment. Tropes allow Hutchinson to express her narrative with greater complexity, sometimes teaching multiple lessons in a single line, for the purpose of strengthening the Dissenting reader's trust in Providence and pursuit of virtue.

CHAPTER FOUR

Hutchinson's Plain Style and Schemes in *Order and Disorder*

Though Hutchinson's poetic style is largely characterized by the frequent employment of tropes, she also crafts a variety of schemes. Often, they accompany those tropes, but occasionally they exist outside of them. In contrast to a trope that involves a turn in meaning, a scheme "involves the placing or disposition of words into a structure which is natural yet goes beyond the normal or minimum needs of communication" (Vickers 315). Schemes alter word order, syntax, letters, and sounds. The plainness of Hutchinson's style could be called into question not only by the way her rhetoric constructs new meanings with her tropes but also the way in which her syntax deviates from the patterns of normal speech. Cicero denounces schemes in his description of the plain style. The plain stylist "must avoid…clauses of equal length, with similar endings, or identical cadences, and the studied charm produced by the change of a letter" (*Orator* 367, 369). Given Cicero's concerns and Hutchinson's training in classical rhetoric, schemes in *Order and Disorder* might at first seem incongruous with Hutchinson's purpose because variances in syntax can easily call attention to the writer's wit.

Scholars have only begun to address the topic of Hutchinson's style. Among the few who have discussed her style, David Norbrook points out that the poem "has somewhat more 'elevations of style' than she claims in the preface" (Introduction xxvi). However, beyond pointing out that Hutchinson is "fond of anaphora" (Introduction xxix), Norbrook does not detail what those elevations in style might involve. As a result, a more complete analysis of Hutchinson's poetic style remains to be done, specifically in explaining how she construes plainness as incorporating the use of schemes. This chapter investigates the rhetorical purpose of schemes in Hutchinson's poem, and I continue to argue that, although they deviate from the plainness of normal speech patterns, they do not exist to draw attention to her artistry. I contend that Hutchinson's deployment of schemes draws specifically on the style of the Psalms and Pauline epistles. I then analyze passages from *Order and Disorder* in which schemes are pervasive and contend that schemes often reveal the character of their subject, emphasizing without dissecting certain mysterious theological concepts and conveying the weightiness of stark postlapsarian realities.

Sophistic Schemes

First, an important distinction must be made: Hutchinson's schemes are not in the style of what Debora Shuger calls the "sophist." Shuger's definition of

sophistry is connected "with aesthetic pleasure (delectatio), playfulness, and the desire for praise" (121). "The sophist," she explains, "uses a highly wrought style to impress audiences with his own artistic virtuosity" (121); therefore, this kind of speaking or writing is characterized by "[p]layfulness, conspicuous artifice, elaborate periodic or schematic balance" (129). Although Hutchinson's poetry does use numerous schemes of repetition and others that complicate its syntax, I argue that its style is in keeping with her ultimate end because these schemes serve a function beyond entertaining readers and drawing attention to her ingenuity. Shuger notes the different end that showy, "sophistic," rhetoric serves: "As soon as the audience notices how well something is said, it assumes a position of critical detachment. The delight in language for its own sake thus produces a playful, distanced appreciation at odds with the commitment and unselfconscious absorption of strong emotion" (122). Hutchinson's end is not to produce appreciation for her artistry but rather to elicit readers' emotional and intellectual commitment to Providence. Shuger explains that language that calls attention to itself "undercuts the possibility of emotional involvement" (139). If Hutchinson's rhetorical figures did nothing but highlight her brilliance, her style would be incompatible with her ultimate end. Jamela Lares explains that "[i]n Puritan circles, St. Paul's words were taken to mean that the 'plain' presentation of the gospel should not be…distorted by pretty but meaningless

ornamentation" (64). Similarly, Hutchinson's schemes do not make up mere embellishment; their usage is derived from the style of biblical texts such as Paul's epistles, and they exist to contribute, in particular ways, to the various emphases of the narrative.

Biblical Schemes

Hutchinson's fondness of Bible study, particularly the Psalms and Pauline epistles, affects her poetry not just in the way her words signify meaning but also in the placement of those words. In *Classical Rhetoric in English Poetry*, Brian Vickers lists several examples of schemes from classical rhetoric used in biblical texts including anadiplosis, anaphora, antimetabole, epanalepsis, epistrophe, and polyptoton (125-46), and Hutchinson employs most of these schemes repeatedly in *Order and Disorder*. The Apostle Paul in particular uses antithesis, which Peter Auksi adds, is "[t]he key rhetorical device acknowledged by imitators of Pauline rhetoric" (132).[1] This rhetorical technique allows Hutchinson to display the nature of a concept, object, or creature by showing its contrary. Like Paul, Hutchinson favors binaries: "Everywhere Paul thinks in terms of two realities, two people, two worlds, or two concepts of religions" (132). Duane Litfin similarly concludes that "Paul portrays…a basic two-sidedness of things, a fundamental dualism, not of ontology but of viewpoint" (175-76). Such binaries are obvious in Hutchinson's narration of Genesis. Both for Paul and Hutchinson,

"Antithesis condenses thought, provides surprise and paradox, clarifies sense through a defining opposite, sets up master ideas containing quickly identifiable subordinate ones, and generates clusters of associative concepts" (Auksi 132). As just one example of a purposeful and helpful scheme, antithesis sets up central themes in the poem and leads readers to praise Providence, goodness, and virtue by recognizing their opposites. Hutchinson locates these binaries in a variety of places, from the cosmos as a whole to the particular struggles of Christians, and she usually expresses them using the rhetorical scheme of antithesis.

Biblical Schemes in the Poem

As the title of her poem suggests, the poem narrates creation moving from order to disorder after the Fall. In one description of animals within creation, polyptoton[2] and antithesis show that humanity's rebellion against God changed the world for all created beings: "…man's sin destroyed / The lovely concord of the universe / And discord sins did everywhere disperse" (7.276-78). The action of sin reverses the nature of the cosmos: "concord" to "discord," unity to conflict. Polyptoton complements antithesis in displaying the dramatic change from one state to the other, all caused by the entrance of sin into the world. This binary points to one of the poem's main themes and the fundamental Christian narrative that the world and its people, once good, have lost that first goodness

but long to regain it. Other binaries result from this initial change in the world as the state of disorder creates two warring factions.

One result of disorder, the binary that becomes a central theme of the poem, is the separation of characters within the narrative into the chosen and the reprobate, and descriptions of these characters often employ antithesis to show their differences. The entrance of sin into the world inaugurates a battle between the wheat and the tares, God's chosen and those who persecute them. The poem describes "[t]wo sovereign champions" (5.85) and "[t]wo empires" (5.87) with each "erecting their own walls" (5.89). Hutchinson also describes women specifically with a binary, separating virtuous beauties such as Rachel from proud wantons such as Esau's wives. Describing Rachel's virtue, Hutchinson specifies the sin that is not part of her character. Rachel's hair is "Chaste Love's strong band, not lust's alluring snare" (19.299-300). Antithesis highlights the character of the fallen world, which contains both virtue endowed with beauty and sin that grotesquely mocks it. Here, antithesis heightens the distinctiveness of Rachel's virtue. Similarly, an important binary exists between the Holy State founded by Seth, cemented by love, and the world, ruled by hate and founded by Cain (6.419-22). These two types of people are opposed to one another in both action and motivation.

Another example of antithesis emphasizing opposition occurs in the narration of Isaac's blessing. When he mistakenly blesses Jacob instead of Esau the firstborn, the poem echoes Paul in Romans: these brothers who would become enemy nations represent the elect and the chosen. Toward these brothers, God

> in their birth, without a reason shown,
> To make his boundless will and free grace known,
> Declared love to the one, to th'other hate;
> Well pleased in this, makes that a reprobate; (18.79-82)

This example of antithesis comes directly from Romans 9:13: "As it is written, Jacob have I loved, but Esau have I hated." Antithesis highlights the distinct difference between the two: one chosen and one reprobate. They will be the fathers of two disparate nations; one will be God's, while the other will be enemies of God's people. Hutchinson exclaims, "The people born of them shall be as far / From concord as the light and darkness are" (17.129-30). Paul himself had assigned the symbols of light and darkness to Christians and non-Christians in 1 Corinthians 6:14.[3]

Additionally, antithesis in the poem illustrates Paul's concern in Romans with the flesh and the spirit battling. In the poetic account of God announcing his wrath and initiating the Flood of judgment, a binary contrasts the flesh, or humans' rebellious nature, with the spirit, the third person of the Trinity that indwells Christians. With polyptoton, Hutchinson employs different versions of

"flesh," communicating both sin and also mortal life. Further, anaphora[4] emphasizes the weakness of mankind as God in the poem contrasts the flesh with the Spirit:

> For they are flesh, exalting fleshly will,
> Which sets itself against my Spirit still;
> For they are flesh: not Cain's lewd sons alone,
> But my sons too; they all are fleshly grown,
> And all flesh now shall in destruction end,
> My spirit shall no more with flesh contend. (7.85-90)

In this passage, flesh, humans' sinful nature, is pitted against spirit, specifically the Holy Spirit. Clearly, what dominates this people is the word that dominates this passage: "flesh." Those who are ruled by their flesh instead of by the Spirit are the reprobate, but the line of God's chosen have also become dominated by the flesh. In this flesh and spirit binary, Hutchinson alludes to Paul's antithetical treatment of these concepts in his epistles: "This I say then, Walk in the Spirit, and ye shall not fulfil the lust of the flesh. For the flesh lusteth against the Spirit, and the Spirit against the flesh: and these are contrary the one to the other: so that ye cannot do the things that ye would" (Galatians 5:16-17).[5] Christians struggle between acting according to their old nature of sin and their new nature guided by the Holy Spirit. Hutchinson alludes to this struggle in her description of rebellious humanity before the Flood and shows that the dominance of the flesh means the absence of God's Spirit. What must happen to those who wish to live for God is, she paradoxically claims, death, the end of "flesh" in the sense of

human life. Noah's ark becomes a moral lesson to this end: "Thus the best way to draw out living breath / Is willing resignation unto death" (7.393-94).[6] Antithesis here reveals the character of repentance, highlighting that the death of willful disobedience leads to life in the Holy Spirit, a principle communicated with antithesis throughout Romans 8.

From cosmic to internal binaries, Hutchinson imitates biblical rhetoric, especially with antithesis. The influence of biblical style suggests that Hutchinson's rhetoric could be considered plain in one sense: Although it deviates from the syntax of regular speech, its patterns often seem to derive from the Bible. Therefore, her speech would likely qualify as "plain" for a Dissenter sermon. Readers can sense Hutchinson's commitment to the Bible as an imitator of Pauline rhetoric not only in the type of schemes she uses but also in the ways that she uses them.

Memorably Affirming without Dissecting Doctrine

One way that schemes function in the poem is to affirm doctrine without attempting to fully explain its mystery. For example, in an early account of the triune nature of God, Hutchinson employs various rhetorical schemes of repetition to enliven this crucial theological tenet of the Christian faith and to make it memorable to her readers. Mary Carruthers explains that in monastic meditation, ornaments served to enhance the memory (84). Hutchinson's

schemes here make remembering the doctrines of the Trinity easier than a dry theological summary would. Also, schemes reveal some aspects of the character of the triune God without diminishing his mystery.

Deviating from rhyming only in couplets, she emphasizes with rhyming assonance the harmony that exists within God's attributes to lead into her discussion of the happy accord between God's three persons: "Whatever can himself or us delight, / Unite, centring in his perfection" (1.80-1). Highlighting the joyful unity that is an attribute of God, she then transitions to her discussion of his triune nature that enjoys the same jubilant harmony. Ellipsis[7] also emphasizes the unity of the three persons: "Whose nature can admit but only one:" (1.82). Omitting the word "God" after "one" strongly calls attention to the unity of God, similar to the effect of the rhyming assonance in the previous two lines. The rest of the depiction of the Trinity is replete with schemes of repetition. She alliteratively describes God as a "sovereign sacred unity" (1.85) who is "Pure, perfect," (1.104) and "Distinguished, not divided" (1.87). The "Father first" (1.98) begins the Trinity, followed by the "Son, substantial Word / And Wisdom" (1.99-100). In describing the mutual ownership of each person to the other, she uses assonance in her assertion that "Each doth himself and all the rest possess / In undisturbed joy and blessedness" (1.93-94). Also, anaphora as well as alliteration underscore the important theological concept that "All

coeternal, all coequal, are" (1.96). In this passage, many of these schemes reveal the united and harmonious character of the Trinity.

Furthermore, this rhetorically embellished passage interestingly contains many schemes and no tropes. Staying away from deciphering the mystery of the Trinity or elaborating upon the meaning of the theological terms, Hutchinson chooses instead to enable some memorable understanding of the doctrine, emphasizing the truth she believes about the Godhead, without presuming to offer a complete or a reductive account of it. Augustine mentions the Trinity as an example of a concept that demanded "subdued language" in order to "make a matter difficult of distinction understood" (*De Doctrina* 119). Hutchinson avoids elaborate descriptions with tropes in order to express simple faith in this mysterious doctrine without attempting to completely unravel it. In fact, she closes her description of heavenly beings in the poem with a cautious assertion:

> But leave we looking through the veil, nor pry
> Too long on things wrapped up in mystery,
> Reserved to be our wonder at that time
> When we shall up to their high mountain climb. (1.291-95)[8]

As the Bible often asserts without explaining theological mysteries, Hutchinson's schemes serve to teach and emphasize certain aspects of this doctrine of God, such as the unity of the three persons, as well as the distinctness of each person.

Hutchinson employs a similar strategy in illuminating the place where the Trinity's full presence dwells; various schemes describe the nature of Heaven

without tropes. The most obvious way she draws attention to the doctrines she knows about Heaven is through anaphora, repeating "Here" seven times to explain it as a place of divinity, holiness, majesty, and final victory. This spiritual place is the ultimate and glorious destination for Christians; with alliteration, she underscores, "Here their rich recompense and safe rest lies" (1.207). Paradox also emphasizes the mysterious nature of the place where "Feasts…extinguish not the appetite" (1.191). Further, alliteration and assonance evoke an ease and pleasantness in the place where "soul and sense with full joys feast" (1.190); desire "is renewed to heighten the delight" (1.192); and the "Deity…here doth dwell" (1.210). Schemes here depict the harmonious form that exists in Heaven. Instead of adding her own extra-biblical and imaginative explanations of the characteristics of Heaven, these schemes confidently assert the doctrine of this spiritual place and emphasize its harmonious bliss.

Revealing the Character of Postlapsarian Realities

Not only do schemes in *Order and Disorder* work to memorably underscore aspects of mysterious doctrines but also perhaps the most frequent function of schemes is to vivify austere postlapsarian realities. For example, in the temptation scene in which Eve first sins, Satan as a snake approaches with alliterative hissing: "Ah, simple wretch, you shall not surely die" (4.198). Because Eve listens to Satan, the narrator explains that, instead of happiness and

joy, “Sickness and sorrow [come] in their stead” (4.230). The alliterative hissing reminds readers of Satan’s temptation and its utterly detrimental result for humanity. Alliteration enables the reader to imagine hearing Satan speak as a deceitful serpent. Repeating this sound in the next canto, God pronounces judgment on Adam and Eve emphasizing that the work they will do and nature itself “Accursed for thy sake and sins shall be” (5.186). The way that Hutchinson links these sounds together connects the temptation of the serpent with its inevitable result of utter hardship and brokenness.

Also, Adam and Eve attempt to cover the postlapsarian guilt and grief they feel, devising leaves paradoxically to “hide themselves from their own weeping eyes” (4.250). Their shame is so great that they cannot bear to look upon themselves, and this shame contrasts with their unfallen state as Hutchinson underscores how far they have fallen with anaphora and alliteration:

> Their members were all naked, all uncrowned,
> Their purity in every place defiled,
> Their vest of righteousness all torn and spoiled.
> Wherefore through guilt the late-loved light they shun, (4.258-61)

Since their “vest of righteousness” is now corrupted, Adam and Eve’s current condition, emphasized by anaphora, is now naked, ashamed, impure, and guilty. This emphasis allows the narrative to suggest that sinners need righteousness. Similarly, Hutchinson emphasizes that God orchestrates his plan even through human weakness. Using the trope of paradox with the scheme of polyptoton,

she states that God "by th'infirm can his firm structure raise" (7.10). Out of frailty, the poem argues, God brings something strong. These schemes serve, not to draw attention to the playfulness of her words but, to demonstrate her belief in humanity's weakness and need for a savior. They also emphasize her convictions of the utter fallenness of humanity and the way that God will ultimately reverse this terrible condition.

Another stark spiritual reality in the fallen world that Hutchinson highlights with schemes is God's sight in the midst of sin. In depicting Cain's sin, Hutchinson takes the opportunity to explain that God sees all sin, so sinners cannot hide anything from him. The use of anaphora here emphasizes that nothing can be hidden from God, even the interior of a person; he sees "all shades, all deeps, / All that the heart in its dark corners keeps" (6.149-50). God sees the sin from its very beginnings, as in Cain's case. Hutchinson explains this by personifying sin as a baby that God sees in its "first conception" along with its "growth" through its "birth" (6.152, 53). God's sovereignty over all of creation trumps every human attempt at hiding. Again, Hutchinson uses anaphora to emphasize God's omniscience by explaining that nothing is far from God: "nor caves nor rocks, nor far-/Extended shores, nor distant lands" (6.155-56). She then underscores the point by posing a rhetorical question and presenting two different forms of the word "see" in a polyptoton: "Can anything from him

obscured be / Who made all that is seen, and all that see?" (6.159-60). This question forces the reader to ponder its answer and participate in articulating the omniscience of God. God, the one who created human sight, sees with greater, wiser eyes than his creatures. Not only does God see everything he made, but he also watches in particular those that also have the capacity for sight.[9]

Hutchinson then poses a series of rhetorical questions, using anaphora to suggest that people would not willfully engage in many of their sins if they only remembered God's omniscience.[10] She repeats "Would not" at the beginning of these questions to emphasize that adultery, drunkenness, and murder would be alleviated if only sinners realized that God saw these heinous crimes. In this passage, the narrator's rhetoric sounds like an attorney questioning a witness; the continual rhetorical questions force the reader to participate in a confession and acknowledge God's all-pervasive knowledge. The scheme complements her message: If people were really aware of God's sight, they would pursue virtue instead of sin. Rhetorical questions compel her Dissenting readers to acknowledge their awareness of God's omniscience, thus promoting their virtue. These rhetorical schemes underscore God's knowledge of sin and issue a severe warning to sinners who think they can hide from God. The repetition seems sermonic and evokes godly fear through an implicit increase in volume and

sternness; in this way, these schemes help readers to emotionally move towards virtue.

Hutchinson also employs schemes to stress the pervasiveness of God's judgment on unrepentant sinners and their world. The Flood depicts God's judgment explicitly, and schemes emphasize the destruction of the entire world with no exceptions except for those in the ark. With anaphora, she depicts the results of the Flood and the rebels' experience of a slow death. She repeats "Some" six times (7.459, 461, 465, 469, 473, 475) to describe different ways she conceives that people tried to escape the judgment of the Flood but to no avail. The use of anaphora also highlights that all kinds of people died in the Flood: royalty, peasants, women, and even warriors (7.491-93). Then an array of rhetorical figures underscores the equal effects that the Flood had on all outside the ark. Through anaphora, she shows that God completed his judgment: "No living soul was left, no fixed seat, / No relics did of the late world remain" (7.498-99). Antithesis similarly emphasizes that every part of creation experienced the pain of the judgment: the "high" as well as "lower towers" (7.502), the "beasts" as well as the "birds" (7.503), the birds that have nests in "low fields" (7.505) as well as the eagles (7.506), and "mountains and tall trees" (7.507). She repeats this leveling effect of judgment with anadiplosis:[11] "All turned to sea, sea bounded with no shore" (7.510). The highs and lows and all the varieties of creation are

now nothing but sea. Additionally, alliteration emphasizes God's judgment upon sin "Which [God] will with its wicked dwellers drownd" (7.250). The schemes invest this passage with a sense of God's ubiquitous vengeance, the dire consequence of continuous rebellion against him. The passage evokes a holy fear and a sense of God's power and justice.

In addition to conveying a sense of scope to God's vengeance, schemes emphasize the misery and severity of Hell. Hutchinson describes suprasensible fallen angels with tropes, explaining that the result of their rebellion is misery. She likens Hell to a jail, the place of greatest extended anguish in the human world, and the fallen angels to convicts on death row. They reside in a "loose prison" (4.73) where they "walk as criminals under God's chain" (4.74), awaiting their execution at the final judgment. She also refers back to this comparison in a later passage to emphasize that both "desperate villains" (4.126) and fallen angels pursue death. The scheme of polyptoton contributes to this description of both these fallen angels' actions and their state: "…they may mutual torturers be, / Tormented and tormenting equally" (4.111-12). Every aspect of them involves torture, in their being as well as their mission. Polyptoton highlights what successive paradoxes explicitly emphasize: the pervasiveness of these fallen angels' corruption. Even fallen angels have an "order" to their group (4.85), but paradoxically they "all orders else disturb and hate" (4.86). Also, paradoxically,

the fallen angels' malevolence is "equally a crime and punishment" (4.134) because they do not receive any real good through the havoc they wreak. The scheme in this passage complements the tropes that provide the description: showing that the rebellion of the fallen angels is what causes their suffering and that their fallen state causes them to torture others but also to experience torment themselves.

Hutchinson similarly has Adam explain the nature of Hell, with the schemes of anaphora and alliteration depicting the content that the tropes of paradox and metaphor discuss. To emphasize the remaining hope that fallen humans have, Adam tells Eve that their fallen lives are much better than Hell by comparison. Adam employs alliteration that mimics the lull of drowsiness. He asserts that in human life, "Sleep here our pained senses stupefies" (5.483). Also, in a line very interesting for readers' understanding of the Dissenter aesthetic, Adam compares "cheating streams" to the refreshment of distracting "sick fancies" (5.484). He declares that fancy is a way to occupy the mind in the fallen world, therefore "cheating" the Fall.[12] Even though creativity and the imagination are "sick" as a result of the Fall, fancy, like sleep, provides a reprieve from it. Hutchinson suggests here that she sees some value in imagination, even though she believes she must be skeptical of it because, like all of creation, the fancy is fallen and can therefore lead people to sin. Adam talks about fancy to

Eve to adamantly proclaim that no refreshing streams will exist in Hell, and one way this will be manifest is in the total absence of fancy. Then, he repeats “no” ten times to underscore what more humanity will lose in Hell:

> There is no end, no intermitted woe,
> No more return from the accursed place,
> No hope, no possibility of grace,
> No sleepy intervals, no pleasant dreams,
> No mitigations of those sad extremes,
> No gentle mixtures, no soft changes there, (5.486-90)

Anaphora here resoundingly emphasizes the absence that characterizes Hell and its lack of goodness. Not only will Hell lack God and all His attributes, but this deplorable condition, Adam explains, will also last eternally, which he emphasizes through anaphora, repeating “eternal” four times: “Eternal horror and eternal night, / Eternal burnings with no glance of light, / Eternal pain…” (5.493-95). What will exist forever in Hell, this scheme highlights, is a series of impressions characterized by privations, including night and darkness. The schemes of repetition that accompany paradox and metaphor in this passage convey the gravity of this bleak topic.[13]

Similarly, when the poem describes rebellious humanity before the Flood, anaphora illustrates the Calvinistic doctrine of total depravity: the absence of righteousness in people. The Genesis account actually provides a limited description of their condition: “And God saw that the wickedness of man was great in the earth, and that every imagination of the thoughts of his heart was

only evil continually" (Genesis 6:5). Verses 11-13 also add that the whole earth was full of corruption and violence because of human sin. These few verses provide an occasion for Hutchinson to discourse at length on the hard and stubborn nature of sinners. The pre-Flood sinners live in "total depravation" (7.165) and neglect to heed any warnings. Anaphora emphasizes that they welcome "No signs, no admonitions, no wise fear" (7.171). They reject what could have saved them because they lack the inward drives necessary to respond appropriately. They have "No dread, no soft remorse" (7.209), despite the fact that personified "vengeance knock[s] at every gate" (7.210). These rhetorical figures communicate the coldness and apathy of pre-Flood humanity by emphasizing the absence of repentance even when they sense impending judgment. The reason why these sinners do not care that about imminent vengeance is because, in their stubbornness, their wills have become hardened by sin.

Hutchinson's schemes, arguably drawn from biblical precedents, give words a sermonic quality, providing emphasis and implying the increased emotion of the speaker. They serve an important function: rather than drawing attention to the wordplay for its own sake or the self-aggrandizement of the poet, schemes work to reveal the character of the subject and provide a memorable emphasis to theological doctrines that Hutchinson does not care to illustrate

beyond accepted statements of doctrine. Schemes also underscore the importance of biblical warnings against sin and Hell and the severity of bleak postlapsarian realities, which form the backdrop against which Providence brightly shines. Word order in the poem depicts either the harmony of form or the corruption or absence of something good, in many cases depicting the character of the subject it addresses. Closely examining the ways in which schemes are used in the poem sheds light on the seeming contradiction of Hutchinson claiming to write plainly while also employing these rhetorical figures. The formal cause of *Order and Disorder*, then, is a biblically influenced but nuanced notion of plain style. Its style does employ mostly subtle tropes and occasional schemes but does so purposefully and largely as an imitation of biblical, especially Pauline, rhetoric. Hutchinson's schemes at times begin to imply that in her epistemology, mystery should exist and not be understood by humans, contrasting starkly with Lucretius's emphasis on the power of human reason to master the world's mysteries. Also, Hutchinson's schemes that heighten emotion in regards to vice and judgment contrast with Lucretius's schemes that serve to emotionally question any notion of a divine order.

CHAPTER FIVE

The Rhetoric of *Interpretatio*: Dilating Genesis with the New Testament

In the first chapter, I established Hutchinson's final cause, to lead her readers to trust in God and his Providence, and in the last two chapters, I argued that Hutchinson's formal cause is a biblically influenced but nuanced notion of plain style. In keeping with the analysis of *Order and Disorder* through the Aristotelian causes, what remains is to examine the poem's material cause and how it complements its formal cause. At first glance, the poem's material cause is obviously the narrative actions presented in the biblical text of Genesis, but how exactly should readers understand the rhetorically embellished departures from that narrative and the extra-biblical content that Hutchinson adds? Also, how do the multi-faceted purposes of tropes and schemes work together within these diversions? These questions are important because, although her ultimate end and poetic style is ostensibly biblicist, the content of the poem often departs from and adds additional material to the Genesis narrative. In this chapter, I explicate rhetorically-embellished passages from Hutchinson's biblical poetic paraphrase that add to the central action of Genesis in order to demonstrate that the poem dilates certain characters as well as inserts moral lessons and accounts

of Providential intervention into human lives, for deliberative and epideictic ends.

Biblical Paraphrase

According to the criteria that Michael John Roberts supplies in his helpful study, *Biblical Epic and Rhetorical Paraphrase in Late Antiquity*, *Order and Disorder* is a biblical poetic paraphrase. Roberts asserts that the "basic principle of the rhetorical paraphrase" is "that the irreducible narrative core of the text to be paraphrased must be retained, but that omissions or amplifications, provided they leave this essential substratum untouched, are quite compatible with the requirement of fidelity to the original" (107). Indeed, *Order and Disorder* closely follows the book of Genesis, although Hutchinson often omits some sections and inserts her own interpretations and emphases. Roberts terms an insertion into a paraphrase an "*interpretatio*," which serves "to point a moral or introduce distinctively poetic language" (158). More specifically, Roberts explains that an "*interpretatio*" recreates an "expanded syntactical framework," allowing poets "to emphasize a moral or spiritual lesson or to introduce a rhetorical figure, poetic locution or point of exegesis" (156). Hutchinson's poem does often pause from or add to the narrative to draw spiritual and moral lessons but never to stray very far from the original text. In fact, many of the lessons Hutchinson draws originate from other biblical texts that she has woven into and used to interpret

the Genesis narrative, and these passages often have quite a few rhetorical embellishments, suggesting that these additions serve specific purposes.

Turning Scripture into a Romance?

In choosing the material for her poem, Hutchinson turns to biblical resources and resolves not to stray from them. Careful to limit her expression of imagination, she declares that she does not want to turn "Scripture into a romance" (5). She refuses to enhance the narrative with classically styled heroes and great adventures, so she resolves not to elaborate greatly upon extra-biblical matters. In the first canto, for instance, she refuses to speculate about what happened before time began: "It were presumptuous folly to inquire. / Let not my thoughts beyond their bounds aspire:" (1.41-42). Similarly, she contrasts "poets' fancies" with "the reverent view / Of contemplation, fixed on" the Bible (1.175-76). Readers then expect her poem to contemplate biblical texts rather than to create her own additions that make its plot entertaining.

Robert Wilcher has argued that Hutchinson often does what she says she will not do in cantos 6-20: incorporate romance into the narrative. Using the romantic relationships in the narrative as evidence, he claims, "The most fully developed romance episodes…are those involving the courtships of Rebecca…and Rachel" ("Lucy Hutchinson and Genesis" 37). However, I argue that Hutchinson's extra-biblical descriptions of not only relationships but also the

depictions of virtue that she builds into other characters do not turn scripture into a romance but sketch models for her Dissenting readers to follow. Hutchinson added explicit marginal biblical references throughout the first five cantos, but she continually inserts other biblical texts throughout the other cantos implicitly.

Moral Exemplars

One way that Hutchinson adds to the Genesis narrative is in her dilation of some of its characters. She often expounds upon characters' beliefs, affections, and actions so that they serve as exemplars for Hutchinson's Dissenting readers. The biblical Enoch, for instance, receives a very short description. In seven short verses, Genesis communicates that Enoch lived, "walked with God" (Genesis 5:24), and then, spared of death, was taken by God. Hutchinson dilates what it means to walk with God by casting Enoch as a prophet or preacher. In *Order and Disorder*, he preaches repentance to people surrounding him, and even though his hearers ignore his warnings, Enoch displays his zeal for the divine. Hutchinson illustrates the nature of Enoch's life with similes: "As fires more fervent are when frosts congeal / The circumfused air, such was his zeal:" (6.613-14). The hard hearts that Enoch encounters do not discourage him from preaching repentance to them; on the contrary, he becomes emboldened by their obstinacy. Enoch's life and his family epitomize the city on a hill: "Like heaven's

bright lamps that nightly wanderers guide" (6.621). Here, the trope of simile applies a New Testament description of a Christian (Matthew 5:14-16) to a character in Genesis. These notions of Enoch are logical because the chronology of the biblical passage leads to the time of the Flood, in which the world was full of human wickedness, but even though this description accords with other instances (for example in Judges) of God's people preaching to unrepentant sinners, it does elaborate quite a bit on the Genesis text. In doing so, Hutchinson's descriptions make the poem more relevant to its Dissenting audience: Enoch's actions become more specific in the poem so that readers can emulate them. No longer merely a mysterious man who walked with God and escaped death, Enoch is the model of a persevering and zealous teacher of truth (a person with whom Hutchinson and Dissenter pastors might identify), a hero who remained thoroughly committed to preaching and to a life of virtue.

Similarly, Hutchinson describes Noah's virtue in greater detail than Genesis, which generally states that Noah found grace and that he was "just and perfect and walked with God" (Genesis 6:8-9). Again, Hutchinson describes what it means to walk with God: to obey him in faith during confusing circumstances. The poem lists rhetorical questions that Noah could have asked God but did not:

> 'What will this ark avail
> When there's no shore to which the boat can sail?

> Why should we choose this nasty sepulcher
> And lingering death before quick ease prefer?
> What matters it whether, choked in the flood,
> We soon expire, or when th'exhausted food
> Is spent, in hunger's dry jaws slowly waste,
> In vain preserved for a worse death at last? (7.289-96)

In this extra-biblical segment of the paraphrase, which continues to pose a total of eight successive rhetorical questions, Hutchinson emphasizes the doubts that Noah could have had; however, when God called Noah to build an ark, load it with animals, and prepare for a world-wide flood, he acted obediently because he trusted God. Noah could have viewed the ark as a "sepulcher" (7.291), in which his family slowly dies "in hunger's dry jaws" (7.295). He could have also despaired of life itself since the world as he knows it will be utterly destroyed. These questions invite readers to participate in the story, providing an exercise for their own faith-building. In listing the possible sources of fear, Hutchinson invites readers to imagine themselves as Noah and to consider how they might respond to this great command. Though readers might find themselves identifying with the questions, Noah, who does not question God at all, becomes their example.

Hutchinson employs paraphrasis to characterize Noah by his faith, substituting the word "faith," the quality that distinguishes him from the rest of wicked humanity, for "Noah." This quality is even further underscored with alliteration. Noah the faithful, in spite of all the judgment from his peers

surrounding him, sees “God” as his “guide” (7.549). Faith and unwavering trust in God are precisely the reactions that Hutchinson would counsel her Dissenting readers to have when they strive to be obedient in the face of opposition or persecution, as she and her family certainly experienced, and these rhetorical embellishments to her paraphrase provide insight into characters’ motivations, making them into examples for readers to follow. In spite of all of the questions Noah could have or might have had, Hutchinson’s point for her readers and for herself is that God calls people to obey even though they do not have all their questions answered.

Other characters that Hutchinson dilates are Isaac and his wife Rebecca, who provide the opportunity to describe godly love and a good marriage. All Genesis states in regards to their relationship is that Isaac “loved her” (Genesis 24:67), but Hutchinson’s poem provides an implicit injunction to readers to pursue and enjoy love in a certain way that honors God. The poem personifies Love and Reason in descriptions of Isaac and Rebecca’s relationship, showing that his appropriate love is chaste and virtuous, and couples self-control with romance and desire (16.267-287). Upholding a Platonic notion of Reason as the right governor over a person, Hutchinson illustrates that Love can come as a “guest” to one’s heart and will bring pain and misery upon a person unless that person allows “Reason” to rule within himself (16.278-80). Reason, in other

words, must govern appetites such as Love. Love enters a person externally, showing the nature of Love as linking the self to something or someone outside the self. However, in this connection, Love must not take over Reason's rightful jurisdiction. If Reason rules, Love will become virtuous, and the two can have "Good correspondence" (16.281), but Love that does not submit to Reason will not yield a positive result for that person. Personification displays the nature of love as a potentially violent force that can seize a person as if externally. Although such externalized personification of "Love" is a poetic commonplace since antiquity that continued through the English renaissance reception of the sonnet genre, Hutchinson's use of this figure to dilate the specific story of Isaac gives both the narrative and the commonplace a new character. This trope also illustrates a principle of virtuous courtship. Hutchinson seems to want readers to ask themselves what emotion controls their actions, love or reason, and thus by their self-examination make better choices. Hutchinson uses Isaac as an example to readers of how to rightly view love.

Most of the characters Hutchinson dilates serve the purpose of instruction in virtue, but some extra-biblical descriptions do so by displaying the lack of virtue. When Rebecca becomes pregnant with twins who feud even in her womb, Genesis narrates her posing a question to God, "If it be so, why am I thus?" (Genesis 26:22), and God then explains to her that two nations are within

her. Hutchinson, however, adds rhetorical questions with anaphora to teach readers about the nature of contentment. Rebecca, who had longed for children, complains about the discomfort in pregnancy:

> 'If these,' said she, 'be mothers' joys, ah why
> Am I a mother made if only I
> Must feel those tortures others never know?
> Why yet doth God let me continue so?
> Why sends he not Death to conclude my pain
> But makes me more than all my sex sustain?' (17.93-98)

Reminiscent of Eve's curse and lament, Rebecca's expression of frustration is an example of what readers should not do. Hutchinson uses Rebecca, who may not even be culpable in the Genesis text, to illustrate a principle of contentment:

> Unhappy man, who knows not his true want,
> Thus wastes his wretched life in sad complaint
> And, neither with his own nor his God's choice
> Well pleased, doth not, as creatures ought, rejoice
> In his good Maker's will, his present state,
> But with his murmurings alters his own fate:
> For every lot which the Lord gives is good,
> And only ill when not well understood. (17.71-78)

Hutchinson's first children in 1639 were in fact twin boys, so this passage probably comes from her own struggles with contentment during pregnancy and raising twins. Rebecca is a reminder to readers (and perhaps to Hutchinson herself) to be content in what God provides and wills. This passage applies a principle from the Apostle Paul's life: "for I have learned, in whatsoever state I am, therewith to be content" (Philippians 4:11).[1] Rebecca becomes, in this

moment, the mirror opposite of Noah. Passages describing both characters include extra-biblical rhetorical questions, but Hutchinson has Noah refraining from asking any of them whereas she embellishes Rebecca's single biblical question, assigning the sin of discontentment to her, the opposite of faith.

Similar to his father's model love, Jacob's relationship with Rachel becomes an illustration of godly attraction and courtship. Genesis states only that "Jacob loved Rachel" (Genesis 29:18), but Hutchinson describes the experience of that love and, more importantly, explains why he loved her so. Paradoxically, Rachel is a destructive yet life-giving force for him. Hutchinson likens his lovestruck eyes to eyes that come out of dark into light: they lose their sight and then are restored by that same light (19.229-33). This poignant description of love continues as Hutchinson compares his paralysis when he sees Rachel to a person who watches a nearby tree fall in a storm (19.240-45). Jacob is both afraid and in awe of Rachel, a strange paradox that expresses the way falling in love initially feels. The crucial point is that the main reason why Jacob loves Rachel so much is because of her character. Through metaphor, Hutchinson portrays wisdom as governing Rachel's virtuous life: "On the large forehead wisdom had a throne" (19.290). Further, a series of similes describes Rachel's virtue. The way that she kindled the fire of love in Jacob's heart was "Like steel that strikes the flint" (19.303); however, this fire "burnt as purely as a

martyr's flame" (19.308). Therefore, in the poem, Jacob and Rachel's love is innocent and even holy. In contrast, the only description Genesis provides of Rachel is that she was "beautiful and well favoured" (Genesis 29:17). Hutchinson adds Rachel's virtue and wisdom, emphasizing the importance of these qualities in attraction. In doing so, she weaves another biblical principle into Rachel's character: "[A virtuous woman] openeth her mouth with wisdom" (Proverbs 31:26). Like Noah and Enoch, Rachel and Jacob become characters who model goodness, in their case virtuous attraction and love. These instances of rhetorically embellished extra-biblical descriptions provide readers with characters that embody certain virtues or vices. Wilcher notices Hutchinson's additions of passages about love but seems to miss the deliberative purposes of these character dilations. Though Hutchinson adds to the characterizations in Genesis, her descriptions do more than simply embed conventions from romance into the narrative; they issue corollaries to other biblical texts and lead readers toward personal renewal as they consider the Genesis characters and the personal applications that the poem suggests.

Interpretatio *as Application*

Although Hutchinson's characters implicitly suggest action for readers to take, another kind of *interpretatio* interspersed within the Genesis paraphrase provides explicit lessons drawn for readers' application. According to James D.

Boulger, "[s]anctification and its attributes comprise by far the largest single area of the Puritan mental life" (89); accordingly, Hutchinson's additions not only provide models of virtue in her characters but also frequently give direct instruction with rhetorical embellishments to readers.[2] As she inserts biblical principles from outside Genesis, Hutchinson aims through deliberative rhetoric with schemes and tropes to move readers to adopt or avoid a certain course of action for their good.

Deliberative passages in the poetic paraphrase that rely upon similes and other tropes possess similar means and end as Robert Cawdray's book on similes. In his prefatory comments, he makes clear that one of the chief benefits of similes is moral instruction, claiming that similes enable readers to understand vice and virtue more fully than plain descriptions. He also argues that this new understanding as well as the emotive response similes elicit will promote virtue because similes will show readers the dangers of vices and actually evoke their fear:

> Wherein not onely sundrie, and very many, most horrible and foule vices, and daungerous sinnes of all sorts, are so familiarly, and so plainly laid open, ripped up, and displayed in their kinds, and so pointed at with the finger of God, in his sacred and holy Scriptures, to signifie his wrath and indignation belonging unto them, that such as are Christians in deed, being seasoned and indued with the spirit of grace, and having God before their eyes, will be varie feareful, even in love that they beare to God, to pullute and defile, their hearts, their minds, their mouthes, or hands, with any such forbidden things; (A2)

Cawdray believes that similes have the potential both to instruct the mind and to evoke emotion that will change his readers' wills in conjunction with "the spirit of grace." By seeing vice in a new way, readers will both mentally and emotionally know its horrors. Similes will also present "vertues, with their due commendations, so lively, and truly expressed" (A2). The clarity that similes provide, he asserts, will make doctrine clearer but all to the end of sanctification. He claims that his book

> containeth the explayning, and plaine opening of many grounds and principles of Christian Religion, so manifestly deciphered out, that everie one of even the very simplest and ignorantest Reader may easily and plainly understand the true and right meaning thereof, as may bee for the increase of knowledge and godlinesse. (A2)

Cawdray sees similes as a teaching tool, enabling readers to come to a clearer understanding of a concept and eliciting what he believes is a right emotion that is the proper response to that concept. The trope-enriched additions in *Order and Disorder* often serve a similar mentally and emotionally didactic function. Tropes and schemes function in each *interpretatio* to persuade readers towards virtuous lives.

For example, when Noah becomes drunk, a lengthy passage follows about the dangers of immoderate drinking. Genesis 9:21 actually does not pronounce judgment upon Noah or this sin but merely states, "And he drank of the wine, and was drunken." Hutchinson, however, takes this opportunity to apply a

principle from the New Testament. In Paul's letter to the Ephesians, he commands, "And be not drunk with wine, wherein is excess" (Ephesians 5:18). Expounding upon this application, Hutchinson likens wine to a usurping tyrant that "doth sovereign reason disenthrone" (9.46). Like her concern with love in courtship, reason should never give up rightful reign over a person. Reason should control the "raging appetite," but once alcohol overthrows reason's power and rule, the person becomes out of control or disordered (9.51). Alliteration highlights the ways in which "wine, work[s] with wild fancy" (9.77), and Hutchinson then compares the subsequent desire for alcohol to a plague and infection, an evaluative metaphor that enables readers to understand the negative consequences of drinking excessively. Paradoxically, immoderate drinkers "court their plague again, / Run into brutishness and thirst for pain" (9.81-82). Like illness, drinking too much alcohol results in physical maladies that Hutchinson personifies to demonstrate their control: "numbness the joints invades" (9.89), and "All o'er cold sweats and ghastly paleness creep" (9.91). These terrible effects of excessive wine act as aggressors toward the body, yet, with reason overruled, people continue to seek alcohol and the numbed state it produces. In this passage, Hutchinson's rhetoric strongly emphasizes the destructiveness and the foolishness of immoderate drinking to encourage readers to be sober and responsible in what they consume. Anaphora illustrates the

ways in which drunken people become like animals without reason. Repeating "Some" five times, she shows the range of ridiculous human behavior that results from drunkenness: acting like apes, lions, goats, swine, or dogs. Alcohol usurps reason with disastrous consequences: the body becomes sick, the person's behavior becomes animalistic, and the person becomes addicted to this substance despite these consequences.

The passage continues to expound upon, with tropes and schemes, the cyclical and destructive character of alcoholism. Alcoholics drink despite the alliterative "cursed consequences" (9.128), yet they claim to "drink to drive" away their problems (9.132). Hutchinson allegorizes the "Hope" they think they attain as "the nurse of life-prolonging mirth" (9.142) but then denounces that notion of hope with alliteration and a rhetorical question: "Should silly mortals, shunning dread and woe, / Their refuge seek in that from whence they flow?" (9.147-48). In other words, their drinking contributes to their problems instead of relieving them. Two additional rhetorical questions with anaphora then suggest that sinful nature drives humans to desire the means to their destruction:

> How vain, how contrary is that delight
> Propounded by the brutish appetite?
> Is frenzy, sickness, torture, impotence,
> Hot bloods, cold sweats, faint powers, disordered sense,
> A happy cure of grief, a pleasant ease,
> Adding ten plagues to drive out one disease? (9.153-58)

Here "delight" contrasts with the miserable results of alcoholism such as "frenzy, sickness" and "disordered sense." Antithetically, what seems to be a "happy cure" and "pleasant" is but a multitude of "plagues" that attempt to alleviate "one disease," dread and woe. Therefore, rhetorical figures highlight alcohol's capacity to deceive its addicts; although it promises them pleasure and ease, it will destroy them and only contribute to their despair. The rhetorical questions in the passage enable readers to participate in this discussion about the contradictory nature of addiction. Hutchinson persuades readers to confess the deceitfulness of alcohol in order to lead them to their good. Dissenting readers are forced to acknowledge the futility of seeking a drunken state as an answer to their problems and also to admit that they must find a better refuge.

A shocking metaphor further calls readers to evaluate using alcohol to cope with life in the fallen world. Hutchinson compares the postlapsarian human sense of despair to dying infants' cries when people sacrifice them to Moloch. The instruments they play during the sacrifice distort but do not altogether drown out the sound of the babies "Frying in [Moloch's] arms" (9.161). In a similar way, alcohol will "confoun[d]" but "not expe[l]" (9.159) human misery. This metaphor pathetically encourages the negative evaluation of alcohol by associating dying babies' cries with the despair that a drunk tries to drive away. This addition to the biblical narrative closes with a martial

metaphor, explaining that people constantly battle against "fortune's" attacks (9.168) and that humans have various "arms" (9.170) such as "strength, virtue, health" (9.172), but drunkards lay down those weapons by looking to alcohol to cope with the difficulties of life. This martial portrayal of strength, virtue, and health shows that humans are not powerless in their misery. Using these gifts from God can help people to respond to suffering, attacks of fortune, without succumbing to the cycle of self-destruction that is excessive drinking. This passage therefore encourages readers not to let alcohol overcome their reason. Instead, the poem argues, readers should cope with the difficulties of postlapsarian life in other ways, rather than by consuming such a numbing, destructive, and deceitful agent.

Another passage that adds to the central narrative to give a moral lesson occurs when Abraham lies to Abimelech, the king of Gerar, claiming that Sarah is his sister. Genesis only narrates that "God came to Abimelech in a dream by night" and told him that Sarah was indeed Abraham's wife (Genesis 20:3). Even though sleep seems to be a minor aspect of the Genesis narrative, Hutchinson imbues it with many tropes and schemes, using this opportunity to teach readers to view sleep rightly and adopt productive lifestyles that honor God. Several of these initial tropes and schemes have their origin in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (Book 11.573-649), as Norbrook notes (Introduction to *Order* xxvi). Like Ovid, she

compares Sleep to a "gloomy mansion" (14.47) and then with anaphora creates a lullaby effect, showing the peacefulness and goodness of sleep: "No barking dogs live there, no bleating flocks, / No wakeful geese nor day-exciting cocks" (14.53-54). Though there is no angel involved in the Genesis account of Gerar's dream, the poem personifies Sleep as asleep when an angel comes to wake him; this depiction parallels Ovid's account of the goddess Iris seeking sleep's palace. The angel describes Sleep's great power in referring to Sleep's "reign" (14.77) as a "monarch" (14.131), and the angel commands him to put to sleep the king of Gerar. This is where her appropriation of Ovid stops.

This depiction of Sleep does not function merely to make the poem ornate; rather, Hutchinson gives a fuller description of Sleep in order to change Ovid's tale into a moral lesson. Sleep awakens and obeys in order to exert his power over the king, and several personified qualities accompany him on his journey. He rides "in Night's chariot" (14.92) and is "[u]shered by Silence" who moves "like death" (14.93).[3] This companion displays the similarity of the quietness of sleep and death's approach. "Oblivion" also rides with Sleep in his chariot (14.121), and different dreams walk alongside them. So far, these descriptions have illustrated the qualities of sleep itself, but the eventual point of this addition to the narrative consists of a moral lesson about temperance concerning sleep: not indulging in too much but also obtaining enough sleep. Other companions

with Sleep are "Deformed Sloth and nasty Poverty" (14.127). Through this trope of a band of figures marching together, readers learn this potential connection and thus the danger of this central character, Sleep. This passage evokes Proverbs 20:13: "Love not sleep, lest thou come to poverty; open thine eyes, and thou shalt be satisfied with bread." This principle is completely aside from the point of the Genesis text, but Hutchinson intentionally pauses to read another biblical principle into a minor event in the central narrative in order to caution her readers to view sleep rightly.

Instead of either, Sleep has both desirable and undesirable companions, which makes the point that readers must obtain a right perspective about sleep in order to not abuse it. Though too much sleep can signal a lack of industry, readers are reminded that they should not have too little of it either because of the necessity of rest. Therefore, "in the rear there marched a handsome pair, / The Cure of Weariness and the Release of Care" (14.129-30). Readers recognize these highly sought out and attractive qualities. Also, several characters chase and threaten Sleep: "Restless Ambition, Care, and Unfilled Love / …Then follow Industry and strong Desire, / Melting his chains with youth's still active fire" (14.135, 137-38). Certain drives discourage or prevent sleep, especially for young people whose desires Hutchinson compares to a fire that softens the shackles of the natural desire for rest. In this passage, ambition is the vice of youth rather

than middle age because youths are sometimes so eager to attain and achieve their goals that they do not sleep well; this eagerness can become unhealthy, the poem argues, as they make idols of their achievement. Therefore, these pauses in the narrative encourage readers to work industriously but also not to become overly ambitious and to rest when necessary.

Hutchinson also seeks to denounce an overly ambitious life in a later passage, explicitly illustrating the humble ideals that readers should seek. This passage provides a response to Abimelech casting Isaac out of Gerar. In the Genesis account, Abimelech asks Isaac to leave because of Isaac's great prosperity: "And Abimelech said unto Isaac, Go from us; for thou art much mightier than we" (Genesis 26:16). In *Order and Disorder*, this incident becomes an indictment upon the fickleness of both royalty and, even further from the narrative, those who ruthlessly attempt to socially climb, maintaining the good graces of kings and princes. Instead, Hutchinson instructs, people should enjoy quiet lives and not worry themselves with the favor of the court. To make this point, she personifies Joy, Friendship, Peace, and Innocence, displaying the value of a meek life that does not seek royal fame or earthly glory. These characters live not on the mountaintops, striving after something, but in a grove instead:

> The gentle breaths of Joy and Friendship move
> Not in the mountain's top but in the silent grove,
> Where calm Peace, all the humble hermit's cells,
> With Innocence her beauteous mother dwells. (17.357-50)

Depicting Joy and Friendship's breath as pleasant breezes, she emphasizes that they live amongst and enrich those who are humble, innocent, and filled with peace. Peace results from innocence like a child comes from her mother. This passage suggests that an honest life, free from worldly ambition, creates an environment for other pleasant aspects of life, such as joy and friendship, to occur. In contrast, "Vice" burdens those who miss this blissful grove "with weighty chains" (17.358). She then compares "cares and anxieties" to furies (17.363) in a simile, showing that the byproducts of ambition harass and torment the one who seeks his own greatness and advancement in the world. Norbrook argues that these passages about ambition indicate that "Hutchinson found Lucretian ethics…congenial" (Introduction *The Works* 1.lxxxviii), but it might be instructive to consider the way these passages read the New Testament into the Genesis narrative. This depiction, for instance, portrays the command in 1 Thessalonians 4:11 "that you also aspire to lead a quiet life," incorporating a New Testament injunction within an Old Testament narrative. These tropes present readers with a pleasant picture of goodness and characters who complement each other. The passage departs from the original Genesis narrative in order to present an implicit application from it: Hutchinson argues for Dissenting readers not to strive after worldly glory but to content themselves with a quiet life that may flourish with the happiness that peace and friendship bring.

Extended personification depicts both positive and negative emotions to persuade readers to embrace what Hutchinson believes will be good for them. For example, Jacob fleeing after deceiving Esau and taking stones for pillows (Genesis 28:11) becomes an opportunity for Hutchinson to privilege the simple life and make the point that Jacob receives ample though simple provision. Contrasting the poor and simple with the wealthy and wicked, Hutchinson first personifies the feelings that sinners experience when they do not have grace and who cling to worldly glory. These feelings are friends of "waking horror" (19.23): "Despair, Suspicion, Dread, and dismal Woe" (19.25). For Hutchinson, these are the realities of the person who has no hope of spiritual redemption and is burdened by anxiety to keep whatever worldly comforts he or she enjoys. Personifying these horrific emotions reveals their power to rule over people, and such an anxious life contrasts with one that is at peace with God and is ruled by contentment. The serene and simple person spends time not in anxiety but in meditation: "But where sweet Contemplation minds employs, / The dreams feed that pure soul with fresh delight, / Repeating the day's comforts in the night" (19.28-30). This passage further commends peaceful reflection, rather than anxiety and worldly comforts, by contrasting the dreams and feelings of two types of people: those lost and ambitious (poets and others who anxiously strive for success) with those who peacefully practice biblical meditation. Extended

personification also describes what happens when people sleep: "nimble Fancy" brings their daytime thoughts, good or bad, back to them (19.32). Thus, sleep relives people's daytime thoughts, providing no rest to those whose minds are burdened with sin and anxiety, but those who contemplate the revealed truth can participate in a comforting rest. This passage encourages a life of meditation by highlighting the undesirability of a life of ambition. Both in consciousness and in sleep, miserable emotions burden those who strive after worldly glory. In contrast, the contemplative life produces freedom from those emotions and comfort instead. By contrasting these two types of activities, this passage leads the reader to value a quiet, contemplative life rather than the ambitious life of glory-seeking.

Readers might remember that contemplation of the biblical narrative is what Hutchinson aims to accomplish in her poem. This passage contributes to Hutchinson's ethos, showing that her project is itself a peaceful enterprise undertaken not for ambition. Her poetic paraphrase allows her to rehearse beliefs about and biblical recollections of Providence even in the midst of a time and circumstances that do not seem Providential at all.

Praise for a God Who Orders Disorder

While some added passages have deliberative purposes, others, replete with tropes such as extended personification, metaphors, and similes, aim

explicitly to generate praise of the divine. These passages continually emphasize God's intervention in human life to oppose Lucretius's notion of the divine. He argues that the gods are perfectly content being removed from the human world: "The devine nature doth it selfe possesse / Eternally in peacefull quiettnesse, / Nor is concernd in mortall mens affairs," (2.650-52). Hutchinson punctures her Genesis paraphrase to highlight instances that contradict this Lucretian notion. Her God does indeed constantly intervene into human affairs for the good of his creation. Therefore, no subject does Hutchinson address more frequently in her narrative than the trustworthiness of Providence, weaving throughout the poem her persistent affirmation of the principle from Romans 8:28: "And we know that all things work together for good to them that love God, to them who are the called according to his purpose." Through tropes, she constructs epideictic rhetoric, giving readers vivid pictures of Providence and arguing that God is ultimately good and merciful as well as sovereign even over evil. Hutchinson's rhetoric aims to instill in her readers a deeper human trust in divine promises, and many tropes such as metaphor, simile, and extended personification work towards eliciting from her Dissenting readers the praise of God's Providence.

One early example of a metaphorical illustration is the role of Providence in God's care for Noah. In his "ever-active waking Providence," God "[p]reserves [him] alive even in death's greedy jaws" (7.532, 534). While Genesis

states only that ""Noah…remained alive" and that "God remembered Noah" (Genesis 7:23, 8:1), Hutchinson, by comparing death to a predator, emphasizes that God protects Noah even when he is surrounded by peril. Like many of her tropes that illustrate suprasensible concepts, death becomes more vivid and tangible when personified. As death becomes horrific in this image, Providence that miraculously preserves Noah's life becomes more glorious. Hutchinson's commonplace book indicates that Providence means the ways God fulfills his promises. She writes, "The providences of God are the hand executing the words of his mouth" ("Religious"). Showing examples of Providence and illustrating with tropes God's fulfillment of his promises to the Genesis patriarchs and their wives reinforce this point; rhetorical figures, such as the personification in the passage about Noah's preservation, draw attention to these practical ways that God demonstrates his faithfulness. *Order and Disorder* contains many similar rhetorical embellishments that exist to lead readers to praise God's wise control over his creation.

Hutchinson's epideictic insertions into the narrative urge readers importantly to praise Providence rather than attempt to understand it comprehensively. The poem asserts that God allows sin and evil because the darkness of sin contrasts starkly with righteousness, causing it to shine more brightly. Even though Hutchinson's additions venture into theological realms,

Hutchinson's stated goal has been to adore God, rather than to explain him. In teaching theology to her daughter, she emphasizes this point:

> Although the causes are hidden to us, yet the will of God produces all things, which when wee cannot prie into, wee ought reverently to adore, and to believe all things as God administers them are done with infinite justice, wisedome, goodnesse, and equity, though these be not obvious to our darke and narrow humane senses, which cannot comprehend the workings of an infinite God. (*On the Principles* 32)

She also echoes this point in her Preface to *Order and Disorder*; therefore, Hutchinson, who takes care not to "too far inquire" (4.405), certainly does not account for the origin of evil. However, she does use various rhetorical strategies to emphasize what she does know and to evoke readers' praise of God's mysterious wisdom that governs his creation.

While the poem stresses God's sovereignty, many passages of *interpretatio* also highlight his simultaneous goodness. Norbrook declares that the poem "places God's power before his goodness" (Introduction xxxiii). While true, Hutchinson does deliberately address the goodness of God's actions in conjunction with his sovereignty. In canto four, which introduces the Fall, Hutchinson provides a lengthy *interpretatio* that stresses the goodness of God, even in the Fall. Anaphora begins the canto with this particular emphasis: "Good were all natures as God made them all, / Good was his will, permitting some to fall" (4.1-2).

Hutchinson also gives somewhat of an account of vice, showing how God uses it for good in the postlapsarian world. According to the poem, vice tests and heightens virtue during a human lifetime, making that virtue more visible and demonstrating its greatness. Hutchinson dilates the paraphrase here, before narrating the Fall, to preface even Adam and Eve's sin with the good that God will draw from it. One of these good results is the human knowledge of virtue's goodness. Virtue is "like rich ore concealed in the mine, / [that] Had not been known but that opposing vice / Illustrates it by frequent exercise" (4.16-18). Without vice to excavate virtue and show its value, it remains hidden like ore in a mine; either way, virtue exists, but without vice, people do not recognize it. This trope reveals the usefulness of vice to unearth virtue and make it visible.

Even though God sovereignly orders his creation and brings good out of the Fall, Hutchinson proposes two similes to indicate that the fault of the Fall lies with the creatures—not the Creator—because they cut themselves off from God by their own wills. Canto four's epideictic rhetoric functions to place blame on humanity instead of God for sin. She compares fallen humanity to "a declining stream / That breaks off its communion with its head, / By whom its life and sweetness late were fed" (4.22-24). This now stagnant stream, separated from its source, becomes a "noisome, dead, and poisonous lake" (4.25). The fallen state comes about because of creatures disconnecting themselves from their source of

life. What was once life-giving, pure, and refreshing loses that which enables it to exist in this way. Without the stream's source that continually renews it, the stream becomes filthy and lifeless. The poem argues that in sinning, humans break communion with the divinity who makes them not only alive but also able to contribute to the lives of others. The fallen condition results when humans deny this endless potential of grace and goodness. Another similar illustration she supplies is that of a "branch cut from the living tree" (4.27) that "dies divided from its glorious stock" (4.29). Like the stream, a branch severed from its tree will quickly die and miss the purpose for which it was created. These illustrations cause Dissenting readers to examine themselves and their communion with God instead of questioning God's sovereignty. Though Hutchinson does not explain, probably because she does not aspire to understand, how sin is humanity's fault if God is sovereign, she does underscore this paradox of Calvinistic Christianity: God is good and all-powerful, and humanity is simultaneously at fault for rebelling against him.

Continuously emphasizing God's goodness in this *interpretatio*, Hutchinson then turns to fallen angels to demonstrate how God uses them for the benefit of humanity. She groups God with the attribute people must remember as they consider the origins of evil when she alliteratively emphasizes that fallen angels hate "God and goodness" (4.92). The same consonant sounds

link God with the central attribute that makes his Providence praiseworthy. A simile further explains that evil beings themselves can be used to cultivate human virtue. For a specific purpose, God does not annihilate them, and Hutchinson explains this reason by likening God allowing evil to a general training his army with a weaker enemy:

> As a wise general that doth design
> To keep his army still in discipline
> Suffers the embodying of some slighter foes
> Which he at his own pleasure can enclose
> And vanquish, that he justly may chastise
> Their folly, and his own troops exercise, (4.113-18)

This simile minimizes the power behind evil, showing that God merely allows it to discipline his people, and he does so in love, as the next simile shows. God loves his people like a general treats his troops with "continual and kind cares" (4.122). When humans fight against their own sin, as well as Satan and his minions, they become only stronger in faith and in virtue. This simile communicates the power of God and the weakness of those spiritual forces that try humanity, encouraging readers to hope in God's power, wisdom, and love for them instead of fearing forces of evil that really have very little power. The first 150 lines of canto four thus prepare readers for the questions they will have regarding the Fall. Hutchinson argues for God's benevolence and the ways in which he will use the Fall for good.

After the Fall occurs, Hutchinson continues to insert passages that argue for God's goodness, emphasizing his mercy and love in the face of human sin. In Genesis, when Adam and Eve hear God in the garden, they hide (Genesis 3:8), but then when God calls to Adam, "Where art thou?" (3:9), he responds. Hutchinson interprets this passage as revealing the difference between the fear of God as exacting punishment and the love of God as merciful and relational. With anaphora and antithesis, Hutchinson contrasts what humanity deserves with what they receive from God: "The sense of wrath far from the feared power drives, / The sense of love brings home the fugitives" (4.329-30). This comparison allows her to make the biblical point that Christ's love—not his wrath—motivates humans to worship God. Contrary to what Norbrook seems to imply, in his assertion that the poem stresses God's power rather than his goodness, Hutchinson does want to argue for God's goodness, even more so than emphasizing his wrath. Hutchinson transforms the story of the Fall into one of hope, prefacing it with God's goodness and ending it with God's love.

Canto five continues to narrate the effects of the Fall, but it also repeatedly argues for the sovereignty and goodness of God in passages that reflect upon the central narrative. One theme clear even from the title of the poem is that the universe is not random; rather, God orders everything but does so for the good of his creatures. God does not "let his threats like shafts at random fall" (5.196), a

simile that evokes the image of an ineffectual military in an overwhelming and chaotic battle. After the Fall, readers might question why God let this happen (as Hutchinson's readers were potentially questioning the Restoration). Hutchinson does not, of course, give a thorough answer, but she does emphasize that in his wisdom, he brings order out of disorder. Hutchinson's God does not subject his people to randomness and defeat. Instead, he ordains every event according to a plan. Hutchinson's insertions of God's providential ordering of the universe are a direct denigration of Lucretius's notion of the randomness of the cosmos, with no divine hand guiding the atoms that move through the void:

> For sure, the principles did neither joyne
> In councell, nor deliberately assigne
> Each others place, nor mutually agreed,
> How orderly their motions should proceed; (1.1033-36)

Hutchinson's point in canto five and throughout her poem is that, though the atoms do not converse together to bring order to themselves, a personal divine entity does, and he does so in consideration of his creatures.

Even in God's original pronouncement of the curse and judgment for humanity's sin, Hutchinson's *interpretatio* claims that God alludes to the plan to redeem humanity from death. She then reflects, in a highly alliterative sentence, "[B]lessings" will come from "bowels" (5.198) because paradoxically "death the door of lasting life became" (5.199). Another way that she argues for God's goodness is through her claim that eternal life appears more significant in

contrast to the horrid reality of death; alliteration brings these two opposing words together, highlighting the surprisingly positive outcome. Similarly, death leads the way to eternity in Heaven. "Death" couples alliteratively and symbolically with "door," the end of the fallen life and the beginning of a restored life. Also, nature, like a building that disintegrates in the Fall, will only become better as a result. God will "rebuild her frame / On such a sure foundation as shall break / All the attempts Hell's cursed empire make" (5.200-03). The destruction caused by sin gives God the opportunity to create an even better, indestructible Paradise. Death, a metaphoric warden, locks "us prisoners in the grave" (5.250), but God will raise the dead in Christ.[4] Hutchinson expresses this biblical paradox of life coming from death with a variety of rhetorical figures in order for readers to be awestruck by God's Providence and the surprising way that he works out his plan, eventually demolishing the sin and constraints of the postlapsarian world.

In the midst of this argument for God's goodness and sovereignty over sin, Hutchinson gives an insight to the rhetorical end of this *interpretatio*. As God shows Adam and Eve both the consequences of their sin and the ways in which he will be merciful to them, the narrator reflects

> How far our parents, whose sad eyes were fixed
> On woe and terror, saw the mercy mixed
> We can but make a wild uncertain guess,
> As we are now affected in distress,

> Who less regard the mitigation still
> Than the slight smart of our afflicting ill;
> And while we groan under the hated yoke,
> Our gratitude for its soft lining choke. (5.259-66)

Here, Hutchinson asserts an important exigence for her poem: humans do not value God's mercy highly enough. Instead, they focus on their grief and distress. Her poem, especially in these passages that add to the central narrative in order to praise God's Providence, aims to persuade her Dissenting readers and herself to contemplate and meditate on God's mercy to them so that they will worship him instead of questioning their circumstances. A God who is slow to anger, he does mitigate the effects of evil in the postlapsarian world. He receives glory even in the Fall, by showing love, mercy, and hope to sinners that would not fully appreciate those qualities otherwise. Adam and Eve feel the "hated yoke" (5.265) of postlapsarian life, yet God gives that burden a "soft lining" (5.266) with "mercy mixed" (5.260) in their fallen world. The poem expresses *felix culpa* through the emphasis of the good that comes from the Fall.

Canto six begins the narrative of Adam and Eve's progeny, focusing particularly on Cain and his fratricide; continually in this chronicle, however, Hutchinson adds to the central narrative, emphasizing the ways that God works for the good of humanity in the midst of human sin. The canto repeatedly revisits the paradoxical message of life coming from death in various ways. For example, before Cain murders Abel, Hutchinson personifies Death as a king

before Christ came to defeat him (6.53), emphasizing God turning death into resurrection. After Cain's fratricide, the poem exclaims that Seth takes his place as the faithful son. God "draws life from the tomb: / Thus did the first light out of darkness come" (6.431-32). Abel's death did not end the line of faithful humanity and thwart God's plan. Instead, God creates in Seth another man loyal to himself who would have some faithful descendants. Enoch, for instance, is one descendant who faithfully preaches to his unrepentant community and becomes an example of God's faithfulness in the midst of his creation's rebellion: "in dark shades a light of comfort showed" (6.636). This passage stresses that God constantly preserves a remnant of people who remain faithful to him, and those who are part of the remnant actually enjoy greater heavenly bliss since they have experienced fallenness.

Introducing the Flood, the narrator first paints a picture of God looking at the sinful state of the pre-Flood world. According to Genesis 6:6, "it grieved him at his heart." Expounding upon this passage, the poem's narrator refers to God as his attribute "Love" and highlights his mysterious goodness. Hutchinson reads 1 John 4:8, "God is love," into the narrative, in metonymy calling God "Love" (7.211) and asserts that he is "deeply grieved for those who no grief felt" (7.212). Significantly, this passage counters the Lucretian notion that the divinity "Neither our sorrows…shares" (1.58). Hutchinson's polyptoton highlights both

the virtue that sinners lack and God possesses. This passage becomes a detailed depiction of wrath and God's ubiquitous destruction of everyone outside the ark. Even so, Hutchinson still highlights God's goodness and mercy.

Like the first humans, Noah receives God's mercy, and the poem explains that the Flood allows an opportunity for God to show not only his justice but also his mercy and many of his other attributes to his people. Metonymy not only emphasizes God's love but also refers to him as the embodiment of mercy: In his choosing of Noah, "Mercy [did not] all to Judgement yield" (7.215). Sparing Noah's family, God lovingly and mercifully decides to preserve some of humanity through them. Also, Hutchinson emphasizes that God has exercised his patience with sinful humanity before he brought about judgment. Anaphora stresses that God did not act rashly but patiently and justly: "I that long-suffering was, to vengeance slow; / I that so oft bewailed their overthrow; / I, even I, a flood of waters bring" (7.267-69). As anaphora emphasizes the pervasiveness of God's vengeance, this scheme also underscores God's personal character and care for his creation and why he wreaks such widespread destruction upon the world. This passage displays the mysterious and various attributes of a God who is paradoxically patient, loving, and exactingly just. Continuing with the theme of God bringing life from death, using bad circumstances for good, Hutchinson paradoxically compares Noah's ark to both a "coffin" and a "womb"

(7.391). Also, after the judgment, God displays gracious generosity as he clears out the Flood and gives Noah's family the gift of life again. Genesis passively states, "the waters were dried up from off the earth" (Genesis 8:13). Hutchinson, however, gives God agency in the narrative to highlight his providential care for Noah, his family, and the remaining animals. Alliteration underscores God's powerful calling back of the flood through "a wind / Whereof we can no cause in nature find, / Created as the means whereby he wrought / A miracle of mercy" (7.559-62). God himself mercifully and mightily creates a supernatural wind to dry the land and remove the flood, bringing Noah through this perilous journey. This example of Providence shows God's mighty and extraordinary power to redeem those who trust him.

Following the aftermath of the Flood, Hutchinson adds to the Genesis narrative, reflecting on the beauties of the new creation. In doing so, she is likely following Paul's interpretation of the way that the creation suffers and experiences redemption alongside humanity: "the creature itself also shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the children of God. For we know that the whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain together until now" (Romans 8:20-21). Canto 8 likewise emphasizes the beauties of cosmic redemption that Genesis omits. Using the aftermath of the Flood to depict God's grace, Hutchinson turns her readers to the biblical hope that God

will eventually restore all of creation. The receding of the waters occasions a dilation in the biblical paraphrase that contrasts the disorder inherent in the Flood with the order that prefigures eternal restoration. The personified parts of creation that were "weeping" (8.4) and had "mourned" (8.6) become a picture of beauty once again after the Flood subsides. A simile provides an image of God's grace to creation. The winds that were once at war now "played…on the various seas" (8.22); like women who constantly adjust their hair, the winds transform the seas. Anaphora underscores these quick and playful changes: "Now crisped, now marbled the successive streams, / Now weaved them into bredes with glittering beams" (8.23-24). Hutchinson then poses the rhetorical question, "What will full Restoration be, if this / But the first daybreak of God's favour is?" (8.27-28). This question, of course, refers to the creation of the new heavens and earth in Revelation 21. She sees in this post-Flood world a glimpse of what the post-judgment new earth will be and calls her Dissenting reader to imagine with her the glories of what God will create. Hutchinson paints different aesthetic pictures for her readers to imagine, showing that God has transformed the frightening and destructive waters into playful ones. Therefore, not only newness and life but also beauty come out of destruction and death.

The restoration of earth mirrors the redemption of humanity. A simile compares the restored mountains in particular to an unsightly prince who is

freed from prison (8.35-40). The majesty of the mountains return as their mud dries in "Heaven's compassionate, kind, refreshing eye" (8.39). Therefore, they are restored to beauty that once was theirs, emphasized by anaphora: "Again they fair, again they stately grew, / Again looked down on the sunk realm" (8.42-43). The poem argues that God returns them to what they were in the same way that he will return people to something similar to their prelapsarian state in the eschaton, giving tremendous hope to Dissenting readers. In the poem, just as God restores the mountains' magnificence, their nobility, and their right relation to water, he will also gloriously restore his people's beauty; their dignity; and their right relationships with each other, God, and the world. This grace is like a feast that makes people hungry for more (8.66-68), and periphrasis emphasizes that this God of renewal embodies love: "Love once more / Renewed the world which it produced before" (8.135-36). All of these examples of nature's redemption lead readers to hope in the renewal that God promises for them individually and for the whole created order.

The poem's emphasis on God creating order in a world that sin disorders is premised upon a sovereign, wise God who ordains all events for particular reasons. Paraphrasis equates God with "Eternal wisdom" (9.258), a central quality that enables people to trust him even though they do not understand

their divinely ordained circumstances. Decreeing events in ways beyond human understanding, God remains sovereign even over sin and evil.

Order and Disorder continually addresses the difficult and mysterious subject of evil in God's world, but it does not do so in order to give a comprehensive explanation. As tropes and schemes underscore and illuminate in her added passages, Hutchinson argues implicitly that Dissenting readers should praise God because of his mysterious wisdom in planning the world's events, blame only themselves for their sin, and rejoice that God shows his mercy to them through promises of cosmic redemption and personal sanctification. The many tropes and the schemes that accompany them argue that God is indeed trustworthy and praiseworthy and respond to the Lucretian notion that God is content to abstain from human affairs. The sheer quantity of Hutchinson's lessons on Providence makes these two objectives clear. By continually revisiting this topic and emphasizing the instances of Providence within the biblical paraphrase, Hutchinson aims to persuade readers to praise this all-wise sovereign who cares for humanity. Therefore, the ethos that Hutchinson primarily builds throughout the poem is God's. She does not want to persuade readers of her own goodness, but, through meditation on the Genesis narrative, the poetic paraphrase aims to present God's goodness.

Hutchinson's rhetorically embellished additions to the narrative, therefore, emphasize principles from the New Testament through expounding upon certain characters as well as teaching readers to live virtuously and leading them to praise the divine. Hutchinson often makes the Genesis characters relatable to her audience, casting these actors in a Jewish narrative as virtuous (even Dissenting) Christians not to turn her poem into a fiction but to give her Non-Conformist readers examples of lives that honor God. Likewise, deliberative rhetoric adds moral injunctions from the New Testament to the narrative. The epideictic passages reveal that Hutchinson does indeed argue for God's goodness and constant intervention into human life, pointing to instances in the narrative that readers can see examples of how God dealt mercifully with his people and turned evil into good. These passages work towards her ultimate goal, or the final cause of the poem, which is what she believes is her readers' good. They serve not to make the Genesis paraphrase merely more pleasurable per se for readers but to weave other biblical texts into Genesis that help her preach to her readers and to herself. Each i*nterpretatio* amplifies the narrative of the Genesis paraphrase, expressing God's providential design of the universe and the unity of the Bible.

CHAPTER SIX

The Tropes of Types and Emblems

Perhaps the most significant kind of *interpretatio* in Hutchinson's biblical paraphrase adds another layer to its tropes. In a previous chapter, I demonstrated that comparisons allow Hutchinson to communicate more persuasively and that her tropes make suprasensible concepts palpable, encourage evaluation, promote the ethical transformation of readers, and create networks of new meaning. Similarly but with greater complexity, another kind of trope occurs throughout *Order and Disorder*, presenting various theological comparisons through typology and emblems. As Michael Bath argues, the term "emblem" itself "came to be understood as a rhetorical term, signifying a trope which required definition alongside more familiar types of metaphor" (47). Both emblems and types function as tropes because they work on the basis of comparison. Hutchinson's poetic paraphrase constantly digresses for the sake of demonstrating Christian symbols within and faintly suggested by the Jewish text of Genesis, and Hutchinson interprets these types and emblems through her Calvinistic theology. An analysis of Hutchinson's use of comparison through types and emblems will help readers to appreciate the complex interpretive practices that Hutchinson employs toward the poem's formal cause. In this

chapter, I demonstrate that Hutchinson's "types" prefigure special Providence of redemption history, and "emblems" teach lessons of general Providence and moral doctrine, both for her own benefit and for her Dissenting readers'. I also show that, when Hutchinson dilates a passage of the narrative with both types and emblems, she relies upon her audience's familiarity with commonplace types and often suspends her narration of types by inserting her own emblems first to call her readers to virtuous action and then remind them of Christ's work that motivates that action. I then show that in addition to the lessons she labels "emblems," which tend to be commonplace and biblical, many other additions to the narrative function as unique emblems. In considering the Genesis narrative emblems serve as an aid to meditation for her and moral instruction for readers, while in considering the created order, emblems serve to teach readers how to let the physical world lead them to the knowledge of Hutchinson's God.

Hutchinson's Christological Typology

In her Christological typology, Hutchinson follows many other theologians who had gone before her, from Ambrose and Augustine to Calvin and Owen who continue this tradition of illustrating how Old Testament people and events serve as prefigurations ("types") of Christ. In *On the Principles of Christian Religion* she explains the importance of seeing Christ in the Old

Testament, arguing that the Old Testament is not "a covenant of works…of no use to believers in Gospell times." Rather,

> the tipes and promises…all preach Christ most evidently to us, and confirme our faith in the reall benefits wee have by him, which were hidden of old under those shadowes, but now are made cleare to us, and are of greate use to explaine unto our understandings many passages in the writings of the apostles and evangelists, they being those Scriptures which Christ himself says testifie of him…(55).

Hutchinson here refers to the biblical account in which the risen Jesus finds two of his followers on their way to Emmaus, "And beginning at Moses and all the prophets, he expounded unto them in all the scriptures the things concerning himself" (Luke 24:27). In other words, Jesus taught the Old Testament ("all the scriptures") to them by reading it as a series of signs pointing to himself.[1] Seeing the Old Testament as a succession of Christological shadows confirms the validity of Christ as the Messiah and the fulfillment of centuries of expectation and hope contributing toward Hutchinson's epideictic end. Hutchinson employs what David Lyle Jeffrey defines as the "hermeneutic of St. Paul and the early church," in which "the whole of the Hebrew Scriptures…becomes a *prolepsis*, a text preliminary to another text, dependent for closure and full meaning upon that which is now to come" (60).[2] *Order and Disorder* is essentially a poetic rendering of the patriarchs and their stories that point forward to Christ in shadows and types, and passages of interpretive additions punctuate the Genesis

paraphrase to provide this reading. The rhetorical aim of these passages is exactly what Hutchinson states in the aforementioned prose passage: to show the benefits that Christ provides for Christians. Therefore, Christological additions to the narrative ultimately serve an epideictic purpose. Hutchinson wants to remind her Dissenting readers that Christ provides the ultimate fulfillment of the Old Testament, giving them many benefits, to enable them to praise him as Messiah and Lord.

Types Revealing the Special Providence of Redemption

Hutchinson explicitly teaches about "types" in the Genesis narrative when she narrates God's clothing of Adam and Eve after the Fall. In *On the Principles of Christian Religion*, Hutchinson had identified this event as the first revealing of the shadowy Gospel to humans: "the first Gospell was preachd to Adam in Paradice, befor the sentence of death was pronouncd" (38). She refers here to Genesis 3:3 when God made "coats of skins, and clothed" Adam and Eve. Like Reformed theologians who insisted upon substitutionary atonement, Hutchinson deciphers the possibility that in using skins instead of plant leaves (what Adam and Eve had originally devised), God teaches the first humans about the necessity of a sacrifice to atone for and cover their sin. *Order and Disorder* expounds that this action

> Taught them to expiate their heinous guilt
> By spotless sacrifice and pure blood spilt,
> Which, done in faith, did their faint hearts sustain
> Till the intended Lamb of God was slain. (5.271-74)

This *interpretatio* makes the Christological reading of Genesis 3:3 explicit: God's creation of clothing for the first humans also served to teach them about the Old Testament sacrificial system, which symbolized the ultimate sacrificial lamb in Jesus. This account explains that, from the beginning, people have possessed some knowledge of substitutionary atonement. The "skins of the slain beasts" (5.277), the poem continues, "typified / That righteousness that doth our foul shame hide" (5.279-80). Adam and Eve were able to have the dim understanding that their sin resulted in a need for righteousness to clothe them. This *interpretatio* therefore posits a Calvinistic interpretation of not only Genesis but also the central doctrine of justification. This Christological reading of Adam and Eve's clothing, Hutchinson asserts, is the beginning of the poem's foreshadowing humanity's "deliverance…in types" (5.288); however, it is the only instance of a passage that has a "type" unaccompanied by an "emblem." In all other passages, emblems occur before types.

Emblems

Hutchinson's Christological reading of Genesis is one way that the narrative itself becomes metaphorical, a signifier of Christ. Similar to the way

she locates "types" of Christ in Genesis, the narrative often pauses to explain her interpretation of the significance of events, people, or objects from the biblical text and the created world that she calls "emblems."[3] These emblems have relevance when considering the plainness of Hutchinson's style.

Significantly, comparison in the poem goes beyond mere style but actually informs its content, which, according to N.H. Keeble, was a common interpretive practice for Dissenters who desired to comprehend and apply the book of the Bible and the book of nature to their lives. They "sought clarity and understanding through the interaction and relationships of phenomena, a realization of the complex nature of human beings, of nature's mystical and revelatory power and of God's immanence" (Keeble 253). One source of the differences between the styles of Restoration Anglicans and Dissenters resulted from valuing diverse aspects of biblical texts. In contrast to Anglicans who esteemed clear commandments, Dissenters prized the mystery inherent in Scripture. Keeble explains that "for nonconformists the Bible was no lucid handbook of ethics but an inexhaustible store house of wonders and revelations" (250). Shuger echoes this point that "Scriptural brevity is prediscursive and metaphorical, not literal, and certainly not the…plain style favored by Restoration rationalists" (167). Although Hutchinson clearly esteems biblical commandments and the pursuit of virtue, she often expresses them through

tropes to render them understandable and persuasive to her audience, and her emblems suggest her valuing of the mysteries in Scripture and the ways both it and creation could be read as evidences of a greater mysterious God. This kind of "[p]rovidential style" (Keeble 253) in *Order and Disorder* finds multiple spiritual realities that the Bible and creation suggest. Locating the evidence of God's hand in everything led her to view and study creation in particular in the way common to Dissenters: "as a series of metaphors, exempla, and allegories" (258). Hutchinson's emblems aim to communicate that every aspect of creation and the biblical text itself constitutes an opportunity to learn a moral lesson.

Emblem-writing was an important part of seventeenth-century rhetorical education. According to William Weaver, "As late as the mid seventeenth century, both epigrams and emblems (a humanist genre modeled in part on the epigram) were firmly ensconced in grammar school practice of the rudiments of eloquence" (31). Bath similarly notes the educational practice of locating and writing about emblems especially in regards to the "book of nature" (40). Because of its common use as an educational practice, Hutchinson was far from being the only seventeenth-century poet to write emblems.

In 1635, Francis Quarles published what would become his most famous book, *Emblemes*. Each of Quarles's emblems consists of a picture and a short verse about a moral lesson that his readers should draw. They are then followed

by two related quotations from the Christian Fathers and an epigram. Quarles describes his notion of the emblem:

> An Embleme is but a silent Parable. Let not the tender Eye checke, to see the allusion to our blessed SAVIOUR figured, in these Types. In holy Scripture, He is sometimes called a Sower; sometimes, a Fisher; sometimes, a Physitian: And why not presented so, as well to the eye, as to the eare? Before the knowledge of letters, GOD was knowne by Hierogliphicks; And, indeed, what are the Heavens, the Earth, nay every Creature, but Hierogliphicks and Emblemes of His Glory? (A3)

Quarles connects emblem-writing to Christological typology and argues that the created world provides a myriad of signifiers that point readers to God's glory and their own moral instruction. Like Hutchinson and Cawdray, Quarles is eager to justify his tropes by pointing out that biblical writers employ similar methods of interpretation.

Nevertheless, Hutchinson's emblems differ from other emblem books because of the particular way that she weaves them into poetry. Robert Wilcher comments that Hutchinson likely adopted Quarles's genre ("'Adventurous Song'" 312), but he does not explain the differences between the two authors' works and the way Hutchinson's emblems, which resemble the content of Quarles's emblems in only a few instances, are innovative. In contrast to emblem books like Quarles's, Hutchinson's emblems have no pictures at all but are instead textual descriptions dispersed throughout the Genesis paraphrase. They do not include patristic writings; rather, her emblems rely upon both the readers'

knowledge of biblical texts and the created world that they inhabit. Hutchinson also distinguishes between types that reveal special Providence of redemption history and emblems that provide lessons of general Providence. Lastly, while Quarles's emblems, according to A.D. Cousins, address an "unregenerate reader, who [participates] in *contemptus mundi* and thereafter [follows] through an order of salvation" (15), Hutchinson's emblems serve encouraging as well as instructive spiritual purposes for her and her Dissenting readers.

Emblem-Writing as Meditation

Importantly, emblem-writers had two disparate ways to understand their "invention": as drawing a unique connection or as finding a relationship that already existed. Like schemes and tropes, emblems could be platforms for displaying wit, but writing emblems could also serve as a contemplative practice. Bath explains that "the emblem was conceived both as an art of rhetorical invention in which novel or witty connections were suggested between signifier and signified, and at the same time as an art which used inherent meanings already inscribed in the Book of Nature by the finger of God" (3). Bath makes an important distinction between these different objectives: "the type of moral emblem which uses rhetorical and proverbial topoi places a high premium on the inventive skills of the writer," but "the religious emblem is more intent on discovering the meanings already inscribed in the books of scripture and nature

– meanings which are not so much invented as discovered, and thus not arbitrary" (6). As a rhetorical exercise, emblem-writing could either showcase the creativity and ingenuity of its author by drawing together unusual likenesses, or, as a contemplative practice, emblem-writing could find those meanings that God had placed within his book and his world. Emblems in *Order and Disorder* embody the latter.

Just as Hutchinson firmly believes in the typological symbols that suggest Christ in the Old Testament, she also considers the emblems she finds in the text and in creation to actually correspond to spiritual realities. In other words, she believes that she is not creating emblems but finding them. Hutchinson's rhetoric corresponds to her belief about the created world: everything signifies transcendental truth. Committing to paper the evidences of God and a moral order she sees in the world and in the biblical texts helps her to remind herself of the divine nature and the appropriate response to that nature.

As I have argued in previous chapters, Hutchinson's aim is arguably not only to draw her Dissenting readers to worship but also to encourage herself. I contend that the process of composing emblems became a manner of meditation for her rather than merely an exercise in developing and displaying her wit. In fact, Hutchinson refers to her poem as such: "These meditations were not at first designed for public view, but fixed upon to reclaim a busy roving thought from

wandering in the pernicious and perplexed maze of human inventions" (*Order* 3). Clearly, she does anticipate an audience in the poem, but there is no real conflict between personal meditation and public persuasion. In fact, Hutchinson seems to aim to do both simultaneously, persuading and encouraging a Dissenting audience in the same ways that she herself feels she needs to be persuaded and encouraged. Just as Adam's speech to Eve brought consolation to its author, Hutchinson's emblem-writing interspersed throughout the poem apparently helped her to meditate on Providence, and she encourages her readers to do likewise. Mary Carruthers explains that monks frequently constructed mental images in order to redirect a "wandering" mind (77). Similarly, by locating emblems within the Genesis narrative and creation, Hutchinson can remind herself that God is still divinely connecting everything in her world that seems to be shattered. She contemplates two types of emblems in *Order and Disorder*: one that locates signifiers in the text and the other that identifies signifiers in the created world that crop up in the narrative. Constructing emblems from the narrative itself is a spiritual exercise for Hutchinson, but these emblems also serve to teach doctrine as well as particular applications for virtuous action.

In the wake of grief and confusion, Hutchinson resolves to praise God and trust his Providence. Writing an emblem about this very process helps to give

her direction about what steps to take in the aftermath of her loss. In narrating Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac, she suspends the standard typological interpretation to first draw a lesson from seemingly minor details in the narrative, apparently for her own soul. Genesis records Abraham leaving his company behind to obediently offer his sacrifice.[4] This brief biblical description becomes a "doctrine" for the Christian life in Hutchinson's poem:

> Much mystery in the whole story lies;
> Each part some doctrine or some type implies.
> Abraham here represents the devout mind,
> And the two servants which he left behind
> Earthly affections, human reason be.
> These, when souls climb the hill of piety,
> By faith led up to God, must even so
> As they, be left with the dull ass below;
> For worldly cares retard her nimble flight,
> And fleshly reasons blind her piercing sight
> While they converse with earth and earthly things
> And hang like clogs upon her soaring wings,
> Which once shook off, the soul at liberty
> Is swiftly carried up to God on high,
> And there upon his holy altar pays
> Her pure oblations of spiritual praise. (15.95-110)

First, she considers the "doctrine" or emblem. The faithful mind, symbolized by Abraham, pursues God by faith, abandoning temporal concerns and human reason. Here, they clearly burden the faithful person, but when that person deserts them, the human soul can more fully pursue and enjoy what is spiritual. This passage seems to teach Hutchinson herself that she must abandon her grief and sorrow as well as her desire to understand confusing events like the

Restoration and her husband's imprisonment and death. Throughout the poem, Hutchinson fights to privilege mystery over clear and comprehensive knowledge; here, she seems to chide herself from putting too much confidence in her ability to decipher Providence. Both her emotions and her confusion and questioning prevent her from praising God, so, like Abraham who leaves his servants behind to make his sacrifice, Hutchinson (and her Dissenting readers) must also forsake the emotional and intellectual obstacles that hinder their sacrifice of praise.

This passage is a good example of Hutchinson's use of emblem-writing as meditation. U. Milo Kaufmann asserts about specifically Puritan spirituality that "meditation tended to handle Scripture as homily and to conceive of its own method as that of preaching to the self" (120), and Helen Constance White notes that seventeenth-century books of meditation typically followed "Scripture narrative, with appropriate reflections on the matters thereby brought into the foreground of the reader's consciousness" (178). Additionally, Curruthers's explanation of monastic meditation practice sheds light on what passages like these might do for Hutchinson: the "monastic practice of meditation notably involved making mental images or cognitive 'pictures' for thinking and composing" (3) in order to strengthen their memories and guide their thoughts. Although Hutchinson does not construct tangible pictures, she does attempt to

brand certain pictures, which she paints through words, in her as well as her readers' minds to guide them continually toward worship and faith. Another way that her practice is akin to medieval monastic meditation is in the attempt to strengthen their memory, for, as Carruthers explains, the opposite of memory was thought to be "disorder" in the mind (82). Therefore, the title of Hutchinson's poem then could point to a cosmos that mirrors the author's mind that has moved from order to disorder. The picture of Abraham abandoning his servants enables Hutchinson to preach to herself, to argue for her own sake what she would like to believe and how she would like to respond to her tragic circumstances, and she is able to envision an act of abandonment in order to be obedient.

After her pause to meditate upon the "doctrine" found in Abraham leaving behind his servants, she expounds upon the type that readers expect, one related to the previous types in sacrificial animals. The standard reading of Abraham's willingness to offer Isaac is relevant to Christianity in several ways. In the beginning of this *interpretatio*, the narrator comments that the Jewish sacrificial system repeated the symbolism that Adam and Eve had begun learning after the Fall:

> That the pure Lamb of God might there be slain
> Where it so long before was typified
> By all those beasts which on his altar died,
> And by young Isaac's immolation. (15.227-29)

The poem explains that the Jewish ceremonial law, for which Genesis is the prologue, pointed to Christ, the offerings for sin foreshadowing Christ's ultimate sacrifice for sin. In this passage, Isaac himself becomes a type of Christ. Hutchinson links the Old Testament and New Testament wood-carriers through a simile:

> As Isaac, the designed offering,
> The wood which should consume himself did bring
> Up to the place appointed for his death,
> So Christ was after led sweating beneath
> The burden of that cross on which he died,
> And God's severest justice satisfied. (15.235-40)

This parallel emphasizes that Isaac prefigured the action of Christ, carrying the wood intended for his own death that would serve as a propitiation for human sin. However, God spares Isaac from serving as an offering, which transfers the typological interpretation of Isaac to sinful humanity and the ram to Christ. God's provision of a ram for Abraham to slay instead of his son typifies the penal substitution of Jesus's death for sinners. The scheme of polyptoton underscores the ultimate symbolic point of the story: "Man's guilt purged by this guiltless sacrifice" (15.244). This scheme memorably emphasizes rather than thoroughly explains these doctrines of justification. Hutchinson's belief that Christ had no guilt but died for the guilty is the mystery that these passages celebrate. Hutchinson aims for readers to contemplate the relief that Abraham must have felt knowing that his son did not have to die and, as a result, praise God for his

even greater provision to spare them from spiritual death. The emblem calls the author and her readers to respond to difficult circumstances in faith, and then the type calls attention again to the blessings that believers have in Christ.

In this passage, the type reminds readers to be grateful for all of the benefits that it implies for them. The scheme of anaphora enumerates what Christ's death accomplished:

> Here dropped that balm which doth the passions cure,
> Here sprang that fountain which makes sinners pure,
> Here forfeit mankind's desperate debt was paid,
> Here was the treasure of God's love displayed,
> Here death's large power by dying vanquished;
> Here hungry souls, with heavenly manna fed,
> Who ever since have sick or weary been,
> Here have their cure, here their refreshment seen. (15.247-52)

Repetition in this passage contributes to its emotional appeal, arguing for and showing the great and numerous merits of Christ's substitutionary death. The poem implies that readers who believe this gospel, or good news, of atonement should praise Christ because the cross has given them the means for living their lives in balanced ways, purification for their sins, payment for the debt of their sins, God's love, their hope in death, and the fulfillment of their souls' longings. Metaphor intensifies these suprasensible benefits and strengthens their epideictic appeal. The poem illuminates Hutchinson's notion of the fallen state of sinners' souls, bleak and terrible through pictures of physical sickness, dirtiness, indebtedness, poverty, death, hunger, and weariness. The poem contends that

one single event, Christ's cross, provides the alleviation of the spiritual condition that all of these negative descriptions depict.

After describing the emblem, the type, and then the restoration Christians receive because of this story's fulfillment, the poem's narrator then ponders what Abraham and Isaac must have thought regarding this incident and concludes that what she has found immensely meaningful, God's provision of the ram to spare Isaac, is likely to them extremely mysterious: "Yet the first fathers had but a dim sight / Of what we now enjoy in a clear light" (15.273-74). This event gave to Abraham and Isaac a faint indication of what was to come in their Messiah. The text implicitly argues that if Abraham and the patriarchs were able to praise God and his faithfulness to them when they only had vague indications of the gospel, how much more should seventeenth-century Dissenting readers who now have the fulfillment of all of those types praise him. Hutchinson sees herself as much more informed about redemptive history and Providence than Abraham; recounting this story and meditating upon its meanings helps her to act in faith as Abraham did, despite confusing circumstances.

Instructing Through Emblems Before Encouraging With Types

An important way that Hutchinson's crafting of emblems is unique has to do with the chronology in which she inserts them into the narrative. As in the Abraham and Isaac passage, she usually draws at least one emblem of general

Providence before she explains the type of special Providence. The first example of the emblem anticipating the type occurs at Eve's creation. Before the very first Christological interpretation in the narrative, which illustrates the Pauline teaching that Christ was the second Adam[5], Hutchinson inserts an emblem that instructs readers in soteriology, specifically who exactly possesses agency during justification, as an encouragement for readers to trust in Providence. The utter inability of Adam to create Eve and particularly the fact that God made her while Adam slept are symbolic, "A sweet instructive emblem" (3.458) of God's sovereign and omnipotent work in the lives of limited sinners. The poem argues that Adam cannot create Eve by himself, just as fallen mankind cannot live both independently and righteously. God must put Adam to sleep to bring life from him just as he brings regeneration to people while they are, as the apostle Paul claims, "dead in trespasses and sins" (Ephesians 2:1). This part of the creation story shows, the narrator interprets, "How waking Providence is active still / To do us good, and to avert our ill / When we locked up in stupefaction lie," (3.459-61). This passage encourages Dissenting readers that while they are unable to help themselves, they can still trust God who works for their good. The dead womb becomes a metaphor for the unregenerate, natural spiritual state of mankind: "Our choicest mercies out of dead wombs flow" (3.466). This comparison emphasizes total depravity and the inability of people to contribute

to their salvation and attributes the agency in regeneration to God alone; the passage expresses that mankind cannot save himself but relies solely upon the mercy of God to regenerate him. The passage also, more broadly, teaches readers a lesson of general Providence: They can trust and rest in the knowledge in God's sovereignty and power, even when they are "locked up in stupefaction."

Hutchinson follows this unusual Calvinistic emblem with the typological teaching that readers expect, emphasizing what they receive because of Christ's substitutionary atonement. God's creation of Eve out of Adam's side prefigures Christ and the Church.[6] In the same way that God formed Eve out of Adam's rib, he made the Church a reality because of Christ's sacrificial death, including the spear that pierced his side: "So from the second Adam's bleeding side / God formed the Gospel Church, his mystic bride," (3.467-68).[7] Both come from an intimate place and are born at a cost to another. Anaphora and antithesis emphasize the substitutionary nature of Christ's death: "His blood quick spirits into ours conveyed, / His wasted flesh our wasted flesh supplied, / And we were then revived when he died;" (3.470-73). Antanaclasis[8] emphasizes that just as God used a part of Adam to enable Eve's life, Christ's blood gives the Church life, and his flesh was punished ("wasted") because of Christians' sinful

("wasted") flesh. Readers have to wait for the anticipated type and receive the emblem, or a particular lesson of general Providence first.

Hutchinson aims for this passage with emblem and type to lead readers to worship God for both his general and special Providence, and she goes beyond Paul's assertion that Christ is the second Adam by having Christ himself speak in apostrophe. He addresses the Church in anaphora and antithesis: "I and my death, I and my life are thine…. / From heaven I did descend to fetch up thee, / Rose from the grave that thou mightst reign with me" (3.478, 485-86). Christ's direct address to the Church (and implicitly to Christian readers) teaches the doctrine that Christ's perfect life is imputed to believing sinners and that his death accomplishes their just punishment. Christ himself speaking these words gives authority and validity to the doctrine, and speaking in the first and second persons conveys a stronger, more personal emphasis than discussing doctrine in the third person, as it is usually done. This passage underscores that Christians receive both Christ's death on their behalf and also his resurrected life, and to make this imputed righteousness and substitutionary atonement possible, Christ descended to earth from the glories of eternity and then ascended to heaven from the grave. This passage describing prefallen Adam and Eve then prefigures Christ and his redeemed Church during the eschaton in which he will no longer be "Concealed in types and shadows" (3.498). Here, the emblem first instructs

readers to trust in Providence, and the type persuades readers to consider special Providence, what Christ has accomplished on their behalf, all to move them towards worship. Hutchinson seems to take on the role of a preacher in this method. The two goals of Reformation preaching were to teach readers the truth and to move their hearts to affectively believe that truth, which is precisely what she does by situating emblems to call readers to virtuous action before types to remind them of Christ's sacrifice for them.

In a similar instance of adding an emblematic as well as a typological interpretation of an event, the Flood narrative provides multiple emblems and types. First, Hutchinson interprets the Flood as a Calvinistic emblem that people are sinners who need to be cleansed of their wickedness, illustrating total depravity and the human need for baptism.[9] Because of sinners' "polluted births" (7.195), they must "to the first eternal spring repair" (7.197). They must go to God for spiritual purification if they do not want to be drowned in his wrath. Implying two different kinds of "goodness" in antanaclasis, Hutchinson explains that people must begin "Carrying and seeking all our goodness there" (7.198). The moral teaching of the emblem, in other words, is for sinners to abandon their conception of their own "goodness," their works, and they must seek "goodness" in Christ's righteousness alone.

Hutchinson then follows this mostly familiar emblem with a reminder of special Providence, a type or "shadow" as she terms it here. The type in this instance complements the emblem because it illustrates other important Calvinistic doctrines, irresistible grace and unconditional election. She interprets Noah's herding of the animals as a "type" of the way that God draws people to himself. Noah does not actually need to herd them because God leads them "by secret sweet impulse" (7.343). This way that the animals obediently and easily came into the ark "shadow[s] out" (7.248) a theological lesson for humans: God similarly calls his elect to himself. This *interpretatio* explains free will and election through several comparisons: God's calling is not "like stocks" (7.351), chaining people to do his will. Instead, the real chains are sins, and these "strong fetters" restrain "the free will" (7.354). The passage argues that what constrains people is not God but their rebellious natures, and Hutchinson underscores this point by comparing people's sin to "Hell's mists" (7.353), which blind them. God's action in the poem then is freeing, enabling people to cast off their binding and blinding sin and to obtain a clear perspective. By reversing this idea of what God's irresistible grace does, she shows that it has a positive rather than a negative action and commends it as praiseworthy. Again, her strategy here is to call readers to action (in this case, to remember their sinfulness and need for baptism and repentance) and then to remind them what she claims that God

already does because of Christ's work on their behalf: he calls them to himself through grace.

Hutchinson lingers on the interpretive significance of the Flood, which she seems to use as a method for coping with her confusion and grief regarding her life circumstances. Noah's ark becomes an opportunity to broach the subject of hypocrisy in the Church. Interpreting the ark as a "type" of the Church whom God brings through suffering and persecution, Hutchinson follows Augustine's and many others' interpretations of this passage in Genesis.[10] In addition to the significance of a few being preserved through suffering, Hutchinson also interprets this type further. The ark with different kinds of animals and people is a type of the Church that contains both believers and unbelievers.[11] Biographically, this emblem could allude to the difficulties that Hutchinson experienced not only with people who opposed her faith but also people who seemed to share her faith.

Although this reading of the ark as a figure for the Church was not unique to Hutchinson, an unusual interpretation occurs in discussing the raven's coming and going from the ark. The hypocrite travels back and forth from the Church to the world like this type, the raven that Noah first sends to find land. This raven points forward in time to a non-believer who goes into the world to find comfort but finds only curses (8.105-10). Also, a related simile graphically explains that

birds like the raven eat the eyes of dying sheep in a way similar to the hypocrite's attempts "to put out a sick saint's dying light" (8.104). Seemingly, Hutchinson has the treatment of her late husband in mind here. Hypocrites here are suggested by the animals within the ark, especially the raven that leaves and returns, and predatory birds generally. The purpose of this *interpretatio* is to point out a truth that resonates in human experience, especially Hutchinson's experience: People are sometimes less committed to their communities than they initially seem, to the detriment of those who remain loyal to the ideals of those communities. Also, the fact that these actions are depicted here in Scripture should lead readers to be assured that such experiences are not a cause to doubt divine sovereignty or the character of the victims.

Hutchinson then asserts that readers should look at types as pointing not only chronologically forward toward Christians but also backward to God's character shown through this event.[12] She reflects that as readers consider God's restoration of the world after the Flood and his promise of peace to Noah's family, they should remember, "The pledges here, types, hopes, effects, are all / But various streams from that original" (8.147-48). The Flood narrative not only sheds light on the Church, prefiguring the group of people that Christ's redemption makes possible, but it also reflects what exists originally in God himself who is supremely good.

Even then, Hutchinson is not finished with interpretations of God's restoration of the world after the Flood. She closes her account of this event by issuing another Calvinistic emblem. The dove carrying the olive represents Christians' need of God's intervention; in contrast to the raven, the dove is an emblem of the Holy Spirit, and the olive branch it carries symbolizes the gospel message. The Holy Spirit moves with the gospel message in a similar way to the dove traveling with the olive branch. Hutchinson teaches Dissenting readers about how they are to think about evangelization through the lens of the doctrine of unconditional election. This emblem emphasizes that the Holy Spirit must work in order for the benefits of the gospel message to be applied:

> But where these glorious great effects are wrought
> The olive must in the dove's mouth be brought,
> For fruitless is the gospel remedy
> Except the spirit do the cure apply (8.181-84)

The passage clarifies that the olive, or the gospel, does not alone regenerate sinners; rather, the Holy Spirit must work to spiritually enliven them. When the Spirit does this work, the poem asserts, his results are like that of olives: "softness, smoothness, suppless, ease, / Fattening all food, allaying all disease" (8.173-74). Alliteration here emphasizes the orderliness and harmony of healthy physical and spiritual food. Known for their nutritional and health benefits, olives produce filling and even curative results. Again, the evaluative metaphor for sin is sickness, and the results of eating olives, because of their nutritional

benefits, are similar to the effects of redemption for sinners. In addition to placing God as the agent of salvation, emblems from the text teach explicit Calvinistic doctrines that encourage readers to praise God for all of the benefits they receive by his grace alone. As they make tropological interpretations and teach readers various moral lessons about general Providence, the emblems of the poem make Hutchinson's theological position clear,[13] and they often work in tandem with types to simultaneously instruct readers about both what God has done for them and what God expects of them.

As Isaac had become a signifier of both Christ and saved sinners, Isaac's son, Jacob, dreams of a ladder, which becomes a multi-faceted comparison with emblems followed by types. As is her common practice, Hutchinson delays the usually familiar typological reading of the ladder to consider what the emblem was for Jacob and what it is for her readers. First, the ladder represents Jacob's life as a patriarch of the Christian faith: "This ladder as to Jacob signifies / His mortal progress, which from th'earth doth rise / Till he Heaven's arched palaces ascend" (19.129-31). The ladder gives a moral lesson to Jacob: he must seek God and persevere in faith until the end of his life. However, this pause in the narrative does not stop at its relevance for Jacob in signifying his progress to Heaven. Instead, the interpretation extends to Dissenting readers, who must persevere up the ladder through various sufferings and persecutions to reach

Heaven and their ultimate peace and rest with God there (19.141-60). The ladder represents the arduous journey for Jacob and for readers as they strive to work out their faith.

After giving the ladder's tropological meaning, Hutchinson provides its typological reading that the ladder is also a type of Christ. This type teaches the fundamental Reformed doctrine of justification, insisting upon the doctrine of salvation through "Christ alone." The definite article "the" emphasizes with anaphora the singularity and uniqueness of Christ. The ladder symbolizes "The blessed Messiah, Heaven's gate, by whom / The saints into his Father's glory come, / The mediator between Earth and Heaven" (19.163-65). Just as Hutchinson's tropes often group together associated concepts to produce a new vision, here, the typological reading of the ladder becomes multi-dimensional in every traditional way. Interestingly, this Christological explanation of the ladder as a type involves another metaphor: Christ is the ladder, and Christ is a gate. In both in the poem, he is a means to an end, linking sinners to Heaven by a ladder that they must climb and a gate through which they must enter. The grueling journey of sinners toward Heaven, then, is completed through Christ, the only way they may reach their goal. Christ's

> merit and his intercession are alone
> The stairs by which from God's eternal throne
> His sacred ministers bring to mankind
> The sweet refreshments they from his grace find (19.171-74)

In this complicated and distinctly Reformed metaphor, Christ's work on behalf of sinners, a gate, is the means by which ministers give spiritual refreshment to laypeople. This comparison emphasizes complete dependence upon Christ and not on human, even ministerial, works. All the minister can do is to relay to mankind the gospel of Christ's complete accomplishment of imputed righteousness and substitutionary atonement. This finished work is good news for readers because of the hope it gives them in death. The personification of death in this passage references a common biblical metaphor; when death "throws down this frail house of clay," or the body, Christians will have true rest (19.175-76). Here, death is destructive, and the body is vulnerable and fallible. Yet, the point of this addition to the central narrative is that Christ's work gives his followers a lasting hope beyond death and bodily decay, once again giving readers reason to praise Christ for his work. Throughout the narrative, Hutchinson teaches readers about Calvinistic theology, instructing them about obedient action through constructing emblems and then reminding them of the types that motivate them towards obedience. In this case, readers leave their worldly cares behind in obedience because they have benefited immensely from Christ's obedience unto death. This rhetorical strategy enables readers to obediently commit themselves to Christ as they remember the ways his obedience has spiritually satisfied their needs.

Emblems that Occur Without Types

While several of Hutchinson's emblems accompany types, most of them occur without types as she adds far more emblematic than typological interpretations into the narrative. The interpretations that she describes using the word "emblem" are usually overtly biblical. As in the Bible, she draws multiple significations regarding the relationship between light and dark. Interpreting the significance of God creating light on the first day, the poem first depicts light metaphorically as a bird, its beams as "radiant wings" (1.308). Then light is contrasted with personified Night, who "envious…her black mists hurled" (1.118). Darkness and light chase and fight with each other in the never-ending cycle of day turning into night and then night turning back into day. This continuous process is

> An emblem of that everlasting feud
> 'Twixt sons of light and darkness still pursued;
> And of that frail imperfect state wherein
> The wasting lights of mortal men begin; (1.323-26)

For Hutchinson, light and dark are visible reminders of the two types of people who exist in the world; night chases day like the reprobate that constantly challenge and attack the chosen.[14] Not only are darkness and light emblems of different kinds of people, but they are also another emblem of mortality. Darkness chases light like death chases life. A third emblem Hutchinson finds out of the relationship between light and darkness is one of envy that chases and

clouds over wisdom and virtue: "Even [the chosen's] wisdom's and their virtue's light / Are hid by envy's interposing night" (1.329-30).[15] Lastly, the triumph of each morning serves as an emblem of Christ's reigning victory over death:

> But though these splendours all in graves are thrown,
> Wherever the true seed of light is sown
> The powers of darkness may contend in vain,
> It shall a conqueror rise and ever reign (1.332-34)

Light becomes a teacher to Hutchinson's Dissenting audience of various conflicts that they face in this life: with non-believers, death, and the envy of people who seem to be their friends. However, light in the poem also underscores the victory that believers have over all of these adversaries: the triumph of the Redeemer in which believers partake, giving them hope for deliverance from these conflicts and ultimately resurrection from the dead. Positively, the section closes by delineating what light does for people through anaphora repeating "By it" (1.343, 345). Light enables humanity to use their eyes to behold the glory of creation, directing them to the glorious God whose light they cannot yet behold. At this end of canto 1, epanalepsis[16] emphasizes the ultimate separation between darkness and light, just like these realities that they symbolize: "Thus was the first day made; God so called Light, / Severed from darkness; darkness was the Night" (1.349-50). Here, Hutchinson endows this aspect of the creation narrative with four different significations, suggesting her belief that creation itself is a multi-layered text that Christians should read and interpret according to other

biblical texts, locating emblems that encourage them to live virtuously and finding assurances that even such experiences of suffering remain subject to God's loving sovereignty.

The next explicitly labeled emblem comes at the close of the creation narrative: the biblical principle that humans' mortality is like flowers.[17] This newly-made creation's "glories" are "emblems…wherein we see / How frail our human lives and beauties be" (2.97-98). A simile expounds upon this point, comparing flowers to people, both with short-lived glory. Humans are "like those flowers which at sunrise spread / Their gaudy leaves, and are at evening dead" (2.99-100). Here, Hutchinson weaves Psalm 103:15-16 into the narrative: "As for man, his days are as grass: as a flower of the field, so he flourisheth. For the wind passeth over it, and it is gone; and the place thereof shall know it no more." This emblem teaches readers the importance of humility and a realistic sense of transient beauty and implicitly argues that readers should seek a beauty greater and longer lasting than their own.

After the Fall, the last explicitly labeled emblem that stands in isolation from a type teaches a New Testament principle and also seems to have direct personal relevance for Hutchinson. Similar to her interpretation of the ark, predatory animals make sense of the difficult relationships with people that she has experienced. Fallen creation becomes an emblem of the war between the

wheat and the tares, God's people sensing the persecution and oppression from Satan and the unregenerate. As the fallen world becomes a battleground and predators begin to devour their prey, the race of man is also destined to become embroiled in conflict: "Thus sin the whole Creation did divide / Into th'oppressing and the suffering side" (5.353-54). Predatory animals as well as oppressive people are "True emblems" of Satan's work (5.357). Here, Hutchinson reads 1 Peter 5:8 into the fallen creation: "Be sober, be vigilant; because your adversary the devil, as a roaring lion, walketh about, seeking whom he may devour." In the poem, the way that creation becomes competitive for power suggests the persecution of the innocent, but Satan also uses these predators, specifically people who act like predators, to do his work. The narrator explains, "Nor only emblems were, but organs too, / In and by whom he did his mischiefs do" (5.359-60). Here, Hutchinson seems to make sense of the English civil war and the dissension within her own party by drawing this emblem that relies on antithesis, contrasting the true believers with the oppressors who are instruments of Satan himself. The implicit lesson from this emblem is that of 1 Peter 5:8: Christians should recognize that evil forces and oppressive people seek to destroy them, and they should persevere through their persecution. These explicitly labeled "emblems" are mostly conventional, weaving other biblical texts into the Genesis narrative.

Emblems for Encouragement

Other passages in the narrative do not receive the label "emblem" but function similarly, both for the author and for Dissenting readers, to provide moral instruction and encouragement that arise from their trust in general Providence. The emblem Hutchinson draws in regards to Enoch apparently comforts her regarding her husband's death. The seemingly unusual account of Enoch's ascension into Heaven becomes an emblem on the glorification of believers generally. The poem's narrator asserts that

> by [Enoch's] living, whole assumption gave
> His saints assurance the concealing grave
> Shall not their flesh for ever prisoner keep
> But yield them fresher after death's long sleep. (6.627-30)

Enoch's heavenly climb encourages believers that they too will be reunited with their bodies after their metaphorical "sleep" in the prison of death. This doctrine also provides comfort to Hutchinson, as she copes with her husband's death. In imagining her husband's ascension like Enoch's, she can see him not as she last saw him, languishing and sick, but she can envision him restored to the strong man that he was throughout the majority of their twenty-six years of marriage.

Apparently in response to her grief, Hutchinson emphasizes the wisdom and hopefulness of Providence, and through emblem-writing she turns her

thoughts of confusion and sorrow toward trusting God's promises. In Genesis, God designates the rainbow as a symbol of his promise, but Hutchinson endows the rainbow with further emblematic significance. The rainbow already represents God's Providence and grace, but she deepens the biblical meaning of this promise by explaining that the beauty of a rainbow results from a mere "wet cloud" (8.364). In the same way, God creates joy out of sadness in human life:

> Thus the most sad lamenting soul and face,
> Receiving beams of God's transforming grace,
> May an illustrious admiration grow
> While amiable splendor shines through woe. (8.365-68)

After the Flood of judgment and suffering come redemption and beauty. The epideictic rhetoric emphasizes this theme as the narrator calls readers to thankfulness for God's mercy and power, "Restoring clearness to the darkened skies / And pleasant smiles to the late-weeping eyes" (8.401-02). The trope of metonymy displays God's action of turning mourning to joyfulness. What characterized human faces before the Flood was "weeping eyes," but after the restoration of creation, "pleasant smiles" dominate their expressions. In a similar way, readers can experience this kind of change. This emblem displays a theme that the prophet Isaiah announces later in the Old Testament and that Jesus, in Luke's Gospel, claims to fulfill: "The Spirit of the Lord God is upon me; because the Lord hath anointed me to…give unto them beauty for ashes, the oil of joy for mourning, the garment of praise for the spirit of heaviness" (Isaiah 61:1, 3). The

Christian reading of Isaiah's prophecy, as interpreted by Jesus himself, is that Jesus is the Messiah who transforms sorrow into rejoicing. This principle is one that Hutchinson is likely striving to believe, constructing an emblem to encourage herself.[18] Like medieval meditation practices that helped monks both to learn and to teach (Carruthers 136), Hutchinson's interpretive process of locating signs in the Genesis narrative that can help lead her mind and emotions to trust God is not merely a private contemplative exercise since she also seeks to use emblems to teach and move her Dissenting readers.

Emblems for Women

Frequently, it seems that Hutchinson writes her poem for her own and for Dissenting female readers' benefit, in particular.[19] The incident regarding Lot's family's evacuation becomes a lesson to women because Lot's wife looks back to her worldly goods instead of trusting God to move forward. The poem emphasizes the dangers of women's curiosity. Women, it admonishes, should not be overly inquisitive. Lot's wife endured her fate, being turned into salt, so that women could learn from her:

> But for example to her sex remained,
> Teaching how curious minds should be restrained
> And kept within the Lord's prescribed bound,
> Which none e'er passed but swift destruction found. (13.173-76)

Lot's wife becomes an "example," giving a moral lesson, or emblem, to instruct women about being led astray by their intellectual interests. Anaphora describes what happened to Lot's wife, repeating "her" five times to describe the process of her demise for different parts of her body. As Norbrook notes (*Order* 324 note 174), Hutchinson may be thinking of herself and her Lucretius translation, so this passage too could be an exercise in contemplation for primarily her own benefit. Indeed, she seems to chide herself from seeking knowledge from Lucretius's philosophical poem that conflicted with her faith; the passage presents a tension for Hutchinson as a curious intellectual artist who also upholds her faith over all else. Throughout the poem, Hutchinson warns readers of this familiar danger of wanting to know too much (and thus become God).

In addition to the injunction to women not to become overly curious, an emblem inserted during Eve's temptation also warns female readers from receiving counsel from untrustworthy men.[20] The poem cautions them to try to avoid isolation because solitude makes them more vulnerable to "lewd men" (4.173) who give "flattering whispers" (4.175) that a personified "impudence" would even "fear / To utter in the presence of a friend" (4.176-77). Like Satan, men can deceive women through compliments, the poem argues, so women must guard themselves against this trick and "learn pernicious counselors to

shun" (4.218). Women must take care when choosing their advisors to first ensure their benignancy.

Emblems of Work, Rest, and Sloth

The longest unlabeled emblematic dilation of the narrative occurs to prescribe God's example of work and rest in creation to readers. This emblem follows from the biblical Sabbath commandment: "'Remember the sabbath day, to keep it holy. Six days shalt thou labour, and do all thy work: But the seventh day is the sabbath of the LORD thy God….For in six days the LORD made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that in them is, and rested the seventh day: wherefore the LORD blessed the sabbath day and hallowed it" (Exodus 20:8-9, 11). Hutchinson follows the Bible in prescribing the action and rest of God to her readers as her *interpretatio* calls readers to work hard for six days and to rest on the seventh day. The passage alliteratively leads up to its ultimate point, explaining that God "did in his own productions please" (3.546); because he was satisfied with his work, he took the seventh day to rest. Thus, humanity receives the emblem of Sabbath rest:

> And made his pattern our instruction,
> That we, as far as finite creatures may
> Trace him that's infinite, should in our way
> Rest as our Father did, work as he wrought,
> Nor cease till we have to perfection brought
> Whatever to his glory we intend.
> Still making ours the same which was his end. (3.549-54)

This passage is another example of an unlabeled emblem, a tropological interpretation of the text, but in this case she labels it a "pattern" for "our instruction." She calls for finite humanity to imitate the infinite God's pattern by working and resting. She highlights an important similarity in this case between God and Christians: For both, the ultimate purpose in all their work is God's glory. A simile illuminates what kind of work brings about this end, comparing God's commands bringing about creation to God's word bringing about human works: "As his works in commands begin, and have / Conclusion in the blessings which he gave, / So must his word give being to all ours" (3.556-58). In other words, Christians should do the works that God commands, just as he himself did his own works of creation through commands. Throughout this human work, alliteration emphasizes that people must utterly depend on God to enable them to do it, and polyptoton reveals the cycle of blessedness that comes from God and that humans give back to him: "We must his blessing beg, his great name bless" (3.560). Human work then should begin with God's command and must continually rely upon him; its ultimate end metaphorically should be a "crown" of success (3.649) and of thanksgiving (3.561).

The dilation of the narrative continues to teach readers to work in such a way that they apply the Pauline injunction, "And whatsoever ye do, do it heartily, as to the Lord, and not unto men" (Colossians 3:23). A good litmus test

of human work, Hutchinson explains, is the degree to which work considers Heaven. Antithesis and paradox proclaim, "As God first heaven did for man prepare, / Men last for heaven created were: / So should we all our actions regulate" (3.562-63). Emphasizing that human work should begin and end in Heaven, the poem suggests with anaphora and antithesis that humans should maintain awareness of their beginning and end: "And in whatever circle else they run, / There should they end, there should they be begun" (3.566-67). The poem argues that humans should begin to do good works, with Heaven and God's glory in mind, by following his commandments, and these works will end when they die and find their ultimate rest in Heaven. Where the people "end," ultimately in Heaven, should be the source of all their work.[21]

Hutchinson expounds upon the emblem of working and resting, following God's pattern of working and resting, by including instruction on how Christians should spend their Sabbath rest. The poem compares God's rest in Heaven to human Sabbaths giving rest to the human soul. Since God's rest on the seventh day "was but a more high retreat" (3.580) than earth, the Sabbath day for humans should enable their "souls" to "climb / Above the world" (3.582-83). This point repeats in a related way with another simile, explaining that God retired into angelic adoration and that likewise humans should retire into adoration of Him:

> As God…did retire
> To be adored by the angelic choir,….
> Should we ourselves to God's assemblies join,…
> And all with one accord adore our King. (3.586-91)

This comparison evokes the assembling of believers in a kind of church ceremony. Christians follow the emblem of God resting while angels adored him by gathering together with their own choirs of other believers to praise him. Even this admonition to rest includes an injunction to do so by enjoying and worshipping God.

This lengthy dilation of the central narrative to provide moral imperatives closes with the contrary that God's work and rest do not imply: Hutchinson cautions readers about the dangers of sloth, the sin that results from neglecting this emblem of hard work and rest that God has set for humanity. With the scheme of apposition, the poem asserts, "God, a perpetual act, sloth cannot bless" (3.538). God himself is always acting; therefore, his people should do the same, busying themselves with the good works that God sets before them. A metaphor compares idle people who produce no growth to stagnant pools that become disgusting, illustrating that "standing pools corrupt" (3.558) just like those who live in "idleness and sloth" (3.663) and unlike those who "by active exercise / Do to the heights of their perfection rise" (3.660-61). These industrious people in contrast are like "water that flows" and becomes "More pure by its continual current" (658-59). This passage teaches what twenty-first century

readers identify as the Protestant work ethic as a metaphor helps readers evaluate the vice of sloth. Sloth, like a serious illness, alliteration underscores, "doth upon the flesh-cloyed spirit seize" (3.665). This emblem therefore claims that those who want to follow God's pattern will do what is best for themselves and commit to good, hard work and soul-rejuvenating rest on the Sabbath.

Emblems of Minor Details in Genesis

Usually, Hutchinson constructs emblems from major events from Genesis such as Isaac's sacrifice and God's creation of the world, but she also appropriates seemingly minor details from the narrative as opportunities for emblematic personal application. For instance, when the poem narrates the reasons why Abram and Lot decided to split up their land and the herdsmen quarreled, Hutchinson inserts a mini-lesson about the dangers and complications of wealth: "See / What inconveniences in riches be!" (11.7-8). Similarly, a lesson about wealth results during the narration of Lot's family's evacuation from Sodom; the poem cautions readers about clinging too tightly to material possessions. A metaphor compares wealth to "golden fetters" (13.109), beautiful but heavy trappings that prevent people from obeying God. The narrator concludes that what people need is "a holy rape" in which God rips away material goods from them in order to help them recognize and repent of their idolatry (13.110). This emblem, like her other insertions into the narrative, reads

the New Testament onto the Old Testament, communicating the same message that the gospels and Paul's epistles teach in passages such as 1 Timothy 6:10[22], Mark 10:25[23], Luke 16:13[24], and Matthew 6:19-21[25]. This passage implies that men, like Lot, struggle against the sin of materialism while women, like Lot's wife, must fight the temptation of curiosity. From moral to doctrinal to self-instruction, the process of finding and interpreting emblems gives Hutchinson many roles: the solitary Christian in meditation, the teacher of Christocentric and Calvinistic theology, and also the disciple-maker who helps her readers to live virtuously.

Unlabeled Emblems of Creation

Hutchinson's practice of interpreting specific aspects of the Genesis narrative benefits both her own spiritual state and her readers', as she interprets Scripture with Scripture in familiar ways, but many of her interpretations that function as emblems do not analyze the narrative. Rather, these unique emblems read the book of nature. According to Bath, seventeenth-century writers often crafted emblems in an exercise of meditation "on two objects, which may be conveniently summarized as the book of scripture and the book of nature" (160). In the first three cantos of *Order and Disorder*, Hutchinson makes didactic digressions upon certain subjects within creation that only subtly, if at all, occur in the narrative; these instances of *interpretatio* can best understand as emblems,

Hutchinson discerning moral teaching of general Providence in the created order (as guided interpretively by Scripture).

Whereas emblems regarding the book of Scripture taught a myriad of moral and theological lessons, emblems about the book of nature consistently underscore one central lesson of general Providence: Creation teaches the greatness of the Creator; therefore, the study of creation should lead people to worship him. Bath explains that, throughout Christian history, the attempt to read signs in the book of nature was considered dangerous unless they redirected a person's worship toward the greater transcendent reality (219). Hutchinson indeed showed concerns about this danger and often expressed her anxiety over idolizing God's gifts. Her manner of interpreting emblems in the book of nature consistently works to direct appreciation and enjoyment from the gift to the Giver. Therefore, one of the poem's most frequent digressions from the Genesis paraphrase is explaining these emblems of creation in an attempt to lead readers to the knowledge of divine truth. Whereas Hutchinson incorporates many specific emblems of creation into her narrative, Quarles has only one emblem about creation leading people to its Creator generally. In his emblem, he acknowledges one aspect of creation in separate stanzas (earth, air, and sea) followed by his acknowledgement that a greater entity made those physical realities possible (265-66). Quarles's picture for this emblem is a person sitting

on top of the world (on a map of England specifically), reaching up to a heavenly orb with the divine inside it. Although *Order and Disorder* has no literal pictures, Hutchinson sprinkles emblems of very specific aspects of creation that teach lessons of redirecting appreciation from physical to spiritual realities throughout the first three cantos between descriptions of God creating different aspects of the world.

Hutchinson's Emblems Contrasting with Lucretius's Analogical Reasoning

Beginning the narration of Genesis, Hutchinson asserts that in time's "Beginning God made Heaven and Earth" (1.44), which becomes an occasion to carefully explain how people can read signs in the book of creation; she describes her notion of creation revealing God by using similes: "as a hidden spring appears in streams, / The sun is seen in its reflected beams" (1.61-2). In the poem, the word "spring" usually refers to "[t]he place of rising or issuing from the ground, the source or head, of a well, stream, or river" (OED). Therefore, she evokes the biblical descriptions of God as a sun, the source of light, and a spring, the source of streams. Likening the source of water to the sun, in that both are impossible to see except by the stream or beam that exudes from them, Hutchinson illustrates how this concept is analogous to her notion of emblems, living metaphors:

> So in God's visible productions we

> What is invisible in some sort see;
> While we, considering each created thing,
> Are led up to an uncreated spring, (1.65-68)

Here Hutchinson introduces her belief that creation teaches humans lessons about transcendent truth. Her emblems identify in creation a series of signs that point people to the divine. This interpretive principle is directly stated by the Apostle Paul: "For the invisible things of him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even his eternal power and Godhead; so that they are without excuse" (Romans 1:20). Hutchinson's emblem-writing puts this lens of interpretation into action.[26]

The scheme of polyptoton in this passage simultaneously emphasizes that people can read the signs of creation and highlights the greatness of God's supremacy as the source of being, causation, and motion. First, polyptoton draws attention to the relationship between "created" and "uncreated" (1.67-68), emphasizing that people can be led by the creation to the Creator who is himself uncreated. This scheme also highlights the word "cause" to explain this concept of similitudes within creation: "As we in tracks of second causes tread, / Unto the first uncaused cause are led" (1.71-72). Dividing the pleasing alliterative phrase "we in tracks tread" is the ground beneath people's feet and the world in which they live: the physical material of secondary causes, creation. These secondary causes lead humanity to the first cause, God, who is himself uncaused.

Having shown that God is the supreme source of being, Hutchinson then goes on to emphasize God as the source of motion:

> And know, while we perpetual motion see,
> There must a first self-moving Power be,
> To whom all the inferior motions tend,
> In whom they are begun, and where they end. (1.73-76)

Countering directly the Lucretian swerve, Hutchinson underscores that all movement begins and ends with God. Like the materiality of creation, the motion of creation leads humanity to consider the first mover. Therefore, in existence itself, as well as causation and motion, God is first and supreme, but everything that he causes to exist and move points back to him.

Significantly, this way of interpreting creation is exactly what Lucretius does not do. Hutchinson calls Lucretius a "Lunatick" in her preface to her translation because he is "not able to dive into the true Originall and Cause of Beings and Accidents" and instead devises a "Casuall, Irrationall dance of Attomes" (24). In the preface, Hutchinson denounces Lucretius so emphatically that she seems to express an anxiety to separate herself from him, perhaps in conviction that she was ever curious about his atomism at all. Hutchinson believes that Lucretius's poem contains

> ridiculous, impious, execrable doctrines, reviving the foppish casuall dance of attoms, and deniing the Soveraigne Wisedome of God in the greate Designe of the whole Universe and every creature in it, and his eternall Omnipotence, exerting it selfe in the production of all things, according to his most wise and fixed

> purpose, and his most gratious, ever active Providence, upholding, ordering and governing the whole Creation, and conducting all that appears most casuall to us and our narrow comprehensions, to the accomplishment of those just ends for which they were made. (25-6)

In contrast to Lucretius's project that examines creation only for its materiality, Hutchinson urges readers to view creation as an opportunity for meditating on the divine hand that made it. The beginning of her narrative frequently pauses in meditation over emblems to emphasize that God purposefully ordains that events happen and meaningfully creates every aspect of the world. If she can make her audience and herself stop to consider what creation can teach them, she seems to believe that they will praise the wisdom of an orderly God whose world is anything but random.

Emblems of Contingency

Creation provides emblems that positively reflect God's attributes, but emblems also teach lessons of creation's contingency and dependency. The poem asserts that creation loves to praise and reflect the glory of God, leading humanity to praise him, but anaphora underscores that all of creation reflects God in both its strengths and weaknesses:

> By all the powers and virtues which they have,
> To that Omnipotence who those powers gave;
> By all their glories and their joys to his
> Who is the fountain of all joy and bliss;
> By all their wants and imbecilities

To the full magazine of rich supplies (1.137-142)

The created world's power, virtue, glory, and joy reveal glimpses of the good character of God while simultaneously the creation's varying imperfections lead people to recognize their need for the perfect God. Even the insufficiencies of the created world promote instead of negate God's reality, power, and fullness. This passage reflects John Calvin's assertion that "we cannot look closely at ourselves without being struck and pierced with the knowledge of our misery, so that we immediately raise our eyes to God and reach at least some knowledge of Him" (23). The imperfections of the postlapsarian world, the poem agrees, also signify humanity's need for a transcendent good outside of those imperfections. The poem is clear that none of creation diminishes the abundance of goodness and creative potential in God: "No streams can shrink the self-supplying spring, / No retributions can more fullness bring" (1.145-46). Anaphora in the repeated use of "No" suggests a kind of apologetic for the imperfections in creation; creation "by all" its qualities serves as emblems to lead people to the divine. For the endlessly infinite God of the poem, his creations never take anything from him but only display various aspects of his character.

Emblems of Providence

In the second canto, the poem teaches that by studying creation, readers can learn to trust God's promises and rightly order their loves. The general

beauty and order of creation serve to teach Christians about God's sovereign care for his world. Describing the ways humanity has all their senses delighted with what God has made, Hutchinson shows how creation thoroughly nourishes people physically, but in addition to provisions for bodily needs, God's people can also receive assurance of his Providence through creation: "…we may read / In every leaf, lectures of Providence, / Eternal wisdom, love, omnipotence" (2.90-92). God's creation teaches his people that he cares for them; his physical provision shows them his character as a provider and father; and the beauty of creation shows a glimpse of him as Creator. Creation's "various colours, figures, powers… / Are their Creator's growing witnesses;" (2.95-96). The splendor of the created world should lead people to consider the glory of its maker.

Emblems of Water

Most often in the narrative, emblems from creation signify a single lesson, but occasionally emblems from creation serve as signs with several different signifiers. For instance, Hutchinson finds several emblematic meanings in the ways water moves. When describing God's creation of the waters, a simile likens the "Springs, lakes, streams, and broad rivers" (2.58) that branch out from the seas to "life-feeding veins" (2.59) in the human body. A graphic picture of the function and the appearance of these water sources, the simile illustrates the importance of the sea as the central supply of these bodies of water and the way

that the rest of creation is nourished by them. The personified ocean "bred" these water sources in its "bosom" (2.61). Further, two tropes explain the emblems humans can find within the way that water flows constantly back to its source. The first simile compares the constant circulation of water to time and people who exist in time with anaphora:

> As all in the vast ocean's bosom bred,
> They daily reassemble in their head….
> So ages from th'eternal bosom creep,
> So lose themselves in that vast deep.
> So empires, so all other human things,
> With winding streams run to their native springs. (2.61-2, 65-68)

Just as the water rushes back and forth from its source continually, time itself slowly and perpetually moves. The empires that people construct likewise will continue until their destruction, and then others will be built in their places. This emblem allows Hutchinson to underscore the importance of people not focusing or placing their hopes in human accomplishment because, like rushing water, time and human accomplishment are ever flowing and fleeting. The second similar emblem compares all goodness to that circulating water that goes back to its source: "So all the goodness mortals exercise / Flows back to God out of his own supplies" (2.69-70). This emblem emphasizes that humans lack goodness except what God gives by his grace. In other words, the passage proclaims that people can never be good without God's enabling and empowering of that goodness, which comes from him. Water takes on multiple significations in this

emblem, teaching readers the temporality of earthly kingdoms and the origin of all goodness in God himself.

Emblems of Animals

Like emblems that Hutchinson draws from the book of Scripture, emblems from the book of creation teach their observers (and her readers) about virtue while they point them to consider the greatness of God. For example, animals become emblems of love and Providence. The poem's narrator claims that "We might…learn chaste and constant love, / Conjugal kindness of the paired swans, / Paternal bounty of the pelicans," (2.296-98). The narrator encourages her readers towards fidelity and chastity by showing them that they should take a lesson from monogamous birds that provide for their families. These birds in flight ultimately show humans to rely on and trust God:

> The gall-less doves would teach us innocence,
> And the whole race to hang on Providence;
> Since not the least bird that divides the air
> Exempted is from the Almighty's care, (2.305-08)

Humans should look at the way God provides for the birds their food and protects them in flight, knowing that he cares for his children even more than the birds. These birds, quite aside from the biblical text, teach readers a moral lesson about familial love and reliance upon Providence.

Emblems of Humans and Their Work

Hutchinson has shown how light, darkness, water, plants, and animals serve as emblems to point people to God; as she describes the creation of humans, she also exclaims that humans can examine themselves to see the beauty of God. Humans can tangibly see God's goodness, glory, and creativity in the emblem of their own faces. The poem claims that people should learn about God's attributes by observing the beauty and variety of human faces:

> O who can tell the wonders of a face!
> In none of all his fabrics more than here
> Doth the Creator's glorious power appear,
> That so many thousands which we see
> All human creatures like, all different be. (3.70-74)

That fundamental identifying feature of the human is the fabric that most evidences God's creative power because all faces look differently even though they all contain the same basic parts. A metaphor and simile underscore the beauty of these works of God: A face is like a "clear heaven" in which eyes like "lamps" (3.76) or a "radiant star" (3.77) shine beautifully. The created beauty of stars and human faces issue a lesson: God's creation of each small human face as well as the great heavens and stars reveal his goodness, beauty, and glory to humanity.

Hutchinson's final emblem on creation fittingly teaches how virtue results when humans see the entire created world and their actions within it as

mirroring God and his work. The "lower things," the poem asserts, God made "as steps, the mounting soul he brings / To th'upmost height" (3.543-5). The poem proclaims that humans' joy in creation should lead them up to joy in God, and this principle also applies to human work. Just as God made the world in degrees of perfection, the emblem states, humans should work within creation, but that work will lead them up to worship of the perfect God:

> As, when th'Almighty this low world did frame,
> Life by degrees to its perfection came,…
> So we, pursuing our attainments, should
> Press forward from what's positively good,
> Still climbing higher, until we reach the best,
> And, that acquired, forever fix our rest,
> Our souls so ravished[27] with the joys divine
> That they no more to creatures can decline. (3.570-79)

As people cultivate and work amongst creation, their work, the poem argues, will lead them to the ultimate worker, the maker of all creation. In other words, humans should adore creation and enjoy their work in it; however, their joy should not end there. On the contrary, this passage asserts that the works of God (and humans participating in that work) lead people to worship him. Therefore, Hutchinson presents creation as a series of emblems in an attempt to help Dissenting readers order their loves, recognizing that the parts of creation that they enjoy are not what they should supremely love; rather, their utmost adoration belongs to the one who made them. Hutchinson's defense of emblems within creation emphasizes that reading the book of nature symbolically does

not provide more detailed information about God himself, but these emblems do give humans knowledge that leads them to worship, moral instruction, and a sure hope that Providence is wisely orchestrating the world.

Hutchinson's types and emblems take her tropes to a deeper level of complexity. In interpreting Genesis, Hutchinson, by strategically placing an emblem that serves as a moral lesson before most of the types, teaches readers to pursue virtue and then reminds readers of all that Christ has done for them to make their virtue possible. The emblems themselves locate lessons throughout the Genesis narrative, weaving multiple biblical texts together, and in creation itself. Hutchinson teaches us to read both the Bible and the created world, looking for signs for Christ, God's goodness, and redemption. This analysis might attribute a nuance to Hutchinson's Puritan poetics, countering the notion that "Puritan meditation and devotion never abandoned dogmatic and Scriptural sources for the more heady and dangerous fancies of the human imagination" (Boulger 110). Although she is mostly interested in interpreting Scripture with Scripture, Hutchinson is very much concerned with constructing images, or emblems, with her poetry, suggesting that she valued the way her imagination could enable her to find and portray lessons of truth within the Bible and the created world. Hutchinson's types and emblems might be another trope with which Enlightenment rationalists might become frustrated. They might instead

prefer clear standards, doctrine, and instructions that are fully understandable through their reason. However, Hutchinson would disagree with the notion that human reason is capable of understanding the mystery of God. For her, mystery leads to worship—not frustration. The multiple significations that exist within the biblical text and creation for Hutchinson suggest the greatness and incomprehensible wisdom of God, connecting signs in biblical texts and the created order to divine reality. Hutchinson's emblems of creation begin to suggest her opposition to Lucretius's project as she insists upon the right way that humans should study creation and view themselves within it.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Order and Disorder as an Alternative Vision of *De rerum natura*

Hutchinson translated Lucretius's Epicurean poem *De rerum natura* in the 1650s and wrote the biblical epic *Order and Disorder* in the 1660s, leaving her readers to wonder what one might have to do with the other. This question is perhaps the most popular one that scholars have begun to address about Hutchinson's work. In their introduction to the new edition of Hutchinson's Lucretius translation, David Norbrook and Reid Barbour briefly acknowledge that Hutchinson reworks certain phrases to answer Lucretian ideas (1.lxxiv), but what they most expound upon is how various passages in *Order and Disorder* "transfer the language she had used in" the Lucretius translation (1.lxvii). In an attempt to explain why Hutchinson translated Lucretius's poem in the first place, Norbrook and Barbour claim, "Hutchinson found that [*De rerum natura*] offered some common ground with her own Calvinism" (1.lxviii) such as the happiness of their gods and the folly of superstition. Jonathan Goldberg goes further than Norbrook and Barbour, arguing a materialist philosophy for Hutchinson. Goldberg claims that Hutchinson's translation is "faithful, responsive, engaged" (157) and argues that Hutchinson sought a synthesis between Epicureanism and Christianity. These scholars have made insightful observations about the ways

in which Hutchinson uses some of the language from her Lucretius translation in *Order and Disorder*, but their focus has been to emphasize the commonalities Hutchinson found with Epicureanism and Lucretius's text. In contrast, my interest in this chapter is to examine the ways in which *Order and Disorder*, especially its rhetoric, responds to and offers an alternative to the philosophy articulated in *De rerum natura*.

As she makes clear in her preface to *Order and Disorder*, Hutchinson claims that her need to compose a biblicist poem is in large part a reaction to Lucretius. After her translation of *De rerum natura*, she felt she needed to "wash out all ugly wild impressions, and fortify [her] mind with a strong antidote against all the poison of human wit and wisdom that [she] had been dabbling withal" (*Order* 3). As I have shown in previous chapters, the process of writing the poem became a manner of meditation for her. She goes to the Bible to ground herself in her faith anew and also to encourage others to do the same. In doing so, she actively renounces the Epicurean poem in which she had immersed herself, carefully distinguishing her own poetic project from Lucretius's. In this chapter, I argue that Hutchinson repudiates *De rerum natura* through *Order and Disorder*'s corrective placement of humanity in the created world, her differing epistemology, and the poem's theme of the appropriate end of art, often elevating the style of these subjects through tropes and schemes. Additionally, I

show that Hutchinson employs Lucretian rhetoric in order to critique his atomism and assert God's Providence.

Situating Humanity within Creation

One of the ways in which Hutchinson and Lucretius's worldview collided was the way that they viewed humanity's place in the world. Norbrook has argued that Epicureanism softened Hutchinson's opinions about animals (Introduction to *The Works* 1.xc), but it is important to note that Hutchinson also emphasized the unique role of humans in their capacity to worship God and exercise dominion over animals. In *On the Principles of the Christian Religion*, Hutchinson summarizes her beliefs about the distinctive position in which God has placed humanity:

> when wee consider the admirable frame of heaven and earth, the creating of so many glorious creatures for the service of man, the maintaining them in their various courses and orders, the bounding and extending so many powers for his advantage…What tongue is sufficient to expresse, or what heart to conceive, the goodnesse of the greate Creator to this poore worme, to whom, being but dust and ashes, he hath given a high and heavenly minde, and exalted him to the angelicall nature, making him the center where heaven and earth meete. (135)

Hutchinson asserts that creation is at man's service and that humans are distinct from all the other creatures because God has given them minds that can uniquely contemplate the divine in order to love him. She celebrates humanity and their potential for worship.

Lucretius, however, does not believe that mankind is special in the same way that Hutchinson does. In Hutchinson's translation of *De rerum natura*, the narrator claims that "ignorant men" (2.163) errantly claim that for mankind "All creatures elce were made" (2.173), and he repeats this point towards the end of his poem: "…tis a sencelesse thing to hold / That the Gods only did for mankinds sake / The goodly fabric of this greate world make," (5.170-72). Because Lucretius upholds the random nature of the world, including human beings, he sees the arbitrary atoms that constitute people in the same way as the haphazard atoms that constitute other aspects of the universe. For Lucretius, humans and the divine are utterly separate: "We can no touch to the devinitie / Allow, for those who can no touch receiue / Cannot to anything their touches give" (5.163-66). If gods exist, Lucretius argues, they have nothing to gain by stooping to help humanity: "For what advantage can th imortalls find / That they to gaine poor mankinds favour thus / Should vndertake such mighty tasks for vs?" (5.180-83). This notion Hutchinson utterly rejects in *Order and Disorder* as she seeks to place the human in right relationship to God.

In *Order and Disorder*, when Hutchinson describes God's creation of "the king of all" (3.3), man, many rhetorical flourishes such as metaphor, alliteration, simile, metonymy, and anaphora emphasize her depiction of the beauty and uniqueness of humanity. The narrator explicitly asserts that God "designed both

heaven and earth" for man (3.9), and in Hutchinson's poem God, more than merely touching humanity, "impressed" his "sacred image" (3.11) upon them, and Hutchinson then elaborates upon what this special touch of God means. Man, the "noblest creature" (3.25), contained both "Earth in his members, Heaven in his mind" (3.28). Hutchinson depicts the man as a mini-universe with his body like the earth and his mind like the heavens, the same notion she expressed in *On the Principles of the Christian Religion*. Norbrook notes that this statement and the blazon that follows were a "Renaissance commonplace" (*Order* 33 note 68)[1], but she is also arguably emphasizing what Lucretius's view of the universe misses in regard to the value of human beings. The worldview of *Order and Disorder*, contra the one in *De rerum natura*, attributes inherent worth to humans because of their creation in the divine image.

Hutchinson underscores this notion with her rhetoric during her narration of humanity's creation, emphasizing the beautiful potential of humans. She compares the human body to an elaborate man-made structure, an "earthly mansion" wherein the divine as well as the human soul and mind dwell (3.37). She had also used the word "mansions" in her Lucretius translation to describe his account of the body and mind's correspondence (5.151), but in her poem, she elaborates upon what the trope of a mansion might mean for mankind as specially touched by God, impressed with his image, elevating the spiritual

qualities that other creatures do not share. Alliteration accentuates the honor that God gives to humanity who "[p]eculiar privileges too possessed" (3.38), and anaphora also emphasizes the singularity of humans' blessings, repeating "He only" in describing mankind and illuminating his uniqueness: "He only on two upright columns stands, / He only hath, and knows, the use of hands" (3.49-50). The metonymy in "columns" signifying legs suggests strength and majesty. Continuing her comparison of humanity to a palace, she shows that mankind has various dressings within and without by personifying "Fancy and Invention," the "pleasant useful ornaments" of "Imagination" (3.66-68), as well as "Majesty and Grace" (3.69), which adorn the outer appearance of humanity. The mouth serves as a "beauteous gate" to minister "pleasant graces" to others (3.95-96), and the lips are "ruby doors" (3.97) or "vermillion curtains" (3.99) that reveal the teeth, "ivory piles" (3.100). These metaphors emphasize the beauty of man and woman but also their unique abilities to mimic God's works, using their minds and souls to create and to give grace to each other.

In the same passage, Hutchinson supplements the palace tropes by also comparing humans to other aspects of creation. She chooses some of the most attractive parts of non-human creation, flowers, to suggest that humans are as beautiful as they. Likening human skin to roses seen through linen and veins to "violets in a field of lilies" (3.44), she praises the created splendor of humans.

Then likening humanity to a tree (3.45-48), Hutchinson claims that people have a heavenly root whereby they receive grace. This paradoxical comparison is odd because one generally associates roots with earthiness rather than heavenliness; however, Hutchinson reverses these expectations and uses the life-giving power of roots to refer to the *telos* of mankind and to illustrate that humanity is rooted in God.[2] This rootedness, of course, is the way in which humans can express their beauty as God's creation. These metaphors highlight the potential of created man and woman to express beauty that is united with goodness and truth. Hutchinson also compares human hair to a "grove" (3.112) that shines like "crowning rays" (3.113) where the personified air with its "soft breath" (3.114) frolics and blows on the human head. Humanity's beauty then is equivalent to or even greater than the best of mankind's creations, such as mansions, and God's creations, such as groves and flowers. *Order and Disorder* seeks to correct *De rerum natura*'s construal of humanity, but another aspect of that correction involves teaching humility.

Hutchinson implies that, in one sense, humans should know their place as created beings, their glorious potential and the blessings with which God surrounds them, but, in another sense, humans should know their place as created beings and not strive to know what only God knows or to dictate their own moral law that God alone can give. Hutchinson contends that humans and

especially artists must, as John Calvin would say, rightly know how lowly they are and how great God is (23). Hutchinson suggests that humans must remember that, though they are special in creation and to God, after the Fall, they are sinful and should not presume to master divine knowledge. Therefore, *Order and Disorder* emphasizes humility in the ethos of its poetic voice, in contrast to the prideful confidence of the poetic voice in *De rerum natura*.

Hutchinson's emphasis on humility begins in the preface of *Order and Disorder* by acknowledging that the words she knows and the skills she possesses are "much too narrow to express the least of those wonders [her] soul hath been ravished with in the contemplation of God and his works," proclaiming that she has no intention to earn praise for her poem but instead wants to lead people to praise the divine. She seeks "no glory by [her poem] but what is rendered to [God] to whom it is only due" (4). Her aim is to take the focus off of herself and draw attention to what she believes is a greater, more beautiful reality. This desire is consonant with Auksi's generalization about the plain style:

> The primary impulse for Christian simplicity comes…from the disposition and motives of those seeking to know and render [God's] mystery. The one constant in the search for artistic simplicity is…the state of mind that is both the cause and effect of a text or thing deemed lacking in adornment, complexity, or sensuous appeal. This state of mind is lowness or humility. (13)

As I have emphasized in previous chapters, an essential aspect of Hutchinson's plain style is her employing rhetorical devices in meaningful ways that

encourage readers' minds and hearts to celebrate the divine rather than the poet. Appropriately, the poetic voice of *Order and Disorder* is characterized by humility in its ethos.

The poem itself begins with this humble ethos. Hutchinson elucidates her theme of human frailty in contrast with God's boundlessness in a series of complex metaphors. Just before her beseeching of the muse, she hyperbolically describes her own mind and contrasts it with the focus of canto one, God's creation. A kind of creation occurs within her, as she struggles to articulate great truths in her human piece of art. These "too glorious rays" are difficult for her "weak sense" (1.22) so much that she likens her current state of mind to chaos, the formless matter that existed before God created the cosmos. She describes her weak state that "[i]s struck with such confusion that I find / Only the world's first Chaos in my mind" (1.23-24). Probably, some of this confusion and chaos result from her finished translation as well as from the personal and political disappointments she had recently experienced. Regardless, she acknowledges that in her present state she is unable to write about God's truths unless he helps her. Wanting God to reproduce his creative work in her, she leads into asking for his aid in writing her poetry. Before she invokes her muse, she continues describing the disordered state of her mind:

> Where light and beauty lie wrapped up in seed
> And cannot be from the dark prison freed

> Except that Power by whom the world was made
> My soul in her imperfect strugglings aid,
> Her rude conceptions into forms dispose,
> And words impart which may those forms disclose. (1.25-30)

In this metaphor, the possibility of art (for her, the embodiment of truth, goodness, and beauty) itself is a prisoner locked inside the prison of her sin and human frailty. God himself is the heroic liberator of her poem. Like the first, this comparison highlights her weakness and neediness. She expects God to do a work that she hyperbolically likens to creation itself: transforming her inner chaos to forms and those forms to words. In both cosmic and artistic creation, Hutchinson emphasizes that God must do the work, so, in a sense, God writes with her.[3] In the very beginnings of her poem, she highlights her (and humanity's) weakness and acknowledges God's greatness.

In addition to the humble ethos of the poetic voice, Hutchinson frequently inserts complementary didactic passages about pride into the narrative, often contrasting poor, humble people with proud, wealthy people. In a passage in which she describes various tasks God gives to angels, she constructs a dichotomy between the humble and the proud:

> Whether he them to save poor men employ
> Or send them armed, proud rebels to destroy;
> Whether he them to mighty monarchs send
> Or bid them on poor pilgrim saints attend;
> Whether they must in heavenly lustre go,
> Or walk in mortal mean disguise below. (1.271-76)

Antithesis sets up a distinct contrast between the poor and the proud. For the poor, the angels act to save, but for the proud, God sends angels to destroy. Throughout her poem, she repeats the theme of the value of humility; here, she highlights that even the glorious angels practice this virtue by serving the poor.

Another way that Hutchinson depicts the dangers of pride as well as the God who overcomes it is through her personification of the Flood. She persistently characterizes the waves as "greedy" (7.270) and the sea as keeping "its pride" (7.434, 511). The last word of canto seven in which she describes the Flood is "pride" (7.590), but her ultimate point is God's defeat of it. In drying up the Flood, God conquers the waters that presumed to dominate everything, so they become "humbled waters" (8.49). After the Flood, Hutchinson in an apostrophe similarly cautions the hills; even though they become restored and beautiful, they should not take pride in their new condition: "But curb, fair hills; O curb your growing pride" (8.48).[4] She then reminds the hills that they will again be devastated in final judgment. Hutchinson suggests that people who become powerful or beautiful can begin to boast in those gifts of God, but they should remember that they can always be overcome by an omnipotent God. With a heightened style in these passages, Hutchinson responds implicitly to Lucretius's project that one should be careful lest he attempt to take on godlike power or knowledge.

In her preface to her translation of *De rerum natura*, Hutchinson explicitly asserts that Lucretius's rational investigation into the nature of things is supremely arrogant. She writes, Lucretius "sings high applause to his owne wisedome, for having explord such deepe misteries of Nature, though euen these discoveries of his, are so silly, foolish and false, that nothing but his Lunacy can extenuate the crime of his arrogant ignorance" (11). Often boasting that he pries easily and cunningly into the mysteries of the cosmos, the poetic voice of Lucretius's poem strongly contrasts with Hutchinson's claims to minimize herself and magnify the mysteriousness and goodness of God. Norbrook argues that "her condemnations of Lucretius…should not be taken too literally" because of her prolonged interest in translating *De rerum natura* as well as her frequent transferal of phrases from her Lucretius translation to her epic poem (Introduction *The Works* 1.cxvii), but I argue that she deliberately incorporates condemnations of Lucretius's ideas throughout her epic poem.

In his poem, though he minimizes humanity's significance in the cosmos, Lucretius highly esteems human rational faculties, believing that they are sufficient to dissect and comprehend the mysteries of the world. He also openly acknowledges that his desire is ultimately for people to praise him, not only as an intelligent philosopher but also as a poet. He desires to attain

> A fresher wreath, my temples to adorne,
> Then any of the poetts yet haue worne.

Because I first greate misteries disclose,
And soules from superstitions fast knotts loose;
And next, because in such sweete verse I sing,
With easie words, soe difficult a thing. (1.935-40)[5]

Lucretius delights that he is giving a revelation of truth that will free his readers from superstition. He believes that the knowledge he will make possible, using his reason to discern what is beyond human senses, will enable his readers to be at peace as they overcome their fear of the afterlife and the divine. He proclaims that he will share this knowledge with poetic ease, taking pride in poetically elucidating what once was mysterious. Importantly, as Barbour and Norbrook note in their commentary, Hutchinson often adds the word "mystery" to her translation. In line 937 above, Lucretius merely proclaims to disclose great things ("*rebus*"), but Hutchinson emphasizes that what Lucretius aims to do is to eliminate the transcendent truths that should cause humans to worship the divine.

This passage is repeated similarly in Book 4. Again, Lucretius desires

…to crowne
My head with a fresh wreath of flowers new blowne,
Such as noe muse hath euer worne before,
Because I first doe weightie things explore
And superstitions tangled knotts vntie
With which she kept minds in captivitie.
And next because with such sweete verse I sing
In easie words, soe difficult a thing. (4.3-10)

Lucretius believes that humans with their reason are fully able to search out the origins and workings of the cosmos. They are also able to communicate those facts with *lucida* or clear and "easie" words. The poetic voices in the two poems are utterly opposed: one emphasizing the lowliness of narrator and the other one proclaiming the great power of the narrator's abilities. This disparity is also evident when contrasting Hutchinson's portrait in which she holds the poet's wreath on her lap (*Works* 1.xl) with Lucretius's aspiration to wear the wreath on his head. The poems then celebrate human worth and ability in vastly disparate ways.

Hutchinson's Response to Lucretian Epistemology

One of the main reasons for Hutchinson's opposition to Lucretius's philosophy is her contrasting epistemology. Lucretius seeks to use "words, which may convey cleare light / Into your mind, that soe you may discerne / All hidden things, and natures misteries learne;" (1.146-48). Here, Hutchinson translates *res occultas*, or secret things, "misteries." Hutchinson sees Lucretius's goal as divulging and unveiling mysteries, suggesting her belief that Lucretius's notion of the universe is too simplistic, and he ascribes little to no value to wonder. Finding nothing too great for the human mind to dissect, Lucretius's aesthetic involves elucidating what once was difficult for people to understand. He sees truth as hiding from humanity but is confident in humanity's ability to

uncover it completely. One of his metaphors for reason discerning mystery is a pack of hounds that follows a trail once they have picked up a scent. He wants to lead his readers like Hutchinson does but in an entirely different way and to a different end. He writes to Memmius:

> But these small footsteps are enough to guide
> You in the way, whose wise discerning mind
> Without my helpe, the rest will easily find.
> As hounds, having once sented out their way,
> Run swiftly ore the shadie hills till they
> In its owne covert seize the chased deare,
> So while things thus successiuely appeare
> You may the track of truths retirements have,
> And draw the Goddesse forth from her darke caue. (1.403-11)

Here, Lucretius clarifies his epistemology. Sense perceptions make the mysteries of the world knowable, as people make deductions about what they cannot see from what they can, and his mission is to lead Memmius and his other readers to track down truth and bring it out of hiding. Lucretius uses a violent simile to make this point, comparing truth to a deer and humans to hounds that chase it down to lay hold of it. Whereas Lucretius uses his poem to lead readers to unveil mystery, Hutchinson uses her poem to lead readers into the mystery of God, his Providence, and the biblical story of creation and redemption. Instead of seeking to know everything in order to master it and therefore eliminate anxiety, Hutchinson attempts to lead her readers to peaceful adoration and

wonderment at God's mystery and the wise ways that his Providence provides for his people.

Readers begin to see Hutchinson's epistemology in the opening canto of her poem, in which her invocation of the muse is really a prayer to God to enable her to express faithfully his Truth. In her entreaty, she illustrates her lowliness and need using another metaphor:

> Quicken my dull earth with celestial fire,
> And let the sacred theme that is my choice
> Give utterance and music to my voice,
> Singing the works by which thou art revealed. (1.34-37)

Her own imagination is the equivalent of "dull earth," a metaphor that relates to God's creation and metonymically emphasizes that God made Adam, humanity, out of the dirt. Therefore, in her invocation, she underscores human weakness and God's power. She will sing of God's created works, but only if God creates that song within her, and these works, his book and creation, are the ways in which he reveals himself. Indeed, as I have previously argued, Hutchinson does encourage people to learn to read the book of God and the book of creation in ways that teach them about truth. But for her, truth is ultimately transcendent, residing in God alone. Humans should attempt to learn about him and his moral law by studying his works, but they should not presume to unravel completely the nature of the Creator or his ultimate purposes.

Hutchinson shows that true wisdom allows for mystery and that knowing does not require understanding all causes. She translates some relevant passages in Calvin's *Institutes* in her commonplace book. From book one, she writes, "The true wisdom of men, is sited in the knowledge of God, the Creator, and the Redeemer," and "Nothing is done by hazard although the causes are hidden but by the will of God as well that which is secret which we cannot pry into yet reverently adore as that which is revealed in the law and the Gospel" ("Religious"). For Calvin as for Hutchinson, true wisdom is not to pry into the mystery of God to seek his knowledge but rather to know him in order to adore him. Norbrook points out that the seventeenth century saw "the emergence of a poetics of the sublime, of what lies just beyond the available means of understanding" (*Writing* 18-19), and he argues that *Order and Disorder* elevates the sublime. A more precise way to frame this observation, I think, is that the poem values the mystery of a transcendent God and declares that she, as a created being, is insufficient to understand him fully. Associating Lucretius with "the poison of human wit and wisdom" (*Order* 3), she expresses her disdain for human ingenuity, at least insofar as it presumes to know more or better than God. Likewise, as she pores through the Bible, she discovers its wisdom as higher than humanity's. In fact, she finds it "transcendently excelling all that was human" (*Order* 4). For Hutchinson, God's revelations in the Scriptures and

in his creation communicate the truths that people need for comfort and peace in this life.

Instead of seeing the mystery of God as something to be untangled and dissected, Hutchinson celebrates the greatness of his wisdom and knowledge that is inaccessible to his creatures. Hutchinson's epistemology aligns here with medieval Christian belief about knowledge, which David Lyle Jeffrey helpfully explains:

> Epistemologically, medieval Christian thought was limited by its acute awareness of man's place in the middle – of our limited perspective on the possibility of temporal understanding. At the same time, it was liberated by its being premised upon a confidence in the comprehensive reality of a larger framework in which all individual human perspectives are seen to participate, even though its full reality could not be encompassed by any single human perspective. (142)

Hutchinson shares this notion that no one can fully understand the mysteries of God; rather, humans have limited knowledge and should freely acknowledge that limitation. She finds such mysteries intensely beautiful.

To suggest the beautiful mystery of God, Hutchinson elevates her poetic style, crafting an opening passage to her epic poem with elaborate rhetorical tropes and schemes. Though her description of God evokes the biblical simile of God covering himself "with light as with a garment" (Psalm 104:2), her comment emphasizes a paradox: "And so even that by which we have our sight / His covering is: He clothes himself with light" (1.51-2). Usually, a covering is

antithetical to sight, preventing vision, but Hutchinson underscores that this covering of God actually provides sight for humanity. Continuing with a series of hyperboles, she rearranges verb, object, and direct object to make three lines of poetry parallel with anastrophe, showing the impossibility of human thought comprehending God: "Easier we may the winds in prison shut, / The whole vast ocean in a nutshell put, / The mountains in a little balance weigh" (1.53-55). Her rhetorical sophistication in this passage strongly calls attention to the inability of humans to understand God fully. She then uses syllepsis to express another aspect of God's majesty: "Containing all things in himself alone, / Being at once in all, contained in none" (1.59-60). God contains all but is never contained by any. This passage attempts to communicate that God's nature and thus his knowledge is much higher than humans could ever hope to obtain. Therefore, humans should know him enough to worship him, but they cannot ever attempt to master him.

In contrast, *De rerum natura* attempts what Hutchinson would consider dangerous: praising the art, reason, and ingenuity of humanity. Lucretius accounts for the history of mankind, describing the human invention and accomplishment that make progress to art such as "Poetrie, painting, sculpture" (5.1505) possible. He concludes that what has enabled humanity's advancement and has furthered art and invention is human reason, rather than divine aid:

> For in all ages arts still higher grew,
> And searching reason found out something new.
> And fresh discoveries gaue each other light.
> Till knowledge climbd vp to this perfect height. (5.1508-11)

Here, he constructs the image of a tower of knowledge, reaching up to greatness and power. This is the kind of image, of course, that Hutchinson views as directly related to disorder that brings about God's judgment.

Order and Disorder underscores the dangers of pride specifically for artists who might lose sight of their own limitations. When Hutchinson describes the development of the first city, founded by Cain, she compares the weight that sinks a ship to wealth and glory that lead people away from God (6.376-78) and shows that artists' God-given gifts do not avail much if they do not lead them to worship the Giver. The gifted artists in Cain's city, who fail to recognize the Giver, she characterizes with the oxymoron "glittering sinners" (6.379). Hutchinson sees human invention as dangerous because it could lead to the "pride and arrogance" (6.356) of Cain who did not stop at inventing art but whose family also initiated many types of rebellion against God. Anaphora underscores that these sins had their origin in this very city where the proud arts flourished: "Here first did lustful bigamy begin; / Here impudence first choked up virtuous shame; / Here murder first a glorious boast became" (6.386-88). These sinful artists submit to Satan, who metaphorically rules them as a ruthless monarch who has usurped the rightful ruler's throne and punishes his people

with “harsh tyranny” and “bondage” (6.395, 396). They are oxymoronically “bright slaves of Satan’s empire” (6.413). Contrasting the outward with the inward, Hutchinson emphasizes that artists may produce beautiful work, but if they do not worship the One who gave them their gifts, they will experience inner torment. Hutchinson depicts Cain as a glorious man in a worldly sense, the kind of artist she criticizes, but none of his glitter can allay his inward disorder. The life of sin that Cain’s family leads is enveloped by hatred, highlighted through polyptoton: “Still hating whom they fear, not loved by those / Whose hatred from their causeless hatred grows” (6.409-410). This hatred contrasts with the love coming from Seth’s lineage, the Holy City. With anaphora, Hutchinson explains what the Holy City does not do: “No cities…No arts, no sensual pleasures did invent” (6.442-43). Unlike Cain’s family who ostentatiously boasts in their worldly accomplishments, those of Seth’s line humbly pursue contemplation and prayer. Cain’s city is full of atheists who “[boast] they had attained to be wise” (7.133), and these rebels hated “A vulgar, weak, deluded, pious soul” (7.136). This passage arguably corresponds to Lucretius’s project and the ways in which Lucretius derided those who were chained by superstition. These artists become proud of their own accomplishments, but they along with “their wars and all the arts they found” become annihilated by the Flood (7.25).

Additionally, the Tower of Babel, an image very close to the climbing knowledge image in *De rerum natura,* is a symbol of artistry gone wrong. Lucretius asserts that it is good to stand safely in knowledge above other confused men: "Sed nihil dulcius est, bene quam munita tenere / Edita doctrina sapientum templa serena"(2.7-8). Hutchinson translates these lines by evoking the image of a tower: "But nothing a more pleasant prospect yeilds, / Then that high tower which wise mens learning builds" (2.7-8). Hutchinson seems to connect Lucretius's notion of knowledge to the tower of Babel. In *Order and Disorder*, rebellious humans construct a "cloud-ascending Tower" (10.51) in the "vain hopes" (10.65) of making an everlasting name for themselves, but Hutchinson explains that humans seeking fame is Satan's work, and he lies to them: "No time your glorious memory shall devour" (10.52). Of course, in her poem as in the biblical account, God thwarts their attempt to seek godlike glory.

Hutchinson and the Calvinist Dissenter Aesthetic

Contrasting these passages in Hutchinson's poem with Lucretius's helps clarify her Dissenting aesthetic. Norbrook has observed that Hutchinson values nature more highly than art in the poem (Introduction *Order* xxviii). I suggest that one reason she does this is to emphasize the vast disparity between God's creative ability and humans' derivative creative ability. She arguably has Lucretius's project in mind when she puts human art in its place, for instance,

when she narrates God's creation of humanity. As she praises the beauty of the human body with epideictic rhetoric, Hutchinson personifies the symmetry in the human body in order to emphasize that man's art can never be as beautiful as God's. The face's "just and perfect symmetry" (3.116) "mocks the painters in their best designs, / And is not held by their exactest lines" (3.121-22). In other words, painters can never fully capture the beauty of the real human face that God originally made; therefore, God's creation is superior to man's. Humans must humbly remember that their art can convey truth, goodness, and beauty, but they will always imperfectly imitate the splendor of God's creation. For Hutchinson, good art should never aspire to surpass the beauty of God; rather, it should participate in and display it.

Hutchinson's view of poetry is fundamentally different than Lucretius's. One metaphor he gives for his project is the honey on the cup that helps children to take pungent medicine:

> Soe strive
> Phisitians childrens weake age to deceiue,
> And when they give a bitter potion, baite
> The verges of the cup with honie, that
> While th'outward sweetenesse doth their lips invite,
> They may receiue their cure with their delight (1.941-46)

De rerum natura then is primarily a philosophical treatise; its poetry is detachable from its content, simply making it more "mellifluous" (1.951). For Hutchinson, however, poetry must communicate truth, goodness, and beauty.

Hutchinson's aesthetic deviates from Lucretius in that, for her, the beauty of art must align with biblical truth. Hutchinson ironically begins her long poem by proclaiming her contempt for poetry, but she sees differences in her poetry and "vain, foolish, atheistical poesy" that she had formerly translated (*Order* 4). Anxiously and eagerly separating herself from Lucretius, Hutchinson emphasizes that poetry should serve the right ends. As she pursues a goal that is antithetical to the Epicurean poet's, Hutchinson strives to lead people to adore God, defending her use of verse as her means to do so by claiming that hers is not "the common and vile abuse of poesy" (5). What bothers her is, then, not poetry itself but its misuse: exalting humanity and human wisdom instead of the glory and inscrutability of God's wisdom.

Hutchinson's poem values beauty that reflects God's character and leads readers to practice virtue. She rebukes, for example, royalty who take great delight in their wealth and miss the God of creation while neglecting the poor:

> Scorn, princes, your embroidered canopies
> And painted roofs: the poor whom you despise
> With far more ravishing delight are fed
> While various clouds sail o'er th' unhoused head,
> And their heaved eyes with nobler scenes present
> Than your poetic courtiers can invent. (2.21-26)

One question easily arises about these passages in Hutchinson's poetry: why does she seemingly scorn art? In answering this question, readers should remember that their understanding of her poetry might be incomplete if they

view Hutchinson's conception of aesthetics as simply negating fixed beauty in order to elevate the sublime or if they merely label her as an iconoclast Calvinist who derides all art. This passage helps to clarify the kind of art that she denigrates and the kind of art that she promotes. Highlighting the familiar distinction between the poor and the proud, Hutchinson suggests that even the poorest people who suffer from homelessness have a more beautiful canopy in God's creation, revealing God himself, than the wealthy who might boast in their ornate and expensive art. Her rebuke is to the proud, wealthy members of the court who neglect to study or appreciate God's creation because of their material trappings that keep their minds focused on human glory rather than God's. Norbrook cites this passage in support of his claim that "*Order and Disorder* frequently vindicates nature against art" (Introduction to *Order* xxviii). While Hutchinson is here favoring the art of the clouds over the art of the court, she connects the princes and poetic courtiers with the oppression of the poor. Art produced by people who boast in themselves and vainly minimize the value and opportunities of others is no art at all, she claims, because it is divorced from truth and goodness. Importantly, the work of God here, the sky, is truly beautiful because it shows his glory to the poor. Hutchinson's underlying point is that the rightful place for humans is to recognize their status as creatures while standing in awe of the Creator and his creation, and the wealthy often are in

danger of becoming distracted by and proud of their possessions, thus esteeming themselves too highly.

Readers can also observe this notion of beauty in Hutchinson's depiction of artificial women who lack virtue in contrast to women who possess virtue, which parallels her derision of arrogant artists. She claims that, like artists, some women boast in a beauty that is divorced from the goodness and truth of God. Norbrook is correct that, throughout *Order and Disorder*, Hutchinson emphasizes the dangers of beauty. He notes that in Hutchinson's poem "female beauty is often associated with illusion and temptation" (Introduction to *Order* xlv). Indeed, she scolds women who use their outward appearance to manipulate men and lead them into sin. For example, Hutchinson uses the term "artful" to describe the female charms that persuade men to "[e]xchange their heaven for a fool's paradise" (6.475). With anaphora and antithesis, Hutchinson illustrates the way that women, in their pride and misuse of their beauty, torture men:

> Then an imperious beauty thinks she reigns
> When many captives languish in her chains;
> Then she believes her bright cheeks richly shine
> When her wan lovers all grow sick and pine. (6.481-84)

Hutchinson describes these women as using their beauty to control men who become their "slaves" (6.503) trapped in the bondage of their charm. These women with "Inhuman…pride" (6.485) believe themselves to grow in beauty when others suffer and lose theirs. Associating this type of female beauty with

immodesty, manipulation, deceit, and pride, the poem portrays this kind of beauty as immensely dangerous because it is sinful and can induce others to sin.

Not only do these women use their bodies to persuade men to succumb to various temptations, but they also conceal their real appearances: "Nature's defects, and time's wastes to repair / With false complexions, eyebrows, teeth and hair" (6.521-24). Related to art that lacks truth, Hutchinson describes these women as fake, contributing to their beauty with "art and wit" (6.513). They are the image of artificiality and dishonesty that Hutchinson so wants to avoid. Therefore, the beauty of these women is not only dangerous but also shallow, deceptive, and false. Though Norbrook rightly identifies that Hutchinson has harsh words for female beauty, Hutchinson does make an important distinction: in the same passage, she contrasts this sensual and misleading type of beauty with virtuous beauty of women who despise "Poor glory that in one sick moment dies, / Preferring more to wither unadmired / Than cause their hurt by whom they are desired" (6.494-96). According to Hutchinson, women with virtuous beauty act differently (for example, Rachel, whom Hutchinson makes an exemplar of virtue in the poem) than women with false beauty and do not seek to wound others with their appearances, even preferring to conceal their beauty rather than become a temptation to sin. Hutchinson does not simply oppose (female) beauty, but she wants to distinguish virtuous beauty from

beauty that leads to the injury of others. In a similar way, she does not condemn all art (obviously, she composes poetry), but her aesthetic seeks to lead people to God and avoid artifice that does the opposite. In contrast, *De rerum natura* is a poem that seeks to proclaim truth but not Hutchinson's transcendent truth of a mysterious divine hand that providentially orders the world.

Seed

Passages with an elevated style in *Order and Disorder* counter many of *De rerum natura*'s assumptions about the place of humanity within creation, the capacity of human knowledge, and the importance of art's alignment with virtue; additionally, Hutchinson opposes Lucretius by employing his rhetoric in order to subvert the notion that reality consists of random atoms colliding. For example, when she narrates the creation of the world, she employs the term "seed." This word choice is interesting because she uses the same word (synonymously with "atoms" and "principles") in her Lucretius translation to signify Lucretius's *semina*, the ever-moving tiny colliding particles that Lucretius believes comprise the world. Goldberg has examined Hutchinson's appropriation of this term, and he argues that Lucretius's notion of seed makes possible in *Order and Disorder* "an undifferentiated ground—insensate and invisible—and the world of differentiated things" (171). However, he clarifies, for Hutchinson "God [is] the power behind the power that moves all things" (172), and "The Word is made to

explain the creation of a Lucretian nature" (172). Goldberg believes that Hutchinson adopts Lucretius's model of nature through her use of "seed," although she "attempt[s] to place God where Lucretian matter prevails" (173). In doing so, he claims, she "place[s] God at the invisible location of the atoms, and thereby [attempts] to make knowable what cannot be seen, thus insisting on the very same break between the visible and the invisible" (173). Though Goldberg accurately notes that both Hutchinson and Lucretius call attention to the visible to shed light upon the invisible, it is important to note the differences between their two notions of "seed" as well as their disparate conceptions of disclosing realities beyond human sight.

Throughout *Order and Disorder*, Hutchinson asserts God's wise planning of the cosmos in contrast to Lucretian randomness. Lucretius heightens his rhetorical style, posing twenty-two consecutive rhetorical questions, to counter the notion that the gods govern nature (6.416-55). In contrast, Hutchinson emphasizes through frequent interpretive passages with a heightened rhetorical style that God's Providence does not simply make the random possible but ordains everything in a way that works out mysteriously to be greater than humans could plan. In a marginal note in her translation, she calls "Impious" the Lucretian denial that "God doth [the world's] constant motions guide" (5.86). Also, knowing the invisible God for Hutchinson does not result in mastery of his

knowledge, in the way that understanding the invisible atoms does for Lucretius; the kind of knowledge she hopes readers receive from her poem will lead them to adore God in his many paradoxes.

I argue that Hutchinson's depiction of creation uses seeds as a metaphor for God's wisdom and the potentiality of what the universe could become before God created it, instead of as an appropriation of Lucretian randomness. The King James Version of the Bible uses "seed" throughout Genesis to signify literal seeds within plants. In her narration of creation, she is arguably employing the term as a metaphor for potentiality. Just as a seed from a plant may develop into another plant, the space into which God spoke creation, an "undistinguished seed," had the potential to become anything God wanted:

> The Earth at first was a vast empty place,
> A rude congestion without form or grace,
> A confused mass of undistinguished seed.
> Darkness the deep, the deep the solid hid,
> Where things did in unperfect causes sleep,
> Until God's Spirit moved the quiet deep (1.301-06)[6]

"Seed" for Hutchinson makes possible the unfolding of a wise plan instead of mere chance. Also, unlike Lucretius, who emphasizes the easy ways in which people can understand the nature of things, Hutchinson underscores the incomprehensibility of ultimate purposes. Again, this difference has to do with their opposing reactions to mystery. After describing the unformed earth as "empty," "without form," and "undistinguished," with epanalepsis in line 304,

she stresses that this world is utterly mysterious to humanity with "the deep" that covers whatever solid mass of potentiality was there and is itself covered by darkness. Additionally, unlike Lucretius's world that is ever in motion, this world is utterly still. She personifies this "seed" as sleeping until God moves to wake up and move "the quiet deep" and make the seed into the world that humanity knows.

She then continues with avian imagery to stress the love and care that God put into creation to show that he did not create haphazardly. Instead, God's Spirit broods "the creatures under wings of love, / As tender birds hatched by a turtle-dove" (1.307-08). The Holy Spirit creates and nurtures as a gentle turtle dove, and the creatures of the universe, as newborn birds, helplessly rely upon his care. This analogy indicates the particularity with which God knows and provides for his creation. *Order and Disorder* narrates a universe begun not only by an omnipotent, transcendent, and wise Creator but also by a Father who cares for his creation in love.

Importantly, another way that Hutchinson employs the word "seed" is in reference to the coming Christ. The other way that the King James Bible employs the word is in reference to human lineage. Hutchinson elsewhere refers to "seed" as descendants (8.300), but Christ is the ultimate "seed" who will be "A conqueror over Hell and Death" (7.277-78). This "holy seed" would defeat all

evil (7.518). If "seed" in her poem is a metaphor for God's power, she expresses his ultimate power in Christ, whose life, death, and resurrection undoes the Fall. Hutchinson's use of this word becomes a pointer to the Redeemer absent from Lucretius's worldview.

Sun and Shadows

Similarly, Hutchinson transforms Lucretius's reference to the sun and the shadows to highlight the ways her persuasive strategies differ from his. Lucretius wants to free people from fear and anxiety, and the way he believes this release will be accomplished is through reason: "Wherefore not the suns beames, nor days bright ray, / Can the minds fears and shaddows chace away / Till reason natures misteries display" (2.57-59). For Lucretius, shadows of terror and worry lurk in the human mind as people contemplate divine judgment and an afterlife. He employs the metaphor of the sun to show the great ability of reason to dispel these apprehensions. Reason enables Lucretius to go beyond sensible appearances that sunlight makes possible; when people, therefore, understand the real causes beyond such events as natural disasters, freedom and peace replace their fear. This mantra repeats in Book 3: "Yett not the sunns bright beams, nor days cleare ray / Can the minds mists and terrors chace away / Till reason, natures misteries display" (3.95-97). For Lucretius, reason is the intellectual "sun" that reveals causes that the physical sun leaves hidden.

Reason can reassure humans of natural causes unrelated to the divine so that they do not worry about divine judgment. Lucretius underscores this prescription of reason to combat human anxiety by reiterating this idea in Book 6: "Wherefore not the suns beames, nor dayes bright ray / Can the minds fears and terrors chace away, / Till Reason, Natures misteries display" (6.39-41). This repeated insistence on reason as the better sun to chase away the shadows of fear and the human ability to discern truth beyond what is sensible is one that Hutchinson seems to engage.

Hutchinson too is supremely interested in turning her and her readers' minds and hearts away from dismay, but Hutchinson insists that Lucretian reason is not the way to bring peace to people. She shares with Lucretius a common desire for truth to dispel falsehood and free people from the fear of death, but the two poets aim to do so differently. She evokes the imagery of shadows and the sun to show that trusting in God's Providence rather than human reason is the way to attain comfort and peace. In concluding the narration of Adam and Eve's Fall and Hutchinson's longest argument about God's Providence, she argues that God discloses his character to people gradually. In a simile, Hutchinson teaches her readers that God often reveals his love to people in degrees like the "Sun" coming in "shadows" but then culminating in a "glimmering light of hope" (4.369, 372, 375). This simile

effectively sets up the rest of the Genesis paraphrase, in which Hutchinson will teach readers about the various types or shadows of mercy and redemption, Christological readings of the Old Testament, that God reveals to the patriarchs. This passage also appeals to Dissenting readers in their specific circumstances, assuring them that sometimes they might only partially understand the love God has shown to them through his plan. The image of the rising sun gives readers hope that if they begin somewhat to see why a particular incident has occurred, eventually they may see the full hopeful light of God working through this event. Communicating God's redemptive promises as well as his specific care for individuals, the passage recollects and responds to Lucretius's continual insistence that reason is the ultimate sun that drives away shadows. Whereas Lucretius wanted to banish shadows, for her, shadows point forward to her greatest hope, Christ, and she likens the sun to God himself who continually nourishes and provides for his people through his Providence.

In Hutchinson's seemingly most biographical insertion in *Order and Disorder*, the end of canto five after Adam's speech, she seems to directly respond to Lucretian atomism and concludes this response comparing God to the sun. She begins to conclude the canto:

> With these most certain truths let's wind up all:
> Whatever doth to mortal men befall
> Not casual is, like shafts at random shot,
> But Providence distributes every lot (5.675-69)

This passage seems to directly jab at the randomness of the atomistic universe, and she continues similarly to critique the notion that reason can thoroughly comprehend God: "Nor is his Providence less good than wise, / Though our gross sense pierce not its mysteries" (5.681-82). Finally, she concludes with reminding readers of the biblical metaphor describing God as a sun whose "serene rays dry up" the soul's "former tears" (5.689) and "Dispel the tempest of its carnal fears" (5.690). In this passage, Hutchinson likely refers to Psalm 84:11-12: "For the Lord God is a sun and shield: the Lord will give grace and glory: no good thing will he withhold from them that walk uprightly. O Lord of hosts, blessed is the man that trusteth in thee." Answering the question of what it might mean for God to be a "sun," Hutchinson asserts that he drives away the storms of discontentment and worldly sorrow and dries up the tears of those who suffer fear of temporal pain. Hutchinson's poem gives the trope of the sun for God, asserting that this sun does in fact solve the problems of human sorrow, and the shadows that signal the movement towards sunrise proclaim the one who will ultimately renew creation. Hutchinson rejects the notion that reason is what brings people hope by appropriating Lucretius's sun metaphor and using it instead to depict God's Providence and Christ's redemption.

Day

Hutchinson also reconfigures "day" as a metaphor for God's Providence. Her picture of light, representative of God bringing good out of evil, personifies a victorious champion:

> When midnight is the blackest, day then breaks;
> But then the infant dawning's pleasant streaks,
> Charging through night's host, seem again put out
> In the tumultuous flying shadows' rout,
> Often pierced through with the encroaching light
> While shades and it maintain a doubtful fight. (6.1-6)

The "day," God's Providence that embodies hope and goodness, is "pleasant," yet it heroically storms through the army of darkness, scattering and making it flee while sometimes directly penetrating its members with light. This military metaphor is itself an image for God bringing good out of evil. Hutchinson completes the simile when she explains, "Such was Man's fallen state when, at the worst, / Like day appeared the blessed promise first" (6.7-8). Day then is the precious promise that God gave to Adam and Eve of crushing the serpent. When Hutchinson writes that "types the promises did represent" (6.11), she refers to the typology she reads in that promise and in the animal skins God provided for Adam and Eve, all leading to a redeemer and the message of the Gospel. Therefore, her notion of the warring, victorious day is loaded with all the significance of the New Testament message, signifying the hope of grace and redemption.

This contrast makes clear an essential similarity and difference between her project and Lucretius's. *De rerum natura* seeks, through knowledge of causes beyond what is sensible, to make people more content with their lives and deaths: "See you not nature only seekes to find, / Within a body free from payne, a mind / Full of content, exempt from feare or care," (2.17-19). Hutchinson's project is similar, wanting to move hearts to abandon fear or care, but she wants to show people how to be content through God's sovereignty rather than randomness.

Martial Tropes

In addition to Hutchinson's appropriation of "seed," "shadows," "sun," and "day," she also adopts Lucretius's martial metaphors and imagery but in order to assert both the order of the universe before the Fall and the disorder caused by sin. Before the Fall, when "Heaven and Earth their full perfection had" (3.503), every aspect of creation maintains its place. "Armies of angels" dwell at "the highest place" with "Bright starry hosts" filling the "lower heaven" (3.506-07). The sea creatures "encamped in the waters" while the birds, "winged troops," filled the air (3.507-08). The land animals Hutchinson likens to "th'infantry / Of th'universal host" (3.509-10), and she alliteratively explains that they "at large did lie" (3.510). She places these martial metaphors in her narration of the pre-Fall world, which might seem odd because this is a time

before war existed, yet Hutchinson uses them to signify intense order. In her dedication of her translation, she explains that Lucretius and other pagan poets claim that the universe is run by "Accident & Chance, denijng that determinate wise Councell & Order of things they could not diue into" (11). In *Order and Disorder* on the sixth day, at the culmination of all God had created, it was all perfectly ordered, each serving its purpose and in its appropriate place. Eden is "the headquarter" (3.513), and God is the emperor while Adam is his viceroy (3.514).[7] God puts Adam in charge of leading this band of ordered creation.[8]

These martial metaphors recall Lucretius's notion of the constant war of atoms in his conception of the universe. Indeed, martial imagery fills *De rerum natura*: "Armies of attoms sport in those bright beames, / And meeting in perpetuall skirmishies, / Here joyne, there part, their motions neuer cease;" (2.115-17). Atoms that make up all materiality constantly war against one another in the Lucretian universe, and everything else comprised of atoms in his account likewise constantly clash: "the worlds chiefe elements so iarre, / Maintaining a perpetuall civill warre" (5.394-95). Either Hutchinson uncritically appropriates terminology from her translation, or she takes these martial metaphors and employs them differently. I argue that Hutchinson is doing the latter because her "army" is crucially different from Lucretius's: his warring atoms have no order at all and exist in perpetual motion. According to

Lucretius, "Motion must cease, or vacuum must remaine / Whence motion takes its first originall" (1.385-86). However, Hutchinson paints a still and ordered portrait of creation just before God's day of rest. *Order and Disorder* portrays the world as ultimately peaceful, with God wisely and powerfully governing his creation. Therefore, she alters Lucretius's metaphor, taking elements of it that he neglects.[9] For her, creation is indeed a mighty military but in the sense of complexity, order, and peace.

Of course, in her account of the postlapsarian world, Hutchinson's employment of martial metaphors changes to those coinciding with the many biblical portrayals of postlaparian life as one of war. For example, God's creation becomes fierce and aggressive after the Fall. After Adam and Eve sin, Hutchinson personifies Nature as "sigh[ing]" (5.1) because her "hosts stood to their arms" (5.2), preparing for the potential destruction of Adam and Eve as "rebels" (5.4). Then after God pronounces judgment on them, she illustrates the way that nature turns against itself and against humanity that once ruled over it. She explains that man being attacked by creation after the fall is like "a monarch's favourite in disgrace" (5.391), rejected by all that formerly treated him with respect. After the Fall, when Eve despairingly poses seven consecutive rhetorical questions in panic, one of her many concerns is the way that their sin has "armed against" them every aspect of creation (5.414). She sees all of

creation waiting “in fighting posture” (5.426). Warring against mankind and each other, in the air, flying bugs “in battalias spread” (5.342) meeting with “Armies of birds” (5.343), and on the ground “Troops of wild beasts” (5.348) murder their prey and also battle with “other troops” (5.350). The “angry” (5.325) elements undergo “dreadful conflicts” (5.324). The “winds” exhibit “rage” (5.329) and “battle” against each other, stirring up floods (5.330). Not only in the earth but also in the cosmos, God’s creation becomes a battlefield: “[A]ngry stars / in heaven begun the universal wars,” (5.333-34). This account replete with martial imagery presents a picture of an utterly fallen and threatening universe.

Hutchinson’s account of this chaotic world might seem like Lucretius’s, but she underscores that God still controls fallen creation. In her translation of Lucretius’s poem, she had written

> For flames and winds encountering in the ayre
> Fill all with discord and confusion there;
> When the cold armie is, in its retreate,
> Assaulted by the vantguard of the heate
> Wee call that season Spring. Natures which jarred
> Never encounter without civill warre. (6.390-94)

However, the cosmos of *De rerum natura* differs from the world of *Order and Disorder* in that Hutchinson accounts for the seeming chaos with sin and also stresses God’s sovereignty and Providence even in a world with dangerous

natural forces and sinful people. Hutchinson notes the following passage from Lucretius as "Horribly impious":

> Nature…
> Will thus appeare free from the proud command
> Of soveraigne power, who of her owne accord
> Doth all things act, subiected to no lord. (2.1118-21)

In contrast to nature working by chance and without providential guidance, Hutchinson asserts that even in moments of when humans grieve, suffer, or experience confusion, God remains sovereign over the cosmos: Behind "the dark veil of an angry cloud" is "Love" with its personified "smiles" (5.319), and God, "whose grace upheld / The order of all things" (5.322), only "seemed withdrawn" (5.321). Therefore, by providing a reason for chaos other than mere random motion, Hutchinson proposes an alternative to Lucretius's basic ontology in which various elements within nature war against each other. Instead, she constantly refers the reader back to the evidences of Providence in the midst of the postlapsarian world.[10]

She explicitly emphasizes God's providential control of the world through the mouth of Adam. He consoles Eve by reminding her of God's absolute control of everything that seems chaotic and of his goodness in using every aspect and action of creation for the ultimate good:

> If he permit the elements to fight,
> The rage of storms, the blackness of the night;
> 'Tis that his power, love and wisdom may

> More glory have, restoring calm and day;
> That we may more the pleasant blessings prize,
> Laid in the balance with their contraries. (5.533-38)

In Adam's consolation, readers notice the language of permission (5.533), indicating that elements do not war by their nature but underneath the sovereign hand of God. And this sovereign hand works through what seems evil to show his goodness to creation and to enable creation to more fully enjoy what is truly good. This world at war is utterly different than Lucretius's because "He still new good from every evil brings. / He holds together the world's shaken frame, / Ordaining every change" (5.530-33).

Another way that Hutchinson adapts Lucretius's martial imagery is in her description of the war that begins after the Fall within every person. Lucretius had furthered his explanation of the warring atoms in the cosmos by also applying this doctrine to the conflicting parts of the human body and mind: "Then, as sore toyles and raging sicknesses / The outward bodie oftentimes oppresse. / Soe bitter cares, feares, woes afflict the mind," (3.473-75). Hutchinson likewise depicts the external and internal struggles of the human with war-like imagery as sin brings disorder not only to the outer comos but also to the inner man. In the "breasts" of people, sin "raised up a civil war" (5.374) in which "Reason and sense maintained continual fight" (5.377) with "aversion and appetite" (5.378), "two different troops of passions" (5.379). Then she compares

the disorder of the postlapsarian world to the fallen human condition. "As winds" occupy "the caverns," Hutchinson explains, so "sighs" swell up in human "bosoms" (5.380). For Lucretius, fear of the divine and the afterlife harasses the mind that has the ability to transcend those anxieties, but Hutchinson's notion of reason is different. In *Order and Disorder*, reason is a part of the human that is particularly stamped with God's image, and reason is the means by which people order their passions and pursue virtue.

Throughout *Order and Disorder*, Satan is the ultimate foe, whom humans must defend themselves against in the postlapsarian world. After the Fall, "Satan calls his mates to arms" (6.454), engaging in a speech to his minions about their battle strategy of how to capitalize on human sin. With anaphora repeating "Let us" three times (6.465, 469, 471), Satan encourages them to agree with his plan, which he presents with metaphor. Like archers who dip their "golden shafts in poison" (6.471), they will allure mankind with lust, and pleasure will be for them oxymoronically "charmed floods" of infection (6.472). Hutchinson likens Satan's audience to a "malicious court" (6.475), underscoring her scorn for royalty, who so closely resemble Satan's mode of governance. Anaphora highlights the various temptations that Satan's minions will present to both man and woman: "Some" (6.477) appeal to "men's appetite," and "Some" inspire "vain ambition" in women (6.478-79). As a result of Satan's war on humanity,

proud wantons will cause their lovers to "engage / In horrid wars through jealousies and rage" (6.503-04). Ironically, physical war is a result of defeat in spiritual battle. Even after God levels human sin and disorder through the Flood, afterward, Satan "renews / The fatal war" (9.212-13) against humanity by leading in "a large train of woes and curses" (9.217). After the Fall, Satan and sin bring disorder and chaos akin to war into God's world.

However, even in the midst of this battling that occurs throughout the narrative, Hutchinson reminds readers that God promises to have victory over Satan, representing the biblical analogy of Christ as a warrior fighting for his people and conquering the enemy. In a passage that is important for the typology of Hutchinson's biblical narrative, God follows his pronouncement of sin's consequences with a promise to Adam and Eve, and the narrator ponders about its significance:

> Thou in this war his heel shalt bruise, but he
> Thy head shall break.' More various mystery
> Ne'er did within so short a sentence lie.
> Here is irrevocable vengeance, here
> Love as immutable. Here doth appear
> Infinite wisdom plotting with free grace,
> Even by man's fall, th'advance of human race.
> Severity here utterly confounds,
> Here Mercy cures by kind and gentle wounds,
> The Father here the gospel first reveals,
> Here fleshly veils th'eternal Son conceals.
> The law of life and spirit here takes place,
> Given with the promise of assisting grace.
> Here is an oracle foretelling all

Which shall the two opposed seeds befall.
The great war hath its first beginning here. (5.66-81)

In line 66, Hutchinson adds the word “war” to Genesis 3:15, but the King James Version communicates a very similar idea in the word “enmity,” and many other biblical passages refer to the war between Satan and God’s people. The significance of this early, shadowy promise of Christ she elaborates upon with anaphora, repeating “Here” eleven times in sixteen lines. The promise of Christ conquering Satan “here” signifies “irrevocable vengeance” (5.69); “Love as immutable” (5.70); and “Infinite wisdom” coupling “with free grace” (5.71). In addition to revealing divine justice, absolute love, understanding, and forgiveness, Genesis 3:15 signifies much more. Hutchinson reads this verse typologically, portraying in paradoxes the message of the Gospel that it subtly suggests. Man falls yet advances because of God’s goodness. Parallel to the paradox of falling yet advancing, man also is wounded by sin in order to see mercy. “Here,” Hutchinson explains, is God’s first shadowy picture of this “gospel” (5.75) and “th’eternal Son” (5.76); “The law of life and spirit” (5.77); an “oracle foretelling all” that will come in the rest of Scripture (5.79); and the beginning of “The great war” (5.81). Genesis 3:15, introducing a conflict between Satan and humanity as well as Satan and Christ, gives Hutchinson biblical grounds for her martial imagery. Anaphora draws attention to this important passage, highlighting her typological reading of the Old Testament and

illustrating that the nature of life after the Fall is characterized by contention, misery, and war yet also God's promise of putting an end to that misery in a final battle.

One final way that Hutchinson employs martial imagery is to illustrate the ferocity and intensity of God's wrath and judgment for those who do not repent. For instance, in her account of the Flood, God's personified "revenge shall not forever sleep" (7.82). Instead, he will "draw forth [his] glittering sword" and his "arrows" (7.79, 81). Also, during the Flood of God's vengeance, the wind experiences "furious battles" (7.431). This imagery Hutchinson emphasizes because she aims to draw her Dissenting readers to constantly cultivate attitudes of repentance. Throughout *Order and Disorder*, Hutchinson's emphasis on deliberative rhetoric attempts to lead readers to the way of order. Whereas Lucretius emphasizes the disorderliness of the world, Hutchinson shows how it can be ordered once again because God created the world good and orderly before humanity fell and readers believing in and acting upon God's transcendent truths can bring order into their lives again. For Lucretius, the basic state of reality is the warring of colliding atoms, but Hutchinson's appropriation of his martial imagery emphasizes the basic state of reality as ordered by a divine hand. Further, Hutchinson attributes the warring to sin, which will ultimately be conquered by a peaceful warrior king.

On many levels, *Order and Disorder* aims to oppose the worldview depicted in *De rerum natura.* Through the contrast in the ethos of the poetic voices and through explicit didactic passages, Hutchinson celebrates the virtue of humility, especially for artists, but she also attributes value to humans in a unique way, which complements her epistemology that contrasts with Lucretius's. Humans have distinct powers of mind and reason, but Hutchinson calls them to use those powers to worship the majesty of God's transcendent truths instead of attempting to attain knowledge for the sake of controlling matter, thereby minimizing pain and increasing pleasure. Contrasting the two poetic projects sheds light onto Hutchinson's Dissenter aesthetic, revealing that her conception of good art is that which aligns with truth and goodness. Also, the ways Hutchinson appropriates and in many cases alters Lucretius's rhetoric suggests that her poem is a philosophical response to atomism as well as a rhetorical call for Dissenting readers to embrace rightly ordering their loves and thus participating in God's plan to bring order to the world.

Scholars have observed the ways in which Hutchinson borrows phrases from her Lucretius translation but have done so largely to insist that she found commonality with the Epicurean poet. However, I suggest Hutchinson sought to use her poetry to directly confront Lucretian ideas and, in many cases, appropriate his rhetoric to do so. For what she thinks is her readers' good, she

posits another, radically different, way of understanding the world as guided by an active, loving, and mysterious divinity who deserves worship and can alone bring the peace that Lucretius sought to achieve through reason.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Epilogue

Order and Disorder is in every way a poem that corresponds with its title. Hutchinson herself begins the project feeling disordered in her affections and in her thoughts, hoping that the act of writing itself will help her strengthen her faith and remember with her heart what her head knows to be true. Therefore, the poem could be seen as primarily an exercise of meditation for her, as she employs classical rhetoric, biblical narrative, and biblical principles woven into the narrative to order her affections and strengthen her faith in Providence. However, Hutchinson has an audience broader than herself.

The poem's continual emphasis on deliberative rhetoric teaches Dissenting readers about and persuades readers to pursue an ordered life from a biblical perspective. From temperate alcohol consumption to hard work to choosing a like-minded spouse, Hutchinson directs readers to the way of order through virtuous action. The narrative itself emphasizes that the universe, which God created to be orderly, can be orderly again even after the Fall through virtuous lives of characters who become exemplars of virtue to readers: Enoch, Noah, Isaac, and Rachel.

In addition to leading readers to order their lives, Hutchinson also persuades Dissenting readers to order their affections in such a way that they learn to view everything in creation as good but less good than its Creator. The emblems she inserts into the poem direct readers to see the world around them as a series of images that suggest and point to the God who made them and who deserves their worship. Similarly, Hutchinson's continual emphasis on Providence's intervention into disorder to bring good from evil elicits praise from Dissenting readers who receive a sketch of a God who delights to bring order out of their messy, disordered lives.

As the poem's various depictions of Providence demonstrate, Hutchinson's poem reverses Lucretian atomism, insisting upon the wise, orderly plan of God in opposition to the random warring of atoms. To oppose *De rerum natura*, the poem that had brought so much disorder into her mind, Hutchinson constructs a poem that teaches about the ordered plan of redemptive history, orchestrated by God who desires people to order their lives by pursuing virtue and loving him rightly.

For Hutchinson, the Bible is the ultimate revelation of truth from God, in other words, the book that tells stories of and gives prescriptions for order. The rhetorical analysis here emphasizes the thoroughness of Hutchinson's reliance upon the Bible. She not only dilates her Genesis paraphrase with other biblical

principles, but her version of “plain” style consists of using many tropes and some schemes to provide greater clarity about the concepts that her biblical epic describes and often to interpret Scripture with Scripture. Also, like Pauline texts, her explicit intent is to employ rhetorical flourishes for the good of readers (and herself) rather than for the praise of the poet. Further, her interpretive strategies in weaving types and emblems into the narrative follow the injunctions in the New Testament to read all Scripture as pointing to Christ and to multiple principles of truth and to read creation as preaching the goodness and beauty of its Creator.

This analysis of Hutchinson’s poetics shows the character of Non-Conformist rhetoric by a Dissenter to a Dissenting audience and opens up new ways to discuss Calvinist Dissenters’ plain style and Biblicism. Hutchinson’s employment of tropes, including emblems, reveals a disconnect between Reformed saints and Enlightenment rationalists and underscores Hutchinson’s kinship to early Church fathers such as Augustine who read the Bible and the book of nature through various senses beyond the literal rather than her contemporaries, such as Bacon or Hobbes, who want to make language univocal. Though of course Calvinist Dissenters hold to a belief in transcendent truth, embodied in God himself, they find significations of multiple layers of reality in the Bible and the world.

This rhetorical analysis also demonstrates the philosophical, theological, and poetic ability of an extraordinary woman who claims that she did not excel at needlework, music, and dancing: her "genius was quite averse from all but [her] book" (*Memoirs* 14). Indeed, the rhetoric of her many-layered biblical paraphrase reveals the intellectual and artistic capabilities of seventeenth-century women. More work could certainly be done in regards to the importance of gender in the poem. Significantly, here, though Hutchinson clearly establishes the place of women, she often takes on the role of a Puritan preacher through exegesis, encouragement, and teaching. Finally, and for Hutchinson most importantly, *Order and Disorder* reveals Hutchinson's virtue. In the aftermath of personal and political turmoil, she resolves to use her rhetorical and intellectual abilities to promote her own spiritual health and to encourage others to embrace beauty, goodness, and truth by writing this poem.

Notes

Chapter One Introduction

[1] N.H. Keeble's "'The Colonel's Shadow': Lucy Hutchinson, Women's Writing and the Civil War;" Derek Hirst's "Remembering a Hero: Lucy Hutchinson's *Memoirs* of Her Husband;" and David Norbrook's "'But a Copie': Textual Authority and Gender in Editions of *The Life of John Hutchinson*" are three such examples of scholarship about gender and its relationship to her memoir.

[2] Mary and Elizabeth Tudor were two understandable exceptions, but also Thomas More provided his daughters with a complete humanistic curriculum (Abbott 169).

Chapter Two A Plain Contradiction?: Hutchinson's Rhetorical Purpose and Her Portrayals of Eloquent Speeches

[1] Throughout *Order and Disorder*, Hutchinson values plainness. For instance, she praises Nature unadorned. She extols the "primitive age" in which "Nature was not with strange excesses cloyed" (12.215-16). She also praises "plain fruits" (12.119) and other plain foods, claiming that they were better for human health: "Firm was their health then when their food was plain" (12.217). Also, when Lot hosts the angels, he entertains them "with plain food" (13.36).

[2] A similar seeming contradiction occurs in her prose account of her husband's life, in which she expresses in the preface to her children her desire to write plainly. She states that "A naked, undressed narrative, speaking the simple truth of him, will deck him with more substantial glory, than all the panegyrics that the best pens could ever consecrate to the virtues of the best men" (16). Yet, as Sharon Cadman Seelig points out, "the narrative is far from simple, and every inch a panegyric" (75).

[3] This Puritan preaching principle likely derived from the apostle Paul since he was often the "final authority in Reformation manuals of preaching" (Auksi 289).

[4] Even in this passage, Norbrook notes that she employs "a careful antithesis capped by the figure of homoioteleuton" (Introduction xxix), but he does not elaborate upon this seeming contradiction.

[5] Thomas O. Sloane further notes that the "fourth book of *De doctrina* was the first work by Augustine to be printed, in 1465 in Strasbourg. Soon thereafter the treatise as a whole was published, and within less than a century it was blazoned to the humanist world through the great Erasmian edition" (104).

[6] She also concludes canto 6 with the final line: "bad ones pined / To see the place possessed where once they shined" (6.639-40).

[7] Brian Vickers makes the point that in the Renaissance, "[r]hetorical movere was increasingly conceived of as mobilizing the will to good ends" (276). Sermons specifically, he explains, kept "with the general trend in Renaissance rhetoric towards epideictic, the specific goal being to direct the audience to ethical conduct" (291).

[8] In her commonplace book, Hutchinson makes clear her concern with avoiding idolatry (in a passage that traces Romans 1:25) when she denounces "them who change the truth of god into a lie and worship and serve the creature more than the creator" ("Religious").

[9] Francis Quarles wrote his entire Emblem VIII, asking God for more repentant tears (153-55).

[10] Adam had also comforted Eve that God "guides the shafts" (5.520).

[11] This passage echoes Psalm 116:7, which Hutchinson seems to use as material for a poem in her commonplace book ("Religious"). It also resembles Augustine's famous assertion, "For Thou hast made us for Thyself and our hearts are restless till they rest in Thee" (*Confessions* 3).

[12] This passage shares the language of several of Francis Quarles's emblems. In Book V, Emblem V, he prays, "Disperse these plague-distilling Clouds, and cleare / My mungy Soule into a glorious day" (262). In Book V, Emblem X, he asserts, "My Soule is like a Bird" (281).

Chapter Three The Plain Style and Hutchinson's Usage of Tropes

[1] Cicero highly praised metaphor, asserting that "there is no mode of expression more outstanding than metaphor, and none that lends more brilliance to a speech" (*On the Ideal* 273). Metaphors, "more than anything else, mark our speech with shining stars, as it were, and thus give it brilliance" (276). Additionally, Hutchinson was likely familiar with the Ciceronian Thomas Wilson, whose *Arte of Rhetoriqu*e provided "the first comprehensive rhetorical treatise in English and also the most popular work of this kind in sixteenth-century England" (Derrick lxii). Wilson encouraged the use of tropes and metaphors in particular: "An Oration is wonderfullye enriched, when apte Metaphores are gotte and applied to the matter" (345).

[2] Psalm 118:22 presents another metaphor of Christ as the cornerstone: "The stone which the builders refused is become the head stone of the corner."

[3] Also, for Calvinist divines like William Perkins, Romans is the most important book of the Bible. He encourages ministers to prepare for their sermons by reading it, one of the "Keys to the New Testament" (23-24). Perkins also highly valued the Psalms as one of the most important books in the Old Testament along with Isaiah and Genesis (24).

[4] Francis Quarles uses similar tropes in his Emblem V of Book V: “My soule; Thy gold is true; but full of drosse; / Thy SAVIOURS breath refines thee with some losse / His gentle Fornace Makes thee pure as true; / Thou must be melted, ere th’art cast anew” (263).

[5] Job 25:6 and Psalm 22:6 employ this comparison.

[6] Uncontrolled fire and funeral fire are common evaluative metaphors Hutchinson employs. In another passage describing Sodomites, the comparison of lust to “funeral flames” (13.66) shows the connection between sin and death. Elsewhere, she compares Lot’s incestuous daughters’ “youthful blood” to a “wildfire” (13.306), again coupling lust with fire. With antithesis, she claims that the “coldest springs” could not put out these flames (13.305). Hutchinson uses uncontrolled fire as a metaphor for sin because its consequences can be devastating.

[7] The Apostle Paul frequently employed paradox. For instance, “We are afflicted in every way, but not crushed; perplexed, but not driven to despair; persecuted, but not forsaken; struck down, but not destroyed (2 Corinthians 4:9-10).

[8] This passage resembles Satan’s admission in Paradise Lost, “Which way I flie is Hell; my self am Hell;” (4.75).

[9] Metaphor and simile are not the only tropes that provide ordinary experiences to give a sense of actuality to suprasensible concepts. Other tropes such as extended personification also elucidate difficult and abstract realities. For example, Hutchinson portrays the results of unrepentant human sin, God’s vengeance, in the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah and makes God’s wrath into a fictionalized female warrior who assembles the earth, air, water, and fire to attack these rebellious cities (13.187-210). Though extended personification is not as common in biblical rhetoric as other tropes, its purpose accords with that of many biblical tropes: to clarify a suprasensible concept and help readers make evaluations in order to discourage them from pursuing it.

[10] The first metaphor in this passage is a biblical trope: “For all flesh is as grass, and all the glory of man as the flower of grass. The grass withereth, and the flower thereof falleth away:” (1 Peter 1:24).

[11] Syllepsis is a trope that employs one word in different ways, changing its meaning because of the word’s relationship to other words in a sentence.

[12] Metonymy is a trope that replaces a word with a related word that is often characteristic of the concept implied.

[13] The Psalms present metaphors of danger as “ravening beasts, serpents, arrows, burning coals, pestilence” (Alter 252).

[1] Corin Mihaila has also noted that Paul favors antithesis (18, 31).

[2] Polyptoton is a scheme that repeats words derived from the same root.

[3] Paul's epistles are not the only biblical source for Hutchinson's use of binaries, however. In her commonplace book, Hutchinson records several psalms translated by Thomas Carew. She records, for example, Psalm 1 that sets up a binary between godly and ungodly people. These two types of people represent in microcosm the order and disorder that the cosmos has experienced.

[4] Anaphora, the repetition of an initial word or phrase in successive lines, also is one of Paul's favorite schemes. 1 Corinthians 13, for example, is a famous, memorable example of this rhetorical strategy.

[5] In Paul's letter to the Romans, he similarly asserts, "For if ye live after the flesh, ye shall die: but if ye through the Spirit do mortify the deeds of the body, ye shall live" (8:13).

[6] Here, Hutchinson follows Calvin's typological interpretation of the Flood: "as Noah believing the promise of God, gathered himself his wife and his children together, in order that under a certain appearance of death, he might emerge out of death; so it is fitting that we should renounce the world and die, in order that the Lord may quicken us by his word. For nowhere else is there any security of salvation" (*Commentaries* 273).

[7] Ellipsis is a scheme in which an implied or expected word is omitted in a sentence.

[8] Francis Quarles also expresses a similar desire: "My Soule, pry not too nearely; The Complexion / Of Sols bright face is seen, but by Reflexion: / But wouldst thou know what's heav'n? Ile tell thee what & / Think what thou canst not think, and Heav'n is that" (299).

[9] The trope of personification here complements the passage's schemes. Personifying "lust and treason," Hutchinson alliteratively states that these vices "seek a shade" (6.167), wanting to hide themselves from God.

[10] The rhetorical question is one of Paul's most favored tropes. In 1 Corinthians 9, for instance, he asks eighteen rhetorical questions.

[11] Anadiplosis is a scheme in which the last word in a clause is repeated in the first word in the next clause.

[12] The OED explains that "fancy" is synonymous to creative imagination in the seventeenth century.

[13] In a similar but briefer passage, Hutchinson expresses the limitations of human relationships by repeating "No more" (16:317-18) in her explanation of the end of Abraham and Sarah's marriage at death.

Chapter 5 The Rhetoric of Interpretatio*: Dilating Genesis with the New Testament*

[1] Other New Testament passages emphasize this principle: "But godliness with contentment is great gain" (1 Timothy 6:6), and "Let your conversation be without covetousness; and be content with such things as ye have: for he hath said, I will never leave thee, nor forsake thee" (Hebrews 13:5).

[2] As Roberts explains, digressions in a biblical paraphrase "may be classified by their content into three types: descriptive (i.e. ecphrasis), narrative, and argumentative (including the ethical and exegetical). The types naturally overlap, but normally in every digression one style predominates" (214). As I have shown, Hutchinson does provide additional narrative details into her characters in order to make an argument about ethics, but Hutchinson also more explicitly makes ethical digressions in passages with overtly deliberative rhetoric.

[3] Another departure from Ovid here is the way in which Hutchinson goes further to illustrate the silence that merely dwells in Ovid's account.

[4] Polyptoton also displays a related paradox: "Captivity shall then a captive be" (5.255). This biblical scheme derives from Paul's letter to the Ephesians 4:8: "When [Christ] ascended up on high, he led captivity captive, and gave gifts unto men."

Chapter 6 The Tropes of Types and Emblems

[1] John records Jesus admitting early in his ministry that the Scriptures "testify of me" (John 5:39).

[2] Paul, for example, asserts, "And the scripture, foreseeing that God would justify the heathen through faith, preached before the gospel unto Abraham, saying, In thee shall all nations be blessed" (Galatians 3:8).

[3] Her biblical interpretations follow Paul's in his explanation that Abraham, Sarah, and Hagaar from Genesis "are an allegory [of] the two covenants" (Galatians 4:24). Hutchinson does not, interestingly, explicate this particular interpretation of the Genesis narrative; instead, she seems to construct her own emblems.

[4] "Then on the third day Abraham lifted up his eyes, and saw the place afar off. And Abraham said unto his young men, Abide ye here with the ass; and I and the lad will go yonder and worship, and come again to you" (Genesis 22:4-5).

[5] Paul writes, "Nevertheless death reigned from Adam to Moses, even over them that had not sinned after the similitude of Adam's transgression, who is the figure of him who was to come" (Romans 5:14).

[6] Eve's creation from Adam points forward to Christ and the Church. Similarly, contemporary marriage is a symbol that points back to Christ and the Church.

[7] Paul employs antithesis in Romans 5 similarly contrasting Adam and Christ. Paul explains that their actions lead to disparate consequences for humanity: "Therefore as by the offence of one judgment came upon all men to condemnation; even so by the righteousness of one the free gift came upon all men unto justification of life. For as by one man's disobedience many were made sinners, so by the obedience of one shall many be made righteous" (Romans 5:18-19). Also, in 1 Corinthians 15:21-22, Paul depicts Adam as a type of Christ: "For since by man came death, by man came also the resurrection of the dead. For as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive."

[8] Antanaclasis is a trope that repeats the same word but in two different senses.

[9] Hutchinson follows 1 Peter 3:20-21 in giving the standard typological reading of the Flood as baptism, although her emphasis is Calvinistic: "once the longsuffering of God waited in the days of Noah, while the ark was a preparing, wherein few, that is, eight souls were saved by water. The like figure whereunto even baptism doth also now save us (not the putting away of the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a good conscience toward God,) by the resurrection of Jesus Christ." This comparison of the waters of the Flood to the waters of baptism also takes on special significance when considered in light of the passage's context: exhorting the churches to suffer patiently. What comes both before and after this passage is material especially relevant to his audience, churches in Asia Minor who were enduring religious persecution. Perhaps for this reason, the common typological reading of the ark and the Flood has involved not just baptism but also perseverance through suffering, which Hutchinson also engages but expands.

[10] In *The City of God*, Augustine explains that the ark with Noah's family and the animals inside "is a symbol of the City of God on pilgrimage in this world: that is, of the Church which is saved through the wood upon which hung 'the Mediator between God and men, the man Jesus Christ" (687). All that Augustine writes about the ark, he says, "must have as its point of reference the City of God…the pilgrim City which dwells in this wicked world as though in a flood" (687-88).

[11]In contrast to Augustine who interpreted the clean and unclean animals on the ark as both Jewish and Greek Christians (*City of God* 688), Hutchinson makes a similar interpretation as the seventeenth-century Scottish minister William Guild who believed that some members of the Church are truly believers, while some are mere hypocrites. He claimed that just as Noah's ark contained both clean and unclean parts of God's creation, "So in Christ's visible Church are Hypocrites and true Believers, Jews also and Gentiles Ephes. Ii. Mattn. Xiii" (11).

[12] Calvin also applies the typology of the Flood to reassure his readers of God's Providence: "Let us therefore learn, by this example, to repose on the providence of God, even

while he seems to be most forgetful of us; for at length, by affording us help, he will testify that he has been mindful of us" (*Commentaries* 276). When the Church experiences times of confusion or difficulty, Calvin says, the ark reminds them that God works salvation and deliverance in the most unusual circumstances but in a wise and gracious way for his people.

[13] They express what Boulger has summarized as the essential "categories in the Calvinist drama of salvation…: the power of God, the decree of election, original sin, justification or assurance, sanctification, glorification" (50).

[14] Paul also uses the metaphor of light and darkness for believers and unbelievers in 1 Corinthians 6:14.

[15] Perhaps this emblem alludes to the Hutchinsons' own problems with Presbyterians that she discusses in *Memoirs*, in which John Hutchinson is endlessly harassed by others in his own party, and she constantly emphasizes his wisdom in contrast to their envy. For instance, she recounts that when Parliament ordered that he be governor of the town and castle of Nottingham, she describes at length the various levels of "base and causeless jealousy" that other Parliamentarians had of John Hutchinson's new position (137).

[16] Epanalepsis is a scheme that repeats the same word or phrase at the end of one clause and at the beginning of the next clause.

[17] This is one of Hutchinson's few emblems that share explicit content with Quarles's. His Emblem IX of Book I asserts, "The Beauty, that of late, was in her flower, / Is now a ruine…," and the stanza concludes, "Whose Honour, late, was mann'd with princely pow'r, / His glory now lies buried in the dust; / O who would trust this world, or prize what's in it, / That gives and takes, and chops, and changes ev'ry minit!" (35). However, Quarles's emblem merely laments the world's passing and does not, as Hutchinson's poem does, encourage readers about the virtue that they leave behind (15.336-38) and the beauty that they pass onto their children, reminding them of resurrection (3.452).

[18] According to Norbrook's helpful historical research, Hutchinson was likely writing the poem 1660-64 and then continuing it starting in 1673. At the very least, this passage was written after the Restoration, but it also is likely that she composed canto 8 after the death of her husband in 1664 (Introduction to *Order* x-xi).

[19] Perhaps, like other prose works she composes, she has her children, and her daughters in particular, in mind as her audience.

[20] This emblem is entirely different from Quarles's that constructs a dialogue between the serpent and Eve and used to make the point of James 1:14: "Every man is tempted, when he is drawne away by his own lust, and enticed" (*Emblemes* 5). Quarles does not issue a caution about the friends women should choose.

[21] This passage seems to read Ephesians 2:10 into the narrative also: "For we are his workmanship, created in Christ Jesus unto good works, which God hath before ordained that we should walk in them."

[22] "For the love of money is the root of all evil: which while some coveted after, they have erred from the faith, and pierced themselves through with many sorrows."

[23] "It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God."

[24] "No servant can serve two masters: for either he will hate the one, and love the other; or else he will hold to the one, and despise the other. Ye cannot serve God and mammon."

[25] "Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth, where moth and rust doth corrupt, and where thieves break through and steal: But lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven, where neither moth nor rust doth corrupt, and where thieves do not break through nor steal: For where your treasure is, there will your heart be also."

[26] Augustine also applies this interpretive strategy. Gerard Watson helpfully points out that Augustine "saw all the world as a sacrament or sign of a hidden reality, and among the signs the most striking were words. The world process itself could be seen as a gradually unfolding sentence, a sentence whose full meaning only God could see, but which by the very fact of its fragmentary and puzzling nature stimulates us to keep on searching for the ultimate meaning" (248).

[27] Quarles does use this language in Book V, Emblem V in his description of his soul melting before God: "What ravish heart, that feeles these melting Joyes, / Would not despise and loathe the trech'rous Toyes / Of dunghill earth!" (262).

Chapter 7 Order and Disorder *as an Alternative Vision of* De rerum natura

[1] Quarles, for instance, writes in Emblem V, "but my great Creator did inspire / My chosen earth with that diviner fire / Of Reason" (141), and Quarles compares his body to "a living Temple t'entertaine / The King of Glory, and his glorious traine" (142).

[2] She may be alluding to Paul's famous claim on Mars' hill that "in him we live, and move, and have our being" (Acts 17:28).

[3] This plea for divine inspiration also perhaps allows Hutchinson as a Puritan woman to compose an ambitious epic without impiety or impropriety.

[4] This address to the hills could allude to Psalm 114:6-7: "Ye mountains, that ye skipped like rams; and ye little hills, like lambs? Tremble, thou earth, at the presence of the Lord, at the presence of the God of Jacob."

[5] Throughout this chapter, I refer to Hutchinson's translation and the 1631 Pareus edition of Lucretius's text that Norbrook and Barbour have printed in *The Works of Lucy Hutchinson*, aiming to give readers an accurate perception of the text from which Hutchinson was translating.

[6] This passage also echoes Ovid's creation account in *Metamorphoses* 1.7-9.

[7] This language is similar to Hutchinson's description of her husband, a "prince who in the administration of all excellent virtues reigned there a while, till he was called back to the palace of the universal emperor" (*Memoirs* 20).

[8] In a similar way, toward the end of the poem, she describes angels as moving "in thick troops" (19.69) when Jacob's has the vision of the heavenly ladder.

[9] Julia T. Dyson has similarly argued that in the *Aeneid* "Virgil employs Lucretian language and imagery to contradict Lucretian doctrine" (204).

[10] Evan Getz also makes this point in his dissertation, "Analogy, Causation, and Beauty in the Works of Lucy Hutchinson."

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