

Interpretation

A JOURNAL OF POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY

Fall 1994

Volume 22 Number 1

- 3 David C. Innes Bacon's *New Atlantis*: The Christian Hope and the Modern Hope
- 39 Peter C. Myers Equality, Property, and the Problem of Partisanship: The Lockean Constitution as Mixed Regime
- 65 Jeffrey J. Poelvoorde Women in the Novels of Nathaniel Hawthorne
- 91 Colin D. Pearce The Wisdom of Exile: Edward Everett Hale's "The Man Without a Country"
- 111 Joseph Gonda On Jacob Klein's *Greek Mathematical Thought and the Origin of Algebra*
- 129 David Bolotin Leo Strauss and Classical Political Philosophy
- Book Review*
- 143 Paul A. Basinski *Liberalism*, by Harry Neumann
- 151 Harry Neumann Politics or Terror of Reason: Comments on Paul Basinski's Review of *Liberalism*

Interpretation

- Editor-in-Chief Hilail Gildin, Dept. of Philosophy, Queens College
Executive Editor Leonard Grey
General Editors Seth G. Benardete • Charles E. Butterworth •
Hilail Gildin • Robert Horwitz (d. 1987) •
Howard B. White (d. 1974)
- Consulting Editors Christopher Bruell • Joseph Cropsey • Ernest L. Fortin
• John Hallowell (d. 1992) • Harry V. Jaffa • David
Lowenthal • Muhsin Mahdi • Harvey C. Mansfield, Jr.
• Arnaldo Momigliano (d. 1987) • Michael Oakeshott
(d. 1990) • Ellis Sandoz • Leo Strauss (d. 1973) •
Kenneth W. Thompson
- European Editors Terence E. Marshall • Heinrich Meier
Editors Wayne Ambler • Maurice Auerbach • Fred Baumann
• Michael Blaustein • Patrick Coby • Edward J. Erler •
Maureen Feder-Marcus • Joseph E. Goldberg • Stephen
Harvey • Pamela K. Jensen • Ken Masugi • Grant B.
Mindle • James W. Morris • Will Morrissey • Charles
T. Rubin • Leslie G. Rubin • Bradford P. Wilson •
Hossein Ziai • Michael Zuckert • Catherine Zuckert
- Manuscript Editor Lucia B. Prochnow
Subscriptions Subscription rates per volume (3 issues):
individuals \$25
libraries and all other institutions \$40
students (four-year limit) \$16
- Single copies available.
Postage outside U.S.: Canada \$4.50 extra;
elsewhere \$5.40 extra by surface mail (8 weeks
or longer) or \$11.00 by air.
Payments: in U.S. dollars AND payable by
a financial institution located within the U.S.A.
(or the U.S. Postal Service).

CONTRIBUTORS should follow *The Chicago Manual of Style*, 13th ed. or manuals based on it; double-space their manuscripts, including notes; place references in the text, in endnotes or follow current journal style in printing references. Words from languages not based on Latin should be transliterated to English. To ensure impartial judgment of their manuscripts, contributors should omit mention of their other work; put, on the title page only, their name, any affiliation desired, address with postal/zip code in full, and telephone. Contributors using computers should, if possible, provide a character count of the entire manuscript. Please send THREE clear copies.

Composition by Eastern Composition, Inc.,
Binghamton, N.Y. 13905 U.S.A.
Printed and bound by Wickersham Printing Co.,
Lancaster, PA 17603 U.S.A.

Inquiries: Patricia D'Allura, Assistant to the Editor,
INTERPRETATION, Queens College, Flushing, N.Y.
11367-1597, U.S.A. (718)997-5542

Bacon's New Atlantis:

The Christian Hope and the Modern Hope

DAVID C. INNES

Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary

Modern politics is distinguished by its orientation toward, and confidence in, what is called "progress." Accordingly, a particular hope, the anticipated end of this progressive historical development, has a prominent and even fundamental place. This hope, which gives our world its character and is the key to understanding the progressive attitude which permeates modern politics, is the promise of the modern scientific enterprise. The high expectations we have for politics are informed by all that we have accomplished in the past through our science and the disciplines which look to it as a model, as well as what we are confident we can accomplish in the future by the same means. That is to say, this progressive attitude is fundamentally shaped not only by our dominion over nature, but by the hope which that dominion inspires and supports: the confident expectation that, by means of this scientific enterprise, a particular world or way of life in which we judge that we would be happy is attainable. This hope implies a judgment as to what sort of life is most satisfying to human beings, and this judgment reflects a particular theory of human nature and a view of God.

It was through Biblical religion that hope became a central religious theme and a virtue. Biblical hope is a certain expectation of the highest good. For the pagans, hope was merely a passion, and a misleading one because of its propensity for error. Because of the certainty which revelation affords, however, Biblical hope is a sure thing. Nonetheless, because of the role played by faith in the revealed promises of God, it is also a virtue. The Christian hope, like that of the Hebrews of which it is the fulfillment, is ultimately theological. It begins and ends in God, who is the grounds, the means and the object or end. It is grounded first on the nature of God, who is immutable, sovereign and pure, and thereby on the perfect trustworthiness of His word (Titus 1:2). Secondly, the resurrection of Christ provides an historical witness to this certainty, (I Corinthians 15:20; Romans 8:32). Lastly, the Holy Spirit who indwells the believer testifies to the same certainty (I Corinthians 2:14; Romans 5:5, 8:11). Furthermore, God the Father, Himself, is the means by which the hope is affected or secured. It is He who foreknows, predestines, calls and justifies His people (Romans 8:29, 30). The Son's crucifixion and His resurrection from the dead atone for all the sins of every generation of the faithful from the begin-

4 • Interpretation

ning of the world until the end (Colossians 1:20; Hebrews 9:22). The Holy Spirit applies and secures this work in the believer (Titus 3:5–7). Finally, heaven, the end or substance of the hope itself, is not the enjoyment of those pleasures which God’s faithful, by suffering and toil, were prevented from enjoying in this life. Rather, it is God Himself. It is God in whom the perfected believer, resurrected in body and sanctified in spirit, will find perfect and eternal satisfaction.

In the modern age, hope of this sort takes on a secular role and emerges for the first time in the writings of Sir Francis Bacon (1561–1626), where we see it linked to his scientific project. In the promotion of his new science, Bacon anticipates many of the technological developments which distinguish our modern age. In his account of the activities of Salomon’s House in the *New Atlantis*, he alludes in a shadowy but confident way to what resembles modern accomplishments in, for example, medicine, meteorology and agricultural science. Bacon himself, however, understands this prescience not as a passive seeing into the future but as an active leading through the promotion and establishment of his new science. If what Bacon claims for himself is true, that he is the inventor of the very means of invention as we know it today in its fantastically productive form, then it is primarily to Francis Bacon that credit is due for the power which we possess in varying degrees over almost all aspects of creation. The success of Bacon’s science, in addition to Bacon’s writings themselves, have been decisive also in shaping our own attitude toward the future, which is to say the character of the hope which animates our civilization.

Bacon’s promises have proved increasingly, with every passing century, to be universally appealing, even at the expense of people’s trust in Christ’s promises. Part of the appeal, at least in the years immediately following Bacon’s death, before the science had much to show in the way of fruit, can be seen in the *New Atlantis*. The literary function of the *New Atlantis* is to accomplish precisely the task with which, at the end of the story, the narrator is charged: to proclaim the possibilities, and thus the hope, of the new science. The excellence of the science is seen in the attractiveness of the island of Bensalem, where the fullness of the hope which it offers is showcased. Those who populate the island, like us, are modern people. They are “happy,” widely enjoying as they do what is most important to them, the fruit of that largely triumphant science. Their virtue is their “humanity.” This is primarily the disposition to provide others with these goods, the only goods which modern science equips us to provide. It also encompasses, however, the toleration and civility underlying the religious and civil peace which mark the island. This peace derives from the priority which the Bensalemites give to the comforts and security which science successfully provides.

The pictured hope, however, is deeper than this. It incorporates an almost religious dimension. We are shown a land of angels who are orderly, civil and satisfied with regard to all their needs. They combine incorruptibility and hu-

manity, or goodness, both in themselves and toward others. To this they add faith. Through displays of piety and charity and through the miracle by which we are told the gospel was revealed to the island, we can see that they are consistent and undisturbed in their Christianity. Turning to the condition of life which these angelic hosts enjoy, we find medicines and finery of extraordinary distinction. The book seems to be designed to show the compatibility of Christianity and modern science to a generation of religious authorities which was sceptical of this new learning.¹ Disturbing details permeate these features, however. How do these features change the nature of the hope? There are strong textual grounds which support the view that in Bensalem humanity masks inhumanity while genuinely providing for basic needs. Chastity, upon closer examination, is nothing more than regimented and usefully channelled passion. Pious Christian displays distract from a more fundamental assault upon, transformation of and ultimately displacement of Christianity.

Indeed, it was a hesitant and sceptical audience for which Bacon wrote the *New Atlantis*. Men despaired because they believed impossible a science which could deliver the power over nature for which Bacon argued. For this reason, the *New Atlantis* is not an argument, like *The New Organon*, but a captivating tale intended to inspire hope in a sovereign science which would remedy all our woes. This hope, the picture of what may be achieved through widespread and government supported devotion to scientific research and development, Faulkner calls Bacon's "vision of a realizable state of security."² In Bacon's tale we are introduced to men who are beside themselves with joy at their experience of this civilization. Much of the language which Bacon employs seems appropriate to the description of men who have come into their hope, the satisfaction of their deepest longings (e.g., "a land of angels," "a picture of our salvation"). Bensalem is the hope which Bacon holds out for those who would see a better world or at least a safer and more comfortable world. Thus, these men undergo something of a conversion because they see in this land their salvation . . . but their *earthly* salvation.

The fullness of salvation is the object of the highest human hope. That highest hope *to* which we are saved also indicates that *from* which we are saved, and thereby the fundamental and most besetting human problem. Bacon's use of the word hope in the *New Atlantis* is in each case associated with preservation of the body against decay and destruction. For example, his first use of the word occurs in the context of the storm in which the Europeans' ship is tossed. The object of the hope is the land which they sight, i.e., their immediate earthly salvation.³ The second use has reference to preservation against sickness (*NA* p. 40). Just as the Christian hope includes the restoration of the body, but spiritual and incorruptible, through resurrection unto an eternal sabbath, the Baconian hope is in the restoration and preservation of the human body in this world by natural means.⁴ But as a hope, this condition must be certain and thus secure, and also happy, and thus comfortable or pleasant.

6 • Interpretation

Given the presentation of the hope as a particular nation, the governing authorities of which orchestrate the campaign of science, there is clearly also a pronounced political element to the hope. Thus, at the heart of the modern character is a grave ambiguity. We combine excessively high hopes with frightening moral and political possibilities.

The *New Atlantis* opens with a picture of premodern, prescientific man, buffeted by the forces of unsympathetic and mysterious nature to which he is wholly subject (*NA* p.37). These men have laid up a store of food for a year. This is their security against the future. An ugly change in the weather, however, leaves them with nothing. As a consequence, considering that they are in the grip of nature's power, it is the forces of nature and not their own desires which direct their course for months on end. It is the storm and not their own plans which "carried us up (for all that we could do) toward the north." They are helpless also before the fortune of disease. This, then, is the picture: helplessness, dependence upon circumstances (which are more often than not unfavorable), making "good spare" of limited resources and, in the end, poverty.⁵ In sum, prescientific man is afloat in "the wilderness of waters in the world." It is wilderness because it is untamed, undomesticated, unconquered by man and therefore hostile or at best indifferent (which amounts to the same thing) to his needs and desires. This is no surprise, since it is the waters that are described, and the ocean in particular. The waters of the world are the great unconquered, unconquerable frontier.⁶ For the people to whom Bacon offered his science, this description may as well have been that of the whole world. Accordingly, these men at sea "prepared for death," seeing that they had no hope.

In spite of their evident despair, they pray to God. Bacon recognizes the peculiarity of this by his use of the word "yet." "[W]e gave ourselves for lost men, and prepared for death. Yet we did lift up our hearts and voices to God above. . . ." Perhaps they have in mind what Bacon observed regarding the efficacy of prayer (*NO* I.46). Yet, it is "to God above, who 'showeth his wonders on the deep'" to whom they turn. This is a reference to the Book of Psalms 107:23–32. There, God in His loving providence and divine sovereignty calms the seas and brings the Godfearing sailors to their desired haven. Weinberger is correct in observing that, in Bacon's parallel account, the winds and seas themselves bring the sailors to a haven which they did not foresee and so did not at first desire. Given that we later learn that the men of Salomon's House can control the winds and seas, there appears to be a suggestion that "the providence displayed in the *New Atlantis* replaces the providence of an irresponsible and hostile creator."⁷ The sailors' prayer for divine mercy is based upon their ignorance of the wonderful power of Bensalemite science. Thus, Weinberger sees the point of this passage as being that in our mortal struggle

against nature, there is no hope in God. Rather, any hope that we have is to be found in modern natural science.

While I agree with this interpretation, arising as it does so neatly from the text, Bacon's use of this quotation also has an immediate dramatic function. The sailors turn to God as conceived in a particular way. In this course there is hope for us if not for them. It is not to God who brought Israel out of Egypt that they cry out, or to God whose arm is not too short to save, but specifically to God as He is known through general revelation, as He is revealed in nature. By "the deep," Bacon intends, through the words of the psalmist, a metaphorical reference to the secret workings of nature which he elsewhere says are hidden in "the bowels of nature" (*GI* p. 21). It is only when the travellers look to God so described that they spy "thick clouds" which might conceal a continent or island. At the sight of this, hope stirs within them. Bacon compares his new science, which itself was afar off and shrouded with a thick cloud of uncertainty, to a new continent (*GI* p. 13). Indeed, to many, the possibility of such a science, as he says of the South Seas, was "utterly unknown." Sure enough, the continent which the European travellers discover is the home of Baconian science. That continent, the nation of Bensalem, represents the hope which this modern, Baconian science offers to the human race. It is the City of God come down to earth, or it is at least the city of this god to whom every experiment is a prayer and every discovery an answer to prayer.

The Christian hope, as we have seen, rests in God from whom all blessings flow. In the *New Atlantis*, Bensalem is a picture of the new hope. The island's distinctive feature is that it is the exclusive home of properly instituted and successfully pursued Baconian science. But what is even more remarkable is Bacon's use of heavenly and subtly Godlike terms in his presentation of it. This provides in part for the visionary quality of the work and the appeal, perhaps inadequate and yet seductive, to what everyone most fundamentally desires. This earthly vision is offered at the expense of the more spiritual alternative, however.

The narrator of the tale, throughout his discourse to his crew upon their arrival at the Strangers' House and before their meeting with its governor, speaks of Bensalem as though it were God (*NA* pp. 43–44). To the official who escorts them to the Strangers' House, the European travellers exclaim, "God surely is manifested in this land." This is spoken "with all affection and respect," which is as if to say with a love and fear of the sort that one would render to one's father or to the Lord God. Despite exhorting his company to "look up to God" and his description of the Bensalemites as "a Christian people full of piety and humanity," the narrator cautions the men against showing their "vices and unworthiness before them [the Bensalemites]." He counsels them also to guard their behavior in order that they "may find grace in the eyes of this people." Furthermore, the context of these considerations is the uncertainty

8 · Interpretation

whether the Bensalemite authorities will cast them out, if not kill them, or give them further leave to stay. They see in the governor this power to curse or to bless and bow low before him, “looking that from him we should receive life or death” (NA p. 44).

What follows this is a maudlin description of their response to the governor’s “gracious and parent-like usage” (NA pp. 45–46). They are so overcome with awe at the goodness or “humanity” of this people that they are speechless. They see in this place “a picture of our salvation in heaven” and “nothing but consolations.” Their hearts are inflamed with desire to tour what they call “this happy and holy ground.” There follows an allusion to the Book of Psalms 137:6 and with it to Zion or Jerusalem, a prefigurement of the heavenly hope.⁸ Bensalem is called “that happy land,” connoting felicity, beatitude, heavenly contentment. They submit themselves as servants to the governor “by as just a right as ever men on earth were bounden. . . .” More so even than to God, one wonders? They continue “laying and presenting both our persons and all we had at his feet.” But this behavior is appropriate either to a god or a despot. The governor departs in a display of Godlike compassion, “tears of tenderness in his eyes,” leaving the travellers bewildered with joy (cf. Psalms 137:6) and considering themselves to have come into “a land of angels.”⁹ But this last judgment is not made on the grounds of any explicit devotion to God in Christ which they found there. The conclusion is made simply on the basis of the Bensalemites having anticipated their bodily needs and supplied them with comforts. They mistake provision of necessities and comforts for kindness, and they mistake kindness for godliness.

Not only is Bensalem compared to God, but it comes out looking better. The Divine Revenge for the actions of Atlantis compares unfavorably with the clemency which the Bensalemite king, Altabin, showed toward his invaders. Altabin was able to proceed in this way because he had such accurate knowledge of his own strength (which was great) and that of his enemy (which must have been comparatively much less). By comparison, God appears to be not only unmerciful but insecure in his power and thus over-reactive. In the comparison, therefore, lies not only a criticism of God but an argument for the implausibility of his existence.

THE FIVEFOLD HOPE

The hope which we see presented in the *New Atlantis* in the general form of Bensalem is in fact fivefold: the bodily comforts and conveniences which are the product of their industrial science; the extraordinary humanity which the Bensalemites, particularly the officials, display; religious peace and, in consequence of these three, civil peace. Finally, for those who look beyond these things to personal distinction, the honors of Salomon’s House provide satisfaction for such ambitions.

I: Comforts and Conveniences

One might say that the novel and abundant wealth of the land, in addition to the humanity of its inhabitants (and the two are connected), are the most immediately striking features of the tale. Certainly, the narrator never fails to draw attention to the details of how much finer everything is in Bensalem in comparison to what is available in Europe. The parchment of the official's scroll is "somewhat yellower than our parchment, and shining like the leaves of writing tables, but otherwise soft and flexible . . ." (NA p. 38). The Father of Salomon's House has under his feet a carpet, "like the Persian, but far finer" (NA p. 70).

Many of what the European travellers consider to be the riches of a far away and exotic land, however, find later explanation in the account of the activities of Salomon's House which concludes the work. For example, the high-ranking official who escorted them to the Strangers' House is described as wearing a gown of "a kind of water chamolet, of an excellent azure colour, far more glossy than ours . . ." (NA p. 39). In Salomon's House, we find "divers mechanical arts . . . and stuffs made by them; as papers, linen, silks, tissues . . . excellent dyes, and many others . . ." (NA p. 77). The hospitality of the Strangers' House includes "a drink of grain, such as is with us our ale, but more clear; and a kind of cider made of a fruit of that country; a wonderful pleasing and refreshing drink" (NA p. 43). Though this would appear to be a mere difference of geography, it is actually a technological difference. The ale, no doubt, was developed in the the brewhouses which Salomon's House includes (NA p. 75). This great research and development institute also cultivates different kinds of trees and berries from which various drinks are made, including the one which so impresses these Europeans. The Bensalemite technicians are able "by art" to make these trees "much greater than their nature; and their fruit greater and sweeter and of differing taste, smell, colour, and figure, from their nature." (The opposition here of art to nature is Bacon's own.) Think of the marketing possibilities which nectarines and the like present in a consumer society (NA p. 74). Similarly, the orange-like fruit, with its odd color and "most excellent odour," which was used as a preservative against infection, is also found in the description of the works of Salomon's House. There we see described "large and various orchards and gardens" wherein are cultivated "fruit-trees, which produceth many effects."

The account also reveals that research and development are always carried on with an eye to medicinal applications. The travellers are particularly astounded, and understandably to anyone who has experienced the pain and debility of serious illness or injury, by the seemingly miraculous cures made available to them. They gladly receive a plentiful number of the scarlet oranges already mentioned, "an assured remedy for sickness taken at sea." Here Bacon refers not simply to the curative effects of oranges for scurvy but to the rapid

10 · *Interpretation*

return of health through techno-oranges. The sick of the company “mended so kindly and so fast” that it was as though they were “cast into some divine pool of healing.” This remark has two references which are not unrelated to one another. The first is to the pool of Bethesda described in the Gospel of John (5:2–4). There we see many miserable souls, blind, lame and in other ways wretched and infirm, waiting for an angel to come down (as on occasion he would) and disturb the waters, bringing healing to whoever was then first to enter the pool. Furthermore, unbeknownst to the narrator but certainly as Bacon intended, this reference to a “divine pool of healing” anticipates the account of the artificial baths which imitate the healing springs found in nature (*NA* p. 73). Among these are employed a certain “Water of Paradise, being, by that we do to it, made very sovereign for health and prolongation of life.” In a comparison of the two, the divine example looks niggardly, whereas the example from art or technology is more humane. Of course, such a judgment would overlook two important points: first, that the infirm man in the Gospel account, unable ever to reach the pool, is healed by Jesus and, second, the spiritual lesson which is the intent of the story. Nonetheless, of the first fifteen paragraphs describing the scientific projects of Salomon’s House (“preparations and instruments”) before the account of the mechanical arts, eight have application to bodily preservation.

Though these activities point toward the grand accomplishments of resurrection and perpetual youth, neither of these goals has yet been realized in the Bensalem which we are shown, despite the 1900 years of concerted research which have transpired. Because of the accomplishments which we are shown, however, there does not seem to be any reason why in principle the requisite technologies should not be available. The lesson to be learned in all of this is that none of these provisions is dependent upon the particular geographical or historical circumstances of Bensalem. With the establishment in Europe of similar institutions of scientific research, the same sorts of things can easily be available there also.

II: Humanity

The great benevolence and moderation of the Bensalemites, in particular the officials, is especially amazing to the travellers. We see the first hint of this in the way the travellers are warned against landing, “without any cries or fierceness but only as warning us off by signs that they made.” They encounter an official who offers them “that which belongeth to mercy.” While noting the ambiguity of the reception, they nonetheless describe this people as being “full of humanity” which, under the circumstances, seems somewhat overstated (*NA* pp. 38–39). The attendant to the higher official, the great person, whom next they meet draws attention to the latter’s humility. He explains that it is not out

of “pride or greatness” that he does not board their ship but only for reasons of health (*NA* p. 40). The narrator on behalf of his entire ship praises this high official for his “singular humanity,” though for what reason is not obvious (*NA* p. 40). At the time of this praise, he had not actually done anything for them. He has a reverend appearance; he thanks heaven for their being Christians (having just asked); and he claims not to be proud. There appears to be a connection suggested between the Christian piety and the almost superhuman humanity, as it were, which is found on the island. This is made clearer still when the narrator in addressing his company explains that they have come “amongst a Christian people, full of piety and humanity . . .” (*NA* p. 43).

All the officials they encounter are above bribery (*NA* pp. 39, 41, 43). The townspeople line up to welcome the weary foreign travellers (*NA* p. 41). The hospitality of Bensalem is such that there is an institution called the Strangers' House which caters solely to travellers such as these, this despite thirty-seven years having passed since it last received guests (*NA* p. 45). The sick are mended and the whole are rested (*NA* p. 44). There is seemingly no limit to the generosity which the governor of the Strangers' House conveys. “And if you have any other request to make, hide it not. For ye shall find that we will not make your countenance to fall by the answer ye shall receive.” This is a strange offer for a Christian priest to make to a crowd of sailors who have not enjoyed shore leave in a long time, however.¹⁰ Furthermore, even as he says this, the governor then reminds his guests not to pass beyond certain boundaries, continuing their house arrest, as it were. The good behavior of the people and officials is not so much impressive as it is haunting. Is it virtue or control?

It ought to be noted at this point that Bacon presents “humanity” in contradistinction to charity. This is a key to understanding the novelty of Bensalemite benevolence. The narrator, as noted above, describes the Bensalemites as “a Christian people, full of piety and humanity” (*NA* p. 43). Bacon does not say “charity,” as one would expect a characteristically “Christian” people to be described. The official who first greets the travellers, speaking to Europeans who were thus far unexposed to Bensalemite ways, describes the provisions which he offers to make for their needs as “that which belongeth to mercy,” using in this case a Christian term, or at least a term shared by Christians. The narrator, however, just a few sentences later but writing as one converted and accustomed to the new ways, calls it humanity (*NA* pp. 38–39). What Bacon here calls humanity is what in *The Great Instauration* he calls charity (pp. 15,16). This only confirms Bacon's design to recondition our understanding of Christian charity in a way that allows it to be useful to the progress of the sciences, however. Bacon's use of the word charity, like humanity, indicates only an orientation toward the relief of human misery or, more specifically, the prolongation of life and the wider distribution of innocent worldly pleasures. Praise for Bensalemite humanity follows upon “consolations” and “comforts,” as well as restoration of the sick (*NA* pp. 45, 46, 38).

Despite what the travellers see as the great humanity of this people, they are nonetheless “fearful.” Their first recognition of the ambiguity of their reception has been noted. In his address to the company of the ship at the Strangers’ House, the narrator juxtaposes these reactions of comfort and fear, albeit before meeting the priest who governs the Strangers’ House. He sees them being “between death and life.” He recognizes a continuing “danger present and to come” and wonders aloud if they shall ever see Europe again. But in the next breath, he describes his hosts as being “a Christian people, full of piety and humanity” (NA p. 43). Even after having spent time with the governor, despite the governor’s “rare humanity” and angelic character which made his guests forget “both dangers past and fears to come,” the travellers are nonetheless “fearful to ask” their second question concerning the island’s ability to know all and yet remain unknown (NA p. 50). Is it just his awesome majesty, his divine appearance which evokes this fear, or is it the general display of regimentation? Their experience in Europe, even with clerics, is bound to color their expectations in Bensalem. Perhaps they have not caught on to the humane and civil ways of political life beyond the old world and the new. Could it be the great power which he commands as an official of what may be called this “technogarchic” regime which can command even the wind and the sea? But at this point in the tale there has been no great display of power.

The travellers themselves account for the fearfulness of their question by their recollection of what the governor said concerning the law of secrecy regarding strangers. Despite all comforting signs, their fears before learning about the laws of secrecy were based solely upon their fear of death at the hands of their hosts. This judgment is confirmed by the manner in which they greeted the governor of the Strangers’ House when they were first introduced, “looking that from him we should receive sentence of life or death” (NA p. 44). Though his kind and gracious company that day made them forget “both dangers past and fears to come,” it appears that this peace was a short-lived thing, like sleep or intoxication, for in their very next statement their fearfulness has returned. What do they fear in presuming too far but to make themselves suddenly undesirable as strangers (or even as servants, as the narrator confesses they have come to feel)? Along with the laws of secrecy which govern the relation of the island to the rest of the world, they were also told of the “rare admission of strangers” (NA p. 46). It would be reasonable of them to expect that any admission of strangers threatens the secrecy, and to wonder, first, what is done with strangers who are not admitted and yet cannot be allowed to report back what little they encountered; second, for what reason are some strangers admitted; and, third, what becomes of those strangers. Though they say it is beyond their ken how Bensalem can know all about Europe and yet remain itself unknown, one perhaps inadequate explanation which crosses their minds might be that travellers were received or intercepted, interrogated and then killed.

Their fear begins as simple fear of death even as it was on the ship at sea. But as their familiarity with Bensalem increases, the object of that fear becomes more sophisticated. They see great power behind the Bensalemite ability to know and yet remain unknown. At the Strangers' House, the travellers guess that they are being observed by unseen eyes (*NA* p. 44). The governor allows them to ask the questions since it is they who know least. He, apparently, knows all he needs to know about them because either their countries or they themselves are known (*NA* p. 46). In the course of their second question to the governor, they observe that he knows much of their personal "state [i.e., condition] and business" (*NA* p. 50). It seems to them, they remarked, "a condition and propriety of divine powers and beings, to be hidden and unseen to others, and yet to have others open and as in a light to them" (*NA* p. 51). Bensalem, like God to whom it is here explicitly compared, is an unknown knower and as such strikes fear in the heart.

The state is an unknown knower and therefore fearsome, with respect also to its own people. There is a theme of the hidden or unknown. The Fathers of Salomon's House have been unseen in twelve years (*NA* p. 69). There is a reference to "the crown and laws of this state" (*NA* p. 56) and references to a king (*NA* pp. 62–63) but any king who may exist is neither seen nor even named. There is barely a mention of him. "The King's Charter," which the Tirsan receives at the Feast of the Family, refers to the recipient as "friend and creditor," not subject, although this terminology is explained as being particular to the situation (*NA* p. 62). In response to the reading of the charter, all in attendance proclaim not "Long live the king!" but "Happy are the people of Bensalem" (*NA* p. 63). The only man to whom we see obeisance paid is one of the Fathers of Salomon's House who travels in state, sits on a throne and exercises great authority. But the relationship between him and the ultimate political authority, if indeed they are separate, is never clarified. He mentions the state but makes no mention of any king. Is the king just a popular representation of the collective authority of Salomon's House? This Father of Salomon's House is a knower if anyone is. In the section involving Joabin, who is described as "a wise man, and learned, and of great policy, and excellently seen in the laws and customs of that nation" (not kingdom or realm), we are told that the Jews of Bensalem expect the king of Bensalem to sit at the feet of Messiah when he comes. But this is not spoken directly by Joabin, and it is called a vulgarly held "Jewish dream."

We see the effects of government but not the mechanics, the agents but not the authority. There is some faceless and nameless authority, perhaps the state, which seems to know where people are and what they are doing and is able to call them away in the midst of their business (*NA* pp. 49, 68–69). Faulkner suggests a connection between the interruptions by messengers and ubiquitous surveillance and control. "Behind the scenes someone listens and directs."¹¹ There are also the hauntingly well-behaved officials and populace already men-

tioned. Once again, is it virtue or control? Yet these unknowns are thorough knowers. Salomon's House is "the very eye" of the kingdom (*NA* p. 48). This suggests surveillance and hence knowledge. But this eye is without a face. Weinberger's reading of "eye" as "seat of intelligence" is compatible with this understanding. Is the population so extraordinarily regimented and orderly because every action or failure to act is known to the higher ups?¹² Richard Kennington has observed that, "The *New Atlantis* suffices to show that for Bacon longevity and vigor of bodily existence, as well as comfortable and affluent life, are greater goods than political freedom."¹³

But life in Bensalem is no grey world of fear. It is also true that, like the Jews there, the people do "love the nation of Bensalem extremely" and are, in a sense, "happy," as we are told repeatedly (*NA* pp. 65, 46, 50, 56, 63). Why, after all, should they be anything else? What do they lack? Their government is humane and parentlike. Any unprovided need is the daily research concern of that institution which, again, is the very "eye" of the kingdom. The narrator attributes divinity to the land and confesses his love for it based on the Bensalemites' attendant care for his company's comforts and desires. Thus, like God, Bensalem is both loved and feared. Bacon was familiar with Machiavelli and knew the importance of this combination. Both God and the prince are loved and feared. So also is Bensalem and its particular authorities. Satisfying the people, Bensalem is loved. Through the exercise of great power in satisfying them, it is feared. The love for Bensalem is based on its humanity and the comfortable and secure or peaceful life which it provides its people. The fear is based on the power implicit in the unknown knower. Thus, while these wonderful benefits which this modern life will provide are very attractive, Bacon anticipates them depending for their fullest and speediest development upon something akin to a Godlike, or rather totalitarian, scientific supervision.

III: Religious Peace

The third characteristic of the hope which Bensalem represents pertains to religion. Like Europe, Bensalem is a Christian land. Unlike Europe, it is free from religious strife of any kind or degree. The first indication that the gospel has reached and been embraced by the island is the scroll which is presented by the first official to the "foremost man" of the company of travellers. It is stamped with cherubim's wings with a cross alongside (*NA* p. 39). The first question from the higher official inquires whether or not they are Christians. He thanks heaven that they are. They are asked to swear "[b]y the name of Jesus and his merits" (*NA* p. 41). The governor of the Strangers' House is a Christian priest. He is pleased that their first question, concerning the arrival of the gospel there, indicates that they seek first the kingdom of heaven. There was a miraculous revelation of the gospel to the land followed by a prompt and near

universal acceptance of it. The Feast of the Family, one of the major festivals of the land if not simply the major one, is said to be "a most natural, reverend and pious custom" and is punctuated with Christian hymns, prayers and pronouncements. The Father of Salomon's House relates the Order's true nature to the narrator "for the love of God and men." But these features and references only serve prudently to obscure the heterodox character of a religion which is designed to suit the needs of this scientific regime rather than conform to the demands of the true and living God.

First, it is true that the Europeans draw comfort from the sign of the cross on the scroll, taking it as "a certain presage of good" (*NA* p. 39). But the connection between the sign of the cross and benevolence or harmlessness is not obvious, considering that back in Europe Christians are known to kill one another for religious and political reasons. The question which the higher official asks, "Are ye Christians?" is an odd one. He knows Spanish and therefore must know enough to identify a European ship and European faces. His use of the word "Christians," rather than Catholics or Protestants or Reformed, etc., indicates that he is above denominational disputes. His Christianity is ecumenical. He is not asking if they are from a Christian nation, since he must know that all European nations profess Christ. He is not asking if they are truly converted, because bluntly asking is no way to discover such a thing. It may appear that he wishes only to distinguish them from pirates, since his next words, following his pious gestures of thanksgiving, are to ask them to swear that they are not pirates (*NA* p. 40). They are not asked to swear that they are Christians.

Second, the governor of the Strangers' House is, as he says, a Christian priest, and his position with that institution is appropriate for a priest. He oversees a ministry of mercy (*NA* p. 44). But he is the only priest we encounter, and he ministers only to the Europeans.¹⁴ Though a priest, he is addressed not as Father but as governor, according to his secular office, and "in this sense his state is separated from his church."¹⁵ It is even the governor himself who distinguishes his office from his vocation and thus the separate grounds on which he offers his services. He is said to be reverend, but on the basis of his humanity, not his piety. The higher official is also said to be reverend to behold (*NA* p. 39), but, as Faulkner notes, this is only on account of his luxurious dress.¹⁶ The governor says that he desires only a priest's reward, which is their brotherly love and the good of their souls and bodies. But there is no evidence in what we are shown of any concern for the soul on anyone's part. To repeat, the newly arrived travellers are asked whether or not they are Christians but only generically. There is no sign of the concern for doctrinal orthodoxy which marked the sectarian disputes of Bacon's day. While it is just such a concern which is destructive of the peace which Bacon presents as one of Bensalem's most attractive features and which is necessary for the progress of science, it is equally true that there can be no genuine concern on the part of a Christian for another's spiritual well-being without that attention to orthodoxy (I Timothy

4:16; Titus 1:9,2:1). The reverend governor seems warmed by their question regarding the arrival of the gospel to the island and commends them for thereby seeking first the kingdom of heaven. But clearly they have not, and there is no connection between asking this question and any such seeking. In fact, the governor's statement, besides contributing to his piously Christian image, serves only to draw attention to their failure to seek the kingdom first. It invites the reader to examine the place of that heavenly hope in this highly technologically oriented and only seemingly Christian land.

Third, the revelation miracle is included in order to address a problem. Bacon wants to show not only that religion in general and Christianity in particular are compatible with his science but also that they are an encouragement and support to one another. But Solamona's law forbidding the entrance of strangers predates the coming and spread of the gospel. Indeed, strangers are forbidden entry precisely so that new ideas are kept out in order to preserve the perfection of the happiness there. The miracle, therefore, serves not only to circumvent the barrier which the law presents to the evangelization of the island but also to overcome the prejudice of the law once the gospel arrives. There is no other way that the gospel could have reached Bensalem. But these are not restrictions within which Bacon, the author of these details, was forced to work. It was his choice that Solamona's founding predated Christ. The implication of that historical relationship is that the conception of Baconian science is independent of Christian revelation.¹⁷ It is true that they had access to the Hebrew scriptures and that Solomon is said by the governor of the Strangers' House to have inspired Solamona. But the governor is not necessarily well informed on this matter. (See his use of the words "Some think," "I take it to be," "I am . . . of the opinion" and "I am satisfied that"; *NA* p. 58.) Furthermore, the timing of the miracle allows the relationship of science to Christianity to be such that it is Christianity which is in need of being authenticated by science and not science by the Church.¹⁸ Thus it is one of the wise men (scientists¹⁹) of Salomon's House who pronounces that the miracle is genuine. Only after he so pronounces does the shaft of light break up, exposing the ark containing the book and the letter. This account also raises questions regarding their isolation. If they are Christians, why have they not been in communion with the rest of Christ's body, the Church universal? Why have they not come under the authority of the Church? Where are their missionaries and where their missionary concern? Once again, the kingdom of God over souls appears to be subordinate to the kingdom of man over nature, if it is given any place at all.

The Renfusans, by immediately rowing as near as they can to what they take to be a heavenly sign, demonstrate a boldness which is incompatible with belief in a holy God. References to God are repeatedly to His role as creator and not as judge. They are almost deistic. By this time, we know that the people of Bensalem are familiar with the Hebrew scriptures or at least have access to them, since Solamona had established Salomon's House over three hundred

years before, naming it after the Hebrew king. Thus, "our books," to which the sage of Salomon's House refers which teach that God never works a miracle except for a divine and excellent purpose, must refer to the Old Testament. Natural theology, i.e., unassisted reason, does not teach this. The terms by which he prays indicate that it is to the God who reveals Himself in the Hebrew scriptures that he prays. These books are at least books of theology which interpret the Hebrew scriptures.

Yet something is missing from this God: His holiness. They ask the Lord "to prosper this great sign, and to give us the interpretation and use of it in mercy; which thou dost in some part secretly promise by sending it unto us" (NA p. 48). That this miraculous event might be a sign of judgment on account of their sin never crosses their minds. Rather, it is assumed to be "useful," like anything of any value, and hence their forwardness in fearlessly approaching this divine spectacle. It may even be said that to the Bensalemites, God Himself, to the extent that they actually believe in Him, is recognized (i.e., worshipped, praised, thanked) only insofar as *He* is useful. For this reason, the Lord is understood only as Creator (NA pp. 48, 58, 59, 83), not as Judge and Redeemer, and His creation is understood solely in terms of utility. The book is replete with examples. There is a reference to God who rewards (which does not necessarily imply that He also condemns), but this is spoken by the Europeans, and there is no recorded response (NA p. 41). There is a reference also to perdition, but it is not the judgment of God which is meant but of Bensalem (NA p. 60). In the Feast of the Family, "a most natural, pious, and reverend custom . . . compounded of all goodness," the Tirsan's blessings refer to longevity, not perseverance in righteousness, i.e., obedience to the righteous Judge of every heart (NA p. 64). In our meeting with Joabin, there is even mention of Christ's virgin birth but not of His death and resurrection. Even in the account of the "Jewish dreams," while there is discussion of Messiah on His throne in Jerusalem, there is not a word on the judging of the nations (NA p. 65). In Salomon's House, there are daily hymns and services of praise to God for all His works except, if conclusions may be drawn from silence, His work of redemption. Christ is named as Savior on a number of occasions, but Bacon strains to hide the nature of this salvation. The higher official asks the Europeans upon their arrival to swear "by the merits of the Saviour" but it is, after all, to Europeans that he is speaking. In the account of the Feast of the Family, hymns of thanks are offered for "the nativity of our Saviour," but the good which came of this is described generally as blessing, not redemption. Other references to Christ as "our Saviour" are best viewed in light of an examination of the miracle of revelation through which the island came to call Him Savior.

The governor opens his account of the arrival of the gospel to Bensalem and of the island's subsequent conversion with a reference to "the ascension of our Saviour" (NA p. 47). Yet, when the agent of Salomon's House who confirmed the miracle offers response to God in prayer, there is no hint of any awareness

of his or his people's unworthiness on account of sin, something which necessarily precedes conversion. Although Bartholomew's letter mentions "salvation," the governor says that it was from "infidelity" that the land was saved. Use of the word "sin," very common in the seventeenth century, appears to be deliberately avoided. Indeed, there is only one explicit reference to sin in the work. After the merchant's harangue against European sexual morality, the narrator comes under a sort of conviction of sin, saying of Joabin, "that he was come to bring to memory our sins. . . ." Of himself, he says ". . . I confess the righteousness of Bensalem was greater than the righteousness of Europe" (*NA* p. 68). It is not the righteousness of Christ which is confessed. The narrator presents sin as offending not God's righteousness but Bensalem's. He is aware only of having fallen short of the glory of Bensalem.

The canonical books and Bartholomew's letter arrive in "a small ark or chest of cedar, dry, and not wet at all with water, though it swam" (*NA* p. 48). Here, allusions to two acts of God in the Old Testament stand out. The first is to the destruction of the earth by water as a judgment from God and from which Noah was saved in an ark. The second is to the bush on Mount Sinai which burned and yet was not consumed and through which God revealed Himself and His Law to Moses. The latter is only implicit, but the governor also makes explicit reference to the ark's role in preserving Noah or, as he says, "the old world." It is not from God's judgment and wrath that he says the ark saved "the old world," however, but only from water. This anticipates what is said in the account which follows concerning the destruction of Atlantis also by flood. (Bacon actually draws attention to his departure from the Platonic account in which the destruction is by earthquake.) While at first he presents the destruction as an act of God's judgment, he later calls it only an "accident of time" (*NA* pp. 54–55). Conspicuously avoiding notions of sin and judgment, Bacon repeatedly draws attention away from the letter and Scriptures and therefore from the gospel itself and focuses it on the ark which transported them. It is the ark which Bartholomew says he commits to the sea, and it is the ark which he says God will ordain some people to receive. He could have said "these holy books," giving them their rightful attention. Is this an overattention to an innocent and accidental choice of words, and thus a weak peg on which to hang a serious charge? These observations are vindicated in the lines which follow. The governor concludes the account, saying that the land was saved "by an ark." Moreover, he says in the same breath that it was from infidelity and not sin and death that his people were saved and "the old world" was saved from water and not God's judgment.

What then is the significance of the ark? Its purpose is not only negative, to detract, but also positive, to indicate. The ark itself would be of much greater interest to a people of science like the Bensalemites than any (nonscientific) books which it might contain. This ark swims and yet it remains dry. Is it Scotchguarded? Is it Goretex? In a sense, this ark uses nature for its own pur-

poses, i.e., to transport the books safely, and yet is not itself overcome by nature. Rather, insofar as the ark remains dry in the water, it is nature that is overcome or conquered. At the beginning of the *New Atlantis*, the seas represent the unknown and unconquerable. This ark in its ability to swim and remain dry represents the conquest of nature which, according to Bacon, is Bensalem's true salvation. Thus, the old ark which in the Bible represents the covenant, whether of works or of grace, by which God's people are saved, is contrasted with this new ark, which represents the conquest of nature by which all may be saved. Similarly, "the old world" which was saved from water is contrasted with "this land," Bensalem, which is saved from infidelity. If this observation is correct, then it is specifically infidelity to nature from which Bensalem was saved, and this salvation is extended to any land that will faithfully obey nature through the science which commands her.

Is there a parallel between this tale of extraordinary revelation and miraculous evangelism and what the narrator calls the "Jewish dreams" of the Bensalemite Jewish remnant, i.e., that there is a secret Jewish significance to the land of Bensalem? Is it Christian wish fulfillment, an attempt, as the Jews have done, to reconcile what they are called to follow with what they want to follow? Does the Judaized Bensalem which Joabin describes (but the account of which he does not necessarily himself believe) parallel and explain the Christianized Bensalem which we see everywhere else? Following the pattern which we are shown by Joabin, the whole revelation story may be only a "Christian dream," having grown out of speculations on the part of Christians who wished to reconcile in their hearts Bensalem, along with all that it represents, and Christ. The one who relates the revelation miracle, the governor of the Strangers' House, is, after all, not a knower. Consider once again his need to speculate on many points regarding the circumstances surrounding the founding of Salomon's House (*NA* p. 58). Furthermore, he is a Christian priest, albeit an odd one, and therefore has perhaps as much stake in these things being true as the Jews have in their myths involving Nachoran and Moses. But because God is holy and thus jealous, any attempt to reconcile Christ with some competing authority is in fact a choice in favor of the competing authority. The fact that we see official sanction given to these Christian features presents no problem. Bensalem is indifferent to whatever religious expression is given to its principles provided that there is peace, i.e., civility, and devotion to scientific research as well as to other things on which the strength of the nation rests (e.g., population growth, secrecy). Thus, mythological religious overlays, whether the dreams of Christians or of Jews, are tolerated and perhaps even encouraged if they facilitate these conditions. Anything which might threaten these conditions, however, e.g., evangelistic or missionary zeal, or overattention to doctrine, is suppressed.

This theory leaves unexplained how the gospel was able to gain access and acceptance in Bensalem following the establishment of the laws of secrecy,

however. One alternative to taking the revelation miracle at its face value is that one of the agents sent out to gather information, one of the Merchants of Light, brought it back with him in some early century. But if the Baconian hope was so widely accepted and tangibly attested to before the arrival of Christianity, as clearly it was, this would leave inexplicable on Baconian grounds why people would convert to Christianity in the numbers required to give the land its present superficially Christian character. Another possibility begins with the Bensalemite “state” recognizing in 1492, if not before, that European navigation was about to increase greatly, and thus that Bensalem’s isolation was soon to become impossible. This presented a likelihood of invasion within the next couple of centuries which, despite Bensalem’s military technologies, which must have been stunning, was nonetheless unwelcome. Technology gaps can eventually be closed. This is ironic, since Bacon teaches that it is precisely this science which liberates Bensalem from the cycle of the rise and fall of civilizations, whether by foreign conquest or natural catastrophe, thereby distinguishing it from Athens and the old Atlantis.²⁰ It is paradoxical, given these understandable concerns, that the European travellers would be commissioned to carry the good news of this science back to Europe, a place which by Bensalemite standards is, at this point in history, still dangerously uncivilized. It is paradoxical, that is, unless the tranquility and humanity of the island are directly attributable to the science itself. The world when the travellers wash up in Bensalem is ripe for being made peaceful. It is possible, therefore, that with this plan in mind the rulers of Bensalem introduced into their society in the previous century or so a form of Christianity, tamed and trimmed and fitted with convenient myths but nonetheless recognizable, in order to make scientific civilization more attractive to the authorities in Europe whose apprehension Bacon himself was having great difficulty overcoming.

Fourth, the Feast of the Family, which has at points the appearance of piety, serves instead radically to undermine the orthodox Christianity of Bacon’s day. The feast is called, “(a) most natural, pious, and reverend custom . . .” (*NA* p. 60). It begins with “divine service” (but none of the details are shared) (*NA* p. 61) and ends with the singing of hymns (*NA* p. 64). Some of these praise Adam and Noah for their accomplishments in peopling the world. Some praise Abraham, “the Father of the Faithful,” who peopled the household of God. The rest are hymns of thanksgiving specifically for the birth of Christ, “in whose birth the births of all are only blessed.” The Tirsan then retires to a time of “private prayers.” This is followed by his bestowal of blessings. The rich description of the event, however, distracts from the true character of the institution, which fundamentally contradicts first impressions. For example, when we are later told of “such reverence and obedience they give to the order of nature,” obedience is substituted for piety (*NA* p. 61). This obedience is given not to God, as it would be if it were a fitting substitute for piety, however, but to

the Tirsan. Before the merriment which follows the feast begins, the Tirsan honors the two best sons with jewelled symbols of fertility.

In all, Christianity is reduced to a naturalistic religion, a fertility cult and deistic Creator worship (*NA* pp. 48, 83). Emphasis is on physical reproduction, not spiritual regeneration. Hence, Adam and Noah are prominent. It is not Adam's moral lapse that is stressed but his generative accomplishment. Attention is focussed upon Noah's fatherhood, not his faithfulness and righteousness. The references to faith present it as a birthright. If only it were true that Abraham had fathered only faithful men and women. At first glance, it appears that the statement concerning the birth of Christ is saying that it is only through His birth that it is possible for anyone who is born to be blessed. Even if this were its meaning, it would be inaccurate since Christ's birth, the incarnation of God, is a blessing only insofar as it anticipates His death, and even then not merely insofar as we are born but insofar as we are capable of receiving Him (e.g., taking into account geography, disposition of heart, etc.). But that is not what it says. At best, it says that it is through His birth, and by no other means, that all the faithful who are born are blessed. But it would say this very poorly, which would be odd for a writer of Bacon's extraordinary care and skill, at least without an intention to conceal something. The phrasing of this sentence lends itself more easily to say that it is through His birth and by no other means that everyone who is born is blessed. But this universalist soteriology would have been rejected with horror by every professing Christian of Bacon's day. The same ambiguity is found in the account of the miraculous revelation of the gospel to Bensalem. The words of Bartholomew's letter, "in the same day is come unto them salvation and peace and goodwill, from the Father, and from the Lord Jesus" (*NA* p. 49), can refer not to salvation per se but only to the means of salvation. In the next paragraph, however, there is mention of reading and salvation but not a word about repentance, believing, faith or conversion. Various peoples are said to have read the letter, and "thus was this land saved from infidelity . . ." (*NA* p. 49). But receiving alone does not save. This passive religion goes hand in hand with the universalism of the previous example.²¹

Despite the old covenant appearance of the blessing which the Tirsan delivers to each of his assembled progeny, it is given in the name of the Holy Trinity. The final words, "make the days of thy pilgrimage good and many," refer quietly to Jacob's testimony before Pharaoh that

The days of the years of my pilgrimage are an hundred and thirty years: few and evil have the days of the years of my life been, and have not attained unto the days of the years of the life of my fathers in the days of their pilgrimage. (Genesis 47:9)

Jacob then blesses Pharaoh. The contrast with the Tirsan's blessing is in the length and quality of life to which each refers. The difference in expectations, however, is not explained by the movement from the old covenant to the new but rather from the old orientation toward nature to the new. As we see from

the activities of Salomon's House at the end of the tale, it is in the hard work of experimental science that the sons and daughters of Bensalem trust for their long and happy lives, not the blessings and providential care of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost. The blessing also reveals the difference in orientation toward this world. Jacob's people, like all the people of God, are pilgrims in this world, sojourners who "desire a better country; that is, an heavenly" (Hebrews 11:16). These Bensalemites, however, are quite at home in this world and devote all their national energies to making the state of it as comfortable and secure as possible.

The wearing of grapes (*NA* p. 63) and ears of wheat (*NA* p. 64) in the way that they do, and in the context of the qualified references to Adam, Noah and Abraham, clearly indicates an element of fertility cult in the religion. The blessing asks for a long and happy life. Were the feast in fact "pious," Christ would be at the center rather than serving only to color this or that hymn or blessing. Instead, the ceremony focuses upon the Tirsan. If it were pious, as the reader is originally led to expect it to be, the day would celebrate the man's service to God by his faithful and righteous life, and not his service to the state by his fecundity. It is no surprise that the reference to piety at the beginning of the feast's account soon drops out and is replaced by obedience (cf. *NA* pp. 60, 61). Finally, even "reverence" is dropped, and it is "a solemnity wherein nature did so much preside" (*NA* p. 66). The extent to which the feast resembles a Roman Catholic mass is interesting. The pole-carriers who hope themselves one day to be Tirsans are like altar boys who aspire to be priests. The body of the Tirsan replaces the body of Christ. The people of Bensalem are not divided by doctrine, because there is no doctrine on which to divide. Partly because of this, there is civil peace. But is there peace with God? This is a choice which Bensalem (and also Bacon) has made.

Finally, the "Father" of Salomon's House is the most reverend of all the Bensalemites presented, and yet he is not called so. The circumstances of his appearance are the most religious in character of anyone's, and yet his office is that of a scientist. In this way, he is the opposite to the governor of the Strangers' House, who performs official duties though who by calling is a priest. Though the governor does really shed "tears of tenderness," the Father of Salomon's House has only "an aspect *as if* he pitied men" (*NA* pp. 46, 69; emphasis mine). The secrecy which characterizes Bensalem is directed not only toward the outside world but toward the people on the part of the government, and toward the state on the part of the scientific establishment. In the land of the unknown knower, the distinction between the knowers and those who are merely known is important. The governor is not a knower, as indicated by his having to speculate about certain aspects of the historical founding of Salomon's House. This Father of Salomon's House is a knower. He is also very paradoxical and dissembling. For these reasons an examination of his words and deeds can be expected to uncover a great deal concerning the true character

not only of the island's religious harmony but also of Bensalem in general and the Baconian hope which it represents.

This "Father" is no mere scientist, no mere administrator or civil servant. He travels "in state," which in this case is to say with all the pomp which would attend a prince and all the solemnity which would attend a prelate. His attire is rich and fancy. The narrator is inspired to give a lengthy account of his impressive dress as well as of his procession (*NA* pp. 69–70). Stranger still, this scientist combines both high religious and high political authority. In the procession two footmen precede him carrying unmistakable symbols of ecclesiastical authority, "the one a crosier, the other a pastoral staff like a sheep-hook . . ." (*NA* p. 70). There is no sign, however, of any aristocracy in attendance. There is no one on horseback for the stated though unconvincing reason of avoiding "tumult and trouble." Tumult is the last thing to expect from this crowd, which, the narrator notes, is better disciplined and ordered in their arrangement than the finest of armies. Trade guilds are represented in the procession but no one of rank, whether social, religious or political. "He sat alone. . . ."

The Father gives three blessings: one in procession to the crowds, one in private audience to the group of European strangers as a whole, and a final one to the narrator alone as he commissions him to take the good news of modern science to the world. The strangers, following instructions, bow low before him, though whether in reverence for his religious authority or in submission to his political authority is not clear. After the Father raises his ungloved hand "in a posture of blessing," the group (again, under instruction?) "stooped down, and kissed the hem of his tippet" (*NA* p. 71). In his chambers he sits enthroned on what is again called "the state." It is richly adorned, and rich also is the "cloth of state" over his head (*NA* p. 71). In private audience he asks God's blessing on the narrator and, in priestly fashion, calls him son. Thereupon, however, he indicates that the "greatest jewel" which he possesses is not the gospel but "the true state of Salomon's House" (*NA* p. 71). The reader who soberly follows this is forced to ask what "God" it is in whose name this Father speaks and what blessedness, i.e., what hope it is, which this "God" offers? Though he claims to disclose the true state of Salomon's House "for the love of God and men," the House itself takes as its end merely "the enlarging of the bounds of Human Empire," not to the glory of God, not to the spreading of the gospel or the dominion of righteousness but only "to the effecting of all things possible," without any word whatsoever as to moral guidance, let alone divine guidance. This stands in contrast to the account of the end of science given by the ill-informed or less candid governor-priest who understands it to be "the study of the Works and Creatures of God" (*NA* p. 58). Near the end of his relation of the activities of Salomon's House, the Father draws our attention to the religious services there. Their focus is upon God's (natural) works and men's carnal benefits, however, not His divine perfections or the conversion of

men's hearts (*NA* p. 83). In these House chapel services "God" is asked to turn the scientific labors of the Order to "good and holy uses," but there is no indication that "holy" means anything more than simply useful in the provision of comfort and security to people.

The Father's relation concerning Salomon's House discloses much research into the cure of disease, the preservation of health and the prolongation of life. There is much work done in agriculture, metallurgy, physics, meteorology, as well as engineering of different sorts with particular attention to military applications. There are also considerable resources devoted to the development of comforts and pleasures such as foods, drinks, cloths, perfumes and such. But there is no department of theology, nor of either ethics or politics. Of the last, however, there is evidence throughout the book that it is carefully studied and the knowledge of it rigorously applied. It was not Bacon's intention that politics should escape coming within the scope of his new conquering science, seen in its triumph here in Bensalem. The authorities of Salomon's House decide whether or not an invention or other discovery will be made public, and even whether or not it will be made known to "the state" (*NA* p. 82). Nor do they appear to be under the direction of the state in any public notice which they give concerning impending plague, famine, storms, etc. (*NA* p. 83). It is this Father of Salomon's House who announces the repeal of the ancient and fundamental law concerning secrecy and strangers, a constitutional law one might say, and apparently on his own authority or on the authority which he shares with others in the Order (*NA* p. 83).²² "I give thee leave to publish it . . ." (emphasis mine), namely this account of the learning and activities of Salomon's House which he has disclosed to the narrator. He does not say "in the King's name" or "by the power invested in me by the state of Bensalem." Does the complete conquest of nature through Baconian science, the proper refounding of all knowledge, particularly under the guidance of a Scientific Society or Institute, result in the union of Christ and Caesar, Church and State, neither under the other but both in a third office which replaces the other two? Thomas Hobbes, Bacon's personal secretary for several years, called in the next generation for the civil magistrate to be the final authority in matters of religion in order to ensure civil peace.²³

Christian appearance conceals what may be called a civil religion, a religion which is subordinate to the needs of this uniquely scientific society. The people of Bensalem subordinate their differences in religion to the perpetuation of the Bensalemite arrangements for the sake of the happiness which those arrangements provide. Differences are thus not taken seriously and so cannot be seriously considered differences. Accordingly, even the religion which bears the name of Him who said, "Think not that I have come to send peace on earth: I came not to send peace, but a sword" (Matthew, 10:34), is made civil, humane and inoffensive. Its exclusivity is nullified by its moralistic reinterpretation; the offense of the cross is removed by expunging the concepts of sin and redemption. It is no wonder that the only priest that we see appears to be out of

priestly work per se. There are only two instances of worship: at the Feast of the Family, nature is said to preside as represented by the Tirsan, and at the other, in Salomon's House, there is neither preacher nor priest but only grateful beneficiaries of Nature and of Nature's God. These are the faithful who need no priest but method and no prophet but discovery. It is fitting that the Father of Salomon's House, one of the highest officials at this house of scientific research and development, should be shown the greatest religious reverence and appear in high priestly fashion. Though Bacon does not originate this moralistic interpretation of Christianity,²⁴ he does not simply follow the tradition either. Indeed, he uses it for his own purposes, no doubt enlisting the sympathies of its adherents and invoking its authority. But the morality which he proposes to be Christian is nothing which Christian humanists like Erasmus and More would accept. Rather, it is specifically fashioned for the support of the new science and for living within its moral, metaphysical and epistemological limits. Thus is the hope paraded not only that the world may be freed from the miseries which religious strife produces, including even strife within the soul over guilt for sin, but also that religious authorities will no longer impede progress in the development of the means to happiness, i.e. in "the enlarging of the bounds of Human Empire."

IV: Civil Peace

These last three aspects of the hope anticipate the fourth, which is explicitly political, that of civil peace. The people of Bensalem are exceptionally well behaved not because they are morally pure or virtuous, despite Joabin's discourse on marriage. Rather, they are "civil." This is to say that they easily cooperate with being governed in a way that has certain ends in view. As the Europeans proceed to the Strangers' House, they are greeted by townspeople "on both sides standing in a row; but in so *civil* a fashion, as if it had been not to wonder at us but to welcome us . . ." (NA p. 41; emphasis mine). As the travellers pass by, the people spread their arms in a gesture of welcome. They appear to be very well practiced and regimented for people who have not seen a visitor in thirty-seven years. They perform like well-disciplined children, lining up to greet company. The same is observed as a Father of the great Salomon's House is being paraded through the streets on the occasion of something akin to a royal or papal visit. The narrator is struck with the incredible orderliness of the crowds.

The street was wonderfully well-kept: so that there was never any army had their men stand in better battle-array, than the people stood. The windows likewise were not crowded, but every one stood in them as if they had been placed. (NA p. 70)

As the comparison to an army indicates, civility implies efficiency. Thus, the rooms in the Strangers' House are described as being "furnished civilly," i.e.,

efficiently providing for basic needs (*NA* p. 42). This efficiency is for the sake, not of making possible a few fine and virtuous human beings, and not of preparing people for the kingdom of God, but of providing everyone with certain fundamental and uncontroversial goods, namely comfort, security and a degree of self-respect.

The Adam and Eve's pools are "a more civil way" of efficiently pairing people for marriage while avoiding the scorn which one would suffer from a suitor's "familiar knowledge" were he or she to view and refuse. The possibility of adultery is increased if a man or a woman is dissatisfied with the body of his or her mate, unseen before marriage. Rather than swimming against the tide of passion by sermonizing to young people in the hope that they will restrain themselves, these pools are instituted in order to regulate matrimonial (i.e., conjugal) satisfaction in the Bensalemite way. But the institution itself is problematic. Bacon avoids Joabin having to face the obvious questions by having him called away immediately upon having described the pools. For example, he is silent as to gender of the "friend" who would be viewing the prospective mate. There is every possibility that the "friend," himself attracted to the beloved, could deliver a false report in hopes of obtaining the woman for himself. Then, of course, there are the other men or women whom the friend would have the opportunity to view as he or she saw them "severally bathe naked" with the suitor's beloved. As the marital status of the friend is also unstated, this too could result in adultery. The reader may at this point notice that Joabin never explicitly denies the practice of adultery and divorce in Bensalem. Although polygamy is denied, there is no direct answer to the narrator's question whether marriage is kept well. "By causing Joabin to be silent because of a crucial interruption, Bacon describes an institution designed to control Bensalem's erotic behaviour that in fact reinforces the licentious possibilities of choosiness, the love of one's own, and the desire for more."²⁵ Will these lusts tear asunder the social peace? Will they render this people ungovernable? What we are shown indicates not. These appetitive Bensalemites are even an extraordinarily governable people. One of the keys to the political conquest of human nature is, then, the satisfaction and regulation of these passions but not their suppression or discipline. This is the "more civil way."

Bacon also draws a lesson from Machiavelli. It is because the people both love and fear their Bensalem that they are so easily governed. As to the fear, although the dreadful quality of the state as unknown knower has been discussed, there appears also to be a psychological science in use. Despite their apparent humility, the officials constitute a hierarchy. The visible designations of the respective places within it are intended to inspire the sort of awe which engenders submission. We even see the Europeans themselves behaving like well-regimented Bensalemites. When, in describing Solamona's laws, the governor makes reference to the fruit of the provision which he made for strangers of which they had tasted, "we all rose up, and bowed ourselves" (*NA* p. 57). A more well-mannered uprising there never was! Civility is also engen-

dered through explicit instructions. In their audience with the Father of Salomon's House, we are told: "When we came in, as we were *taught*, we bowed low . . ." (NA p. 71); "and I, as I had been *taught*, kneeled down . . ." (NA p. 83; emphasis mine).

Unlike Machiavelli, however, Bacon shows more of love. The people love their nation and its requirements and are at peace with one another ostensibly because the Bensalemite arrangement keeps them satisfied, i.e., happy. Here again the hope of science is pictured. Ultimately, any hope is identifiable with happiness of one degree or another. The Christian hope is a transformed state of peace and joy in which there shall be "no more death, neither sorrow, nor crying, neither shall there be any more pain . . ." (Revelation, 21:4). When on earth have people ever been, in a sustained way, simply happy? But, as they proclaim in Bensalem, "Happy are the people of Bensalem" (NA p. 63). The Book of Psalms, by contrast, declares, "Happy is he that hath the God of Jacob for his help, whose hope is in the Lord his God" (146:5). We, the readers, however, are intended to discern and embrace this new hope, seeing in it a more reasonably obtainable and immediately satisfying promise. If this felicitous state were grounded in conditions which are historically or geographically unique to Bensalem, it would present no hope. But instead, the conditions for its realization are found in a reformation of learning, and of people's general orientation toward nature, to which Bacon has given his name. Thus, they are widely and even universally reproducible and point toward a hope unparalleled in this world.

King Solamona found his realm in a "happy and flourishing estate" (NA p. 56). Although Solamona is regarded as Bensalem's lawgiver, it is not from any laws that the happiness came. Despite the people's pre-existing happiness, this king was "wholly bent to make his kingdom and people happy." (Compare Solomon who wished only to provide his kingdom and people with justice, which is not simply identifiable with happiness.) The meaning of this, that he should wish to make a happy people happy, is that, as we are told, he wished "to give perpetuity to that which in his time was so happily established." There was, therefore, something which was "happily established," i.e., some institution or practice or way of life which was sufficient to make the people happy. Solamona's laws themselves should indicate by what they preserve just what it was in which pre-Solamonaic Bensalem found happiness.

Solamona's institutions were twofold: secrecy and science. The first is a prohibition against the admittance of strangers in order to preserve the happy state which existed at the time on the understanding that "it might be a thousand ways altered to the worse, but scarce any one way to the better . . ." (NA p. 56). This is the negative means, one might say, of preserving the grounds of happiness against corruption, but it does not enlighten us as to the grounds themselves. The second innovation was the establishment of Salomon's House, an institute of scientific research and development of every kind imaginable. This points to a pre-Solamonaic technological science which was the basis of

Bensalemite happiness. Grounds for this judgment may be found in the immediately preceding account of King Altabin's battle with Atlantis up to 1100 years before Solamona's reign (*NA* pp. 52, 54). Atlantis itself and its allied kingdoms, Coya (Peru) and Tyrambel (Mexico), are called "mighty and proud kingdoms in arms, shipping and riches."²⁶ Three times Atlantis is called "the great Atlantis." Their naval force, which as described seemed matchless, was of such strength that they felt confident in initiating a two-front war. But great as they were, Bensalem proved to be greater, so much so that having "put" his forces between the enemy's navy and land forces, Altabin "entailed both their navy and their camp with a greater power than theirs, both by sea and by land; and compelled them to render themselves without striking stroke. . . ." This must have been a staggering superiority, inexplicable by numerical superiority, whether in men or in ships, which could easily have been known to the invaders. A statesman such as Lord Bacon would know this. The maneuver would have been insufficient on its own to bring the enemy to concede. This bloodless outcome to such a titanic conflict can be explained only by some astonishing, and previously secret, technology or art of deception. This judgment is supported by Altabin's display of "mercy" which follows. Having secured from them an oath of future nonaggression, he "dismissed them all in safety." Not only was Coya pacified without bloodshed but the supposedly still greater power, Atlantis, was for one hundred years prevented, presumably by fear, from making any move itself after which time it was destroyed by flood. Whatever technological advantage Altabin's kingdom had over the rest of the world, it is the capacity of that technology to provide security in its simplest sense that is emphasized in this tale. Altabin does not slaughter his enemies in a celebration of his strength and of the glory of his realm. Rather, he contents himself with the certainty and security of both peace and liberty in the future. Does Solamona develop this in manifold ways that incorporate comfort and even security against sickness, decrepitude and death? It is at least possible that what Solamona did was to institutionalize, and thereby promote, facilitate and orchestrate, whatever peaceful security was "happily established" there already.

One might argue that pre-Christian Bensalem, while gentile, did nonetheless benefit from the wisdom of the Hebrew religion, and that its happiness can thus be traced at least partly to this source. Indeed, from various references such as the sage's prayer in the presence of the miraculous pillar of light, it might even be said that they knew the Lord, the God of Abraham, Isaac and Israel. More than three hundred years before this miracle, Solamona, who himself was familiar with the religion of the Hebrews, was so impressed by it that he named his scientific institute *Salomon's House* after the wise Hebrew king (*NA* p. 58). But this is only the governor's theory; it is disputed. Furthermore, even if the governor is right, it was Solomon's scientific interest which impressed the great Bensalemite king and not his religion or personal piety. It was not a house of God, i.e., of worship, that Solamona established. It was rather a house of

Nature's God, the god of natural theology. He located the source of his people's happiness not in Solomon's piety, his right worship and moral obedience, but rather in his science or in some improved form of it. He saw it in the obedience of a few to nature, and thereby their command of nature, and not in the obedience of all to the God who commands. Furthermore, if the religion of ancient Israel were the basis of Bensalem's pre-Solamonaic happiness then, in that context, happiness, i.e., God's blessing, would require them to keep the Law perfectly. This suggestion may be dismissed on two grounds, however: first, it is impossible so to satisfy the requirements of the Law, and, second, Bacon makes no mention of it.

The claimed happiness of pre-Solamonaic, pre-Christian, gentile Bensalem raises questions about the necessity of the gospel with regard to human happiness. It is interesting to note that Bensalem's happiness existed apart from God's covenantal grace and roughly three hundred years before the death and resurrection of Christ. Furthermore, the governor of the Strangers' House calls Salomon's House, not Christ's Church or Solomon's Temple, "the noblest foundation (as we think) that ever was upon the earth." In his explanation of Salomon's House, the governor of the Stranger's House refers twice to Solomon as the "king of the Hebrews." This reminds the reader of a similar title, namely the King of the Jews, the superscription which Pilate placed over Jesus at the crucifixion. The reader may legitimately wonder where the institution is that bears the name of this greater king, considering the nation's profession of Christian faith. While the house which the governor claims is named after Solomon "is dedicated to the study of the Works and Creatures of God," it is Jesus who not only is the perfect revelation of God but also accomplished God's greatest work in the re-creation of the world through His redemptive work, for which the Bensalemites appear in only small and ambiguous ways to be thankful.

What we are told is the happiness which covers the land is seen especially in a particular aspect of the civil peace, the religious tolerance which marks the island. The Jews who remain in Bensalem are left undisturbed in the practice of their religion. They are, in the words of the later liberal tradition, tolerated. But toleration is conditionally granted. They "may the better" follow their religion only because they are civil about it. Unlike the European Jews, they are not rancorous toward the otherwise common (and however nominal) Christian religion. More important, right belief is of no concern to the Bensalemite authorities provided that people "love the nation of Bensalem extremely." The Jews manage to do this by means of the "Jewish dreams" or apocryphal tales which attempt to reconcile devotion to Bensalem with devotion to the Lord God and His Law. Without this act of reconciliation, however, i.e., a compromising of religious principles and dogmas in favor of civility, no such toleration would be tolerated. Thus Bensalem's surface religious liberality masks a more fundamental illiberality. Bensalem finds the religious nonconformity of this people tolerable on account of its very conformity to Bensalemite principles, i.e., because

these Jews love Bensalem and its provisions more than they do their religion. Salomon's House has the predominant role in this, but the Feasts of the Family and the Adam and Eve's pools also make their contributions. From a different perspective, however, Bensalem is even more liberal than it appears to be. While in Bacon's day you could not both love England and scorn the cross, apparently it is possible to separate love for Bensalem from love for the Son of God. Thus, the reduction of Christianity to a universalistic moralism with only a veneer of its exclusive and demanding original character serves the political goal of civil peace. In other words, it is only when men shall love first the kingdom of Bensalem and its happiness that peace on earth shall be added unto them.

V: Satisfaction for Ambition

It must be noted in addition that, while everyone in Bensalem benefits from these four goods, there are some who look beyond them to personal distinction and honor. The authorities of Salomon's House, and perhaps the founder himself, recognize that there will always be men of ambition, and that these too must be satisfied in a way that removes the threat which they otherwise present to the perpetuation of Bensalem's institutions. For this reason, special honors as well as generous rewards are given to everyone who produces a significant invention (*NA* pp. 82–83). The Father of Salomon's House describes a sort of "Hall of Fame" in which is displayed "the statua's of all principal inventors" in all ages and from every part of the world. To provide for greater subtlety of distinction in the hierarchy of honors, and thus also greater incentive to ambitious men of science, there is a variety of materials from which these statues can be made, from iron to gold. Perhaps the highest honor is to be appointed a Father of Salomon's House. We are not told, after all, how "Fathers" get to be "Fathers." What is clear, however, is that comfort and security, while they are universally desired, do not satisfy every soul. Furthermore, charity and religion are inadequate for providing incentives to discover and invent and for guiding us both in what to invent and for whom. Lastly, though it is mentioned very infrequently in comparison to the more obvious goods which constitute the hope of science, personal honor and glory of this sort are just as much a goal of science, and thus an aspect of the hope which it offers.

CONCLUSION

Broadly speaking, in the *New Atlantis* two competing hopes are presented which are based on competing kingdoms, the Christian (the kingdom of God) and the Baconian (the kingdom of man or of nature). We find two references to

the Christian hope. In either case, it is either questioned or rejected. On the way to the Strangers' House, the travellers assure the official that God will reward these acts of mercy. The suggestion of heavenly reward is greeted with silence. But it is an aspect of the Christian hope which is certainly important in suffering through the toil and injustices of this world. Why, therefore, the silence? Are the travellers expressing a feature of European Christianity which has never taken root in this land because of the powerful alternative hope which Bensalem, "the son of perfection," embodies?

Immediately after a reference to Bensalem as "that happy land," connoting contentment or beatitude, there follows a more explicit reference to the Christian hope (*NA* pp. 46–47). The narrator prefaces his question concerning the arrival of the gospel to that land with the recognition that both his company and his hosts "hoped assuredly that we should meet one day in the kingdom of heaven, (for that we were both parts Christians,) . . ." It should be noted that these words are spoken by the European narrator at the beginning of the governor's interview which concludes with the conversion of the Europeans to the Bensalemite hope based on the progress of science (*NA* p. 60). At that point, which divides the work in two,²⁷ the narrator declares their liberation:

We took ourselves now for free men, seeing there was no danger of our utter perdition; and lived most joyfully, going abroad and seeing what was to be seen in the city and places adjacent within our tedder; and obtaining acquaintance with many of the city, not of the meanest quality; at whose hands we found such humanity, and such a freedom and desire to take in strangers as it were into their bosom, as was enough to make us forget all that was dear to us in our own countries . . . if there be a mirror in the world worthy to hold men's eyes, it is that country. (*NA* p. 60)

At first appearance, "free" is taken to mean free to roam (e.g., "going abroad"). This reading fails, however, because they are still tethered, to use Bacon's word. Are they merely free from fear of execution (*NA* pp. 43, 44)? The reference to "perdition" suggests that it means more than that, but the word seems out of place. Because the narrator mentions their fear of the sentence of death at the beginning of the series of events which feature the governor, it does mean at least that. Once the Europeans have made arrangements to stay (or realize the possibility of staying), this no longer hangs over their heads. But it is significant that the interview begins with a reference to the orthodox Christian hope and ends with a veiled reference to the Baconian hope. Weinberger is correct when he identifies their liberation as "freedom from the limitations on bodily weal that they have known, and [a] corresponding freedom from the bonds of divine grace and providence."²⁸

The difference between the two hopes, the Christian and the Bensalemite or Baconian, is that in the latter, heaven and divine judgment have no roles. Accordingly, there is no divine law, indeed no transcendent standard of right to

trouble the conscience or to permit speculative reason the legitimate role of discovering standards by which human thoughts and deeds could be judged. This should come as no surprise, however, to those who understand that there is no liberation from chance through technology without a corresponding and logically inevitable liberation from moral principles which do not originate in ourselves, and eventually even those which we have not ourselves created.²⁹ Metaphorically, insofar as these Europeans are travellers, sojourners or wanderers, they represent Christians. Europe, in the particular context of this drama, represents the heavenly Christian hope insofar as it is the home which they long to see. Up to a certain point, it is from Bensalem that they wish to be freed in order to return to Europe (“and whether ever we shall see Europe, God only knoweth”; *NA* p. 43). That is to say, they wish that things were just as they were before.

In due course, however, the travellers opt for Bensalem. In this way they are travellers in more than one sense. Their hearts and not just their bodies have journeyed, and they clamor to stay.³⁰ They have forgotten all that they formerly loved in Europe. Even the Christianity which they practiced there (or at least with which they were familiar) no longer governs their hearts or their outlooks. As a consequence, they fear no divine judgment and seek no divine reward. This is the meaning of the reference to perdition, from the danger of which they are freed from then on. Salvation comes neither through faith³¹ nor through good behavior³² but only from the riches of a Salomon’s House, if a people should be so blessed as to have a “divine instrument” like Solamona to bring it into being. This experience of Bensalem has changed them forever. They can never go back, having tasted so much of what Baconian science makes possible. Their hearts will ever look westward . . . and earthward.³³ When they opt to remain in Bensalem, they opt to be travellers no more, to renounce Christianity and its hope, thinking themselves to have found its immediate realization.

Like the travellers, we are intended to be converted or reoriented. We, like they, have turned from virtue (moral, intellectual, spiritual) as a broadly recognized goal (in principle if not always in practice) by which to order life and judgments concerning it to baser concerns for bodily well-being. As the travellers have been changed and are no longer the men they were, so, too, we are shaped fundamentally in who we are by our dependence on, commitment to and hope in Bacon’s sovereign science. It is true that the benefits which we enjoy as a result of this reorientation are far from trivial. The medical treatment, and the comforts in general, are alone worth mentioning. Bacon must not be denied his due. His accomplishment is heroic and its effect humane. It is precisely because it is so impressive and so attractive, however, that the cost is all the more difficult to see and the alternative to remember.

While the European travellers are mesmerized with how fantastically and

superhumanly perfect the land is, Bacon himself is more sober. This is clear from the dark features which lurk beneath the surface of the tale, the dreadful inventions, the excess, the deception and the control. Insofar as this hope is a "vision" calculated to inspire visionaries, bold intellectuals and youthful adventurers, it is misleading, a deception concocted for the rhetorical purpose of enlisting the ambitious, the adventurous, the humane and even the godly behind this great enterprise.³⁴ Insofar as it is not the vision, insofar as it is this inhumanity which accompanies the humane provision, insofar as the Bensalemite falls short of angelic righteousness and virgin purity, scientific civilization is no hope at all and for this reason is hidden and disguised.³⁵

But the hope is not simply a hoax. The expected conquests have, for the most part, been realized. This does not fulfill what Bacon promises, however. In response to the Christian gospel, he promises happiness, i.e., contentment. "Happy are the people of Bensalem." The Christian hope is the *summum bonum*, the final and deepest satisfaction of every human desire, and thus it is happiness and rest. Bacon promises a worldly realization of this eternal sabbath (*GI* p. 29), but is there finality to his promised satisfaction? Is there peace? If not, is the promise fulfilled? If the Bensalemites were a simply "satisfied" people, there would be massive layoffs at Salomon's House. Perhaps Bacon does not believe that such "satisfaction" is possible. Perhaps, like his student Hobbes, he believes there is no *summum bonum* but only a *summum malum*, violent death. If so, the greatest human hope would be a comfortable and secure existence extended indefinitely with the hope of resurrection in the event of an accident, both by artificial means.

Here, the incompatibility between the Christian and Baconian hopes becomes clear once again. For the Christian, such earthly immortality, to which everything in Bensalem points, would be cause for despair, since it would postpone indefinitely his passage to the blessedness of God's unveiled presence. Although for Bacon mere life is better than nothing, and hence perpetual life on earth is desirable, the Christian prefers "death" with God to perpetual life without God. The actual hope is diminished when viewed alongside the rhetorical promises. Furthermore, Bacon's hope is less than his promise, because the men for whom this hope is suited are less than the men who appear to be pictured (i.e., religious, compassionate lovers of truth and wisdom). Most of them, though they appear to be men, are actually sheep. In its humaneness or "humanity," Bacon's project dehumanizes. Perhaps the hope of modern science as Bacon intended it exists on different levels. For the many there will be an ever-increasing degree of comfort and security, but not as much as expected and at an unmentioned cost. For the ambitious few, the knowers, there will be honor and rule, but not that which a founder like Solamona would enjoy. The highest hope above all may be the hope of only one man: the man whose followers are as many as there are practitioners and beneficiaries of science and

whose glory is as great and everlasting as the progress of that science. Perhaps, ultimately, this hope, Bacon's personal hope, is the only solid hope, if it is solid at all.

NOTES

1. Manuel and Manuel, *Utopian Thought in the Western World*, pp. 206, 208.

2. Faulkner, *Francis Bacon*, p. 243. The vision of the future inspires hope. Referring to the account of the organization and discoveries of Salomon's House at the end of the *New Atlantis*, Farrington reports that "[i]t was in the express hope of making the vision of Solomon's (sic) House a reality that Hartlib, friend of Milton and pioneer of agricultural reform, invited the great Bohemian educationalist Comenius (1592–1670) to visit England" (emphasis mine), *Francis Bacon, Philosopher of Industrial Science*, p. 17.

3. *New Atlantis*, p. 37. All further references to Bacon's works will appear in the text, abbreviated as follows, and, unless otherwise noted, accompanied by the page reference in the respective edition. *GI* (*The Great Instauration*), *NA* (*New Atlantis*), *NO* (*The New Organon*), *Works* (*The Works of Francis Bacon*). *De Aug.* (*De Dignitate et Augmentis Scientiarum*) is accompanied by book and section number; *Essays* (*The Essayes or Counsels, Civill and Morall*), and *WA* (*Of the Wisdom of the Ancients*) are accompanied by essay number.

4. Weinberger, "Science and Rule," p. 872.

5. Sailing here is a metaphor for science. The Chinese are characterized by pusillanimity, i.e., smallness of spirit, one of the impediments which Bacon describes in *The New Organon* as preventing the progress of the sciences (*NO* I.92). They sail, "where they will or can" (*NA* p. 57). Thus they fear foreigners and whatever lies beyond what they think are the limits of their navigational abilities. Bensalem, the scientific civilization, can sail the world o'er. The reach of both its science and its ships is universal. Anyone at the time would have made the connection between naval power and political power, between sailing and rule. Similarly, the connection between science and rule is plain to our generation. Both connections are plain to Bacon.

6. Despite their "good knowledge of winds and tides," More's Utopians "had always been rather frightened of the sea, and seldom risked going on it except during summer." The difference between the Utopians and the European who arrived at their island by the sea is the latter's possession of the magnetic compass (*Utopia*, p. 40). Bacon uses this instrument as one of three examples of useful inventions which bring revolutionary change to life (*NO* I.129). In both cases the compass is identified as representing technical advancement, and, by implication, the sea is identified as a symbol of the awesome and terrible forces of nature. J.R. Hale's description of people's perception of "nature" in general and the sea in particular at the turn of the fifteenth century is illuminating: "Much of nature was, in any case, marked off from a tranquil appreciation of it for its own sake. Apart from infrequent and widely scattered communities of fishermen and isolated bands of evaporators, the seacoast of Europe was deserted, its rocks and marshes a *cordon sanitaire* the traveller or trader only penetrated to embark or disembark. . . . No holiday-maker sought the sea. It was dangerous, a wrecker's world, unwritten about save in the tones of dismay, unpainted save as a background to a miracle or a foreground to the welcoming quays of town. . . . The forests which covered so much of Europe were rarely penetrated save by huntsmen and fugitives from justice. . . . Fear of the night was universal. There was no movement in or out of villages, cottagers barred their doors. . . . Wolves roamed in the suburbs, wild boars rooted up the young fruit trees, and robber bands had the highways to themselves. . . . With hearths smothered for fear of fire, outside the towns the night was spent in a state of physical and emotional siege." The appreciative eye of the vacationer or artist and the paternalistic concern of today's environmentalist are possible only because "nature" has been tamed or defanged to the extent that it has. Ironically, it is only when modern science introduces the exclusively utilitarian relationship between man and nature which characterizes it that a purely aesthetic relationship is made possible on a wide scale. Prior to Bacon's revolution, there was nothing of the sort. Hale tells us: "It was an age, too, when health,

and sometimes life, depended on the weather — a bad harvest and all but the rich suffered, the very poor starved; 'fertile' or 'infertile' rather than 'beautiful' or 'depressing' was the first reaction to landscape; humanist, merchant, monk, all had a farmer's eye" (*Renaissance Europe 1480–1520*, pp. 41–42).

7. Weinberger, "Science and Rule," p. 873.

8. "We added, 'That our tongues should first cleave to the roofs of our mouths, ere we should forget either his reverend person or this whole nation in our prayers.'" Cf. Psalms 137:6, "if I do not remember thee, [O Jerusalem,] let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth, if I prefer not Jerusalem above my chief joy." Bacon prefers Bensalem, his chief joy, to Jerusalem and recommends that his readers do the same.

9. The narrator concedes that indeed they did think that "there was somewhat supernatural in this island; but yet rather as angelical than magical." With this, further comparison is made between the powers of Bensalem and those of God (for angelic power is exercised vicariously in God's name). But they are wrong on two counts. First, there is nothing supernatural about the powers exercised on the island. It is not in going beyond nature or by virtue of any principle which is foreign to the course of nature that these things are possible. It is rather by obeying nature that Bensalem has been able to conquer her and make her do their bidding (*NO* I.3). Second, because what they have accomplished is other than what nature would do in her ordinary course, it is indeed magic but it is natural magic, i.e., science.

10. Weinberger, "Science and Rule," p. 874.

11. Faulkner, "Visions and Powers," p. 125.

12. The "eye" in this sense recalls Xenophon's *Cyropaedia* or *Education of Cyrus*. After Cyrus had come into his empire, he made everyone a spy on everyone else through the liberal use of gifts. "As a natural result of this, many 'eyes' and many 'ears' were ascribed to the king . . ." and "every one conducted himself at all times just as if those who were within hearing were so many eyes and ears of the king." Cyrus is also called "father" on account of his benefaction. But Cyrus is a tyrant and his regime as totalitarian as a pretechnological regime could be (*VIII.ii.9–12*).

13. "Bacon's Humanitarian Revision of Machiavelli," unpublished manuscript, p. 31.

14. Faulkner, "Visions and Powers," p. 124.

15. *Ibid.*

16. *Ibid.*

17. Weinberger makes a similar point. "Science and Rule," pp. 876 (n.61), 878.

18. It is in part the acceptance and blessing of the divines which Bacon attempts to secure in *The Advancement of Learning*.

19. What Bacon calls *Philosophia Prima* or science in its most general form and from which all branches of knowledge stem, he also calls *Sapientia* or Wisdom (*De Aug.* III.i).

20. Weinberger, "Science and Rule," p. 878.

21. In the account of the gift of tongues in Acts 2:1–16, to which this passage also alludes, the messengers of the gospel were gifted with miraculous ability. It is a gift of the Holy Spirit. By definition, it is available only to believers. In contrast, here in the *New Atlantis*, those to whom the message is imparted receive the gift. The miracle is wrought through the unregenerate.

22. Paterson, "On the Role of Christianity," p. 438.

23. Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*, Part 2, chap. 42, especially pp. 567–68. Farrington, among others, misses this point entirely. See *Francis Bacon, Philosopher of Industrial Science* (1951), p. 169, and *Francis Bacon, Pioneer of Planned Science* (1963), p. 114.

24. Haydn, *The Counter-Renaissance*, p. 38.

25. Weinberger, "Science and Rule," p. 882.

26. The relationship between Atlantis and the two states mentioned in connection with her, Coya and Tyrambel, is unclear. Are the latter two kingdoms allies of Atlantis, or are they satellites, vassal states or constitutive parts? Atlantis may even be the region or continent where Coya and Tyrambel are found. Bacon speaks as though Atlantis were a kingdom unto itself, but it is ambiguous whether his use of the word refers to all three nations or just the latter two. Although it is specifically Atlantis that is identified as having been judged for "those proud enterprises," it is only Coya and Tyrambel that are said to have attacked, one the Mediterranean area and the other

Altabin's kingdom. This ambiguity, together with Bacon's identification of Atlantis with America, a term which encompasses both North and South America, leads me to favor its interpretation as a region or continent.

27. Weinberger, "Science and Rule," pp. 872-73.

28. Weinberger, "Science and Rule," p. 880.

29. "The liberation of human desiring from any supposed excluding claim, so that it is believed that we freely create values, is a face of the same liberation in which men overcame chance by technology—the liberty to make happen what we want to make happen." George Grant, "The Computer Does Not Impose On Us the Ways It Should Be Used," p. 127.

30. The reason for this may be in part their fear that if they do not stay, they will be killed, since many astonishing reports have reached Europe from the new world but nothing at all from this island. Perhaps also they saw contradictions between, on the one hand, the governor's certainty of Europe's incredulity at hearing stories about Bensalem and, on the other, the law forbidding the entrance of strangers. But the references to their new liberty and forgetting all that was dear indicate attraction to Bensalem, not just repulsion from the consequences of not embracing it. Bensalem is an apparently happy place, and people's desire for happiness is quite strong and well-nigh universal. The governor's offer to pay all their expenses for however long they stay and to satisfy their every request, even presumably the basest, is also no small consideration (*NA* p. 45).

31. "we desired to know . . . how it [Bensalem] was converted to the faith" (*NA*, p. 47)?

32. . . . [L]et . . . every man reform his own ways" (*NA* p. 43). "Therefore, . . . let us so behave ourselves as we may be at peace with God, and may find grace in the eyes of this people" (*NA* p. 44).

33. White observes that eternal recurrence, perpetual becoming and its apparent futility direct men to that which is beyond becoming, e.g., God, unchanging truths (*Peace Among the Willows*, p. 17). By locating hope, as opposed to futility and despair, in the process of change, Bacon turns men's sights inevitably earthward. "Where your treasure is, there will your heart be also." This is not a causal relationship. One could just as well say, where your hope is, there will your treasure be also.

34. Faulkner, "Visions and Powers," pp. 112, 124.

35. Faulkner indicates that the hope is to some extent intentionally untrue. "Are not these solid powers of mastery in fact deceptions of the mind, that is promises of satisfaction that cannot fully satisfy, but which, like the pillar of light, can serve as baits whereby the purveyors of science can win people to a new faith" (*Francis Bacon*, p. 253). "Of Vicissitude of Things" (*Essays* #58) suggests that science in its old age can exhaust learning, a thought which can make one "giddy." With regard to immortality and resurrection in particular, Bacon suggests its possibility in several texts, e.g., in "Orpheus" (*WA* XI). Yet it remains to be seen in Bensalem, even though Baconian science has been established there for 1900 years. There does not, however, appear to be any reason why, in principle, these things should not be possible. Paterson seems uncertain whether Bacon ultimately expected such accomplishment, though he cites "undeniable textual evidence" and says that Bacon at best sees it far off ("Bacon's Myth of Orpheus," p.434).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

- Anderson, Fulton, ed. *The New Organon and Related Writings*. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1960.
- Fowler, Thomas, ed. *Bacon's Novum Organum*, 2d ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1889.
- Weinberger, Jerry, ed. *New Atlantis and The Great Instauration*, rev. ed. Arlington Heights, IL: Harlan Davidson, 1989.
- Works of Francis Bacon, The*. James Spedding, Robert Leslie Ellis and Douglas Denon Heath, eds., Boston: Brown and Taggard, 1861.

Other Works Cited:

- Farrington, Benjamin. *Francis Bacon, Philosopher of Industrial Science*. London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1951.
- . *Francis Bacon, Pioneer of Planned Science*. New York: Praeger, 1963.
- Faulkner, Robert K. *Francis Bacon and the Project of Progress*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 1993.
- . "Visions and Powers: Bacon's Two-fold Politics of Progress," *Polity* 21, No. 1 (1988).
- Grant, George. "The Computer Does Not Impose on Us the Ways It Should Be Used." In Abraham Rotstein, ed. *Beyond Industrial Growth*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977.
- Hale, J.R. *Renaissance Europe 1480–1520*. London: Fontana-Collins, 1971.
- Haydn, Hiram. *The Counter-Renaissance*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1950.
- Hobbes, Thomas. *Leviathan*. C. B. Macpherson, ed. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1968.
- Kennington, Richard. "Bacon's Humanitarian Revision of Machiavelli," unpublished manuscript.
- Manuel, Frank, and Fritzie Manuel. *Utopian Thought in the Western World*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1979.
- More, Thomas. *Utopia*. Paul Turner, trans. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1965.
- Paterson, Timothy H. "Bacon's Myth of Orpheus: Power as a Goal of Science in *Of the Wisdom of the Ancients*," *Interpretation* 16, No. 3 (Spring, 1989).
- . "On the Role of Christianity in the Political Philosophy of Francis Bacon," *Polity* 19, No. 3 (1987).
- Weinberger, Jerry. "Science and Rule in Bacon's Utopia," *American Political Science Review* 70 (1976).
- White, Howard. *Peace Among the Willows: The Political Philosophy of Francis Bacon*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1968.
- Xenophon. *Cyropaedia*. Walter Miller, trans. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1914.