THE ECCLESIASTICAL POLITY OF FRANCIS BACON

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ABSTRACT

THE ECCLESIASTICAL POLITY OF FRANCIS BACON

BY LAWRENCE H. RICE

IN ITS LARGEST SENSE THIS STUDY IS DESIGNED TO CONTRIBUTE TO A FULLER UNDERSTANDING OF THE RELIGIOUS PHILOSOPHY OF FRANCIS BACON AND TO A CLEARER DEFINITION OF THE IDEOLOGY WHICH LAY BEHIND HIS EVALUATION OF RELIGIOUS MATTERS IN HIS APOLOGIES FOR LEARNING. SPECIFICALLY THE WORK CONTAINS A COMPREHENSIVE REVIEW OF THE BODY OF BACON'S REFLECTIONS ON CHURCH AND STATE.

CHAPTER I IS CONCERNED WITH THE VEXING PROBLEM OF FORMULATING A DEFINITION OF BACON'S FAITH, WITH A SURVEY OF HIS COMMENTS ON DIVINITY, AND WITH A DESCRIPTION AND CLASSIFICATION OF HIS RELIGIO-POLITICAL OBSERVATIONS. IN CHAPTER II I HAVE DISCUSSED BACON'S IDEA OF THE STATE AGAINST THE BACKGROUND--IN PARTICULAR--OF RICHARD HOOKER'S LAWS OF ECCLESIASTICAL POLITY. CHAPTER III CONTAINS A DETAILED ANALYSIS OF BACON'S LENGTHIEST TRACT ON RELIGIOUS CONTROVERSIES, A TRACT WHICH WAS HIS FIRST ATTEMPT TO ARBITRATE THE DEBATE BETWEEN THE PURITANS AND THE HIGH CHURCHMEN. CHAPTER IV IS BUILT AROUND A WORK WHICH IS BACON'S FULLEST TREATMENT OF THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND. ADDITIONALLY, I HAVE INCLUDED IN THIS CHAPTER THE BODY OF BACON'S OTHER

OBSERVATIONS ON PURITANISM AND THE CHURCH WRITTEN DURING THE REIGN OF JAMES I. IT IS IN THIS CHAPTER THAT I HAVE REVIEWED THE MAJOR SCHOLARSHIP ON BACON'S ECCLESIASTICAL POLITY. IN CHAPTERS V AND VI I HAVE REVIEWED ALL OF BACON'S IMPORTANT REFLECTIONS ON CATHOLICISM. THESE OBSERVATIONS RANGE ALL THE WAY FROM AN ADVERTIZEMENT OF ENGLISH PROTESTANT PROSPERITY TO LEGALISTIC COMMENTS ON JESUIT STATECRAFT. CHAPTER VII IS A DISCUSSION OF BACON'S IDEA OF RELIGIOUS WARS; AND IN CHAPTER VIII, THE CONCLUSION, I HAVE REVIEWED THE RELIGIO-POLITICAL STRUCTURE OF THE NEW ATLANTIS.

I HAVE CHARACTERIZED BACON AS A POLITICAL SCIENTIST RATHER THAN A PHILOSOPHER OF POLITICS AND HAVE ATTEMPTED TO DEMONSTRATE THAT HIS GENERAL APPROVAL OF THE ANGLICAN THEORY OF CHURCH AND STATE (AS ADVANCED BY WHITGIFT AND HOOKER) ARISES FROM A THOROUGH DEDICATION TO THE IDEA OF A STRONG MONARCHY AND NOT FROM ANY IDENTIFIABLE RELIGIOUS PREJUDICES. IN THE MATTER OF RELIGIOUS CONTROVERSIES--EVER A PROBLEM OF STATE IN HIS ERA--BACON CHARACTERIZES HIMSELF AS AN "INDIFFERENT" MAN AND CONSISTENTLY APPEALS TO PURITAN AND ANGLICAN ALIKE TO RELY UPON TEMPERANCE AND REASON TO SOLVE THEIR DIFFERENCES. I HAVE ATTEMPTED TO PROVE, HOWEVER, THAT IN SPITE OF BACON'S ANNOUNCED INDIFFERENCE, HIS DEEPEST CONVICTIONS ON CIVIL OBEDIENCE CONSISTENTLY LED HIM TO FIND THE ANGLICAN WAY THE MORE REASONABLE.

IN HIS REFLECTIONS ON CATHOLICISM BACON IS GUIDED BY THE PRINCIPLE THAT THE CONSCIENCE OF AN INDIVIDUAL CHRISTIAN IS NOT TO BE FORCED UNLESS HIS CONVICTIONS INVOLVE A THREAT

TO THE ESTABLISHED STATE. HE GIVES FREQUENT TESTIMONY TO THE BENEVOLENCE OF HIS SOVEREIGNS IN THEIR TREATMENT OF THE CATHOLICS AND MAINTAINS--PARTICULARLY IN HIS OBSERVATIONS ON RELIGIOUS WARS AND THE OCCUPATION OF CONQUERED TERRITORIES--THAT THE FORCING OF CONSCIENCE IS NEITHER A HOLY ACT NOR A WISE. IT WAS BACON'S CONVICTION THAT A CONQUERING NATION SHOULD FIRST DEMONSTRATE THE MERITS OF ITS TEMPORAL LIFE AND THEN, IN A TIME "NOT DEFINITE," CONFRONT THE PROBLEM OF RELIGIOUS CONVERSION.

I HAVE MAINTAINED IN THIS STUDY THAT BACON'S "REASONABLE" APPROACH TO RELIGIOUS CONTROVERSIES, HIS INDIFFERENCE TO DOCTRINAL ISSUES, AND HIS RELUCTANCE TO FORCE CONSCIENCES ARISE FROM AN APPARENT INSENSITIVITY TO RELIGIOUS ZEAL AND FROM A DEEP DISTRUST FOR THE RELIGIOUS SENSIBILITY. IN HIS CONCEPTION OF CHURCH AND STATE THE CHURCH IS AN ELUSIVE, DELINQUENT BODY SORELY IN NEED OF GUIDANCE AND COUNSEL BY THE CIVIL GOVERNMENT. IT HAS NO DYNAMIC OF ITS OWN, NO INHERENT QUALITIES CAPABLE OF BEING CALLED UPON TO PURIFY ITS FORM AND CONTAIN ITS UNCIVIL PASSIONS. CHURCHMEN THEMSELVES ARE EITHER TOO RIGIDLY CONSERVATIVE OR TOO FANATICALLY REVOLUTIONARY TO SOLVE THEIR OWN PROBLEMS. THE PEOPLE, THE "BEAST WITH MANY HEADS," ARE ADRIFT SOMEWHERE IN THE LIMBO BETWEEN INFLEXIBLE FUNDAMENTALISM AND HYPNOTIC REVIVALISM. VAST CULTURAL WASTE IS THE PRODUCT OF CENTURIES OF RELIGIOUS CONTROVERSIES, AND THERE IS IMPLIED EVERYWHERE IN THESE OBSERVATIONS THE DEVOUT HOPE THAT ONE DAY A RACE OF INDIFFERENT MEN WILL GUIDE MANKIND TO A BETTER, A MORE ECONOMICAL, WAY OF LIFE.

LAWRENCE H. RICE

IN THE NEW ATLANTIS WE MAY OBSERVE THAT CHRISTIANITY COMES TO A PEOPLE--ALMOST AS A WINDFALL--AFTER THEY HAVE FORMULATED THE RULES FOR A MEANINGFUL AND NOBLE EXISTENCE; AND WE MAY OBSERVE THAT THE TRUE MEDIATORS BETWEEN THE EARTHLY AND HEAVENLY KINGDOMS ARE NOT ZEALOUS MINISTERS OF THE GOSPEL, BUT LEARNED SCIENTISTS OF THE COLLEGE OF SIX DAYS' WORK.

THE ECCLESIASTICAL POLITY
OF FRANCIS BACON

BY

LAWRENCE H. RICE

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

THE CONTINUED INTEREST IN THE RELIGIOUS PHILOSOPHIES OF THE "NEW SCIENTISTS" OF THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES IS LARGELY A RESULT OF THE FACT THAT SCIENCE, IN SPITE OF THE ASSURANCES OF MANY OF THESE MEN, DID NOT TURN OUT TO BE A HELPFUL HANDMAID TO DIVINITY; ON THE CONTRARY, THE METHODS AND CONCLUSIONS OF SCIENCE ULTIMATELY OFFERED A CHALLENGE TO FAITH WHICH ONLY A PERSON VERY LITTLE ACQUAINTED WITH THE HISTORY OF WESTERN THOUGHT WOULD VENTURE TO SAY THEOLOGIANS MANAGED TO MEET WITH ANY DEGREE OF SUCCESS. LEARNING TO MEASURE THE HEAVENS, LEARNING TO COUNT AND WEIGH THE ELEMENTS, LEARNING HOW FAST THINGS WOULD GO AND HOW LONG THEY WOULD LAST, LEARNING WHERE THINGS HAD COME FROM AND LEARNING TO PREDICT WHERE THEY WOULD PROBABLY GO--ALL OF THESE DISCOVERIES DID NOT LEAD MEN BACK TO GOD. ALTHOUGH HENRY ADAMS WAS PERHAPS TOO ENCHANTED WITH HIS OWN DYNAMO, AND ALTHOUGH HIS VISION MIGHT HAVE BEEN SOMEWHAT BLURRED BY THE STEAM HE GENERATED IN HIS OWN MIND, HE WAS BASICALLY CORRECT IN HIS EVALUATION OF THE CONTRIBUTION OF SCIENCE TO THE MODERN WORLD. IN CENTURIES OF PROBING INTO GOD'S VISIBLE UNIVERSE SCIENTISTS HAD NOT MANAGED TO DISCOVER THE ALPHABET OF NATURE; QUITE TO THE CONTRARY,

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THEY HAD DISCOVERED THAT NATURE DID NOT SEEM TO HAVE AN ALPHABET, OR THAT PERHAPS IT HAD MANY ALPHABETS WRITTEN IN MANY CACOPHONOUS TONGUES. THE DREAM OF UNITY, WHICH HAD GIVEN SO MANY CHRISTIANS SO MUCH COMFORT, HAD BECOME THE NIGHTMARE OF MULTIPLICITY, THE CAUSE OF MOST OF OUR WOES.

I THINK IT IS CORRECT TO SAY THAT MODERN MEN WHO ARE NOT CONVINCED THAT SCIENCE HAS BEEN AN UNMITIGATED BOON TO MANKIND LOOK BACK ON THE NEW PHILOSOPHY OF THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES WITH A MOOD COMPOUNDED OF NOSTALGIA, WONDER, AND SKEPTICISM. PROFESSOR TILLICH, WHO HAS BEEN CONDUCTING A HEROIC EFFORT TO BRING CHRISTIAN ORDER OUT OF CONTEMPORARY CHAOS, SPEAKS OF KEPLER, GALILEO, AND NEWTON IN TERMS WHICH ARE ALMOST MELANCHOLY. THESE WERE MEN, HE SAYS, WHO WERE LOOKING FOR THE LAWS OF NATURE SO THAT THEY MIGHT DISCOVER THE GLORIOUS RATIONALITY OF THE CREATOR HIMSELF. THEIR EFFORTS TO REHABILITATE AND ORDER NATURE WERE IN A VERY REAL SENSE ACTS OF FAITH. IT WAS NOT UNTIL MEN LOST THIS ATTITUDE TOWARD INVESTIGATION, SAYS TILLICH, THAT SCIENCE BECAME A REAL THREAT TO FAITH.[1] IN HIS CAREFUL ANALYSIS OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SCIENCE AND RELIGION IN ELIZABETHAN ENGLAND[2] PROFESSOR KOCHER HAS

1. THE RELIGIOUS SITUATION (NEW YORK, HENRY HOLT & CO., 1932); TRANSLATED BY RICHARD NIEBUHR. MY REFERENCE IS TO THE MERIDIAN EDITION, FIFTH ED., 1960, PP. 48-49.

2. SCIENCE AND RELIGION IN ELIZABETHAN ENGLAND (SAN MARINO, CALIF., HUNTINGTON LIB., 1953). KOCHER'S STUDY GOES TO 1610.

DEVELOPED THE THESIS THAT SCIENCE AND OTHER FORMS OF LEARNING HAD MANY MORE SYMPATHIZERS AND PATRONS--AMONG ALL CLASSES OF THE LEARNED--IN THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES THAN WE MIGHT EXPECT CONSIDERING THE DISTINCTLY OTHER-WORLDLY TEMPER OF THE TIMES. CATHOLICISM, HE SAYS, COMPETED VIGOROUSLY FOR THE TITLE OF THE CHAMPION OF LEARNING AND CONSTANTLY CHARGED THE PROTESTANTS WITH ANTI-INTELLECTUALISM;[3] AMONG PROTESTANTS THEMSELVES LEARNING WAS BY NO MEANS THOUGHT UNWORTHY OF THE KINGDOM OF GOD. ALTHOUGH LUTHER LARGELY IGNORED LEARNING AND EXPRESSED THE FEAR THAT IT MIGHT TEACH PRIDE, CALVIN WENT SO FAR AS TO SAY SCIENTIFIC KNOWLEDGE COULD HELP MEN TOWARD A BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF GOD.[4] THOUGH IN CALVIN'S MIND MAN HAD EXPERIENCED TOTAL MORAL DEPRAVITY, THE PRACTICAL INTELLECT, THE CAPACITY TO WORK WITH THE MATERIALS OF THE VISIBLE UNIVERSE, HAD EXPERIENCED ONLY A "PARTIAL CORRUPTION."[5] MOST ANGLICANS, SAYS KOCHER, WELCOMED THE ADVANCEMENT OF LEARNING, THOUGH THEY OF COURSE RESERVED THE RIGHT TO WARN AGAINST THE TRAPS OF CARNAL PRIDE. THEIR POSITION, AS PRESENTED IN THE OFFICIAL HOMILIES OF 1569, WAS A FRANK ADMISSION OF THE WORTH OF "OTHER SCIENCES," THOUGH SCRIPTURAL STUDY WAS "THE CHIEF, AND [PASSED] AL OTHER INCOMPARABLY."[6] AMONG THE PURITANS,

3. IBID., P. 5.

4. IBID., PP. 8-9.

5. IBID., P. 10.

6. IBID., PP. 13-14.

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[7] IBID., P. 24.

KOCHER CONTINUES, A FULL RANGE OF ATTITUDES CAN BE FOUND, BUT THE INVOLVEMENT OF MEMBERS OF THIS CLASS (PARTICULARLY THE MERCHANTS) IN THE ACTUAL FRUITS OF DISCOVERY COMMITTED MOST TO THE NEW SCIENCE. KOCHER'S GENERAL CONCLUSION IS THAT THE REALLY OUTSPOKEN CONDEMNATIONS OF INVESTIGATION FOUND IN ELIZABETHAN ENGLAND, THOSE WHICH ASSERTED THAT MAN COULD HAVE HIS WORLD EITHER WITH OR WITHOUT KNOWLEDGE--BUT NOT WITH BOTH--BELONGED TO THE GENRE OF "SENSATIONAL LITERATURE."[7] TO BE SURE, THE SCIENTISTS OF BACON'S ERA HAD CALLED CERTAIN CHERISHED CONVICTIONS OF THE COSMOS IN DOUBT. BUT DOUBT WAS NOTHING NEW TO CHRISTIANITY, AND PERHAPS IT IS REASONABLE TO ASSUME THAT THE GENERAL RAPPORT BETWEEN SCIENCE AND RELIGION FOUND BY PROFESSOR KOCHER WAS A RESULT OF NOTHING MORE COMPLICATED THAN THE FACT THAT SCIENTISTS, AIDED BY A MOST LIMITED STOCK OF RELIABLE INSTRUMENTS, COULD STILL BE CALLED LUNATICS WHEN THEY REACHED CONCLUSIONS WHICH CLASHED WITH ACCEPTED THEORIES OF THE PHYSICAL UNIVERSE.

BUT IF DOUBT WAS NOT NEW TO CHRISTIANITY, NEITHER WAS THIS-WORLDLINESS AND THE VANITY OF HUMAN WISDOM. THE SCIENTISTS HAD THE MANY ADMONITIONS OF ST. PAUL TO WARN THEM THAT GOD WOULD DESTROY THE WISDOM OF THE WISE; THEY HAD LEARNED FROM PAUL THAT "THE WISDOM OF THIS WORLD IS FOOLISHNESS WITH GOD. FOR IT IS WRITTEN, HE TAKETH THE WISE IN

7. IBID., P. 24.

THEIR OWN CRAFTINESS."[8] ADDITIONALLY, SATAN, WHO IN BACON'S ERA WAS MUCH MORE THAN A RED-TAILED BOGEY MAN, STILL HAD HIS HANDS IN MANY OF THE EARTHLY AFFAIRS OF MEN. IN MANY MINDS A STUDY OF THE VISIBLE UNIVERSE WOULD LEAD ONE TO THE INGLORIOUS THRONE OF THE ANTI-CHRIST HIMSELF.[9] WHAT THIS WELTER OF ATTITUDES MEANT WAS THAT THE SCIENTIST WAS REASONABLY FREE TO GO ABOUT HIS BUSINESS BUT THAT HE CONSTANTLY FOUND THE NEED TO APOLOGIZE FOR WHAT HE WAS DOING. KOCHER SAYS THAT THIS IS WHY HUNDREDS OF SCIENTIFIC PAPERS WERE PREFACED WITH ELABORATE APOLOGIES WHICH ASSERTED EMPHATICALLY THAT THE ONLY REAL END OF MAN WAS TO FIND MEANS TO SAVE HIS SOUL.[10] BUT, HE SAYS, IT WAS THE GREAT CONSPIRACY OF SILENCE WHICH TRULY CHARACTERIZED THE NEW PHILOSOPHERS' ATTITUDE TOWARD SCIENCE AND RELIGION. WHEN THESE MEN COULD FIND SCRIPTURAL WARRANT FOR THEIR METHODS, THEY USED SCRIPTURE; WHEN THEY COULD NOT, THEY SIMPLY DID NOT SAY ANYTHING.[11]

IT IS THIS SILENCE WHICH WE WONDER ABOUT, FOR THE APOLOGIES ARE FREQUENTLY TOO FACILE TO BE CONVINCING. THE SILENCE

8. I COR. 1:19.

9. BASIL WILLEY, THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY BACKGROUND (NEW YORK, DOUBLEDAY, 1955), PP. 38-40. PUBLISHED FIRST IN 1934.

10. SCIENCE AND RELIGION, PP. 24-25.

11. IBID.

LEADS US TO WONDER IF THE ELIZABETHAN SCIENTISTS WERE REALLY LOOKING FOR GOD IN NATURE, OR AT LEAST IF THEY WERE LOOKING FOR GOD ALL OF THE TIME. IN OTHER WORDS WE WONDER IF THE SCIENTIFIC TEMPER HAS NOT ALWAYS BEEN FUNDAMENTALLY WHAT IT IS NOW AND IF THE KINGDOM OF MAN HAS NOT ALWAYS BEEN INTENDED FOR MEN.

THESE ARE THE IMPORTANT QUESTIONS WHICH MAKE A STUDY OF BACON'S RELIGIOUS PHILOSOPHY WORTHWHILE. ALTHOUGH BACON HAS BEEN STRIPPED OF SOME OF THE TITLES HE ONCE POSSESSED,[12] SUCH AS "THE FATHER OF INDUCTIVE REASONING," TITLES WHICH NO MAN COULD JUSTLY CLAIM, THERE IS NO DOUBT THAT IT WAS HE WHO TRULY GAVE SCIENCE ITS ADVERTIZEMENT IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY, HE WHO WROTE THE CENTURY'S APOLOGY FOR LEARNING. IT WAS CERTAINLY A PIOUS APOLOGY, FRAUGHT WITH CHRISTIAN CHARITY, HUMILITY, AND GOOD WILL. IN THE ELABORATE PREFATORY MACHINERY TO THE GREAT INSTAURATION BACON FILLED HIS PAGES WITH PRAYERFUL HUMILITY, AND IMPLORED EACH MEMBER OF THE TRINITY TO AID HIM IN HIS LABOR TO GUIDE MEN FROM THE STILL AND DARK NIGHT INTO THE BRIGHT LIGHT OF DAY. HE HAD NO WISH TO MAKE MAN INTO SOMETHING SUPERIOR TO THE FORM GOD HAD DICTATED, ONLY THE DEVOUT WISH TO SEE THAT FORM REALIZED. MAN HAD FALLEN, THERE WAS NO DOUBT OF THAT, BUT HE HAD GONE ON FALLING AND BACON WANTED TO CHECK HIS PLUMMETING DECLINE.

12. CF. C. D. BROAD, THE PHILOSOPHY OF FRANCIS BACON (CAMBRIDGE UNIV. PRESS, 1926).

MAN HAD A CLUTTERED MIND, AND BACON WANTED TO SWEEP IT CLEAN AND PLACE UPON IT THE TRUE IMPRINT OF GOD'S CREATION. BUT HE WOULD NOT ATTEMPT TO DISCOVER THE MYSTERIES OF GOD, FOR THAT WAS A LABOR OF DIVINITY, WITH WHOSE INSCRUTABLE TRUTHS HE HAD NO INCLINATION TO MEDDLE. IN 1605, WHEN HE PUBLISHED THE FIRST BOOK OF THE ADVANCEMENT OF LEARNING, HIS INAUGURAL ADDRESS TO HIS PHILOSOPHICAL WORKS AND HIS MOST EXTENSIVE TREATMENT OF THE PROBLEMS OF BEING LOWLY WISE, HE MADE HIS POSITION ON THE LIMITATIONS OF LEARNING VERY CLEAR:

> FOR THESE LIMITATIONS ARE THREE. THE FIRST, THAT WE DO NOT SO PLACE OUR FELICITY IN KNOWLEDGE, AS WE FORGET OUR MORTALITY. THE SECOND, THAT WE MAKE APPLICATION OF OUR KNOWLEDGE TO GIVE OURSELVES REPOSE AND CONTENTMENT, AND NOT DISTASTE OR REPINING. THE THIRD, THAT WE DO NOT PRESUME BY THE CONTEMPLATION OF NATURE TO ATTAIN TO THE MYSTERIES OF GOD.[13]

HE KNEW ENOUGH ABOUT MEN TO ADMIT THAT A LITTLE LEARNING WAS A DANGEROUS THING, SOMETHING TO "INCLINE A MAN TO ATHEISM," BUT HE MAINTAINED THAT HE HAD SUPREME CONFIDENCE MORE LEARNING WOULD BRING THEM AROUND TO FAITH.[14]

HAD BACON CONFINED HIMSELF TO HIS PHILOSOPHICAL WORKS AND HAD HE LIVED A LIFE OF SCHOLARLY SECLUSION, ANYONE DESIRING TO PROVE THAT HE WAS NOT A RELIGIOUS MAN WOULD HAVE

13. MY REFERENCES ARE TO BACON'S WORKS, EDITED BY JAMES SPEDDING, R. L. ELLIS, AND D. D. HEATH (LONDON, LONGMANS GREEN & CO., 1857-1874) 14 VOLS. REFERRED TO HEREAFTER AS WORKS. WORKS, III, 266.

14. IBID., P. 267.

AN EXCEEDINGLY DIFFICULT THESIS TO ESTABLISH. HE COULD SAY THAT BACON WAS SHAMEFULLY ATTRACTED TO THE PHYSICAL UNIVERSE, HE COULD SAY THAT HE HAD TAUGHT MEN THE HABIT OF DOUBT, AND HE COULD SAY THAT HIS DIVISION OF LEARNING INTO HUMAN AND DIVINE CLOAKED A REAL RELIGIOUS SKEPTICISM; BUT HE COULD NOT SUPPORT HIS PREMISES WITH ANYTHING MORE SUBSTANTIAL THAN HIS OWN INTUITION. PERHAPS HE COULD GAIN SOME SUPPORT FOR HIS CONCLUSION THAT BACON HAD MADE DOUBT FASHIONABLE, BUT HE COULD NOT SAY THAT BACON HAD FAILED TO ADVERTIZE THE DANGERS OF DOUBTING THE WRONG THINGS. THE PROBLEM IS, HOWEVER, THAT BACON WAS ALSO A STATESMAN, A LAWYER, A GOOD AND A BAD FRIEND, A LOVER OF FINE THINGS--INCLUDING ILL-GOTTEN GAINS--AND A COMPOSER OF ESSAYS CIVIL AND MORAL WHOSE ADVICE BLAKE, THRASHING ABOUT IN HIS SOMBER AND SYMBOLIC WORLD, THOUGHT WELL SUITED FOR SATAN'S KINGDOM AND WHOSE ADVICE NO MAN CAN FIND PARTICULARLY MORAL. IF THIS WERE NOT ENOUGH, LORD MACAULAY,[15] EVER ON THE PROWL FOR EVIL, INFORMED THE NINETEENTH CENTURY IN THE MOST FAMOUS ESSAY WRITTEN ON BACON THAT SIR FRANCIS, THOUGH A MIGHTY INTELLECT, HAD PRECIOUS LITTLE MERIT AS A MAN. IT WAS JUST NOT HONORABLE, SAID MACAULAY, FOR A MAN TO HELP CONVICT AN

15. "LORD BACON," AN ESSAY CONTRIBUTED TO THE EDINBURGH REVIEW, 1837. I HAVE USED THE TEXT IN MACAULAY'S LITERARY ESSAYS (OXFORD UNIV. PRESS, 1923).

OLD FRIEND OF TREASON, AND IT WAS CERTAINLY NOT HONORABLE FOR A MAN TO TAKE MONEY FROM LITTLE OLD LADIES WHO HAD SUITS PENDING IN COURT. LYTTON STRACHEY,[16] WRITING NEARLY A HUNDRED YEARS LATER, STIRRED BY THE HINT THAT BACON HAD PIERCING AND CHILLING EYES, DECIDED TO CONVERT THE GREAT ADVOCATE OF LEARNING INTO THE LAST OF THE WALKING SERPENTS. SO BACON'S CHARACTER HAS NOT GONE UNBLEMISHED.

THE UTILITARIANISM OF THE ESSAYS, FREQUENT BOWS TO MACHIAVELLI, A GENERAL DEVOTION TO THIS LIFE, AN INABILITY TO RESIST WEALTH AND POSITION--ALL OF THESE FACTORS, AND MANY MORE, LEAD US TO ASK IF BACON'S TRIBUTES TO FAITH WERE NOT IN A SIGNIFICANT DEGREE INSINCERE, IF THEY WERE NOT SIMPLY DESIGNED TO PACIFY THEOLOGIANS AND OTHERS WHO MIGHT OBSTRUCT THE ADVANCEMENT OF LEARNING. I AM NOT PREPARED TO SAY HOW FAR ONE'S CHARACTER NEED BE INVOLVED IN HIS RELIGIOUS PHILOSOPHY, BUT CERTAINLY IN BACON'S ERA HOW A MAN MANAGED TO LIVE HIS LIFE WAS THOUGHT FUNDAMENTAL TO HIS CONCEPTION OF GOD. PERHAPS THE PROBLEM OF BACON'S SINCERITY--WHAT HE REALLY BELIEVED--BELONGS PROPERLY TO THE DISCIPLINE OF BIOGRAPHY, BUT THE TRUE MOTIVES BEHIND HIS APOLOGY FOR LEARNING CAN NEVER BE SEPARATED FROM HIS ACTUAL ATTITUDE TOWARD GOD AND FROM HIS OWN DUTY TO THE CHURCH.

16. ELIZABETH AND ESSEX (NEW YORK, HARCOURT, BRACE, & CO., 1928).

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THE BASIC OBJECT OF THIS STUDY, THOUGH THERE ARE OTHER IMPORTANT OBJECTS TOO, IS TO BRING US NEARER TO AN UNDERSTANDING OF BACON'S RELIGIOUS PHILOSOPHY IN ORDER THAT WE MIGHT MOVE A STEP CLOSER TO THE MOTIVES WHICH LED BACON TO GIVE SACRED DIVINITY A UNIQUE IMMUNITY TO HIS PLAN FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF LEARNING AND THE ALPHABETIZING OF NATURE. AT FIRST GLANCE IT MIGHT APPEAR THAT A STUDY OF THE RELIGIO-POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY IS AN AWKWARD APPROACH TO THIS PROBLEM. IT IS EVEN AN AWKWARD APPROACH AT A SECOND GLANCE, BUT IT IS ACTUALLY THE ONLY AVENUE OPEN. MACAULAY GOES DIRECTLY TO THE PROBLEM OF STUDYING BACON'S THEOLOGY WHEN HE SAYS:

> WHAT HE WAS AS A NATURAL PHILOSOPHER AND A MORAL PHILOSOPHER, THAT HE WAS ALSO AS A THEOLOGIAN. HE WAS, WE ARE CONVINCED, A SINCERE BELIEVER IN THE DIVINE AUTHORITY OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION. NOTHING CAN BE FOUND IN HIS WRITINGS, OR IN ANY OTHER WRITINGS, MORE ELOQUENT AND PATHETIC THAN SOME PASSAGES WHICH WERE APPARENTLY WRITTEN UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF STRONG DEVOTIONAL FEELING. HE LOVED TO DWELL ON THE POWER OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION TO EFFECT MUCH THAT THE ANCIENT PHILOSOPHERS COULD ONLY PROMISE. HE LOVED TO CONSIDER THAT RELIGION AS THE BOND OF CHARITY, THE CURB OF EVIL PASSIONS, THE CONSOLATION OF THE WRETCHED, THE SUPPORT OF THE TIMID, THE HOPE OF THE DYING. BUT CONTROVERSIES ON SPECULATIVE POINTS OF THEOLOGY SEEM TO HAVE ENGAGED SCARCELY ANY PORTION OF HIS ATTENTION. . . . HE LIVED IN AN AGE IN WHICH DISPUTES ON THE MOST SUBTLE POINTS OF DIVINITY EXCITED AN INTENSE INTEREST THROUGHOUT EUROPE, AND NOWHERE MORE THAN IN ENGLAND. HE WAS PLACED IN THE VERY THICK OF THE CONFLICT. HE WAS IN POWER AT THE TIME OF THE SYNOD OF DORT, AND MUST FOR MONTHS HAVE BEEN DAILY DEAFENED WITH TALK ABOUT ELECTION, REPROBATION, AND FINAL PERSEVERENCE. YET WE DO NOT REMEMBER A LINE IN HIS WORKS FROM WHICH IT CAN BE INFERRED THAT HE WAS EITHER A

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> CALVINIST OR AN ARMINIAN. WHILE THE WORLD WAS RESOUNDING WITH THE NOISE OF A DISPUTATIOUS PHILOSOPHY AND A DISPUTATIOUS THEOLOGY, THE BACONIAN SCHOOL, LIKE ALWORTHY SEATED BETWEEN SQUARE AND THWACKUM, PRESERVED A CALM NEUTRALITY, HALF SCORNFUL, HALF BENEVOLENT, AND CONTENT WITH ADDING TO THE SUM OF PRACTICAL GOOD, LEFT THE WAR OF WORDS TO THOSE WHO LIKED IT.[17]

MACAULAY HAD FORGOTTEN A COMMENT ON ARMINIANISM,[18] BUT HE HAD WRITTEN AN EXCELLENT BRIEF OF BACON'S THEOLOGY ANYWAY. IN SO FAR AS DOCTRINE IS CONCERNED, ONE COULD READ THE BODY OF BACON'S WORKS, CERTAINLY THE PHILOSOPHICAL AND LITERARY PIECES, AND KNOW ONLY THAT BACON WAS SOME KIND OF GENERALIZED OR NEUTRALIZED CHRISTIAN APPARENTLY SATISFIED WITH THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND. AS WE SHALL SEE LATER, WHEN HE VIEWED CONTEMPORARY DOCTRINAL CONTROVERSIES, HE CONCEIVED OF HIMSELF AS AN "INDIFFERENT" MAN, ONE WHO WOULD RATHER AVOID THEOLOGICAL SQUABBLES IF POSSIBLE BUT ONE WHO WOULD PLAY THE ROLE OF A MODERATOR IF THE NEED AROSE.

BACON'S WORKS WHICH CAN BE CONSIDERED TO HAVE A RELIGIOUS CAST ARE OF FOUR GENERAL TYPES: THE RELIGIOUS EXERCISES, THE APOLOGIES FOR LEARNING, DISCUSSIONS OF SUBJECTS DECIDEDLY RELIGIOUS IN CHARACTER (FATE, THE FALL, PROVIDENCE, ETC.), AND THE RELIGIO-POLITICAL OBSERVATIONS. THE

17. "LORD BACON," PP. 389-90.

18. IN THE ESSAY "OF VICISSITUDE" BACON SAYS, "FOR AS FOR SPECULATIVE HERESIES, (SUCH AS WERE IN ANCIENT TIMES THE ARIANS, AND NOW THE ARMINIANS. . . .").

RELIGIOUS EXERCISES[19] INCLUDE A CONFESSION OF FAITH, TWELVE RELIGIOUS MEDITATIONS, FOUR PRAYERS, AND THE TRANSLATION OF SEVEN PSALMS INTO ENGLISH VERSE. THERE IS NOTHING ABOUT ANY OF THESE EXERCISES WHICH SHEDS ANY PARTICULAR LIGHT ON BACON'S FAITH. PROBABLY THE MOST IMPORTANT THING ABOUT THEM IS THAT THEY WERE WRITTEN AT ALL. THE "CONFESSION" (EIGHT PAGES) IS BASICALLY AN EXPANSION OF A FEW SECTIONS OF THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER, NOTABLY THE APOSTLES' CREED, THE ATHANASIAN CREED, AND THE CATHECHISM. THE "MEDITATIONS" (PUBLISHED IN 1597) WERE PROBABLY WRITTEN TO THICKEN THE FIRST EDITION OF THE ESSAYS, WITH WHICH THEY WERE PUBLISHED. THERE IS NOTHING ESPECIALLY DISTINCTIVE ABOUT THESE WORKS; DOCTRINALLY, THEY ARE INNOCUOUS, AND MOST OF THEM WERE LATER EXPANDED IN OTHER WORKS: FOR EXAMPLE, "OF ATHEISM" WAS ORIGINALLY ONE OF THE "MEDITATIONS." OF THE FOUR PRAYERS, ONLY THE ONE WRITTEN DIRECTLY AFTER BACON'S FALL (1621) IS OF ANY GENUINE INTEREST. IT IS A TOUCHING APPEAL TO GOD TO COMFORT A MAN WHO HAS LOST ALMOST EVERYTHING HE HOLDS DEAR, AND ITS MELANCHOLY TONE KEYNOTES MUCH OF BACON'S CORRESPONDENCE WRITTEN AFTER HIS FALL.

19. THE RELIGIOUS EXERCISES ARE IN WORKS, VII, 215 FF., ALONG WITH SPEDDING'S DISCUSSION. THE "RELIGIOUS PARADOXES" LISTED AMONG THE EXERCISES WERE NOT, SPEDDING LEARNED, WRITTEN BY BACON. SEE WORKS, XIII, 128 FF. FOR HIS EXPLANATION.

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IT IS NOT KNOWN WHAT MOTIVATED BACON TO TRANSLATE (FROM LATIN) A FEW OF THE PSALMS, BUT SPEDDING'S CONJECTURE THAT HE NEEDED THE MONEY IS NO DOUBT THE MOST SENSIBLE SUGGESTION. THESE TRANSLATIONS WERE FIRST PUBLISHED IN 1624 AND WERE DEDICATED TO GEORGE HERBERT. THERE WAS AT ONE TIME A MILD CONTROVERSY OVER THESE TRANSLATIONS (CONCERNING WHY BACON MADE THEM) BUT THEY ARE OF INTEREST ONLY BECAUSE THEY ENABLE US TO SEE BACON WORKING WITH VERSE. HERE AND THERE IS A HAPPY LINE, BUT AS MARY STURT HAS SAID, THESE PIECES ARE USEFUL PRIMARILY AS PROOF THAT BACON DID NOT WRITE SHAKESPEARE'S PLAYS.[20]

BACON'S APOLOGIES FOR LEARNING CAN BE FOUND THROUGHOUT HIS PHILOSOPHICAL WORKS, BUT IT IS IN THE FIRST BOOK OF THE ADVANCEMENT OF LEARNING AND IN THE COMPLEX PREFATORY MACHINERY TO THE GREAT INSTAURATION THAT ONE WILL FIND THE FULLEST TREATMENT. I DO NOT WISH TO MINIMIZE THE VALUE OF THESE APOLOGIES AS A KEY TO OUR UNDERSTANDING OF BACON'S DEEPEST CONVICTIONS ABOUT FAITH AND LEARNING, BUT AS I SAID ABOVE, THE MOTIVES BEHIND BACON'S VINDICATION OF THE NEW PHILOSOPHY CANNOT BE DISCOVERED BY RUBBING ONE APOLOGY AGAINST ANOTHER. BACON TOOK GREAT CARE TO MAKE HIS VINDICATIONS INTERNALLY IMPREGNABLE, AND MY OWN OPINION IS THAT AN HONEST EVALUATION OF THE SINCERITY OF THESE WORKS--IF

20. FRANCIS BACON (LONDON, KEGAN PAUL, 1932), P. XV.

THAT IS WHAT WE ARE LOOKING FOR--CANNOT PROCEED BEYOND BACON'S CAREFUL RETICENCE UNLESS WE APPROACH THEM FROM HIS OTHER RELEVANT REFLECTIONS. ACTUALLY BACON DOES NOT ATTEMPT TO RECONCILE SCIENCE AND RELIGION; RATHER, HE ASSERTS, IN A HUNDRED DIFFERENT WAYS THAT THERE IS NO CONFLICT IN THE FIRST PLACE. AND ULTIMATELY WE ARE FORCED TO TAKE HIS WORD FOR THIS PROPOSITION OR TO WRITE OUR OWN APOLOGIES.

THE THIRD TYPE OF RELIGIOUS WRITINGS INCLUDES ALL OF THOSE WORKS (PHILOSOPHICAL AND LITERARY) WHICH ARE INEXTRICABLY INVOLVED IN THE MATTERS OF FAITH. NOTABLE AMONG THESE WORKS ARE BACON'S THEORY OF THE HEAVENS, HIS DISCUSSION OF THE SOUL, OF DEATH, OF GOOD AND EVIL, OF THE HISTORY OF THEOLOGY (WHAT WORK NEEDS TO BE DONE), OF THE SUFFICIENCY OF THE SCRIPTURES, OF SUPERSTITION, HERESY, MIRACLES, PROPHECIES, PROVIDENCE, THE FALL, WITCHCRAFT, ASTROLOGY, FORTUNE, MUTABILITY, FECUNDITY, PLENITUDE, ORGINS, AND ATHEISM. IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO CHARACTERIZE THESE WORKS, FOR THEY APPEAR IN MANY DIFFERENT GUISES AND ARE SUSCEPTIBLE TO MANY KINDS OF SCHOLARLY APPROACHES. BUT ONE WILL FIND--AND THIS IS PRECISELY WHAT SHOULD BE EXPECTED--THAT BACON CONSISTENTLY AVOIDS ANY DISCUSSION WHICH TENDS TO TRESPASS ON THE POSTED GROUNDS OF DIVINITY. WHEN HE APPROACHES THIS FORBIDDEN AREA, HE WILL CUSTOMARILY SAY ". . . IF I PROCEED TO TREAT [SUCH] I SHALL STEP OUT OF THE BARK OF HUMAN REASON, AND ENTER THE SHIP OF THE CHURCH; WHICH IS ONLY ABLE

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BY DIVINE COMPASS TO RIGHTLY DIRECT ITS COURSE."[21] ORDINARILY, WHEN BACON DISCUSSES THE MYSTERIES OF THEOLOGY, FOR EXAMPLE WHEN HE TREATS PROPHECIES AND MIRACLES, HE IS ATTEMPTING TO SUGGEST MEASURES WHEREBY SUPERSTITION MAY BE SEPARATED FROM CHRISTIAN TRUTH. THESE MEASURES ARE PURELY EMPIRICAL; THAT IS, BACON'S ADVICE IS THAT MEN SHOULD STUDY THE FACTS WHICH CAN BE OBTAINED ABOUT THESE PHENOMENA. LIKE MOST MEN OF HIS AGE, HE WAS SOMEWHAT OVERWHELMED WITH THE WONDER AND INCONSISTENCY OF NATURE, AND HE WAS FAR FROM FREE OF THE CONVICTION THAT THERE WERE EVIL SPIRITS LOOSE UPON THE EARTH. HE WAS WORKING TOWARD THE REJECTION OF MUCH OF THE SUPERNATURAL, BUT HE STILL HESITATED TO DENY THE SUPERNATURAL ALTOGETHER. HIS HESITANCY CAN BE SEEN IN A SHORT PASSAGE FROM BOOK II OF THE DE AUGMENTIS SCIENTIARUM:

> NEITHER AM I OF OPINION OF THIS HISTORY OF MARVELS, THAT SUPERSTITIOUS NARRATIVES OF SORCERIES, WITCHCRAFTS, CHARMS, DREAMS, DIVINATIONS, AND THE LIKE, WHERE THERE IS AN ASSURANCE AND CLEAR EVIDENCE OF THE FACT, SHOULD BE ALTOGETHER EXCLUDED. FOR IT IS NOT KNOWN IN WHAT CASES, AND HOW FAR, EFFECTS ATTRIBUTED TO SUPERSTITION PARTICIPATE OF NATURAL CAUSES. . . .[22]

HE WAS ATTEMPTING TO FIND RATIONAL EXPLANATIONS OF MANY ASPECTS OF THE SUPERNATURAL, BUT HE WAS RESERVING MANY OF HIS OWN CONCLUSIONS UNTIL THE SCIENTIFIC TABULATION WAS COMPLETE.

21. WORKS, V, 112.

22. WORKS, IV, 296.

AS WE SHALL NOTICE FROM TIME TO TIME IN THIS STUDY, BACON COULD SPEAK OF PROVIDENCE IN TERMS WHICH WOULD SUGGEST THAT GOD HAD TAKEN AN APARTMENT IN LONDON AND HAD BEEN DIRECTING THE AFFAIRS OF ENGLAND PERSONALLY SINCE THE ACCESSION OF ELIZABETH. MANY TIMES HE RECOGNIZES THE WORKINGS OF PROVIDENCE, AS HE DOES FOR EXAMPLE IN HIS "CONFESSION":

> THAT NOTWITHSTANDING GOD HATH RESTED AND CEASED FROM CREATING SINCE THE FIRST SABBATH, YET NEVERTHELESS HE DOTH ACCOMPLISH AND FULFIL HIS DIVINE WILL IN ALL THINGS GREAT AND SMALL, SINGULAR AND GENERAL, AS FULLY AND EXACTLY BY PROVIDENCE, AS HE COULD BY MIRACLE AND NEW CREATION, THOUGH HIS WORKING BE NOT IMMEDIATE AND DIRECT, BUT BY COMPASS; NOT VIOLATING NATURE, WHICH IS HIS OWN LAW UPON THE CREATURE.[23]

GOD CAN WORK "IMMEDIATE AND DIRECT" TOO WHEN BACON WISHES TO DEFEND ENGLAND AGAINST THE SCOURGE OF CATHOLICISM, BUT I THINK THAT HIS REMARKS ON PROVIDENCE ARE, PRIMARILY, REFLEX ACTIONS. I FIND PROFESSOR BURY'S RELEVANT COMMENT THOROUGHLY ACCEPTABLE:

> . . . WE MUST REMEMBER THAT BY BACON, AS BY MOST OF HIS ELIZABETHAN CONTEMPORARIES, THE DOCTRINE OF AN ACTIVE INTERVENING PROVIDENCE, THE PROVIDENCE OF AUGUSTINE, WAS TAKEN AS A MATTER OF COURSE, AND GOVERNED MORE OR LESS THEIR CONCEPTION OF THE HISTORY OF CIVILISATION. BUT, I THINK, WE MAY SAY THAT BACON, WHILE HE FORMALLY ACKNOWLEDGED IT, DID NOT PRESS IT OR EMPHASISE IT.[24]

23. WORKS, VII, 221.

24. THE IDEA OF PROGRESS (NEW YORK, MACMILLAN CO., 1932). MY REFERENCE IS TO THE DOVER EDITION (NEW YORK, 1955), P. 59.

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AS A MATTER OF FACT BACON DID NOT PRESS OR EMPHASIZE ANY OF THE ABSTRACT ISSUES WHICH HAD OCCUPIED CHRISTIAN INTELLECTUALS FOR CENTURIES. HIS DISCUSSION OF THE SOUL IS PERHAPS HIS MOST FLAGRANT VIOLATION OF THE CHASTITY OF DIVINITY, BUT A MAJOR THESIS OF THIS SHORT ESSAY IS THAT THE RATIONAL SOUL (THE BREATH OF LIFE) IS A UNIQUE GIFT GIVEN MAN ALONE AND THAT ITS MYSTERIES CANNOT BE FATHOMED BY MORTALS.[25] BACON'S REACTIONARY VIEW OF THE HEAVENS--HIS REJECTION OF COPERNICANISM AND HIS VERY INTERESTING RECOIL UPON THE GEOCENTRIC UNIVERSE--[26] IS IN NO WAY A PRODUCT OF THEOLOGICAL PRECONCEPTIONS. BACON SIMPLY THOUGHT COPERNICUS HAD MADE A GROSS ERROR IN CALCULATION. HIS OWN DEVOUT WISH WAS THAT MEN WOULD PRETEND NOTHING HAD EVER BEEN LEARNED ABOUT THE HEAVENS; THEN THEY COULD BEGIN THEIR STUDIES OF THE STARS FREE FROM THE BURDENS OF PREJUDICE.

IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE TO GO ON MULTIPLYING EXAMPLES OF THE MANY CUL-DE-SACS ONE FINDS IN THIS THIRD DIVISION OF BACON'S RELIGIOUS WRITINGS, BUT MY POINT IS THAT THESE

25. SEE WORKS, IV, 396-404 FOR BACON'S DISCUSSION OF THE SOUL. HE SUBSCRIBED TO THE DUAL THEORY OF THE SOUL ADVANCED BY TELESIUS. ANDERSON SAYS THAT BACON COULD NOT MAKE HIS SEPARATION OF THEOLOGY AND PHYSICS COMPLETE WITHOUT THE NOTION THAT THE SENSIBLE SOUL WAS "PURELY PHYSICAL." THE PHILOSOPHY OF FRANCIS BACON (UNIV. OF CHICAGO PRESS, 1948), P. 138.

26. SEE ESPECIALLY, WORKS, V, 511-24.

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TREATISES ARE NECESSARILY CAUTIOUS. AFTER ALL, THE WHOLE STRUCTURE OF HIS APOLOGY FOR LEARNING WOULD HAVE COLLAPSED IF IN HIS OWN WORKS BACON HAD INCROACHED UPON THE DISCIPLINES OF SACRED DIVINITY. ADDITIONALLY, IN THE PHILOSOPHICAL WORKS, WHICH WERE DESIGNED FOR INTERNATIONAL CONSUMPTION, IT WAS NECESSARY THAT BACON AVOID ALL DISCUSSIONS OF THEOLOGY OR RELIGIOUS AFFILIATIONS WHICH MIGHT IN ANY WAY ALIENATE HIS AUDIENCE. TO AVOID THIS VERY POSSIBILITY, WHEN HE TRANSLATED THE FIRST TWO BOOKS OF THE ADVANCEMENT OF LEARNING INTO LATIN AND EXPANDED THAT WORK, HE DELETED SECTIONS WHICH IN THE ENGLISH VERSION WERE POTENTIALLY OFFENSIVE TO THE CATHOLICS.

THIS BRINGS US TO THE RELIGIO-POLITICAL WRITINGS. THEY CAN BE FOUND IN ONE FORM OR ANOTHER IN EVERY CORNER OF THE BACON CANON, BUT THE MOST IMPORTANT PIECES ARE IN THE OCCASIONAL WORKS.[27] IT MUST BE REMEMBERED THAT BACON'S FIRST

27. IN THE SPEDDING-ELLIS-HEATH EDITION, BACON'S WORKS ARE SEPARATED INTO FOUR CATEGORIES: THE PHILOSOPHICAL, THE LITERARY, THE PROFESSIONAL, AND THE OCCASIONAL. THE PHILOSOPHICAL WORKS INCLUDE ALL OF THOSE PIECES DESIGNED TO AUGMENT THE ADVANCEMENT OF LEARNING: THE ADVANCEMENT ITSELF, THE NOVUM ORGANUM, ETC. THE LITERARY WORKS ARE THOSE PIECES DESIGNED FOR ETERNITY BUT NOT INCLUDED IN THE PHILOSOPHICAL FRAMEWORK PROPER: FOR EXAMPLE, THE ESSAYS AND THE HISTORY OF HENRY VII. THE PROFESSIONAL WORKS--OF WHICH THERE ARE NOT MANY--ARE BACON'S FRAGMENTARY TREATISES ON LAW. THE OCCASIONAL WORKS INCLUDE ALL OF BACON'S PERSONAL LETTERS AND ALL OF THOSE WORKS WHICH WERE WRITTEN TO MEET THE NEEDS OF A PARTICULAR SITUATION (USUALLY POLITICAL). SOME OF THESE PIECES WERE PUBLISHED IN BACON'S LIFETIME, BUT MOST DID NOT APPEAR UNTIL AFTER

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LOVE WAS NOT LEARNING, BUT LIFE--THE EXCITING LIFE OF THE ENGLISH COURT AND GOVERNMENT. HIS ATTRACTION TO THIS LIFE WAS PART OF HIS HERITAGE. HIS FATHER, NICHOLAS BACON (1509-1579), WAS ELIZABETH'S LORD KEEPER, A PROFESSIONAL STATESMAN AND CLOSE FRIEND OF WILLIAM CECIL, ELIZABETH'S GREAT COUNSELLOR. IT WAS SIR NICHOLAS, IN FACT, WHO WAS GIVEN THE AWESOME TASK OF TELLING THE ENGLISH PARLIAMENT THAT THE BEAUTIFUL YOUNG QUEEN HAD DECIDED THE ENGLISH GOD WOULD AGAIN BE PROTESTANT. LADY ANNE, BACON'S MOTHER, WAS NO NONENTITY HERSELF. SHE WAS THE SISTER-IN-LAW OF CECIL, A LADY OF MANY ACCOMPLISHMENTS WHO TRANSLATED JEWEL'S APOLOGIA ECCLESIAE ANGICANAE (1662) INTO ENGLISH--AND THEN WENT ON TO BECOME A RAVING PURITAN FANATIC.[28] ALTHOUGH BACON WAS CONSTANTLY FRUSTRATED IN HIS ATTEMPT TO PROCURE A POSITION IN ELIZABETH'S GOVERNMENT, HE WAS NEVER FAR

HIS DEATH. IT WAS BACON'S HABIT TO PRESERVE COPIES OF HIS OCCASIONAL REMARKS (INCLUDING PERSONAL LETTERS) WHICH HE THOUGHT PARTICULARLY VALUABLE. HIS OWN WORK WAS SUPPLEMENTED BY DR. RAWLEY, HIS CHAPLAIN, WHO, AFTER BACON'S DEATH PUBLISHED MANY OF THESE WORKS. SPEDDING'S OWN EFFORTS WERE VALUABLE BEYOND COMPUTATION.

28. LADY BACON'S EXTANT LETTERS (SEE ESPECIALLY WORKS, VIII) ARE TRULY REMARKABLE. APPARENTLY WHEN LADY ANNE DIED (1610) SHE HAD LOST ALL CONTACT WITH REALITY, AND WE SEE IN THESE LETTERS THAT THE WORLD WAS ALWAYS TOO MUCH WITH HER. SHE HATED CATHOLICISM WITH A BOUNDLESS PASSION AND CONSTANTLY FEARED THAT HER TWO SONS, ANTHONY AND FRANCIS, WERE IN THE PATH OF THE DEVIL. BUT I SUSPECT BACON'S ATTITUDE TOWARD HIS MOTHER'S FAITH IS COMPREHENDED IN A PHRASE HE USED IN DESCRIBING HENRY VII'S RELATIONSHIP WITH HIS MOTHER: "HIS MOTHER HE REVERENCED MUCH, HEARD LITTLE." WORKS, VI, 240.

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FROM THE BUSINESS OF NATIONAL LIFE. IN 1584 HE TOOK A SEAT IN PARLIAMENT FOR MALCOMBE REGIS IN DORTSETSHIRE, AND FROM THAT TIME UNTIL HE GAINED THE PATRONAGE OF JAMES AND ADVANCED TO THE OFFICE OF LORD CHANCELLOR, HE WAS NEVER FAR FROM NATIONAL POLITICS. SEVERAL OF HIS MOST IMPORTANT RELIGIO-POLITICAL TRACTS ARE IN A VERY REAL SENSE PRODUCTS OF HIS FRUSTRATIONS DURING THE REIGNS OF ELIZABETH AND JAMES; THAT IS, THEY WERE WRITTEN AS SELF-ADVERTIZEMENTS WHEN BACON WAS EITHER OUT OF FAVOR OR WHEN HE WAS SIMPLY BEING IGNORED. BUT HIS ADVICE ALWAYS MANAGES TO TRANSCEND HIS MOTIVES. HIS INTIMATE ACQUAINTANCE WITH NATIONAL AFFAIRS, HIS FAMILY BACKGROUND, AND HIS INNATE SAGACITY MADE BACON A VALUABLE COUNSELLOR.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE RELIGIO-POLITICAL OBSERVATIONS TO OUR UNDERSTANDING OF BACON'S FAITH WILL BE IMMEDIATELY PERCEIVED. LIKE THE OTHER WRITINGS THEY ARE DISTURBINGLY REMOTE AND INCONCLUSIVE, DISTURBINGLY COLD AND OBJECTIVE, BUT THEY CONTAIN REFLECTIONS WHICH BRING US AT LEAST TO THE OUTSKIRTS OF BACON'S FAITH: THEY TELL US WHAT HE THOUGHT ABOUT PURITANISM AND CATHOLICISM AND GIVE US A FAIR INDICATION OF HIS ATTITUDE TOWARD THE PROPER FUNCTIONING OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND. THEY TELL US WHAT HE THOUGHT ABOUT RELIGIOUS WARS, AND THEY GIVE US RELIABLE INFORMATION ON HIS ATTITUDE TOWARD THE CLERICAL TEMPERAMENT IN GENERAL.

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NO ATTEMPT TO ORGANIZE THESE WORKS CAN BE COMPLETELY SUCCESSFUL, BUT I TRUST THAT MY ARRANGEMENT WILL BE REASONABLY SATISFACTORY. IN CHAPTER II I HAVE DISCUSSED THE BACKGROUND OF BACON'S RELIGIO-POLITICAL THOUGHT AND HAVE OUTLINED THE MAJOR FEATURES OF HIS IDEA OF THE STATE. CHAPTER III CONTAINS A DETAILED ANALYSIS OF BACON'S LENGTHIEST TRACT ON RELIGIOUS CONTROVERSIES, A TRACT WHICH IS HIS FIRST IMPORTANT ATTEMPT TO ARBITRATE THE DEBATE BETWEEN THE PURITANS AND HIGH CHURCHMEN. CHAPTER IV IS BUILT AROUND A WORK WHICH IS BACON'S FULLEST TREATMENT OF THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND. ADDITIONALLY, I HAVE INCLUDED IN THIS CHAPTER THE BODY OF BACON'S OTHER OBSERVATIONS ON PURITANISM AND THE CHURCH WRITTEN DURING THE REIGN OF JAMES. A FEW MISCELLANEOUS ITEMS ARE INCLUDED ALSO, AND IT IS IN THIS CHAPTER THAT I HAVE REVIEWED THE MAJOR SCHOLARSHIP ON BACON'S ECCLESIASTICAL POLITY. IN CHAPTERS V AND VI I HAVE REVIEWED ALL OF BACON'S IMPORTANT REFLECTIONS ON CATHOLICISM. THESE WORKS RANGE ALL THE WAY FROM AN ADVERTIZEMENT OF ENGLISH PROTESTANT PROSPERITY TO LEGALISTIC COMMENTS ON JESUIT STATECRAFT. CHAPTER VII IS A DISCUSSION OF BACON'S IDEA OF RELIGIOUS WARS, AN IDEA WHICH WAS ONLY PARTIALLY FORMED BUT ONE WHICH COULD NOT BE OVERLOOKED IN THIS STUDY. IN CHAPTER VIII, THE CONCLUSION, I HAVE REVIEWED THE RELIGIO-POLITICAL STRUCTURE OF THE <u>NEW ATLANTIS</u>.

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IT IS NECESSARY TO SAY IN THIS INTRODUCTION THAT BACON DID NOT MAKE A SIGNIFICANT CONTRIBUTION TO THE RELIGIO-POLITICAL THOUGHT OF HIS DAY. THE MAJOR SCHOLARSHIP ON HIS ECCLESIASTICAL POLITY STRESSES BACON'S MODERATION AND OBJECTIVITY AND LAUDS HIS PERCEPTIONS BUT DOES NOT CREDIT HIM WITH ANY SIGNIFICANT ACHIEVEMENT IN THE DIALOGUE OF CHURCH AND STATE. HIS TRACTS WERE IN DEMAND LATER BY THE ROYALISTS NOT BECAUSE THEY CONTAINED IDEAS THAT WERE NEW BUT BECAUSE THEY WERE WRITTEN BY A GREAT MAN WHO WAS ALSO A GREAT WRITER. REDUCED TO THEIR MAJOR PREMISES, BACON'S ARGUMENTS ARE CUSTOMARILY THE COMMONPLACES OF HIS DAY, BUT BACON HAD A WAY WITH COMMONPLACE WHICH FEW MEN HAVE POSSESSED. WHAT HE SAYS IS FREQUENTLY FAR LESS IMPORTANT THAN HOW HE SAYS IT--WHICH IS TRUE OF MANY OF BACON'S WORKS--AND I HAVE ATTEMPTED TO PROVIDE A GENEROUS SAMPLING OF HIS OBSERVATIONS WITHOUT BEING, I HOPE, BURDENSOMELY PHOTOGRAPHIC. BACON'S MASTERY OF THE DEVICES OF RELIGIOUS PROPAGANDA IS, I THINK, WELL WORTH OBSERVING AT FIRST HAND.

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CHAPTER II

BACON'S IDEA OF THE STATE

I. THE GENERAL BACKGROUND

FOR OUR PURPOSES THE MOST SATISFACTORY WAY TO APPROACH BACON'S IDEA OF THE STATE IS TO SHOW ITS RELATIONSHIP TO CERTAIN OF THE MAJOR RELIGIO-POLITICAL IDEAS WHICH RICHARD HOOKER REVIEWED AND EVOLVED IN HIS MAJESTIC *LAWS OF ECCLESIASTICAL POLICY*, A WORK WHICH WAS THE CULMINATION OF MANY ATTEMPTS TO JUSTIFY ON BOTH A NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL LEVEL THE EXISTENCE AND FORM OF THE ENGLISH CHURCH.

FOR A REMARKABLE NUMBER OF YEARS, IF ONE REFLECTS ON THE TURBULENT NATURE OF MANY REFORMED FAITHS, THE ENGLISH CHURCH WAS ABLE TO DIRECT ITS ENERGIES PRIMARILY AGAINST EXTERNAL FORCES, PARTICULARLY AGAINST WHAT IT CONSIDERED TO BE THE SPIRITUAL ERRORS OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH ITSELF AND AGAINST THE POLITICAL POLICIES OF INDIVIDUAL CATHOLIC STATES. TO SPAIN IN PARTICULAR THE ENGLISHMAN COULD LOOK WITH A BRAND OF RIGHTEOUS INDIGNATION WHICH WENT A LONG WAY TOWARD VINDICATING HIS OWN REFORMATION. IN 1562, WHEN ELIZABETH'S ESTABLISHMENT RECEIVED ITS FIRST FORMAL DEFENSE IN JEWEL'S *APOLOGIA ECCLESIAE ANGLICANAE*, THE CHURCH COULD OBVIOUSLY RELY HEAVILY UPON ANTI-CATHOLIC FEELING TO FORM ITS APOLOGETIC.

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JEWEL ATTACKED ROME WITH AN ABANDON WHICH SUGGESTED THAT EVERY SOUL IN ENGLAND WAS UNITED BEHIND THE PROTESTANT ELIZABETH. ENGLAND, HE SAID, WAS CONDUCTING A SENSIBLE REFORMATION AND WAS NOT HARBORING FANATICS: "INDEED WE GRANT THAT CERTAIN NEW AND VERY STRANGE SECTS, AS THE ANABAPTISTS, LIBERTINES, MEMONIANS, AND ZUENCKFELDIANS, HAVE BEEN STIRRING IN THE WORLD EVER SINCE THE GOSPEL DID FIRST SPRING. BUT THE WORLD SEETH NOW RIGHT WELL (THANKS BE GIVEN TO OUR GOD) THAT WE NEITHER HAVE BRED NOR TAUGHT, NOR KEPT UP THESE MONSTERS."[1]

THE SUPREME MONSTER, THE MONSTER WITH SEVEN HEADS, WAS IN ROME--WHERE IT HAD ALWAYS BEEN, SPEWING OUT ITS FILTH, MURDERING, SPENDING, WHORING:

> I TRUST HE [THE POPE, PIUS IV] HATH NOT FORGOTTEN THERE BE MANY THOUSANDS OF COMMON HARLOTS IN ROME; AND THAT HIMSELF DOTH GATHER YEARLY THE SAME HARLOTS UPON A THIRTY THOUSAND DUCATS, BY THE WAY OF ANNUAL PENSION. NEITHER CAN WE FORGET HOW HIMSELF DOTH MAINTAIN OPENLY BROTHEL HOUSES, AND BY A MOST FILTHY LUCRE DOTH FILTHILY AND LEWDLY SERVE HIS OWN LUST. WERE ALL THINGS THEN PURE AND HOLY IN ROME, WHEN JOANE A WOMAN, RATHER OF PERFECT AGE THAN OF PERFECT LIFE, WAS POPE THERE, AND BARE HERSELF AS THE HEAD OF THE CHURCH; AND AFTER THAT FOR TWO WHOLE YEARS IN THAT HOLY SEE SHE HAD PLAYED THE NAUGHTY PACK, AT LAST

1. MY REFERENCES ARE TO THE WORKS OF JOHN JEWEL, EDITED FOR THE PARKER SOCIETY BY JOHN AYRE (CAMBRIDGE UNIV. PRESS, 1848), VOL. III, 67. IT IS INTERESTING THAT BACON'S MOTHER, LADY ANNE, MADE THE ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF THE APOLOGIA (IN 1564). IN THE PARKER SOCIETY EDITION HER TRANSLATION IS ACCOMPANIED BY ARCHBISHOP PARKER'S LETTER OF COMMENDATION.

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[2] Ibid., III, 71-

> GOING IN PROCESSION ABOUT THE CITY, IN THE SIGHT OF ALL THE CARDINALS AND BISHOPS, FELL IN TRAVAIL OPENLY IN THE STREETS? . . . . .
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> THEY HAVE PUT TO DEATH INFINITE NUMBERS OF OUR BRETHERN ONLY BECAUSE THEY BELIEVED TRULY AND SINCERELY IN JESU CHRIST. BUT OF THAT GREAT AND FOUL NUMBER OF HARLOTS, FORNICATORS, ADULTERERS, WHAT ONE HAVE THEY AT ANY TIME (I SAY NOT KILLED, BUT) EITHER EXCOMMUNICATE, OR ONCE ATTACHED? WHY, VOLUPTUOUSNESS, ADULTERY, RIBALDRY, WHOREDOM, MURDERING OF KIN, INCEST, AND OTHER SIN, OUGHT CHRIST'S VICAR, PETER'S SUCCESSOR, THE MOST HOLY FATHER, SO LIGHTLY AND SLIGHTLY BEAR THEM, AS THOUGH THEY WERE NO SIN, AND THAT IN THE CITY OF ROME, AND IN THAT PRINCIPAL TOWER OF HOLINESS?[2]

THESE HEATED LINES SUGGEST THAT THE ENGLISHMAN COULD BE CALLED UPON TO RALLY BEHIND VICIOUS ATTACKS ON ROME, BUT THE DISTINCTLY POLITICAL ORIGIN OF HENRY'S REFORMATION CARRIED WITH IT A QUESTION OF THE HIGHEST ORDER: IF IT HAD ONCE BEEN GRANTED THAT THERE WAS AN IMPERFECTION IN THE CHURCH OF CHRIST WHICH COULD BE PURGED BY LEGISLATION, DID IT NOT FOLLOW THAT OTHER IMPERFECTIONS MIGHT BE CORRECTED IN THE SAME WAY? WITHIN TEN YEARS AFTER THE APPEARANCE OF JEWEL'S *APOLOGIA* THE QUEEN AND HER CHURCHMEN WERE CALLED UPON TO DEFEND THE INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE ESTABLISHMENT AGAINST THE CLAIMS OF THEIR OWN PROTESTANT COUNTRYMEN. IN JUNE OF 1572 THERE APPEARED *AN ADMONITION TO THE PARLIAMENT*, THE FIRST PRODUCT OF WHAT CAME TO BE KNOWN AS

2. *IBID.*, III, 71-72.

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[2] W. J. K. BROOK,
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THE ADMONITION CONTROVERSY.[3] THE PAMPHLET, COMPOSED BY A SMALL NUMBER OF PURITANS, MARKED AN IMPORTANT JUNCTURE IN THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH. THE ADMONITIONERS, THOUGH NOT SEPARATISTS, MADE AN EMOTIONAL APPEAL TO PARLIAMENT TO SPONSOR A VAST REFORM IN CHURCH GOVERNMENT AND DISCIPLINE. ALL OF THE OLD COMPLAINTS ABOUT VESTMENT (VOICED IN THE VESTARIAN CONTROVERSY OF 1560) WERE REVIEWED BUT WERE OVERSHADOWED BY A WISH TO SEE THE EPISCOPACY ABOLISHED AND REPLACED BY A PRESBYTERIAN GOVERNMENT FASHIONED ALONG THE LINES OF THE BEST EXAMPLES OF CONTINENTAL CHURCHES. MINISTERS WERE TO BE "CALLED" BY GOD TO THEIR OFFICES, NOT ELECTED POLITICALLY; THEY WERE TO BE PREACHERS, NOT "DUMB READERS," AND THEY WERE TO SHARE ECCLESIASTICAL EQUALITY. A WHOLE HOST OF ROMISH RELICS WERE TO BE DISCARDED, AND TWENTY-TWO OBJECTIONS TO THE PRAYER BOOK WERE TO BE CONSIDERED.[4]

3. D. J. MCGINN, THE ADMONITION CONTROVERSY (NEW JERSEY, RUTGERS UNIV. PRESS, 1949). THE MAJOR DOCUMENTS IN THE CONTROVERSY, IN ADDITION TO THE FIRST ADMONITION (THE ONE ABOVE), WERE THE SECOND ADMONITION TO PARLIAMENT (LATE IN 1572), WHITGIFT'S ANSWER TO THE ADMONITION (1573), CARTWRIGHT'S REPLY TO WHITGIFT'S ANSWER (1574), AND WHITGIFT'S MASSIVE DEFENSIVE OF HIS ANSWER (1574). CARTWRIGHT WROTE A REPLY TO WHITGIFT'S DEFENSE OF HIS ANSWER, BUT WHITGIFT DID NOT ANSWER THIS REPLY, A FACT WHICH THE PURITANS LIKED TO INTERPRET AS A CONCESSION. ONE WONDERS, AFTER READING WHITGIFT'S DEFENSE WHAT MORE THERE WAS TO SAY.

4. V. J. K. BROOK, WHITGIFT AND THE ENGLISH CHURCH (LONDON, ENGLISH UNIVERSITIES PRESS, 1957), PP. 37-39.

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THOMAS CARTWRIGHT, WHO HAD ALREADY BEEN CENSURED FOR HIS OUTSPOKEN CONDEMNATION OF CHURCH PRACTICES, SOON BECAME THE PURITAN FIGURE-HEAD IN THE CONTROVERSY. WHEN HE HAD FINISHED STATING HIS CASE--WITH ZEAL, FREQUENT SCURRILITY, AND A KIND OF PIOUS EGOTISM WHICH ONE CANNOT REALLY FORGIVE--THE ESTABLISHMENT WAS LEFT WITH LITTLE CLAIM TO CHRISTIAN RESPECTABILITY. FOR OUR PURPOSES IT IS ESPECIALLY IMPORTANT TO OBSERVE THAT HE HAD SPOKEN VEHEMENTLY AGAINST DOMINATION OF THE CHURCH BY THE STATE ON THE GROUNDS THAT THE COMMUNITY OF THE INSPIRED COULD NOT HAVE ITS SPIRITUAL LIFE LEGISLATED BY THE SECULAR GOVERNMENT. FOR THE CIVIL GOVERNMENT TO PRESCRIBE A FORM OF WORSHIP WAS EQUIVALENT TO INSISTING THAT A MAN BUILD HIS HOUSE AROUND HIS DRAPES:

> AND HERE COMETH TO MY MIND THAT WHEREWITH THE WORLD IS NOW DECEIVED, AND WHEREWITH M. DOCTOR [I.E., WHITGIFT] GOETH ABOUT BOTH TO DECEIVE HIMSELF AND OTHERS TOO, IN THAT HE THINKETH THAT THE CHURCH MUST BE FRAMED ACCORDING TO THE COMMONWEALTH, AND THE CHURCH-GOVERNMENT ACCORDING TO THE CIVIL GOVERNMENT, WHICH IS AS MUCH TO SAY AS IF A MAN SHOULD FASHION HIS HOUSE ACCORDING TO HIS HANGINGS, WHEN AS IN DEED IT IS CLEAN CONTRARY, THAT, AS THE HANGINGS ARE MADE FIT FOR THE HOUSE, SO THE COMMONWEALTH MUST BE MADE TO AGREE WITH THE CHURCH, AND THE GOVERNMENT THEREOF WITH HER GOVERNMENT. . . . OTHERWISE GOD IS MADE TO GIVE PLACE TO MEN, HEAVEN TO EARTH. . . .[5]

5. QUOTED FROM THE WORKS OF JOHN WHITGIFT, EDITED BY JOHN AYRE FOR THE PARKER SOCIETY (CAMBRIDGE UNIV. PRESS, 1851, 1852, 1853, 3 VOLS.), III, 189. WITH THE EXCEPTION OF ABOUT HALF OF THE THIRD VOLUME THIS EDITION CONTAINS WHITGIFT'S DEFENSE OF HIS ANSWER. IN HIS DEFENSE WHITGIFT PRESENTS THE TEXTS OF THE MAJOR

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CARTWRIGHT HAD GONE EVEN FURTHER THAN THIS, DEMOTING, IN LANGUAGE WHICH ELIZABETH COULD NEVER TOLERATE, THE CIVIL MAGISTRATE TO THE ROLE OF CUSTODIAL SERVANT TO THE REFORMED FAITH. TO BE SURE, HE HAD SAID, ONE OUGHT TO BE OBEDIENT TO HIS SOVEREIGN, BUT THIS OBEDIENCE APPLIED ONLY TO SECULAR AFFAIRS. IN SPIRITUAL MATTERS THE CHURCH (HIS CHURCH) WAS SUPREME: "BUT IT MUST BE REMEMBERED THAT CIVIL MAGISTRATES MUST GOVERN [THE CHURCH] ACCORDING TO THE RULES OF GOD PRESCRIBED IN HIS WORD, AND THAT AS THEY ARE NOURISES SO BE THEY SERVANTS UNTO THE CHURCH, AS THEY RULE THE CHURCH, TO SUBMIT THEIR SCEPTRES, TO THROW DOWN THEIR CROWNS, BEFORE THE CHURCH, YEA, AS THE PROPHET SPEAKETH, TO LICK THE DUST OF THE FEET OF THE CHURCH."[6] HE HASTENED TO SAY, AS WE MIGHT EXPECT, THAT HE IMPLIED NO OVERTHROW OF THE GOVERNMENT, BUT HE HAD SAID MORE THAN ENOUGH ALREADY.

JOHN WHITGIFT, WHO HAD BEEN AN IMPORTANT VOICE AT CAMBRIDGE SINCE THE 1560'S,[7] WAS SELECTED TO DEFEND THE ESTABLISHMENT, AND IT WAS HE WHO FIRST WROTE A COMPREHENSIVE DEFINITION OF THE ANGLICAN VIA MEDIA DESIGNED SPECIFICALLY TO

DOCUMENTS OF THE CONTROVERSY, WITH SPECIAL ATTENTION TO THOSE WRITTEN BY CARTWRIGHT. MCGINN (SEE NOTE 3, PAGE 26) HAS MADE A CAREFUL STUDY OF WHITGIFT'S SCHOLARSHIP AND MAINTAINS THAT THESE TEXTS ARE REPRODUCED WITH ABSOLUTE FIDELITY.

6. WHITGIFT'S WORKS, III, 189.

7. BACON ATTENDED CAMBRIDGE 1573-75, MATRICULATING WHEN HE WAS TWELVE. HE OBVIOUSLY OBSERVED THESE DEBATES AT FIRST HAND.

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ANSWER PURITAN CHARGES. WE WILL ENCOUNTER HIS REMARKS FREQUENTLY IN THIS STUDY, BUT HIS DEFENSE OF CHURCH-STATE UNITY IS PARTICULARLY RELEVANT AT THIS TIME. WHITGIFT (HE BECAME ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY IN 1583), THOUGH HE NOW SEEN IN THE SHADOW OF HOOKER, WAS NO MEAN APOLOGIST. HE WAS A SCHOLAR WHO UNDERSTOOD THEOLOGY, BUT, MORE IMPORTANT TO THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH, ONE WHO UNDERSTOOD MEN. HIS DEFENSE OF THE CHURCH, PARTICULARLY THAT SECTION WHICH DEALT WITH ITS GOVERNMENT, WAS LARGELY RATIONALISTIC AND HEAVILY UTILITARIAN. HIS MAJOR PREMISE WAS THAT THE INVISIBLE AND UNIVERSAL CHURCH OF CHRIST COULD MANIFEST ITSELF IN ANY NUMBER OF VISIBLE FORMS, WITH THE RESTRICTION THAT "ONE FAITH, ONE BAPTISM" HAD TO BE PRESERVED. HE LISTED CHURCH GOVERNMENT AMONG THOSE ASPECTS OF THE VISIBLE CHURCH WHICH WERE NOT PRESCRIBED BY SCRIPTURE BUT WHICH WERE LEFT OPEN TO THE JUDGMENT OF INDIVIDUAL SOCIETIES. IN OTHER WORDS, A NATION COULD CHOOSE THAT FORM OF CHURCH GOVERNMENT WHICH BEST SUITED ITS CIVIL STRUCTURE. BECAUSE ENGLAND WAS A MONARCHY, THE EPISCOPACY WAS THE MOST REASONABLE COMPLEMENT TO ITS GOVERNMENT.

TO ANSWER CARTWRIGHT'S CHARGE THAT THE EPISCOPACY WAS SIMPLY A LATTER-DAY MANIFESTATION OF CATHOLICISM, WHITGIFT ASSURED HIS ADVERSARY THAT THE CHURCH MADE ABSOLUTELY NO CLAIM TO INFALLIBILITY. HE WILLINGLY ADMITTED THAT MANY ITEMS ON THE PURITAN PLATFORM WERE USED IN THE TIMES OF THE

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APOSTLES AND THAT THEY WERE "CONVENIENTLY USED IN SUNDRY REFORMED CHURCHES AT THIS DAY."[8] THE ENGLISH CHURCH, HE CONTINUED, WAS NOT INCLINED TO CRITICIZE OTHER PROTESTANT CHURCHES WHICH HAD ADOPTED DISCIPLINES AND GOVERNMENTS "MOST FIT FOR THEIR ESTATES." BUT ENGLAND WAS ALSO AN ESTATE, AND "IN THESE PERILOUS DAYS" ONE HAD TO REALIZE

> THAT WE HAVE A GREAT NUMBER OF HOLLOW HEARTS WITHIN THIS REALM, THAT DAILY GAPE FOR ALTERATION OF RELIGION, AND MANY MIGHTY AND GREAT ENEMIES ABROAD, BUSILY DEVISING AND WORKING TO BRING THE SAME TO PASS, AND TO OVERTHROW THE STATE BOTH OF RELIGION AND OF THIS REALM,--WHETHER, SEEING WE HAVE A SETTLED ORDER IN DOCTRINE AND GOVERNMENT RECEIVED AND CONFIRMED BY LAW, IT MAY STAND WITH GODLY AND CHRISTIAN WISDOM, WITH DISOBEDIENCE TO THE PRINCE AND LAW AND WITH THE UNQUIETNESS OF THE CHURCH AND OFFENCE OF MANY CONSCIENCES TO BRING SUCH A GREAT ALTERATION AS THIS PLATFORM NEEDS BRING, AND THAT FOR MATTERS EXTERNAL ONLY, AND WITH SUCH EAGERNESS AND BITTERNESS, THAT THEY DEFACE AND DISCREDIT THE WHOLE STATE OF THIS CHURCH, WITH ALL THE PREACHERS ECCLESIASTICAL GOVERNORS OF THE SAME, AS REMAINING IN HORRIBLE CORRUPTIONS AND ANTI-CHRISTIAN DEFORMITIES, AND THEREBY FILL THE MOUTHS OF THE ADVERSARIES WITH GREATER MATTER OF OBLOQUY TO DEFACE THE GOSPEL THAN EVER OF THEMSELVES THEY HAD BEEN ABLE TO DEVISE.[9]

THE CHURCH WAS UNDER THE JURISDICTION OF THE STATE BECAUSE THE STATE ALONE HAD THE JUDICIAL POWER TO KEEP "HOLLOW HEARTS" IN LINE. LEFT TO THEIR OWN DEVICES, THEY WOULD DESTROY THE VERY FOUNDATION OF THE NATION. THE QUEEN WAS THE NATURAL HEAD OF THE CHURCH BECAUSE HERS WAS THE HIGHEST

8. WHITGIFT'S WORKS, I, 4-5. 9. IBID.

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LEGAL OFFICE IN THE LAND, PROTECTING AS IT DID THE WHOLE BODY OF ENGLISH LAW. A REVERSION TO THE "OLD LAW" WOULD MAKE JUSTICE A TRAVESTY.

THIS IS THE SO-CALLED ERASTIAN[10] VIEW OF CHURCH AND STATE, AND IT SERVED, IN ONE FORM OR ANOTHER, BOTH ELIZABETH AND JAMES VERY WELL. IT IS AN EXTREMELY VERSATILE POSITION BECAUSE IT ENABLES A GOVERNMENT TO MAINTAIN THAT MEN MAY DO WHATEVER THEY WISH WITH THEIR INDIVIDUAL CONSCIENCES AS LONG AS THEY DO NOT BECOME MENACES TO THE STATE. THE GOVERNMENT, IN OTHER WORDS, CAN JUSTIFY ITS RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES IN TERMS OF CIVIL OBEDIENCE. SUCH A THEORY WAS OF COURSE SUBJECT TO MANY FORMS OF ABUSE. EXECUTED WITH JUSTICE IT WAS THE MOST LIBERAL THEORY OF CHURCH AND STATE ADVANCED IN SIXTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLAND, BUT IT ALSO PROVIDED

10. I HAVE ENCOUNTERED CONSIDERABLE RELUCTANCE TO ACCEPT "ERASTIANISM" AS A DEFINITIVE TERM FOR THIS IDEA OF CHURCH AND STATE, PARTICULARLY IN ITS APPLICATION TO ENGLAND. F. J. SHIRLEY (RICHARD HOOKER AND CONTEMPORARY POLITICAL IDEAS, LONDON, CHURCH HISTORICAL SOCIETY, 1949, PP. 129-34) REFERS TO SCHOLARS WHO HAVE FELT THEY HAVE BETTER TERMS, SUCH AS "MARSILIANISM" AND "BYZANTIANISM." THE BASIC PROBLEM IS EASILY ENOUGH STATED: MANY MEN AND MANY FORCES CONTRIBUTED TO THE DEFINITION OF THE AUTHORITY OF THE ENGLISH SOVEREIGN. WHAT HE DID WITH HIS AUTHORITY, WHETHER HE USED IT IN THE NAME OF GOD OR HIMSELF, WAS ORDINARILY A MATTER OF PERSONAL EFFECTIVENESS. FOR EXAMPLE, WITHOUT THE BRUTE FORCE OF HENRY VIII THE TEACHINGS OF MARSIGLIO AND OCKHAM MIGHT HAVE MEANT LITTLE TO ENGLAND IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY. PERHAPS THE PALM SHOULD GO TO THE MAN WHO GENERATES THE IDEA, BUT I AM NOT EQUIPPED TO ANSWER THAT QUESTION.

THE HIGH CHURCHMEN WITH VAST POWERS TO SUBDUE NONCONFORMITY IN THE NAME OF NATIONAL UNITY.[11]

THE BASIC LIMITATION OF WHITGIFT'S APOLOGY WAS THAT IT DID NOT TRANSCEND WHAT MIGHT BE DESCRIBED AS A LOFTY ECCLESIASTICAL EXPEDIENCY. IT WAS BASED, THAT IS, ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT ENGLISHMEN WOULD HAVE TO AGREE THAT THE CHURCH, THOUGH ADMITTEDLY IMPERFECT, WAS AS GOOD AS IT NEEDED TO BE. FOR MANY ENGLISHMEN THIS WAS A REASONABLE POSITION, BUT THE MORE DEVOUT PURITANS WERE DISINCLINED TO SPONSOR IMPERFECTION, HOWEVER WELL IT HAPPENED TO WORK.

HOOKER'S TASK WAS, THEN, TO COMPLETE WHITGIFT'S UNFINISHED BUSINESS. IT WILL NOT BE NECESSARY, I THINK, TO TRACE IN ANY DETAIL THE EVENTS WHICH LED UP TO THE COMPOSITION OF THE LAWS OF ECCLESIASTICAL POLITY,[12] FOR THEY ALL

11. IN HIS LENGTHY STUDY OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF RELIGIOUS TOLERATION IN ENGLAND, PROFESSOR JORDAN MAINTAINS THAT IT WAS NOT UNTIL THE ENGLISH GOVERNMENT TOOK THE POSITION THAT IT WAS NOT INTERESTED IN LEGISLATING CONSCIENCE THAT RELIGIOUS TOLERATION COULD REALLY GET UNDER WAY IN ENGLAND. HE MAINTAINS THAT THE GOVERNMENT'S POSITION WAS CONSIDERABLY MORE TOLERANT THAN ANY SYSTEM WHICH THE PURITANS OR CATHOLICS MIGHT HAVE ADVANCED. W. K. JORDAN, THE DEVELOPMENT OF RELIGIOUS TOLERATION IN ENGLAND (MASS., HARVARD UNIV. PRESS, 1932, 1936, 4 VOLS.). VOL. I, WHICH COVERS THE PERIOD FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE REFORMATION TO THE DEATH OF ELIZABETH, IS BUILT AROUND THIS THEME.

12. BOOKS I-IV WERE PUBLISHED IN 1593, AND BOOK V IN 1597. BOOK VI APPEARED FIRST IN 1648, AND BOOK VIII IN 1651. BOOK VII WAS NOT PUBLISHED UNTIL 1662. I HAVE USED THE DEFINITIVE EDITION, THE WORKS OF RICHARD HOOKER, ARRANGED BY JOHN KEBLE (OXFORD, CLARENDON PRESS, SEVENTH EDITION, 1888, 3 VOLS.). THIS EDITION CONTAINS THE REVISIONS OF R. W. CHURCH AND F. PAGET, AND WALTON'S LIFE OF HOOKER.

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DESCEND DIRECTLY FROM THE PRECEDING CONTROVERSIES. HOOKER DREW THE ATTENTION OF WHITGIFT AND BURGHLEY WHEN AS MASTER OF THE TEMPLE (HE WAS APPOINTED IN 1585) HE ENGAGED IN DAILY DEBATES WITH THE PURITAN WALTER TRAVERS, A GLIB DISCIPLE OF CARTWRIGHT'S. A HUMBLE AND RETICENT MAN, HOOKER WAS NOT PARTICULARLY SUITED TO COMPETE WITH THE DAZZLING TRAVERS, BUT ELIZABETH'S COUNSELLORS RECOGNIZED HIS VALUE AND ENCOURAGED HIM TO WRITE WHAT IS STILL THE BEST APOLOGY FOR THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.[13]

THE TASK OF SUMMARIZING HOOKER'S MAJOR THEMES, EVEN THOSE DEALING STRICTLY WITH CHURCH AND STATE, IS A LABOR WORTHY OF THE GODS. HOOKER'S IS A COSMIC MIND, THE KIND WHICH IS NEVER CONTENT UNTIL IT HAS TRACED AN IDEA TO ITS ARCHETYPE IN THE MAKER'S OMNISCIENT INTELLECT AND THEN HAS REVIEWED ITS EVERY CONSEQUENCE TO THE KINGDOM OF MAN. HIS STYLE IS A SPLENDID COMPLEMENT TO HIS CONTENT: HE PLODS BEHIND A VAST ARRAY OF CLAUSES, LASHING THE LAGGARDS INTO LINE, NEVER LETTING ONE STRAGGLE OFF INTO IRRELEVANCY. YET, IF A PERSON IS PATIENT HE WILL PERCEIVE THAT HOOKER IS SPEAKING TO MORTAL MEN ABOUT THE ACTUAL PROBLEMS OF LIVING IN A CIVILIZED SOCIETY.

THREE OF HOOKER'S INTERCONNECTED THEMES WILL CONCERN

13. SHIRLEY, PP. 33-53. WALTON'S LIFE OF HOOKER WAS LONG THE STANDARD BIOGRAPHY, BUT IT HAS BEEN SUPPLEMENTED BY C. J. SISSON'S WORK, THE JUDICIOUS MARRIAGE OF MR. HOOKER (CAMBRIDGE UNIV. PRESS, 1940).

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US: THE FOUNDATION (OR PURPOSE) OF THE STATE, THE NATURE OF CIVIL OBEDIENCE, AND THE ROLE OF THE CHURCH IN THE STATE. ALTHOUGH IN HIS DISCUSSION OF THE FOUNDATION OF THE STATE HOOKER ADMITS FROM TIME TO TIME THAT THERE MAY HAVE BEEN A GOLDEN AGE IN WHICH MEN GOVERNED THEMSELVES FREELY AND WILLINGLY WITHOUT THE FEAR OF A MAGISTRATE,[14] HOOKER SEES THE STATE AS A NATURAL PHENOMENON IN WHICH MEN, WHOSE CORRUPTION IS PRESUPPOSED, AGREE TO SURRENDER PERSONAL LIBERTY IN ORDER THAT THEY MAY LIVE IN SECURITY AND SHARE THE OTHER BENEFITS, BOTH TEMPORAL AND SPIRITUAL, OF THE COMMUNAL LIFE:

> MEN ALWAYS KNEW THAT WHEN FORCE AND INJURY WAS OFFERED THEY MIGHT BE DEFENDERS OF THEMSELVES; THEY KNEW THAT HOWSOEVER MEN MAY SEEK THEIR OWN COMMODITY, YET IF THIS WERE DONE WITH INJURY UNTO OTHERS IT WAS NOT TO BE SUFFERED, BUT BY ALL MEN AND BY ALL GOOD MEANS TO BE WITHSTOOD; FINALLY THEY KNEW THAT NO MAN MIGHT IN REASON TAKE UPON HIM TO DETERMINE HIS OWN RIGHT, AND ACCORDING TO HIS OWN DETERMINATION PROCEED IN THE MAINTENANCE THEREOF, INASMUCH AS EVERY MAN IS TOWARDS HIMSELF AND THEM WHOM HE GREATLY AFFECTETH PARTIAL; AND THEREFORE THAT STRIFES AND TROUBLES WOULD BE ENDLESS, EXCEPT THEY GAVE THEIR COMMON CONSENT ALL TO BE ORDERED BY SOME WHOM THEY COULD AGREE UPON. . . .[15]

HOWEVER, SAYS HOOKER, MEN ARE NOT OBLIGED TO CONSENT TO ONE PARTICULAR FORM OF GOVERNMENT, FOR ALTHOUGH "SOME KIND OF REGIMENT THE LAW OF NATURE DOTH REQUIRE; YET THE KINDS

14. FOR EXAMPLE, SEE E. P. V, 1, 2; VOL. II, 13-16.

15. E. P. I, X, 4; VOL. I, 242.

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[16] E. P. I, X, 5;

[17] E. P. "PREFACE,"

[18] IBID.

THEREOF BEING MANY, NATURE TIETH NOT TO ANY ONE, BUT LEAVETH THE CHOICE AS A THING ARBITRARY."[16] NONETHELESS, ONCE A GOVERNMENT HAS BEEN AGREED UPON, ALL MEN UNDER ITS JURISDICTION ARE SWORN BY NATURE TO OBEY ITS LAWS, AND EVEN IF A PARTICULAR INDIVIDUAL HAS NOT PARTICIPATED DIRECTLY IN THE FORMATION OF HIS GOVERNMENT, HE IS BY VIRTUE OF HIS MEMBERSHIP IN THE COMMUNITY OBLIGATED TO UPHOLD ITS LAWS: "A LAW IS THE DEED OF THE WHOLE BODY POLITIC, WHEREOF IF YE JUDGE YOURSELVES TO BE ANY PART, THEN IS THE LAW EVEN YOUR DEED ALSO."[17] LAWS, TO BE SURE, MAY BE APPEALED, BUT ONLY WHEN "THE WHOLE DOTH DELIBERATE WHAT LAWS EACH PART SHALL OBSERVE, AND NOT WHEN A PART REFUSETH THE LAWS WHICH THE WHOLE HATH ORDERLY AGREED UPON."[18] THE STATE, THEN, IS FOUNDED UPON A CONTRACT, BUT IT IS NOT A CONTRACT WHICH IS SUBJECT TO ANNULMENT BY THE CONTRACTEES. THIS TOO IS A POSITION ARRIVED AT RATIONALLY, FOR SO "FULL OF WILFULNESS AND SELF-LIKING IS OUR NATURE, THAT WITHOUT SOME DEFINITIVE SENTENCE, WHICH BEING GIVEN MAY STAND, AND A NECESSITY OF SILENCE ON BOTH SIDES AFTERWARD IMPOSED, SMALL HOPE THERE

16. E. P. I, X, 5; VOL. I, 243.

17. E. P. "PREFACE," V, 2; VOL. I, 164.

18. IBID.

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[19] E. P. "PREFAC

[20] THIS SERMON

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[21] IBID., P. 45

IS THAT STRIFES THUS FAR PROSECUTED WILL IN SHORT TIME QUICKLY END."[19]

ALL CIVIL OBEDIENCE UNFOLDS NATURALLY FROM THIS "NECESSITY OF SILENCE." BUT IN HIS "SERMON ON CIVIL OBEDIENCE"[20] HOOKER ELEVATES SUBMISSION TO ESTABLISHED LAW TO A GENUINE ACT OF FAITH. ESTABLISHED LAWS "GOD HIMSELF DOTH IN SUCH SORT AUTHORIZE, THAT TO DESPISE THEM IS TO DESPISE IN THEM HIM."[21] THE "LOOSE AND LICENTIOUS" OPINION OF THE REFORMERS THAT A CHRISTIAN SURRENDERS HIS PERSONAL LIBERTY AND LOSES "THE SOUL WHICH CHRIST HATH REDEEMED UNTO HIMSELF" IF HE LIVES UNDER ANY LAW BUT THAT PRESCRIBED BY THE GOSPEL, MUST NOT BE ALLOWED. ST. PETER SAID, "BE YE SUBJECT," AND PAUL ADMONISHED, "LET EVERY SOUL BE SUBJECT; SUBJECT ALL UNTO SUCH POWERS AS ARE SET OVER US." SUBJECTION, THEN, IS THE LAW OF GOD, AND ONE BREAKS THE LAW OF GOD AT THE PERIL OF HIS SOUL. THERE IS AN INSOLUBLE LINK BETWEEN THE RATIONALITY AND THE SPIRITUALITY OF CIVIL OBEDIENCE.

IN HIS DISCUSSION OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE CHURCH AND THE STATE HOOKER CONSIDERS THREE INTERRELATED SUBJECTS: THE GOAL OR AIM OF THE STATE, THE CONTRIBUTION OF RELIGION TO A SOCIETY, AND THE METHODS WHEREBY CHURCH AND STATE MAY WORK TOGETHER HARMONIOUSLY. THE NOBLEST AIM

19. E. P. "PREFACE," VI, 3; VOL. I, 169.

20. THIS SERMON IS APPENDED TO BOOK VIII OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL POLITY IN THE KEBLE EDITION, VOL. III, 456-60. THE SERMON IS NOT COMPLETE.

21. IBID., P. 456.

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E. P. V, 1, 2;

E. P. VIII, 1, 5

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OF ANY STATE, WE LEARN, IS THE CULTIVATION OF A SUBLIME SPIRITUAL LIFE: "WE AGREE THAT PURE AND UNSTAINED RELIGION OUGHT TO BE THE HIGHEST OF ALL CARES APPERTAINING TO PUBLIC REGIMENT. . . ."[22] THIS MEANS THAT AN INDIVIDUAL SOCIETY WILL BE GODLY IN THE DEGREE THAT IT DIRECTS ITS MAJOR FORCES TOWARD SPIRITUAL ENDS. AT TIMES, FOR EXAMPLE IN THE DAYS BEFORE CHRISTIANITY BECAME THE OFFICIAL FAITH OF ROME, THE TRUE SPIRITUAL LIFE OF A NATION MAY BE ALMOST COMPLETELY SUBORDINATED TO THE TEMPORAL. WHEN THIS IS THE CASE, IT IS SAID THAT THE COMMONWEALTH (THE SECULAR STATE) FLOURISHES; THAT IS, IT IS ACHIEVING ITS ENDS AT THE EXPENSE OF THE CHURCH. IT IS ALSO POSSIBLE, ON THE OTHER HAND, THAT A CHURCH MAY DOMINATE SOCIETY AT THE EXPENSE OF TEMPORAL CONCERNS. SINCE MEN LIVE NOT ONLY TO LIVE FAITHFULLY BUT ALSO TO LIVE WELL, WHEN CHURCH AND STATE WORK HARMONIOUSLY IT IS SAID THAT "THE CHURCH AND COMMONWEALTH FLOURISH TOGETHER."[23]

RELIGION MAKES ITS CONTRIBUTION TO SOCIETY IN MANY WAYS. FOR EXAMPLE, IT IS THE RELIGIOUS GOVERNOR WHO IS BEST FITTED TO PERFORM THE FUNCTIONS OF HIS OFFICE, FOR HE IS GUIDED BY CONSCIENCE, WHOSE VOICE GIVES HIM THE ABILITY TO TRANSCEND

22. E. P. V, 1, 2; VOL. II, 13-14.

23. E. P. VIII, 1, 5; VOL. III, 337. THE "KINDS OF FLOURISHING" IS A MAJOR THEME OF BOOK VIII.

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HIS OWN ENDS. IN FACT, "ALL DUTIES ARE BY SO MUCH THE BETTER PERFORMED, BY HOW MUCH THE MEN ARE MORE RELIGIOUS FROM WHOSE ABILITIES THE SAME PROCEED."[24] RELIGION AND JUSTICE ARE SO CLOSELY ALLIED THAT ONE CANNOT BE IMAGINED WHERE THE OTHER IS NOT, SAYS HOOKER. RELIGION IS A NECESSARY TONIC TO A VIRTUOUS AND JUST GOVERNMENT, AND THE MAN WHO EXECUTES HIS OFFICE "WITH UNQUENCHABLE AND UNCONSCIONABLE THIRST OF GAIN" ABANDONS THE CONFINES OF JUSTICE AND BECOMES ANOTHER AGENT IN THE COMMON MISERY OF MANKIND.[25]

RELIGION IS ALSO THE CORNERSTONE OF FORTITUDE, WITHOUT WHICH MEN SUBMITTED TO THE INEVITABLE ADVERSITIES OF LIFE ARE NOT EQUIPPED TO ENDURE THEIR AFFLICTIONS. ADDITIONALLY, RELIGION IS A NECESSARY COMPLEMENT TO "ALL OTHER ORNAMENTS OF MIND"; WITHOUT IT, WHATEVER A MAN'S ACCOMPLISHMENTS, HE REMAINS "BUT A SPECTACLE OF COMMISERATION." THOUGH RELIGION IS NOT NECESSARILY INVOLVED IN ALL OF MAN'S ENDEAVORS AND THOUGH IT MAY NOT ALWAYS BRING "JOY AND GLADNESS," IT STANDS READY TO CALM THE DISQUIETED MIND, TO TEACH "PATIENCE AND SATISFACTION." FAITH MAY IN SOME CIRCUMSTANCES--EVEN A FALSE FAITH--SERVE A UTILITARIAN PURPOSE; FOR EXAMPLE, IT MIGHT SPUR A MAN TO THE MORE EFFICIENT COMPLETION OF A SECULAR TASK, BUT FAITH, USED SIMPLY AS A SPRINGBOARD TO TEMPORAL PROFICIENCY, IS GROSSLY PERVERTED.[26]

24. E. P. V, 1, 2; VOL. II, 14.

25. IBID.

26. IBID., PP. 15-16.

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[14] E. P. II, VIII,

[15] E. P. II, II, 1

[16] E. P. "PREFACE,

THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF A NATION, SAYS HOOKER, IDEALLY PERMEATES ALL FUNCTIONS IN WHICH JUSTICE, FORTITUDE, TEMPERANCE, AND GENERAL WELL-BEING ARE INVOLVED. HOWEVER, BOTH THE CATHOLICS AND THE PURITANS ERR IN THEIR INTERPRETATIONS OF THE ROLE OF THE CHURCH IN THE NATIONAL LIFE. THE CATHOLICS MAINTAIN THAT THE SCRIPTURES ALONE ARE NOT SUFFICIENT TO SALVATION. THEIR CHURCH FILLS IN SCRIPTURAL LACUNAE AND MAINTAINS THAT IT ALONE MAY DETERMINE THE SPIRITUAL NEEDS OF A SOCIETY. THE PURITANS, WHOSE DOCTRINES ARE EQUALLY "REPUGNANT UNTO TRUTH," PROPOSE TO FUNNEL THE UNALTERABLE TRUTHS OF SCRIPTURE INTO EVERY CONCEIVABLE CORNER OF EXISTENCE. A MAN CANNOT SEND HIS BOY ON AN ERRAND WITHOUT FIRST CONSULTING THE HOLY TEXT.[27] BUT, SAYS HOOKER, MAN'S EVERY ACT IS NOT DONE FOR SALVATION: "WE MOVE, WE SLEEP, WE TAKE THE CUP AT THE HAND OF OUR FRIEND, A NUMBER OF THINGS WE OFTENTIMES DO, ONLY TO SATISFY SOME NATURAL DESIRE, WITHOUT PRESENT, EXPRESS, AND ACTUAL REFERENCE UNTO ANY COMMANDMENT OF GOD."[28] WHEN THESE PURITAN ZEALOTS ARE ALONE TOGETHER WITH THEIR BIBLES, "WHAT STRANGE FANTASTICAL OPINION SOEVER AT ANY TIME [ENTERS] THEIR HEADS, THEIR USE [IS] TO THINK THE SPIRIT TAUGHT IT THEM."[29] IF

27. E. P. II, VIII, 7; VOL. I, 335-36.

28. E. P. II, II, I; VOL. I, 291.

29. E. P. "PREFACE," VIII, 7; VOL. I, 185.

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33. E. P. VIII,

THESE MEN COULD BE CONTENT TO REMAIN AT THEIR READING LAMPS, THEIR ENTHUSIASM WOULD PERHAPS NOT BE A MATTER OF STATE, BUT "WHEN THE MINDS OF MEN ARE ONCE ERRONEOUSLY PERSUADED THAT IT IS THE WILL OF GOD TO HAVE THOSE THINGS DONE WHICH THEY FANCY, THEIR OPINIONS ARE AS THORNS IN THEIR SIDES, NEVER SUFFERING THEM TO TAKE REST TILL THEY HAVE THEIR SPECULATIONS PUT INTO PRACTICE."[30] IT DOES NOT SEEM TO HAVE OCCURRED TO THEM THAT GOD MIGHT HAVE PERMITTED THOSE "WORTHY VESSELS [I.E., THE SCRIPTURES] OF HIS GLORY TO BE IN SOME THINGS BLEMISHED WITH THE STAIN OF HUMAN FRAILTY, EVEN FOR THIS CAUSE, LEST HE SHOULD ESTEEM OF ANY MAN ABOVE THAT WHICH BEHOVETH."[31]

FROM THIS DISCUSSION WE SEE THAT THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE CHURCH AND STATE IS A VERY DELICATE MATTER AND ONE WHICH MUST BE DETERMINED BY MEN INTIMATELY ACQUAINTED WITH BOTH THE TEMPORAL AND SPIRITUAL ENDS OF A SOCIETY. CIVIL AND ECCLESIASTICAL OFFICERS MUST WORK TOGETHER FOR THE COMMON GOOD, AND HOOKER GOES ON TO SUGGEST WHAT METHODOLOGY MIGHT BE USED.

HOOKER'S METAPHORICAL SYMBOL FOR THE IDEAL STATE IS THE TRIANGLE.[32] THE CIVIL AND ECCLESIASTICAL DEPARTMENTS (SIDES

30. E. P. "PREFACE," VIII, 12; VOL. I, 189-90.

31. E. P. "PREFACE," IV, 8; VOL. I, 163.

32. E. P. VIII, 1, 2; VOL. III, 330.

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[33] E. P. VIII,

[34] E. P. VIII,

OF THE TRIANGLE) ARE BOTH FORMED FROM A COMMON BASE-LINE, AND HOWSOEVER THE TRIANGLE IS TIPPED, THIS LINE PRESERVES THE ORIGINAL UNITY. THERE IS AT NO POINT ANYTHING WHICH RESEMBLES A DIVIDING LINE. THE OPPONENTS, ON THE OTHER HAND, "HOLD THE NECESSITY OF PERSONAL SEPARATION, WHICH CLEAN EXCLUDETH THE POWER OF ONE MAN'S DEALING IN BOTH . . . ."[33] BUT IF IT IS GRANTED, AS IT MUST BE BY REASON AND FAITH, THAT SOMEONE INDEED DEALS WITH BOTH DEPARTMENTS, IN A MONARCHY IT OBTAINS THAT THE SOVEREIGN UNIFIES THE WHOLE AT ITS HIGHEST LEVEL. IT IS UNREASONABLE, SAYS HOOKER, TO ASSUME THAT THE CIVIL MAGISTRATE IS CONCERNED ONLY WITH THE BODY OF THE STATE AND NOT WITH ITS SOUL, UNREASONABLE TO ASSUME THAT HE IS AN AGENT OF THE TEMPORAL PEACE AND NOT INVOLVED IN HIS SUBJECTS' "ETERNAL SAFETY." THIS IS TO SPEAK AS IF "GOD HAD ORDAINED KINGS FOR NO OTHER END AND PURPOSE BUT ONLY TO FAT UP MEN LIKE HOGS, AND TO SEE THAT THEY HAVE THEIR MAST."[34] JUSTICE AND PEACE ARE POSSIBLE ONLY WHEN THE ORDER OF A SOCIETY IS MAINTAINED, WHEN ALL ESTATES ARE KEPT IN THEIR PROPER BALANCE; AND THIS ORDER IS BEST PRESERVED WHEN THE KING, THE "COMMON PARENT," THE "INDIFFERENT" AUTHORITY IN THE NATION, BEARS "THE CHIEFEST SWAY IN THE MAKING OF LAWS WHICH ALL MUST BE ORDERED BY."[35]

33. IBID.

34. E. P. VIII, III, 2; VOL. III, 363.

35. E. P. VIII, VI, 8; VOL. III, 405.

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E. P. VIII, II,

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E. P. VIII, I,

THE KING, HOWEVER, DOES NOT PRESUME IN HIS LEGAL OFFICE TO BE THE HEAD OF THE CHURCH OF CHRIST, AS THE PAPISTS AND REFORMERS SO FREQUENTLY ALLEGE. HIS STYLE IN NO WAY IMPLIES THAT HE IS NEXT UNDER GOD, BUT ONLY THAT HE IS THE LAST COURT OF APPEAL IN THE VISIBLE CHURCH OF THE NATION. CHRIST'S SUPREMACY IN THE UNIVERSAL CHURCH IS UNCONTESTED BY THIS THEORY OF SOVEREIGNTY. BUT IF THE KING IS NOT PERMITTED TO BE THE LEGAL HEAD OF THE CHURCH, HIS AUTHORITY IS CONSTANTLY SUBJECTED TO APPROVAL BY THE ECCLESIASTICAL BODY. THE CATHOLIC POSITION IS A CASE IN POINT: "WHAT THEY YIELD THAT PRINCES DO, IT IS WITH GREAT EXCEPTION ALWAYS UNDERSTOOD, IF THE BISHOP OF ROME GIVE LEAVE, IF HE INTERPOSE NO PROHIBITION: WHEREOF SOMEWHAT IS IN SHEW, IN TRUTH NOTHING, WHICH THEY GRANT."[36] THE PURITAN POSITION IS SIMPLY ANOTHER VERSION OF PAPAL CONDITIONAL ALLEGIANCE, WITH THE ADDITIONAL HAZARD THAT THE PURITANS HAVE AS MANY FORMS OF "CONDITIONS" AS THEY ARE CAPABLE OF FASHIONING IN THEIR FANATICAL MINDS. BUT, SAYS HOOKER, ALLEGIANCE CANNOT BE CONDITIONAL, FOR THE WHOLE CANNOT BE DIVIDED INTO "TWO SEVERAL IMPALED SOCIETIES."[37]

HOOKER, QUITE NATURALLY, AVOIDS ANY CLEAR DEFINITION

36. E. P. VIII, II, 14; VOL. III, 354. IN CHAPTER VI I HAVE DISCUSSED BACON'S INVOLVEMENT IN LEGAL CASES DEALING WITH ASPECTS OF THIS THEORY OF CONDITIONAL ALLEGIANCE.

37. E. P. VIII, I, 4; VOL. III, 334.

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OF THE PRECISE AUTHORITY OF THE KING, FOR ELIZABETH WAS IN THE HABIT OF DOING THAT HERSELF. HE RELIES, FOR THE MOST PART, ON THE WEIGHT OF HIS ORIGINAL ARGUMENT THAT ORDER IS NATURAL, REASONABLE, NECESSARY, AND GODLY. HE DOES, HOWEVER, SAY THAT A NATION IS HAPPIER WHEN ITS RULER OPERATES UNDER LAW RATHER THAN ABOVE IT:

> HAPPIER THAT PEOPLE WHOSE LAW IS THEIR KING IN THE GREATEST THINGS, THAN THAT WHOSE KING IS HIMSELF THEIR LAW. WHERE THE KING DOTH GUIDE THE STATE, AND THE LAW THE KING, THAT COMMONWEALTH IS LIKE AN HARP OR MELODIOUS INSTRUMENT, THE STRINGS WHEREOF ARE TUNED AND HANDLED ALL BY ONE, FOLLOWING AS LAWS THE RULES AND CANONS OF MUSICAL SILENCE.[38]

IN ORDER TO JUSTIFY THE PARTICIPATION OF THE PARLIAMENT IN ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS, HOOKER USES THE SAME ARGUMENT WHICH SERVED HIM IN HIS DESCRIPTION OF ONE ASPECT OF REGAL AUTHORITY. THE PARLIAMENT, "TOGETHER WITH THE CONVOCATION ANNEXED THEREUNTO" IS THE ESSENCE OF ENGLISH GOVERNMENT, REPRESENTING AS IT DOES THE "BODY OF THE WHOLE REALM": "IT CONSISTETH OF THE KING, AND OF ALL THAT WITHIN THE LAND ARE SUBJECT UNTO HIM: FOR THEY ALL ARE THERE PRESENT, EITHER IN PERSON OR BY SUCH AS THEY VOLUNTARILY HAVE DERIVED THEIR VERY PERSONAL RIGHT UNTO."[39] THE PARLIAMENT

38. E. P. VIII, II, 12; VOL. III, 352.

39. E. P. VIII, VI, 2; VOL. III, 408.

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THE NEXT PROBLEM IS TO JUSTIFY OBEDIENCE TO THE ESTABLISHED CHURCH-GOVERNMENT, A TASK WHICH HOOKER PERFORMS WITH CONSIDERABLE DEXTERITY. AGAIN, AND ONE IS REMINDED OF THE GREAT DR. JOHNSON, HE RELIES ON THE PRINCIPLE THAT ANYTHING WHICH HAS BEEN HAS A SPECIAL RIGHT TO CONTINUE TO BE: "FOR THE PUBLIC APPROBATION GIVEN BY THE BODY OF THIS WHOLE CHURCH UNTO THOSE THINGS WHICH ARE ESTABLISHED, DOTH MAKE IT BUT PROBABLE THAT THEY ARE GOOD."[41] BY "BUT PROBABLE" HE MEANS, OF COURSE, "CERTAIN BEYOND THE POSSIBILITY OF THE WILDEST SPECULATION," BUT HE PROCEEDS FAR BEYOND THIS HAPPY PREMISE. CLERICAL RANK, HE AFFIRMS, IS THE NATURAL COMPLEMENT TO TEMPORAL RANK. A CHURCH, LIKE A CIVIL GOVERNMENT, HAS A GREAT MANY FUNCTIONS, AND ALL CANNOT BE WELL PERFORMED BY ALL MEN. IF EVERYONE WORKS "JOINTLY AND EQUALLY" THESE NECESSARY ACTS CANNOT "IN ORDERLY SORT BE EXECUTED." SOME MUST BE LEADERS AND OTHERS MUST BE FOLLOWERS: "AGAIN, FORASMUCH AS WHERE THE CLERGY ARE ANY GREAT MULTITUDE, ORDER DOTH NECESSARILY REQUIRE THAT BY DEGREES THEY BE DISTINGUISHED; WE HOLD THAT THERE HAVE EVER BEEN AND EVER OUGHT TO BE IN SUCH CASE AT LEASTWISE TWO SORTS OF ECCLESIASTICAL

40. IBID., P. 409.

41. E. P. "PREFACE," VI, 6; VOL. I, 170.

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PERSONS, THE ONE SUBORDINATE UNTO THE OTHER."[42] THIS IS A PRINCIPLE, HE CONTINUES, WHICH IS FULLY SANCTIONED BY SCRIPTURE AND ALL "ECCLESIASTICAL RECORDS."

TO JUSTIFY THIS CLAIM FURTHER ON RATIONALISTIC GROUNDS, HOOKER TURNS TO THE VISIBLE FRUITS OF CHURCH UNITY, AS THEY APPLY TO THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND AND TO THE REFORMATION IN GENERAL. IN THE FIRST PLACE, HE ASSERTS, THE REFORMERS, WHO IN THE BEGINNING "WERE PITIED FOR THEIR ERRORS AND PRAISED FOR THEIR HUMILITY, ZEAL AND DEVOTION," HAVE NOW COMMITTED THEMSELVES TO A COMPLETE OVERTHROW OF EXISTING CHURCHES WHICH DO NOT SUBSCRIBE TO THEIR PATTERN OF FAITH. THESE ZEALOTS HAVE CONVINCED THEMSELVES THAT THEY ARE SET UPON EARTH "TO ROOT OUT THE IDOLATROUS NATIONS, AND TO PLANT INSTEAD OF THEM A PEOPLE WHICH [FEAR] GOD. . . ."[43] THEREFORE THEY HAVE LOST ANY CAPACITY THEY ONCE MIGHT HAVE POSSESSED TO SEE THE TRUE ENDS OF THEIR DESIGNS. IT STRAINS THE IMAGINATION OF A SANE MAN TO ENVISION WHERE THEIR MARVELOUS MACHINE MIGHT COME TO ITS LAST PLACE OF REST:

> THE LETS AND IMPEDIMENTS OF WHICH PRACTICE THEIR RESTLESS DESIRE AND STUDY TO REMOVE LEADETH THEM EVERY DAY FORTH BY THE HAND INTO OTHER MORE DANGEROUS OPINIONS, SOMETIMES QUITE CONTRARY TO THEIR FIRST PRETENDED MEANINGS: SO AS WHAT WILL GROW OUT OF SUCH ERRORS AS GO MASKED UNDER THE CLOAK OF DIVINE AUTHORITY, IMPOSSIBLE IT IS THAT EVER THE WIT OF MAN SHOULD IMAGINE, TILL TIME HATH

42. E. P. III, XI, 20; VOL. I, 413.

43. E. P. "PREFACE," VIII, 11; VOL. I, 189.

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> BROUGHT FORTH THE FRUITS OF THEM: FOR WHICH CAUSE IT BEHOVETH WISDOM TO FEAR THE SEQUELS THEREOF, EVEN BEYOND ALL APPARENT CAUSE OF FEAR.[44]

THE CHURCH STANDS AS A FORTRESS READY TO PROTECT NOT ONLY THOSE WHO ACCEPT ITS DISCIPLINE BUT ALSO THOSE WHO HAVE DEMONSTRATED THEIR BOUNDLESS DEDICATION TO ERROR, SUPERSTITION, AND SELF-EXPLOITATION.

BUT THE CHURCH HAS AN INTERNATIONAL FUNCTION TOO. GOD HIMSELF HAS APPOINTED THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND TO SERVE AS A MODEL OF MODERATION TO WHICH OTHER CHURCHES, TORN BY DISCONTENT AND FACTION, MAY TURN FOR GUIDANCE AND COMFORT. THIS, SAYS HOOKER, GOD HAS CONDESCENDED TO DO MANY TIMES IN PERILOUS DAYS. HOOKER'S LANGUAGE IS VERY MOVING AT THIS POINT, AND I QUOTE IT AT LENGTH:

> BY THIS MEAN CHRISTENDOM FLAMING IN ALL PARTS OF GREATEST IMPORTANCE AT ONCE, THEY ALL HAD WANTED THAT COMFORT OF MUTUAL RELIEF, WHEREBY THEY ARE NOW FOR A TIME SUSTAINED (AND NOT THE LEAST BY THIS OUR CHURCH WHICH THEY SO MUCH IMPEACH) TILL MUTUAL COMBUSTIONS, BLOODSHEDS, AND WASTES (BECAUSE NO OTHER INDUCEMENT WILL SERVE) MAY ENFORCE THEM THROUGH VERY FAINTNESS, AFTER THE EXPERIENCE OF SO ENDLESS MISERIES, TO ENTER ON ALL SIDES AT THE LENGTH INTO SOME SUCH CONSULTATION, AS MAY TEND TO THE BEST RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF THE WHOLE CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST. TO THE SINGULAR GOOD WHEREOF IT CANNOT BUT SERVE AS A PROFITABLE DIRECTION TO TEACH MEN WHAT IS MOST LIKELY TO PROVE AVAILABLE, WHEN THEY SHALL QUIETLY CONSIDER THE TRIAL THAT HATH BEEN THUS LONG HAD OF BOTH KINDS OF REFORMATION; AS WELL THIS MODERATE KIND WHICH THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND HATH TAKEN, AS THAT OTHER MORE EXTREME AND RIGOROUS WHICH

44. E. P. "PREFACE," VIII, 12; VOL. I, 190.

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[5] E. P. IV, x

> CERTAIN CHURCHES ELSEWHERE HAVE BETTER LIKED.[45]

ONE CANNOT HELP NOTING IN THESE LINES THE MELANCHOLY TONES OF THE GETTYSBURG ADDRESS, AND THE EXHAUSTION. THOUGH HOOKER BEGGED ALL OF THE QUESTIONS WHICH WHITGIFT BEGGED, AND THOUGH HE TOO RELIED HEAVILY ON POLITICAL EXPEDIENCY, HIS APOLOGY--FILLED WITH HIS OWN PATIENCE AND CHARITY--MADE EVEN QUESTION-BEGGING AND EXPEDIENCY LOOK PARTICULARLY ATTRACTIVE.

IT CAN BE SEEN FROM THIS BRIEF SUMMARY THAT THERE WERE THREE BASIC ATTITUDES TOWARD THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE CHURCH AND STATE IN SIXTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLAND. THE PURITANS, TAKING THEIR EXAMPLES FROM THE "BEST REFORMED CHURCHES," BELIEVED THAT THE WORK OF THE KINGDOM OF GOD COULD BE DONE EFFECTIVELY ONLY IF THE CIVIL GOVERNMENT RELINQUISHED ITS CONTROL OVER THE ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS OF THE NATION. THE GOVERNMENT, TO BE SURE, COULD BE CALLED UPON TO ASSIST CHURCHMEN IN KEEPING THE TRUE CHURCH OF CHRIST IN ORDER, BUT IT COULD NOT PRESUME TO TELL THE SOCIETY OF THE INSPIRED HOW TO CONDUCT THEIR BUSINESS. THERE WAS NOT, OF COURSE, A PURITAN POINT OF VIEW, SINCE MANY ENGLISH REFORMERS WOULD CLEARLY HAVE BEEN SATISFIED TO SEE THE CHURCH GOVERNMENT REMAIN AS IT WAS IF MORE FREEDOM COULD BE ALLOWED IN CHURCH CEREMONIES, BUT

45. E. P. IV, XIV, 6; VOL. I, 486-87.

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PURITAN IDEOLOGY LED INEVITABLY TO THE CONCLUSIONS OF CARTWRIGHT, OR AT ANY RATE THE GOVERNMENT HAD TO ASSUME THAT IT DID. A QUICK GLANCE TO THE NORTH OR ACROSS THE CHANNEL WAS ALL ONE NEEDED TO REALIZE THAT ONCE A CIVIL MAGISTRATE HAD THROWN DOWN HIS SCEPTER AT THE FEET OF THE CHURCH, HE COULD SOON BE REQUIRED TO SHUFFLE OFF WHAT REMAINED OF HIS REGAL TRAPPINGS.

WHITGIFT'S ANSWER, THOUGH IT BEGGED THE QUESTION RAISED BY THE PURITANS, WAS ADMIRABLY SUITED TO THE TIME, AND IT BECAME THE GOVERNMENT'S MOTTO FOR SEVERAL DECADES. THE CHURCH, NOT CLAIMING INFALLIBILITY, WAS UNAVOIDABLY CONNECTED WITH THE CIVIL GOVERNMENT BECAUSE IT NEEDED THE LEGISLATIVE AND JUDICIAL AUTHORITY OF THE PARLIAMENT AND CROWN TO PROTECT THE BODY OF THE PEOPLE FROM FANATICAL WHIMSY. HISTORY, CERTAINLY NOT ENGLISH HISTORY, HAD NEVER SUGGESTED THAT CIVIL OBEDIENCE COULD BE FRAGMENTED.

HOOKER'S STATE, WHICH, AS SOMEONE SAID, RESEMBLES A "REFLEX ACTION OF GOD," WAS BASED ON WHITGIFT'S FOUNDATION OF EXPEDIENCY BUT ALSO JUSTIFIED IN TERMS OF THE LARGER SPIRITUAL ENDS OF A SOCIETY. HOOKER HAD STARTED FROM THE ARISTOTELIAN PREMISE THAT MAN FLOURISHES AS A SOCIAL BEING AND HAD INFUSED THIS THEORY WITH THE RATIONALISM OF AQUINAS.[46]

46. SHIRLEY HAS DISCUSSED THE DEBT OF HOOKER TO ARISTOTLE AND AQUINAS AT CONSIDERABLE LENGTH; SEE ESPECIALLY CH. IV, "LAW AND AUTHORITY."

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ALTHOUGH GOD REMAINS AN INFINITE MYSTERY, HIS VISIBLE UNIVERSE OPERATES UNDER NATURAL LAWS WHICH CAN, IN SOME DEGREE, BE DISCOVERED BY THE MIND OF FALLEN MAN. THE STATE WHICH CONDUCTS ITS SPIRITUAL AND TEMPORAL LIFE UNDER THE AEGIS OF REASON HAS THE SANCTION OF GOD, AND SINCE REASON HAS TAUGHT THAT THE ENGLISH CHURCH AND NATION HAVE RATIONAL FOUNDATIONS--THAT IS, THEY HAVE WORKED--THEY RECEIVE GOD'S BLESSING. A STATE ALREADY APPROVED BY THE ALMIGHTY IS COMMITTED ON THE HIGHEST LEVEL TO A DEFENSE OF THE STATUS QUO.

II. BACON AND THE STATE

IT IS NOTEWORTHY THAT IN SPITE OF HIS INVOLVEMENT IN CIVIL AFFAIRS DURING MOST OF HIS MATURE LIFE AND IN SPITE OF HIS PHILOSOPHICAL INTEREST IN CONDUCT, BACON DID NOT WRITE A COMPREHENSIVE ESSAY ON THE ORIGIN AND FUNCTION OF THE STATE. YET THE FRAGMENTS WHICH HE LEFT--IN HIS PHILOSOPHICAL, LITERARY, AND OCCASIONAL WORKS--WOULD FILL A SIZEABLE VOLUME. I THINK, IN FACT, THAT HE SAID ALMOST EVERYTHING HE WANTED TO SAY ABOUT MANY ASPECTS OF THE STATE AND THAT ANY FURTHER WORK WOULD HAVE BEEN A SYNTHESIS OF IDEAS WHICH HE HAD LEFT SCATTERED THROUGH THE WORKS OF HIS MANY YEARS IN PUBLIC AND LITERARY LIFE. THE STUDENT'S TASK, THEN, IS NOT TO FILL IN EMPTY SPACES WITH CAUTIOUS EXTRAPOLATION BUT TO RANGE AT LARGE OVER BACON'S WORKS,

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ASSEMBLING AND CATALOGUING IDEAS WHICH BACON LACKED EITHER THE INCLINATION OR THE TIME TO ARRANGE.[47]

THE BEST WAY I KNOW TO CHARACTERIZE BACON'S REFLECTIONS ON THE STATE IS TO QUOTE FROM A PASSAGE IN WHICH HOOKER DESCRIBED HIS OWN DISCUSSION OF LAW:

> IT MIGHT PERADVENTURE HAVE BEEN MORE POPULAR AND MORE PLAUSIBLE TO VULGAR EARS, IF THIS FIRST DISCOURSE HAD BEEN SPENT IN EXTOLLING THE FORCE OF LAWS, IN SHEWING THE GREAT NECESSITY OF THEM WHEN THEY ARE GOOD, AND IN AGGRAVATING THEIR OFFENCE BY WHOM PUBLIC LAWS ARE INJURIOUSLY TRADUCED. BUT FORASMUCH AS WITH SUCH KIND OF MATTER THE PASSIONS OF MEN ARE RATHER STIRRED ONE WAY OR OTHER, THAN THEIR KNOWLEDGE ANY WAY SET FORWARD UNTO THE TRIAL OF THAT WHEREOF THERE IS DOUBT MADE; I HAVE THEREFORE TURNED ASIDE FROM THAT BEATEN PATH, AND CHOSEN THOUGH A LESS EASY YET A MORE PROFITABLE WAY IN REGARD OF THE END WE PROPOSE.[48]

ALTHOUGH BACON IS ALSO ATTEMPTING TO SET KNOWLEDGE FORWARD, FOR THE MOST PART HE DOES WHAT HOOKER PROPOSES NOT TO DO. HE SPEAKS TO "VULGAR EARS," OR TO ANY EARS WHICH WILL OPEN THEMSELVES, TREADS BEATEN PATHS--WHICH HE THINKS ARE STILL

47. BACON'S STATE HAS BEEN STUDIED BY TWO GERMAN SCHOLARS: WILHELM RICHTER, BACON ALS STAATSDENKER (BERLIN, 1928) AND HELLMUT BOOK, STAAT UND GESELLSCHAFT BEI FRANCIS BACON (BERLIN, 1937). THE STUDY BY RICHTER IS A SHORT DISSERTATION (C. 50 PAGES), HALF OF WHICH IS DEVOTED TO A GENERAL SURVEY OF THE BACKGROUND OF BACON'S POLITICAL THOUGHT. RICHTER MAKES VERY LITTLE USE OF BACON'S RELIGIO-POLITICAL WRITINGS, BUT DOES OFFER EXTENSIVE REFERENCES TO THEM IN FOOTNOTES. BOOK'S IS AN EXCELLENT ESSAY, WHOSE THEMES I SHALL MENTION BELOW. THERE IS AN ITALIAN STUDY OF BACON AND MACHIAVELLI: N. ORSINI, BACONE E MACHIAVELLI (GENOA, 1936).

48. E. P. I, XVI, I; VOL. I, 277.

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IN NEED OF IMPROVEMENT--AND SUGGESTS MEASURES WHICH WILL INDEED STIR MEN TO ACTION, OR, MORE FREQUENTLY, TURN THEM FROM UNWISE ACTION. IF HOOKER IS A PHILOSOPHER OF POLITICS, WE MAY DESCRIBE BACON AS A POLITICAL SCIENTIST.

THE MOST INTERESTING THING ABOUT BACON'S IDEA OF THE STATE IS THAT IT OPERATES ON TWO WIDELY SEPARATED PLANES. IN FACT, ONE WHO HAS COME TO KNOW BACON--AS MOST DO--THROUGH HIS PHILOSOPHICAL AND LITERARY WORKS IS SOMEWHAT CONFOUNDED TO LEARN IN THE OCCASIONAL WORKS THAT BACON'S OPTIMISM, WHAT BRINTON CALLS "EXUBERANT HUMANISM,"[49] IS GRAVELY CHALLENGED WHEN HE TURNS TO DISCUSSIONS OF WHAT MEN ACTUALLY DO. THE PESSIMISM EXPRESSED IN THE ESSAYS AND THE IDOLS IS SOMEHOW SWALLOWED UP IN THE LARGER FRAMEWORK OF BACON'S HOPES FOR THE FUTURE KINGDOM OF MAN, A KINGDOM IN WHICH LIFE HAS BECOME SO SPLENDIDLY LIVABLE THAT CIVIL DISORDER IS HARDLY THINKABLE. IN THE NEW ATLANTIS DISCIPLINARY PROBLEMS ARE ALMOST ALWAYS HANDLED IN THE HOME, WHERE SOCIOLOGISTS TELL US THEY SHOULD BE HANDLED NOW. THE FATHER OF THE FAMILY MEETS WITH HIS DESCENDANTS, AND IF SOMEONE HAS STEPPED OUT OF LINE--WHICH RARELY HAPPENS--THE FATHER SCOLDS HIM ROUNDLY AND TELLS HIM TO STOP THIS IRRATIONAL AND RETROGRESSIVE NONSENSE. ONE IMAGINES THAT A BENSALEMITE WHO BY SOME TWIST OF FATE HAD COMMITTED

49. CRANE BRINTON, THE SHAPING OF THE MODERN MIND (NEW YORK, NEW AMERICAN LIBRARY, 1953; 1959. FIRST PUBLISHED IN IDEAS AND MEN (NEW YORK, PRENTICE-HALL, 1950), CH. I.

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A GENUINE OFFENSE AGAINST THE STATE WOULD BEG ON BOTH KNEES FOR IMMEDIATE DEPORTATION. NONETHELESS, THE DISTRUST FOR HUMAN NATURE EXPRESSED IN THE ESSAYS AND IDOLS REPRESENTS BACON'S TRUE EVALUATION OF CONTEMPORARY MAN, A BEING NOT FAR REMOVED (AS YET) FROM THE BRUTE.

BOCK CALLS THIS DIVISION IN BACON'S THOUGHT A CONTRADICTION, A WIDERSPRUCH,[50] BUT I BELIEVE THIS IS EQUIVALENT TO ACCUSING HENRY FORD OF INCONSISTENCY BECAUSE HE DROVE A HORSE TO WORK WHILE HE WAS DEVELOPING THE AUTOMOBILE. WHENEVER A MAN SETS ABOUT DIVERTING THE MAINSTREAM OF CIVILIZATION, HE IS OBLIGED TO OVERSTATE HIS CASE: THAT IS HOW HE GETS THE CLOSED EAR OF MANKIND TO OPEN ITSELF TO ANY OF HIS SUGGESTIONS, AND BACON'S MORE SANGUINE OPTIMISM SHOULD ALWAYS BE SEEN IN THIS LIGHT.

SINCE SEVERAL ASPECTS OF HIS STATE WILL BE COVERED IN SEPARATE CHAPTERS, AS THEY APPLY TO TRACTS UNDER DISCUSSION, ONLY FIVE OF BACON'S THEMES WILL CONCERN US HERE: THE COMPOSITION OF THE STATE, THE NATURE OF CIVIL OBEDIENCE, THE FRUITS OF RELIGIOUS UNITY, THE BOUNDS OF RELIGIOUS UNITY, AND THE METHODS OF ACHIEVING RELIGIOUS UNITY. ONE COMFORTING FACT ABOUT BACON'S POLITICAL REFLECTIONS IS THAT WHEREVER ONE ENCOUNTERS THEM, THEY ARE REMARKABLY CONSISTENT. AS MARY STURT HAS SAID, IT WOULD APPEAR THAT BACON HAD NO

50. STAAT UND GESELLSCHAFT BEI BACON, P. 25.

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31. FRANCIS BACO

32. FOR EXAMPLE,

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LITERARY CHILDHOOD.[51] CERTAINLY THERE IS NO EVOLUTION IN HIS IDEA OF THE STATE, AND SINCE I WILL BE DEALING WITH HIS LESSER-KNOWN WORKS IN THE BODY OF THIS PAPER, I WISH TO DRAW MOST OF THE COMMENTS IN THIS INTRODUCTION FROM HIS PHILOSOPHICAL AND LITERARY WORKS.

IT SHOULD NOT SURPRISE US THAT BACON'S PHILOSOPHICAL QUEST FOR ORDER, BALANCE AND UNITY FINDS ITS NATURAL CORRESPONDENCY IN HIS IDEA OF THE STATE. THIS STATE IS FORMED ALONG THE FAMILIAR PYRAMIDAL LINES WHICH ONE ENCOUNTERS EVERYWHERE IN ELIZABETHAN THOUGHT. IN HIS MORE POETIC MOMENTS, WHEN HIS IDEAS ARE "HOLPEN WITH A METAPHOR," BACON PLACES HIS KING ATOP THE PYRAMID, FROM WHERE HE STRETCHES HIS REGAL HAND TO TOUCH THE LOWEST ORDER OF ANGELS.[52] ALL CREATION ASPIRES TO UNITY, AND THE KING SERVES--AS THE HIGHEST ORDER OF MAN--TO CONNECT THE VISIBLE AND THE INVISIBLE. BUT BACON'S REAL KING, THE ONE HE BELIEVES IN AND THE ONE HE KNOWS, IS A DECIDEDLY HUMAN BEING, A PERSON WHO MAY BE LAZY, VICIOUS, MISINFORMED, STUPID, OR EVEN INSANE; AND EVEN WHEN HE IS AN IDEAL KING, A MONARCHAL TRIPLE-THREAT WHO COMBINES PIETY, LEARNING, AND EFFICIENCY, HE IS IN NEED OF THE BEST COUNSEL WHICH HIS NATION CAN PROVIDE HIM.

51. FRANCIS BACON (LONDON, KEGAN PAUL, 1932), P. 20.

52. FOR EXAMPLE, SEE HIS DISCUSSION OF PAN IN THE WISDOM OF THE ANCIENTS, WORKS, VI, 707-14.

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IN THE COMPOSITION OF THE STATE THE KING HAS ONE MAJOR FUNCTION: TO KEEP THE NATION'S ESTATES IN THEIR PROPER ORDERS: "THEREFORE THE MULTIPLYING OF NOBILITY AND OTHER DEGREES OF QUALITY IN AN OVER PROPORTION TO THE COMMON PEOPLE, DOTH SPEEDILY BRING A STATE TO NECESSITY. . . ."[53] THE KING USES THE NOBILITY AS A SEA-WALL AGAINST WHICH THE "INSOLENCY OF INFERIORS" MAY BE SPENT BEFORE IT REACHES THE FORTRESS OF THE THRONE, BUT THE NOBLES ARE NOT TO BE PERMITTED TO BE "TOO GREAT FOR SOVEREIGNTY NOR FOR JUSTICE" ("OF NOBILITY").

CONCURRENT WITH THE NECESSITY OF PRESERVING ORDER AND DEGREE IS THE KING'S OBLIGATION TO REMAIN THE "INDIFFERENT" ELEMENT WITHIN THE NATION. FORCES WITHIN A SOCIETY ARE CONSTANTLY IN CONFLICT; FACTION IS ALWAYS LOOKING FOR A HEAD:

> KINGS HAD NEED BEWARE HOW THEY SIDE THEMSELVES AND MAKE THEMSELVES AS OF A FACTION OR PARTY; FOR LEAGUES WITHIN THE STATE ARE EVER PERNICIOUS TO MONARCHIES. . . . WHEN FACTIONS ARE CARRIED TOO HIGH AND TOO VIOLENTLY, IT IS A SIGN OF WEAKNESS IN PRINCES; AND MUCH TO THE PREJUDICE BOTH OF THEIR AUTHORITY AND BUSINESS. THE MOTIONS OF FACTIONS UNDER KINGS OUGHT TO BE LIKE THE MOTIONS (AS THE ASTRONOMERS SPEAK) OF THE INFERIOR ORBS, WHICH MAY HAVE THEIR PROPER MOTIONS, BUT YET STILL ARE QUIETLY CARRIED BY THE HIGHER MOTION OF THE <u>PRIMUM MOBILE</u> ("OF FACTIONS").

53. "OF SEDITIONS AND TROUBLES." I HAVE USED, IN MY QUOTATIONS FROM THE <u>ESSAYS</u>, THE MODERNIZED TEXT OF PROFESSOR HUGH DICK, <u>SELECTED WRITINGS OF FRANCIS BACON</u> (NEW YORK, RANDOM HOUSE, 1955).

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IN THE WISDOM OF THE ANCIENTS,[54] A WORK WHICH CONTAINS SEVERAL OF BACON'S MOST IMPORTANT COMMENTS ON CIVIL GOVERNMENT, THE FABLE OF TYPHON IS USED TO DEMONSTRATE HOW A KING MIGHT ABUSE HIS OFFICE AND WHAT THE CONSEQUENCES MIGHT BE. IN THE FABLE JUNO WAS ANGRY WITH JUPITER FOR ENGENDERING PALLAS WITHOUT HER AID AND THEREFORE IMPLORED THE GODS TO GRANT HER THE POWER TO CREATE SOMETHING WITHOUT JUPITER'S HELP. GIVEN THE POWER, SHE CREATED TYPHON, AN AWFUL MONSTER, WHO CUT OUT THE SINEWS OF JUPITER'S HANDS AND FEET AND CARRIED THEM AWAY, LEAVING THE GOD A HELPLESS, MUTILATED WRECK. BUT MERCURY RESCUED THE SINEWS, AND WHEN JUPITER REGAINED HIS STRENGTH, HE SHOT A THUNDERBOLT INTO TYPHON. FROM THE BLOOD WHICH FLOWED FROM TYPHON'S WOUND SERPENTS SPRANG FORTH. IN THE MEANTIME JUPITER HAD CAST THE WHOLE OF MOUNT AETNA UPON TYPHON'S HEAD.

BACON SAYS THIS FABLE DEMONSTRATES THE "VARIABLE FORTUNE OF KINGS AND THE REBELLIONS THAT OCCUR FROM TIME TO

54. BACON WROTE THIS WORK IN LATIN (DE SAPIENTIA VETERUM) AND PUBLISHED IT IN 1609. IT HAS BEEN STUDIED AT LENGTH BY CHARLES W. LEMMI, THE CLASSICAL DEITIES IN BACON (BALTIMORE, JOHNS HOPKINS PRESS, 1933). LEMMI HAS GREATLY DIMINISHED THE SUPPOSED ORIGINALITY OF THE WORK, CHARACTERIZING IT, I FEAR, AS A KIND OF INSPIRED PLAGIARISM. SPEDDING'S CONJECTURE IS THAT BACON WROTE THE PIECE TO CONDITION HIS AUDIENCE TO RECEIVE HIS PHILOSOPHICAL WORKS. BY ESTABLISHING THE PREMISE THAT THE ANCIENTS POSSESSED THE CAPACITY TO DISCOVER FUNDAMENTAL TRUTHS ABOUT THE UNIVERSE, BACON, SPEDDING SAYS, COULD MAKE HIS PLAN FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF LEARNING SEEM MORE REASONABLE. WHAT MAN COULD DO ONCE HE COULD DO AGAIN. AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION FOLLOWS THE LATIN TEXT, WORKS, VI, 687-764.

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TIME IN MONARCHIES." A KING AND HIS KINGDOM ARE PROPERLY LIKE MAN AND WIFE, AND WHEN THE KING TAKES IT UPON HIMSELF TO ADMINISTER HIS GOVERNMENT ALONE--TO THE NEGLECT OF HIS NOBLES AND SENATE--HIS SUBJECTS ARE SOON DISCONTENT. IN THE BEGINNING A FEW "NOBLES AND GREAT PERSONS" WILL MEET SECRETLY TO PLOT HIS OVERTHROW, BUT SOON THEY WILL BEGIN TO "STIR THE PEOPLE." THEIR OWN DEVICES WILL BE COMPOUNDED BY THE "INNATE DEPRAVITY AND MALIGNANT DISPOSITION OF THE COMMON PEOPLE, WHICH IS TO KINGS LIKE A SERPENT FULL OF MALICE AND MISCHIEF." SOON, DISAFFECTION WILL SPREAD TO OPEN REBELLION, WHOSE HORROR AND DANGER ARE SYMBOLIZED IN THE HIDEOUSNESS OF TYPHON: "WITH A HUNDRED HEADS, DENOTING DIVIDED POWERS; FLAMING MOUTHS, FOR DEVASTATION BY FIRE; BELTS OF SNAKES, FOR THE PESTILENCES WHICH PREVAIL, ESPECIALLY IN SIEGES; IRON HANDS, FOR SLAUGHTERS; EAGLE'S TALONS, FOR RAPINE; FEATHERY BODY, FOR PERPETUAL RUMOURS, REPORTS TREPIDATIONS AND THE LIKE."

REBELLIONS MAY GROW TO SUCH PROPORTIONS, HE CONTINUES, THAT THE SOVEREIGN WILL BE FORCED TO LEAVE HIS DOMINIONS AND RETIRE TO SOME "REMOTE AND OBSCURE PROVINCE; HIS SINEWS BOTH OF MONEY AND MAJESTY BEING CUT OFF." NONETHELESS, IF THE SEQUESTERED RULER ANALYZES HIS SITUATION CAREFULLY, HE MAY RETURN TO POWER. BY "AFFABILITY AND WISE EDICTS AND GRACIOUS SPEECHES" HE MAY REGAIN THE CONFIDENCE OF HIS PEOPLE AND MAY PERSUADE THEM TO GIVE HIM SUPPLIES. CAUTIOUSLY

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HE WILL WORK HIS WAY BACK TO POWER, AVOIDING VIOLENCE AT ALL COSTS. BY SOME "MEMORABLE EXPLOIT" HE WILL DIMINISH THE REPUTATION OF THE REBELS AND ATTEMPT TO DESTROY THEIR CONFIDENCE IN THEMSELVES. WHEN THEY ARE "BEGINNING TO FALL APART," HE WILL DESCEND UPON THEM (LIKE A MOUNTAIN) AND CRUSH THEM COMPLETELY.[55]

THIS IS A SINGULARLY UN-BACONIAN WAY TO PROVE A POINT, BUT BACON IS ALWAYS INTENSELY SERIOUS WHEN HE DISCUSSES STATECRAFT, WHATEVER METHODS HE USES. THE KING, WE NOTE, IS VESTED WITH VAST POWERS, BUT HE MAY LOSE THEM IN AN INFINITE NUMBER OF WAYS.

ANOTHER OF THE FABLES SERVES TO DEMONSTRATE THE DANGERS OF EXTENDING THE PRINCIPLE OF "MAN AND WIFE" TOO FAR. BACON TELLS THE TALE OF METIS TO WARN THE KING THAT ALTHOUGH HE SEEKS THE AID OF HIS SUBJECTS, HE MUST PROTECT HIS REGAL IMAGE. JUPITER, AS THE FABLE GOES, WED METIS AND ENGENDERED UPON HER A CHILD, BUT BEFORE THE CHILD WAS BORN, JUPITER DEVOURED BOTH THE WIFE AND THE UNBORN INFANT--WHEREUPON HE FOUND HIMSELF WITH CHILD AND BY A DELIVERY "OF STRANGE KIND" BORE THE ARMED PALLAS. BACON GIVES THE FOLLOWING INTERPRETATION:

> THIS MONSTROUS AND AT FIRST SIGHT VERY FOOLISH FABLE CONTAINS, AS I INTERPRET IT, A SECRET OF GOVERNMENT. IT DESCRIBES THE ART WHEREBY KINGS

55. WORKS, VI, 702-4.

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> SO DEAL WITH THE COUNCILS OF STATE AS NOT ONLY TO KEEP THEIR AUTHORITY AND MAJESTY UNTOUCHED, BUT ALSO TO INCREASE AND EXALT IT IN THE EYES OF THEIR PEOPLE. FOR KINGS BY A SOUND AND WISE ARRANGEMENT TIE THEMSELVES TO THEIR COUNCILS WITH A BOND LIKE THAT OF WEDLOCK, AND DELIBERATE WITH THEM CONCERNING ALL THEIR GREATEST MATTERS, RIGHTLY JUDGING THAT THIS IS NO DIMINUTION TO THEIR MAJESTY. BUT WHEN THE QUESTION GROWS RIPE FOR A DECISION (WHICH IS THE BRINGING FORTH) THEY DO NOT ALLOW THE COUNCIL TO DEAL ANY FURTHER IN IT, LEST THEIR ACTS SHOULD SEEM TO BE DEPENDENT UPON THE COUNCIL'S WILL; BUT AT THAT POINT, (UNLESS THE MATTER BE OF SUCH A NATURE THAT THEY WISH TO PUT AWAY THE ENVY OF IT) THEY TAKE INTO THEIR OWN HANDS WHATEVER HAS BEEN BY THE COUNCIL ELABORATED AND AS IT WERE SHAPED IN THE WOMB; SO THAT THE DECISION AND EXECUTION (WHICH BECAUSE IT COMES FORTH WITH POWER AND CARRIES NECESSITY, IS ELEGANTLY REPRESENTED UNDER THE FIGURE OF PALLAS ARMED) MAY SEEM TO EMANATE FROM THEMSELVES. NOR IS IT ENOUGH THAT IT BE SEEN TO PROCEED FROM THEIR FREE AND UNCONSTRAINED AND INDEPENDENT AUTHORITY AND WILL, BUT THEY MUST HAVE THE WORLD THINK THAT THE DECISION COMES OUT OF THEIR HEAD, THAT IS OUT OF THEIR PROPER WISDOM AND JUDGMENT. . . .[56]

IN THE ESSAY "OF COUNSEL,"[57] WHICH GREW OUT OF THIS DISCUSSION, BACON WARNS THE KING OF ANOTHER PROBLEM OF COUNSEL: "A KING, WHEN HE PRESIDES IN COUNSEL, LET HIM BEWARE HOW HE OPENS HIS OWN INCLINATION TOO MUCH IN THAT WHICH HE PROPOUNDETH; FOR ELSE COUNSELLORS WILL BUT TAKE THE WIND OF HIM, AND INSTEAD OF GIVING FREE COUNSEL, SING HIM A SONG OF PLACEBO."[58]

56. IBID., PP. 761-62.

57. A GREAT MANY OF THE ESSAYS ARE DRAWN FROM BACON'S OTHER WORKS. FOR EXAMPLE SEE J. ZEITLIN, "THE DEVELOPMENT OF BACON'S ESSAYS," JEGP, XXVII (1928), PP. 496-519.

58. ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT DIFFERENCES BETWEEN BACON AND MACHIAVELLI IS CONCERNED WITH THE LATTER'S LACK OF CONFIDENCE IN COUNSEL. MACHIAVELLI'S POSITION

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IN AN OVERSIMPLIFIED FORM IT MAY BE SAID THAT BACON'S STATE IS COMPOSED OF THOSE WHO RULE AND THOSE WHO MUST BE RULED. BACON STARTS FROM THE PREMISE THAT A STATE IS A VISIBLE FACT, EXISTING IN A SPECIFIC PLACE AT A SPECIFIC TIME AND HAVING ITS OWN PROBLEMS TO SOLVE. THE KING IS RESPONSIBLE FOR PRESERVING ORDER, WITHOUT WHICH NO BUSINESS IN THE KINGDOM CAN BE CONDUCTED EFFECTIVELY--OR CONDUCTED AT ALL. ORDER ITSELF IS PRESERVED WHEN RULERS UNDERSTAND HOW FUNDAMENTALLY UNCIVIL INDIVIDUAL MEN ACTUALLY ARE. WHEN BACON DISCUSSES CIVIL OBEDIENCE, WHOSE PROBLEMS ARE ALL INVOLVED WITH HIS IDEA OF THE KING, WE ARE REMINDED OF HIS MOST FAMOUS COMMENT ON MACHIAVELLI:

> SO THAT WE ARE MUCH BEHOLDEN TO MACHIAVELLI AND OTHER WRITERS OF THAT CLASS, WHO OPENLY AND UNFEIGNEDLY DECLARE OR DESCRIBE WHAT MEN DO, AND NOT WHAT THEY OUGHT TO DO. FOR IT IS NOT POSSIBLE TO JOIN THE WISDOM OF THE SERPENT WITH THE INNOCENCE OF THE DOVE, EXCEPT MEN BE PERFECTLY ACQUAINTED WITH THE NATURE OF EVIL ITSELF; FOR WITHOUT THIS, VIRTUE IS OPEN AND UNFENCED; AND A VIRTUOUS AND HONEST MAN CAN DO NO GOOD UPON THOSE THAT ARE WICKED, TO CORRECT AND RECLAIM THEM, WITHOUT FIRST EXPLORING ALL THE DEPTHS AND RECESSES OF THEIR MALICE.[59]

ALTHOUGH BACON BY NO MEANS NEGLECTS TELLING MEN WHAT THEY OUGHT TO DO, THE BODY OF HIS COMMENTS ON CIVIL OBEDIENCE

> IS THAT IF A KING NEEDS COUNSEL--AND ADMITS HIS NEED--IT IS ONLY A MATTER OF TIME UNTIL HE IS NO LONGER KING. SEE ESPECIALLY CHAPTER XXIII OF THE PRINCE. BACON'S IDEAL KING IS A "SILENT LEARNER" WHO CAUTIOUSLY AVOIDS ANY DISPLAY OF IGNORANCE.

59. BOOK VII OF THE DE AUGMENTIS, WORKS, V, 17.

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REVOLVE AROUND THE NOTION THAT THE MASSES DO WHAT THEY ARE REQUIRED TO DO AND THAT ANY LOFTY DISCUSSIONS OF "OUGHT" ARE BETTER FITTED TO THE IDLE HOURS, AFTER THE DAY'S WORK HAS BEEN DONE.

A CARDINAL PRINCIPLE OF BACON'S IDEA OF OBEDIENCE IS THAT ANY PROPOSED CHANGE IN THE STRUCTURE OF THE STATE IS TO BE APPROACHED WITH THE GREATEST CAUTION. HOOKER WENT A LONG WAY TOWARD ESTABLISHING THE DIVINITY OF CUSTOM, BUT BACON HAD FAR TOO MANY COMPLAINTS ABOUT THE ACCUMULATED DEBRIS OF THE AGES TO FOLLOW HOOKER'S LINE; NONETHELESS IN MOST RESPECTS HIS STATE IS FULLY AS IMMOBILE AS THE CHURCHMAN'S. CUSTOMARILY BACON MAKES AN IMPORTANT DISTINCTION BETWEEN INNOVATIONS INVOLVING THE ADVANCEMENT OF LEARNING AND THOSE WHICH COMPREHEND POLITICAL CHANGE, AS HE DOES IN THE NOVUM ORGANUM: "BUT SURELY THERE IS A GREAT DISTINCTION BETWEEN MATTERS OF STATE AND THE ARTS; FOR THE DANGER FROM NEW MOTION AND FROM NEW LIGHT IS NOT THE SAME. IN MATTERS OF STATE A CHANGE EVEN FOR THE BETTER IS DISTRUSTED, BECAUSE IT UNSETTLES WHAT IS ESTABLISHED."[60] LATER IN THE SAME WORK HE SUGGESTS THAT THE TASKS HE HAS PLANNED FOR MANKIND CAN PROCEED WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE ESTABLISHED STATE: "MOREOVER THE REFORMATION OF A STATE IN CIVIL MATTERS IS SELDOM BROUGHT IN WITHOUT VIOLENCE AND CONFUSION;

60. BOOK I, APHORISM XC, WORKS, IV, 89.

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BUT DISCOVERIES CARRY BLESSINGS WITH THEM, AND CONFER BENEFITS WITHOUT CAUSING HARM OR SORROW TO ANY."[61] IN THE ESSAY "OF INNOVATION" HE MAKES ANOTHER RELEVANT COMMENT: "IT IS GOOD ALSO NOT TO TRY EXPERIMENTS IN STATES, EXCEPT THE NECESSITY BE URGENT, OR THE UTILITY EVIDENT; AND WELL TO BEWARE THAT IT BE THE REFORMATION THAT DRAWETH ON THE CHANGE, AND NOT THE DESIRE OF CHANGE THAT PRETENDETH THE REFORMATION."

SINCE CHANGE, EVEN FOR THE BETTER, IS TO BE DISTRUSTED, A MAJOR CONCERN OF THE STATESMAN IS TO UNDERSTAND WHAT MOTIVATES MEN TO RALLY FOR INNOVATION AND TO KNOW WHAT MEASURES CAN BE USED TO DISSIPATE THEIR ENERGY. DISCONTENT MAY ARISE, OF COURSE, FROM A POORLY MANAGED OR UNJUST GOVERNMENT; BUT THE COMMON MAN NEVER NEEDS MORE THAN HIS OWN INNATE MALICE TOWARD HIS SUPERIORS TO STIR HIM TO FACTION, SAYS BACON. TO ILLUSTRATE THIS POINT HE RECOUNTS THE FABLE OF FAME, SISTER OF THE GIANTS. THE GIANTS, CHILDREN OF EARTH, WARRED AGAINST JUPITER AND THE GODS AND WERE DEFEATED WITH THUNDERBOLTS. ENRAGED BY THE DEFEAT OF HER PROGENY, EARTH CREATED FAME. BACON HAS THE FOLLOWING INTERPRETATION OF THIS FABLE:

> THE MEANING OF THE FABLE APPEARS TO BE THIS: BY EARTH IS MEANT THE NATURE OF THE COMMON PEOPLE; ALWAYS SWELLING WITH MALICE TOWARDS THEIR RULERS, AND HATCHING REVOLUTIONS. THIS UPON OCCASION GIVEN BRINGS

61. APH. CXXIX, WORKS, IV, 113.

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> FORTH REBELS AND SEDITIOUS PERSONS, WHO WITH WICKED AUDACITY ENDEAVOUR THE OVERTHROW OF PRINCES. AND WHEN THEY ARE SUPPRESSED, THE SAME NATURE OF THE COMMON PEOPLE, STILL LEANING TO THE WORST PARTY AND IMPATIENT OF TRANQUILLITY, GIVES BIRTH TO RUMOURS AND MALIGNANT WHISPERS, AND QUERULOUS FAMES, AND DEFAMATORY LIBELS, AND THE LIKE, TENDING TO BRING ENVY UPON THE AUTHORITIES OF THE LAND: SO THAT SEDITIOUS FAMES DIFFER FROM THE ACTS OF REBELLION, NOT IN RACE AND PARENTAGE, BUT ONLY IN SEX: THE ONE BEING FEMININE, AND THE OTHER MASCULINE.[62]

THERE WERE, IT CAN BE SEEN, GIANTS IN BACON'S EARTH TOO, GIANTS WHICH HE WILL LATER CALL "THE BEASTS WITH MANY HEADS."

IN "OF SEDITIONS AND TROUBLES," ONE OF BACON'S MOST IMPORTANT DISCUSSIONS OF NATIONAL STRIFE, THE FABLE OF FAME IS REPEATED AND SEVERAL NEW DIMENSIONS ADDED TO THE PROBLEM OF DISCORD. BACON SAYS THAT WHENEVER ONE OF THE FOUR PILLARS OF GOVERNMENT (RELIGION, JUSTICE, COUNSEL, AND TREASURE) IS SHAKEN, "MEN HAD NEED TO PRAY FOR FAIR WEATHER." HE DISCUSSES THREE ASPECTS OF SEDITION: THE MATERIALS, THE MOTIVES, AND THE REMEDIES. THE TWO BASIC MATERIALS OF SEDITION ARE POVERTY AND DISCONTENTMENT, THE LATTER OF WHICH IS VERY COMPLEX. BUT ABOVE ALL THE PRINCE SHOULD NOT ASSUME THAT THE DANGER OF A DISCONTENT CAN BE MEASURED BY ITS RELATIVE CLAIM TO JUSTNESS, "FOR THAT WERE TO IMAGINE PEOPLE TO BE TOO REASONABLE." NOR CAN A PRINCE ASSUME THAT

62. <u>WORKS</u>, VI, 718-19.

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A DISCONTENT WHICH HAS REMAINED RELATIVELY HARMLESS WILL CONTINUE TO BE MANAGEABLE, "FOR AS IT IS TRUE THAT EVERY VAPOUR OR FUME DOTH NOT TURN INTO A STORM; SO IT IS NEVERTHELESS TRUE THAT STORMS, THOUGH THEY BLOW OVER DIVERSE TIMES, YET MAY FALL AT LAST."

THE CAUSES OR MOTIVES OF SEDITIONS (UNDER WHICH MATERIALS SHOULD BE LOGICALLY INCLUDED, I THINK) ARE MULTIFORM--ANYTHING, ACTUALLY, WHICH "IN OFFENDING PEOPLE, JOINETH THEM IN A COMMON CAUSE." REMEDIES ARE AS MANY AS INDIVIDUAL CASES REQUIRE, BUT ONE SAFE METHOD IS TO "GIVE MODERATE LIBERTY FOR GRIEFS AND DISCONTENTMENTS TO EVAPORATE (SO IT BE WITHOUT TOO GREAT INSOLENCY OR BRAVERY). . . ." IT IS ALSO WISE TO KEEP MEN NOURISHED WITH HOPE, EVEN WITH A "POLITIC AND ARTIFICIAL" KIND, WISE TO KEEP FACTION FROM GAINING A HEAD, WISE TO TURN ONE DISCONTENTED FACTION AGAINST ANOTHER, AND WISE FOR A PRINCE TO KEEP NEAR HIS PERSON A WARRIOR OF DEMONSTRATED LOYALTY AND VALOR.

BACON'S DISTRUST FOR HUMAN NATURE PERMEATES ALL OF HIS POLITICAL THOUGHT; IT SERVES, ONE MIGHT SAY, AS THE NECESSARY POINT OF DEPARTURE FOR ANY DISCUSSION OF THE STATE. YET BACON DOES NOT PERMIT HIS APPREHENSIONS TO LEAD HIM TO THE MORE UNSAVORY CONCLUSIONS REACHED BY MACHIAVELLI. FOR EXAMPLE, WE SHALL SEE LATER, PARTICULARLY IN OUR DISCUSSION OF IN MEMORIAM ELIZABETHAE, THAT HE HAS THE HIGHEST PRAISE FOR THE RELIGIOUS RULER. BOCK'S COMMENT ON BACON AND

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LEMMI, WHO IS IN GENERAL ACCORD WITH BOCK, MAKES THE IMPORTANT OBSERVATION THAT ALTHOUGH BACON DISTRUSTS THE MASSES, HE HAS NO DESIRE TO OPPRESS THEM: "... BACON WAS STRONGLY AVERSE TO OPPRESSING THE PEOPLE BUT NOT TO FOOLING THEM. THIS WAS THE GENERAL ATTITUDE OF CONTEMPORARY STATESMANSHIP, AND BACON REPEATEDLY IMPLIES HIS BELIEF THAT THE COMMONALITY, FOR THEIR OWN GOOD, SHOULD BE REGARDED AS CHILDREN."[64] LEMMI MAINTAINS THAT BACON'S CONSCIENCE PREVENTED HIM FROM FOLLOWING THE HARSHER AND MORE RUTHLESS LINES OF MACHIAVELLI.[65] BOCK, GENERALLY MORE

63. STAAT UND GESELLSCHAFT, PP. 64-65. LEMMI (CLASSICAL DEITIES) GETS TO THE HEART OF THE MATTER WHEN HE SAYS THAT MANY OF MACHIAVELLI'S CONCLUSIONS, PARTICULARLY THOSE ADMIRED BY BACON, BELONG TO THE COMMON SENSE OF STATECRAFT WHICH EXTENDS AS FAR BACK AS HISTORY GOES. (SEE IN PARTICULAR PP. 163-64.) ALTHOUGH I AM INCLINED TO BE WARY OF THE AGONIES OF PROFESSOR PRAZ, HIS THESIS IN MACHIAVELLI AND THE ELIZABETHANS (1928) HAS A BROAD VALIDITY IN ITS RELATIONSHIP TO BACON.

64. CLASSICAL DEITIES, PP. 168-69.

65. IBID., P. 171.

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REALISTIC IN HIS ANALYSIS OF BACON'S VIRTUE, CLAIMS THAT IT WAS BACON'S FAITH IN A BESSEREN ZUKUNFT WHICH LED HIM AWAY FROM THE DARKER SIDE OF THE FLORENTINE. AT ANY RATE, WHEN BACON TURNED TO A DISCUSSION OF RELIGIOUS UNITY THIS SAME DISTRUST FOR HUMAN NATURE GUIDED ALL OF HIS THOUGHT.

PROBABLY THE BEST-KNOWN OF BACON'S RELIGIO-POLITICAL WRITINGS IS THE ESSAY "OF UNITY IN RELIGION," AND WE SHALL SEE IN THIS WORK THAT A MAN IS NO MORE CAPABLE OF DIRECTING HIS SPIRITUAL LIFE TOWARD A MEANINGFUL END THAN HE IS OF ESTABLISHING HIS OWN TEMPORAL GOALS. THIS ESSAY, SUPPLEMENTED WITH REMARKS FROM "OF ATHEISM" AND "OF SUPERSTITION" IS AN EXCELLENT PRÉCIS OF BACON'S MANY REFLECTIONS ON CHURCH AND STATE AND WILL SERVE AS A USEFUL TRANSITION TO THE BODY OF THIS STUDY.

RELIGION, IT WILL BE RECALLED, IS ONE OF THE FOUR PILLARS OF BACON'S STATE, ONE OF THE SUPPORTING MEMBERS OF THE WHOLE NATIONAL LIFE; HENCE IT IS SUBJECT TO THE SAME EMPIRICAL LAWS WHICH GOVERN AND UNIFY THE SECULAR STATE. IN THE OPENING LINES OF "OF UNITY IN RELIGION" WE ARE REMINDED OF HOOKER WHEN BACON ASSERTS THAT RELIGION IS THE PRIMARY SOURCE OF SOCIAL HARMONY: "RELIGION BEING THE CHIEF BAND OF HUMAN SOCIETY, IT IS A HAPPY THING WHEN ITSELF IS WELL CONTAINED WITHIN THE TRUE BAND OF UNITY." UNITY IS ALSO DEMANDED BY THE TRUE GOD, A JEALOUS GOD WHOSE "WORSHIP AND RELIGION WILL ENDURE NO MIXTURE NOR PARTNER."

IN KEEPING WITH HIS LIFELONG POLICY OF DIVIDING EVERYTHING POSSIBLE INTO AT LEAST THREE PARTS, BACON DISCUSSES RELIGIOUS UNITY UNDER THREE INTERRELATED HEADS--FRUITS, BOUNDS, AND MEANS. THE FRUITS ARE FURTHER DIVIDED INTO EXTERNAL AND INTERNAL BENEFITS. ONE OF THE PRIMARY EXTERNAL FRUITS OF UNITY IS THAT IT DISCOURAGES ATHEISM, AN ATTITUDE OF MIND FOR WHICH BACON HAS AN INTERESTINGLY BROAD CONTEMPT. THE ATHEIST, HE SAYS (IN "OF ATHEISM"), STANDS ALONE AMONG THE RATIONAL CREATURES OF THE EARTH IN HIS DENIAL OF THE EXISTENCE OF A MAKER. EVEN THE VERY SAVAGES HAVE A GOD-CONSCIOUSNESS. THE ATHEIST, THOUGH RARELY AN ENEMY OF THE STATE ("OF SUPERSTITION"), IS APPARENTLY INSECURE IN HIS POSITION AND IS THEREFORE EVER ASTIR TO PROCURE CONVERTS TO HIS IGNOBLE AND IRRATIONAL PERSUASION.[66] BUT THE MOST DANGEROUS IMPLICATION OF ATHEISM IS THAT IT DEPRIVES BOTH INDIVIDUALS AND NATIONS OF "THE MEANS TO EXALT [THEMSELVES] ABOVE HUMAN FRAILITY" ("OF ATHEISM"). THE ATHEIST, IN OTHER WORDS, HAS NO PLACE IN SOCIETY AND NO PLACE IN THE COSMOS.

66. BACON LISTS FOUR MAJOR CAUSES OF ATHEISM: DIVISIONS IN RELIGION, "SCANDAL OF PRIESTS," "PROFANE SCOFFING IN HOLY MATTERS," AND "LEARNED TIMES, SPECIALLY WITH PEACE AND PROSPERITY; FOR TROUBLES AND ADVERSITIES DO MORE BOW MEN'S MINDS TO RELIGION." ("OF ATHEISM") IN THE NEXT CHAPTER WE WILL OBSERVE THAT BACON ATTACKS THE PURITANS FOR MAINTAINING THAT A LEARNED MAN CANNOT BE A TRUE BELIEVER.

THE OTHER EXTERNAL FRUITS OF UNITY ARE ALL COMPREHENDED UNDER WHAT MIGHT BE CALLED "CHURCH ADVERTIZEMENT." HEATHENS, PROFANE PERSONS, AND ALL KINDS OF SCOFFERS DELIGHT IN SEEING DIVISIONS IN THE CHURCH, FOR DISUNITY SUPPLIES THEM WITH MATERIALS TO CARRY OUT THEIR INGLORIOUS ASSAULTS ON FAITH.

BACON'S DISCUSSION OF INTERNAL FRUITS IS VERY BRIEF, AND AGAIN WE ARE REMINDED OF HOOKER: "AS FOR THE FRUIT TOWARDS THOSE THAT ARE WITHIN; IT IS PEACE; WHICH CONTAINETH INFINITE BLESSINGS. IT ESTABLISHETH FAITH. IT KINDLETH CHARITY. THE OUTWARD PEACE OF THE CHURCH [HE MEANS A CHURCH HERE, HENCE THE INTERNAL FRUIT] DISTILLETH INTO PEACE OF CONSCIENCE. AND IT TURNETH THE LABOURS OF WRITING AND READING OF CONTROVERSIES INTO TREATISES OF MORTIFICATION AND DEVOTION."

BACON'S TREATMENT OF THE BOUNDS OF UNITY CONTAINED IN "OF UNITY IN RELIGION" IS DERIVED LARGELY FROM ONE OF HIS EARLIEST TRACTS ON RELIGIOUS CONTROVERSIES, AN ADVERTISEMENT TOUCHING THE CONTROVERSIES OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND (1589), DISCUSSED AT LENGTH IN THE NEXT CHAPTER. BY "BOUNDS OF RELIGION" BACON HAS REFERENCE TO THE WHOLE SPECTRUM OF RELIGIOUS PERSUASION. JUST OUTSIDE THE LIMITS OF ONE "BOUND" STANDS THE MAN WHO IS NEVER PEACEFUL AND BIPARTISAN IN RELIGIOUS MATTERS: HE IS A FOLLOWER OF PARTY, A MAN TO WHOM "ALL SPEECH OF PACIFICATION IS ODIOUS." BEYOND THE LIMITS OF THE OTHER POLE STAND "CERTAIN LAODICEANS AND

LUKEWARM PERSONS WHO THINK THEY MAY ACCOMMODATE POINTS OF RELIGION BY MIDDLE WAYS, AND TAKING PART OF BOTH, AND WITTY RECONCILEMENTS; AS IF THEY WOULD MAKE AN ARBITREMENT BETWEEN GOD AND MAN." (THIS MIDDLE WAY HAS NOTHING TO DO WITH THE ANGLICAN VIA MEDIA.) THE "LAODICEANS AND LUKEWARM PERSONS" ARE GIVEN LITTLE ATTENTION AS BACON TURNS DIRECTLY TO THE ZEALOTS. TO AVOID EXTREMES, HE SAYS, CHRISTIANS SHOULD HARKEN TO THE WORDS OF THE SAVIOR HIMSELF, WHO SAID, "'HE THAT IS NOT WITH US IS AGAINST US; AND AGAIN, HE THAT IS NOT AGAINST US IS WITH US'; THAT IS, IF THE POINTS FUNDAMENTAL AND OF SUBSTANCE IN RELIGION WERE TRULY DISCERNED AND DISTINGUISHED FROM POINTS NOT MERELY OF FAITH, BUT OF OPINION, ORDER, OR GOOD INTENTION."[67]

TWO KINDS OF CONTROVERSIES SPLIT THE CHURCH, SAYS BACON, THOSE IN WHICH ISSUES CONTROVERTED ARE UNWORTHY OF EXTENDED DEBATE AND THOSE IN WHICH IMPORTANT ISSUES ARE TURNED OVER SO MANY TIMES THAT THE FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEMS BECOME OBSCURED WITH INSUBSTANTIAL SUBTLETIES. TO AVOID THESE EXTREMES AND TO PRESERVE UNITY BACON COUNSELS THAT CONTROVERSIALISTS HEED THE WORDS OF AUGUSTINE: "CHRIST'S COAT INDEED HAD NO SEAM, BUT THE CHURCH'S VESTURE WAS OF DIVERS COLOURS; WHEREUPON HE SAITH, IN VESTE VARIETAS SIT, SCISSURA NON SIT. . . ." SOMEWHERE BETWEEN ADMISSIBLE

67. THE FIRST PASSAGE IS IN LUKE 11:23 AND IN MATTHEW 12:30; THE SECOND IN LUKE 9:50. BACON FOUND THE VERSATILITY OF THESE PHRASES MOST ATTRACTIVE AND USED THEM MANY TIMES.

VARIETY AND FORBIDDEN DIVISION LIES BACON'S IDEA OF THE BOUNDS OF CHRISTIAN FREEDOM, AND THESE ARE PASSAGES WHICH HE PUT TO YEOMAN'S SERVICE.

BEFORE LEAVING THE BOUNDS OF UNITY, BACON MENTIONS "TWO FALSE PEACES OR UNITIES." THE ONE RESULTS WHEN MEN AGREE "UPON AN IMPLICIT IGNORANCE" AND ANOTHER WHEN MEN STRIKE FACILE AGREEMENTS ON CONVICTIONS WHICH ARE LOGICALLY INCOMPATIBLE.

IN "OF SUPERSTITION" A FEW MORE TYPES FOUND IN THE VAST REACHES BETWEEN BOUNDLESS ZEAL AND FAITHLESS INDIFFERENCE ARE FILLED IN. IN BACON'S MIND SUPERSTITION SYMBOLIZED ALL THAT WAS BAD ABOUT TRADITION; IT WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR CLUTTERING MEN'S MINDS WITH NONSENSE, RESPONSIBLE FOR A GREAT WASTE OF HUMAN ENERGY, RESPONSIBLE FOR FILLING MEN WITH INSUBSTANTIAL HOPES AND TERRIFYING THEM WITH FALSE FEARS. LIKE MOST ENGLISH PROTESTANTS OF HIS AGE HE SELDOM MISSED A CHANCE TO CHARGE THE CHURCH OF ROME WITH BEING THE CITADEL OF ORGANIZED SUPERSTITION, BUT HE PERMITTED SUPERSTITION TO SPRING FROM MANY OTHER ROOTS TOO. IN HIS LENGTHY LIST OF THE CAUSES OF SUPERSTITION HE CRITICIZES CATHOLIC AND PROTESTANT ALIKE (AND CHURCHMAN AND PHILOSOPHER):

> THE CAUSES OF SUPERSTITION ARE, PLEASING AND SENSUAL RITES AND CEREMONIES; EXCESS OF OUTWARD AND PHARISAICAL HOLINESS; OVER-GREAT REVERENCE OF TRADITIONS, WHICH CANNOT BUT

> LOAD THE CHURCH; THE STRATEGEMS OF PRELATES FOR THEIR OWN AMBITIONS AND LUCRE; THE FAVOURING TOO MUCH OF GOOD INTENTIONS, WHICH OPENETH THE GATE TO CONCEITS AND NOVELTIES; THE TAKING AN AIM AT DIVINE MATTERS BY HUMAN, WHICH CANNOT BUT BREED MIXTURE OF IMAGINATIONS; AND, LASTLY, BARBAROUS TIMES, JOINED WITH CALAMITIES AND DISASTERS. SUPERSTITION, WITHOUT A VEIL, IS A DEFORMED THING; FOR AS IT ADDETH DEFORMITY TO AN APE TO BE SO LIKE A MAN, SO THE SIMILTUDE OF SUPERSTITION TO RELIGION MAKES IT MORE DEFORMED. AND AS WHOLESOME MEAT CORRUPTETH TO LITTLE WORMS, SO GOOD FORMS AND ORDERS CORRUPT INTO A NUMBER OF PETTY OBSERVANCES. THERE IS A SUPERSTITION IN AVOIDING SUPERSTITION, WHEN MEN THINK TO DO BEST IF THEY GO FURTHEST FROM THE SUPERSTITION FORMERLY RECEIVED; THEREFORE CARE WOULD BE HAD THAT (AS IT FARETH IN ILL PURGINGS) THE GOOD BE NOT TAKEN AWAY WITH THE BAD; WHICH COMMONLY IS DONE WHEN THE PEOPLE IS THE REFORMER.

SUCH ARE THE "BOUNDS" OF RELIGIOUS UNITY; THEY EMBRACE THE WHOLE OF MAN'S RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE.

IT IS INTERESTING THAT IN HIS REMARKS ON THE MEANS OF PROCURING RELIGIOUS UNITY BACON CONFINES HIMSELF FOR THE MOST PART TO A BRIEF DISCUSSION OF RELIGIOUS WARS[68] AND OTHER ACTS IN WHICH CONSCIENCES ARE FORCED WITH "SANGUINARY PERSECUTIONS." IT WOULD, AFTER ALL, BE IMPOSSIBLE TO REVIEW THE MEANS OF UNITY WITHIN THE CONFINES OF A SHORT ESSAY, AND I SUSPECT THAT BACON FELT AN APPEAL TO CHRISTIAN CHARITY WOULD HAVE TO SUFFICE. AGAIN, HOWEVER, HE COUNSELS GOVERNMENTS TO KEEP THE TEMPORAL SWORD OUT OF THE HANDS OF

68. I HAVE DISCUSSED BACON'S VIEWS ON RELIGIOUS WARS IN CHAPTER VII.

THE PEOPLE, WHO, PARTICULARLY IN RELIGIOUS MATTERS, ARE HIGHLY VOLATILE.

THIS SUMMARY OF THE MAJOR FEATURES OF HIS STATE SHOULD BE SUFFICIENT TO ALERT US TO THE PRINCIPLES FROM WHICH ALL OF BACON'S RELIGIO-POLITICAL OBSERVATIONS PROCEED. MOST FAITHS, AT ONE TIME OR ANOTHER IN THEIR HISTORIES, HAVE MAINTAINED THAT THEY HAVE BROUGHT A MEANINGFUL CIVILIZATION TO A BARBAROUS AND UNGODLY PEOPLE, BUT IT WILL BECOME EVIDENT IN THE COURSE OF THIS STUDY THAT BACON HAD ALMOST NO CONFIDENCE IN THE ABILITY OF A CHURCH, EVEN ONE CAREFULLY INTEGRATED WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF A STATE, TO DIRECT THE MAJOR FORCES OF THE NATIONAL LIFE. THOUGH HE ADOPTS MANY OF HOOKER'S PREMISES, BACON SEES THE CHURCH AS A DEPARTMENT OF THE STATE, AND HE IS CAREFUL TO POINT OUT THAT A DEPARTMENT DOES NOT PRESUME TO TELL THE HEAD OFFICE HOW TO CONDUCT ITS BUSINESS. IN A SENSE THIS IS HOOKER'S POSITION TOO, BUT HOOKER'S CHURCH-DEPARTMENT IS MUCH MORE VITAL TO THE NATIONAL LIFE THAN IS BACON'S. IN BACON'S MIND THE MAJOR BUSINESS OF THE CHURCH IS TO KEEP ITS MEMBERS FROM BECOMING MENACES TO THE STATE AND CHRISTENDOM IN GENERAL--BY EDUCATING THEM, BY PACIFYING THEM, BY CONVINCING THEM IN EVERY WAY POSSIBLE THAT THE TRUE FAITH IS A REASONABLE FAITH. HIS DEEP DISTRUST FOR THE RELIGIOUS TEMPERAMENT, EXHIBITED EVERYWHERE IN HIS WORKS, LEADS HIM TO THE CONCLUSION THAT THE SECULAR GOVERNMENT MUST

PROTECT ITS RIGHT TO PARTICIPATE IN ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS AS LONG AS MEN FEEL THE NEED TO IMPOSE THEIR SPIRITUAL WILLS UPON OTHERS. IT IS THIS DEFENSIVE CHARACTER OF THE CHURCH-STATE RELATIONSHIP WHICH INFORMS ALL OF BACON'S RELIGIO-POLITICAL THOUGHT.

CHAPTER III

THE RATIONALE OF RELIGICUS CONTROVERSIES

IN THIS CHAPTER AND THE NEXT WE SHALL DISCUSS THOSE OF BACON'S RELIGIO-POLITICAL OBSERVATIONS WHICH DEAL SPECIFICALLY WITH THE CONTROVERSIES BETWEEN THE PURITANS AND THE CHURCHMEN. THE FOCAL POINT OF THIS CHAPTER IS BACON'S ADVERTISEMENT TOUCHING THE CONTROVERSIES OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND,[1] A TRACT INSPIRED BY THE APPEARANCE OF THE INFAMOUS MARPRELATE TRACTS OF 1588-89. THE WORK IS BACON'S FIRST LENGTHY DISCUSSION OF THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND AND CONTAINS HIS FULLEST ANALYSIS OF THE GENESIS AND DEVELOPMENT OF RELIGIOUS CONTROVERSIES. ASSUMING THE ATTITUDE OF AN "INDIFFERENT" MAN, BACON PLAYS THE ROLE OF A SENSIBLE MEDIATOR BETWEEN THE PASSIONATE BELLIGERENCE OF THE PURITAN MARTIN AND THE HAUGHTY INFLEXIBILITY OF THE HIGH CHURCHMEN.

TO ONE NOT UNDULY DEPRESSED BY THE EXCESSES OF RELIGIOUSLY MOTIVATED VITUPERATION THE MARPRELATE EPISODE CONSTITUTES ONE OF THE MOST INTERESTING CHAPTERS IN THE HISTORY

1. THE TRACT WAS PROBABLY WRITTEN IN THE SUMMER OF 1589. IT WAS NOT INTENDED FOR PUBLICATION BUT CIRCULATED WIDELY IN MANUSCRIPT. SEE WORKS, VIII, 70-73 FOR SPEDDING'S DISCUSSION. THE TEXT IS CONTAINED IN PAGES 74-95.

OF THE ENGLISH CHURCH. ELIZABETH HAD BEEN VERY FIRM WITH THE PURITANS, PARTICULARLY WHEN THEY HAD ATTEMPTED TO INTRODUCE LEGISLATION WHICH WOULD ALTER HER CHURCH, AND THE BISHOPS THEMSELVES--BY BACON'S OWN ACCOUNT--HAD BECOME MORE AND MORE ENCHANTED WITH THEIR ROLES UNTIL THEY HAD ADOPTED PROHIBITIVE POLICIES WHICH FAR EXCEEDED THEIR COMMISSION AS CHURCHMEN AND THEIR RIGHTS AS MEMBERS OF A PROTESTANT SOCIETY. ADDITIONALLY, THEY HAD CONSTANTLY MADE IT A POINT TO EQUATE PURITANISM WITH TREASONABLE FACTION. THE PURITANS, WHO COULD NOT, OF COURSE, PUBLISH THEIR VIEWS, NATURALLY EXPERIENCED THOSE FRUSTRATIONS MEN ALWAYS FEEL WHEN THEY ARE CALUMINATED AND HAVE NO LEGITIMATE MEANS TO DEFEND THEMSELVES. THE PHANTON MARTIN,[2] USING A SECRET PRESS AND TECHNIQUES VARYING FROM SCURRILOUS NAME-CALLING TO REASONABLY TEMPERATE ARGUMENTATION, ATTEMPTED TO RECTIFY THESE INJUSTICES; AND IN ORDER TO EVALUATE BACON'S REMARKS IT WILL BE NECESSARY TO REVIEW MARTIN'S MAJOR THEMES AND TO PLACE A WARY HAND ON HIS FEVERISH AND FANATICAL BROW.

FROM THE SEVEN EXTANT MARPRELATE TRACTS[3] THREE DOMINANT

2. I HAVE NOT ATTEMPTED TO ENTER INTO THE DEBATE OVER THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE MARPRELATE TRACTS, A DEBATE WHICH APPARENTLY WILL NEVER BE ENDED TO EVERYONE'S SATISFACTION. I REFER TO "MARTIN" THROUGHOUT.

3. "THE EPISTLE," "THE EPITOME," "MINERAL AND METAPHYSICAL SCHOOLPOINTS," "HAY ANY WORK FOR COOPER," "MARTIN JUNIOR," "MARTIN SENIOR," AND "THE PROTESTATION OF MARTIN THE GREAT." A SEQUEL TO "HAY ANY WORK" IS NOT EXTANT. THE LENGTHIEST TREATMENT OF THE TRACTS IS BY WILLIAM PIERCE, <u>AN HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION TO THE MARPRELATE</u>

THEMES EMERGE. THE FIRST IS AN UNCOMPROMISING CONDEMNATION OF THE BISHOPS AS INDIVIDUAL CHRISTIANS AND OF THE EPISCOPAL FORM OF CHURCH GOVERNMENT; THE SECOND IS A FIRM ALLEGATION OF THE PURITANS' ALLEGIANCE TO ENGLAND; AND THE THIRD IS A DEFENSE OF THE MAJOR PURITAN THEORIES OF CHURCH GOVERNMENT. IT WAS OF COURSE THE VIOLENT INDICTMENT OF THE BISHOPS WHICH CAUGHT THE FANCY OF THE PURITANS, ALTHOUGH THEY WERE BY NO MEANS UNIFIED IN THEIR ATTITUDES TOWARD MARTIN'S TACTICS.[4] FOLLOWING THE GENERAL PROCEDURE OF THE DAY, MARTIN ACCUSES THE OPPOSITION OF BEING RESPONSIBLE FOR MOST OF THE EVILS EXISTING IN THE CHURCH:

> IS IT ANY MARVEL THAT WE HAVE SO MANY SWINE, DUMB DOGS, NON-RESIDENTS, WITH THEIR JOURNEYMEN, THE HEDGEPRIESTS; SO MANY LEWD LIVERS, AS THIEVES, MURDERERS, ADULTERERS, DRUNKARDS, CORMORANTS, RASCALS; SO MANY COVETOUS POPISH BISHOPS, IN OUR MINISTRY; AND SO MANY AND SO MONSTROUS CORRUPTIONS IN OUR CHURCH? AND YET (ARE WE) [PIERCE ADDS] LIKELY TO HAVE NO REDRESS, SEEING OUR IMPUDENT, SHAMELESS, AND

TRACTS (CONSTABLE, 1908). PIERCE ALSO EDITED THE MARPRELATE TRACTS (LONDON, JAMES CLARKE & CO., 1911). HE IS DEDICATED TO THE NOTION THAT WHAT MARTIN SAID ABOUT THE BISHOPS WAS FUNDAMENTALLY TRUE. W. H. FRERE, THE CHURCH HISTORIAN, ATTACKED PIERCE'S THESIS; SEE THE INTRODUCTION TO THE MARPRELATE TRACTS FOR THIS DEBATE.

4. FOR EXAMPLE, IN THE SECOND TRACT MARTIN SAYS, "THE PURITANS ARE ANGRY WITH ME. I MEAN THE PURITAN PREACHERS. AND WHY? BECAUSE I AM TOO OPEN; BECAUSE I JEST. . . . . I DID NOT THINK THAT MARTIN SHOULD NOT HAVE BEEN BLAMED OF THE PURITANS FOR TELLING THE TRUTH OPENLY. FOR, MAY I NOT SAY THAT JOHN OF CANTERBURY IS A PETTY POPE, SEEING HE IS SO?. . . I AM PLAIN; I MUST NEEDS CALL A SPADE A SPADE; A POPE A POPE. . . ." MARPRELATE TRACTS, PP. 118-119. (MARTIN'S DOCTRINE WAS THOROUGHLY "PURITANICAL"; IT WAS HIS PUNGENT LAMPOONS WHICH DISPLEASED THESE PREACHERS.)

> WAINSCOT-FACED BISHOPS, LIKE BEASTS, CONTRARY TO THE KNOWLEDGE OF ALL MEN, AND AGAINST THEIR OWN CONSCIENCES, DARE IN THE EARS OF HER MAJESTY AFFIRM ALL TO BE WELL, WHERE THERE IS NOTHING BUT SORES AND BLISTERS; . . ."[5]

MARTIN CAN BE MORE LIGHT-HEARTED THAN THIS PASSAGE MIGHT SUGGEST, BUT EVEN IN A GAYER MOMENT IT IS OBVIOUS THAT LEVITY IS ONLY A MASK FOR A DEEP DISCONTENT BORDERING ON PIOUS HYSTERIA:

> . . . OUR LORD BISHOPS, I SAY, AS JOHN OF CANTERBURY, THOMAS OF WINCHESTER, (I WILL SPARE JOHN OF LONDON FOR THIS TIME; FOR IT MAY BE, HE IS AT BOWLS, AND IT IS PITY TO TROUBLE ANY GOOD BROTHER, LEST HE SHOULD SWEAR TOO BAD), MY REVEREND PRELATE OF LICHFIELD, WITH THE REST OF THAT SWINISH RABBLE, ARE PETTY ANTICHRISTS, PETTY POPES, PROUD PRELATES, INTOLERABLE WITHSTANDERS OF REFORMATION, ENEMIES OF THE GOSPEL, AND MOST COVETOUS WRETCHED PRIESTS.[6]

IT IS IMPORTANT TO NOTE THAT IN SPITE OF HIS DISTEMPER MARTIN IS STILL SPEAKING OF "OUR CHURCH"; INDEED THERE IS THROUGHOUT THE TRACTS NO SEPARATIST SPIRIT, BUT RATHER AN IMPASSIONED APPEAL FOR REFORM WITHIN THE CHURCH. THIS IS ONE REASON WHY MARTIN IS ANXIOUS TO DEMONSTRATE THAT THE PURITANS, CONTRARY TO THE SCANDALOUS REPORTS OF THE BISHOPS, ARE TRUE PATRIOTS WHO HAVE ABSOLUTELY NO DESIRE TO USURP CIVIL AUTHORITY. IN FACT, SAYS MARTIN, IF THE QUEEN WISHES TO PLACE HER FINGER ON THE SEAT OF POTENTIAL REVOLT IN ENGLAND, SHE NEED PROBE NO FURTHER THAN HER VERY OWN BISHOPS,

5. MARPRELATE TRACTS, P. 71.

6. IBID., P. 24.

WHO HAVE BEEN DEFENDING THEIR POSITION ON "COMELINESS AND ORDER" IN PRECISELY THE TERMS BELLARMINE HAS BEEN USING TO DEFEND THE POLICIES OF ROME. MARTIN EVEN SUGGESTS THAT THE BISHOPS AND BELLARMINE GET TOGETHER AND CO-AUTHOR A SINGLE BOOK (P. 141).

BUT WHEN MARTIN FINALLY TURNS TO THE CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH HE AND HIS PURITAN COMPATRIOTS WILL AGREE TO BE CONTENT AND SILENT, THE OLD DILEMMA, WORN THREADBARE DURING THE ADMONITION CONTROVERSY, APPEARS IN ALL OF ITS RAGGED IMPLACABILITY. THE MARTINISTS MAKE NO PRETENSE TO VIOLATE THE FRANCHISES OF CIVIL AUTHORITY, BUT, ON THE OTHER HAND, THE CHRISTIAN MAGISTRATE (IN MARTIN'S SENSE, THE "SECULAR RULER") HAS THE SACRED OBLIGATION TO KEEP THE PERFECT BODY OF CHRIST INVIOLATE. AND WHO IS RESPONSIBLE FOR ETCHING THE FINE LINES OF THIS FAULTLESS ANATOMY? MEN LIKE MARTIN HIMSELF, WE LEARN, MEN WHO HAVE PORED OVER THE WORD UNTIL THE HOLY SPIRIT HAS CALLED THEM AS WITNESSES TO TRUTH. SUCH MEN, BECAUSE THEY LABOR INTIMATELY AND MYSTERIOUSLY WITH GOD, MAY NOT BE REMOVED FROM ECCLESIASTICAL OFFICE BY THE MACHINERY OF CIVIL GOVERNMENT, FOR "THE MAGISTRATE HATH NEITHER THE SKILL NOR THE COMMISSION TO MAKE THE MEMBERS OF THE BODY OF CHRIST. BECAUSE HE CANNOT TELL TO WHAT USE THE MEMBERS OF HIS MAKING MAY SERVE THE CHURCH."[7] NO "CIVIL

7. IBID., P. 231.

MAGISTRATE, NO PRINCE, NO STATE, MAY WITHOUT SIN, ABOLISH ANY LAWFUL OFFICER, TOGETHER WITH HIS OFFICE, OUT OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE CHURCH. . . ."[8] FURTHERMORE, SAYS MARTIN, "NO LIKELIHOOD OF INCONVENIENCE" SHOULD DETER THE MAGISTRATE FROM INSISTING THAT HIS CHURCH BE GOVERNED BY PASTORS, DOCTORS, ELDERS, AND DEACONS.

WE WILL NOT CONSIDER THE MULTITUDE OF MINOR PROPOSALS MARTIN ENUMERATES, EXCEPT TO SAY THAT THEY ARE, BASICALLY, WHAT THE PURITANS HAD BEEN SUING FOR FROM THE BEGINNING. MARTIN LAMENTS AGAINST THE DUMB CLERGY, AGAINST PLURALITIES, NON-RESIDENCE, EXCOMMUNICATION, AND A HOST OF RITUALS WHICH IN HIS MIND REEK OF PAPISTRY. YET IN SPITE OF WHAT IS CERTAINLY THE ADVOCATION OF A VERY NEARLY COMPLETE OVERHAUL OF THE CHURCH'S STRUCTURE, MARTIN HAS EVERY FAITH THAT HE REPRESENTS THE WILL OF THE ENGLISH PEOPLE AND THAT THE TRANSITION FROM A CORRUPT PRELACY TO A GLORIOUSLY GODLY DISCIPLINE NEED INVOLVE NO TREMBLING OF THE STATE.

DESPERATE MEN BRING FORTH DESPERATE ATTEMPTS, AS BACON ONCE OBSERVED, AND IT IS OBVIOUS FROM THE MARPRELATE TRACTS THAT SOME OF THE PURITANS HAD FOUND THE ELIZABETHAN SETTLEMENT HOPELESSLY INCOMPATIBLE WITH THE KINGDOM OF GOD. DISRESPECT FOR THE BISHOPS IS TOTAL, UNCOMPROMISING, AND VICIOUS--ALMOST, AS I HAVE SUGGESTED--HYSTERICAL. YET MARTIN IS BY

8. IBID., P. 230.

NO MEANS A MADMAN. DURING THOSE MOMENTS WHEN HE ABANDONS INTEMPERATE RHETORIC FOR SINCERE APPEALS TO THE CHRISTIAN CONSCIENCE, WE CAN UNDERSTAND WHY THE CHURCH'S POLICY OF PRETENDING THAT MOST OF THE ISSUES IN DEBATE WERE "INDIFFERENTS" WAS BECOMING DANGEROUSLY OBSOLETE. HOOKER WAS STILL IN ORDNANCE, IT MUST BE REMEMBERED, AND THE PURITANS HAD ALWAYS IMAGINED WHITGIFT HAD LOST THE DEBATE WITH CARTWRIGHT. IF THE CHURCH IS PROPER, SAYS MARTIN, WHY ARE ITS LEADERS SO IMPROPER? WHY ARE THEY THE "RINGLEADERS OF PROFANENESS" IN A NATION ALREADY OVERRUN WITH EVIL AND IGNORANCE? IS IT A MATTER OF INDIFFERENCE THAT MULTITUDES PERISH IN IGNORANCE BECAUSE THEY HAVE BEEN DEPRIVED OF THEIR MINISTERS, A MATTER OF INDIFFERENCE THAT THE BISHOPS BOWL AND TABLE ON THE SABBATH, TAKE BRIBES, AND MOLEST THE POOR IN THEIR "UNGODLY COURTS," A MATTER OF INDIFFERENCE THAT THEY HAVE "JOINED THE PROFANATION OF THE MAGISTRY TO THE CORRUPTION OF THE MINISTRY"? MARTIN THINKS IT IS TIME FOR ANSWERS, AND UNTIL HE GETS THEM, HE WILL PLACE A SPOKESMAN ON EVERY CORNER AND PUBLISH THE KNAVERY OF THE BISHOPS TO THE WORLD.

BACON'S <u>ADVERTISEMENT TOUCHING THE CONTROVERSIES OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND</u>, DIRECTED AT THE EDUCATED ENGLISHMAN AT LARGE, SEEMS ALMOST SOPORIFIC AFTER THE NIGHTMARISH RANTS OF MARTIN. IT IS A CAREFULLY CONSTRUCTED ESSAY WHICH

ATTEMPTS TO FORMULATE A RATIONALE FOR RELIGIOUS CONTROVERSIES SO THAT BOTH THE PURITANS AND THE HIGH CHURCHMEN MIGHT SEE THE REASONABLENESS OF DISSENT BUT MIGHT ALSO PERCEIVE THE DANGERS OF IMMODERATELY CONDUCTED CONTENTIONS. BACON PROPOSES NOT TO ENTER "THE CONTROVERSIES THEMSELVES" BECAUSE HE JUDGES THAT THIS PARTICULAR ASPECT OF "THE DISEASE REQUIRETH RATHER REST THAN ANY OTHER CURE." CONTROVERSIES, HE ASSURES THE READER, ARE A FUNDAMENTAL PART OF THE EVOLUTION OF FAITH, FOR IT IS THE "CONTRARY BLASTS OF DOCTRINE" WHICH "SIFT AND WINNOW MEN'S FAITH," AND WHICH LEAD MEN TO TRUTH AFTER THEY HAVE EMERGED FROM PERIODS OF PERSECUTION. YET, HE ADMONISHES, THE CHRISTIAN IS THE BROTHER OF CHRISTIANS, AND WHATEVER HIS VIEWPOINT HE MUST CALL TO MIND THE WORDS OF ST. JAMES, "'LET EVERY MAN BE SWIFT TO HEAR, SLOW TO SPEAK, SLOW TO WRATH.'"[9]

IT APPEARS FOR A MOMENT THAT BACON MIGHT AVOID THE SLOUGH OF INDIFFERENTS, BUT, AFTER SAYING THAT COMPARED WITH THE ISSUES WHICH SEPARATE THE ESTABLISHMENT AND ROME THOSE WHICH SEPARATE PURITAN AND ANGLICAN ARE GRATIFYINGLY AMENABLE, HE AMBLES CASUALLY INTO THE MIRE WHICH HAD SERVED AS THE REAL IMPASSE OF THE WHOLE DEBATE BETWEEN THE PURITANS AND THE CHURCHMEN:

> BUT WE CONTEND ABOUT CEREMONIES AND THINGS INDIFFERENT; ABOUT THE EXTERN POLICY AND GOVERNMENT OF THE CHURCH. IN WHICH KIND, IF WE WOULD

9. WORKS, VIII, 74.

> BUT REMEMBER THAT THE ANCIENT AND TRUE BONDS OF UNITY ARE ONE FAITH, ONE BAPTISM, AND NOT ONE CEREMONY, ONE POLICY; IF WE WOULD OBSERVE THE LEAGUE AMONGST CHRISTIANS THAT IS PENNED BY OUR SAVIOUR, HE THAT IS NOT AGAINST US IS WITH US. . . OUR CONTROVERSIES OF THEMSELVES WOULD CLOSE UP AND GROW TOGETHER.[10]

IT WAS THESE "EXTERN" POLICIES, PARTICULARLY THOSE INVOLVING CHURCH GOVERNMENT, ABOUT WHICH THE ANGLICANS AND PURITANS COULD NOT AGREE. IN THE "EPITOME," THE SECOND MARPRELATE TRACT TO APPEAR (NOV., 1588), MARTIN HAD DEALT EXPLICITLY WITH THIS ASPECT OF INDIFFERENTS. HE AND HIS PURITAN COUNTRYMEN DENIED CATEGORICALLY THE PROPOSITION THAT CHURCH GOVERNMENT WAS A MATTER OF INDIFFERENCE. HOW, HE SAID, IS IT POSSIBLE TO MAINTAIN THAT SOMETHING AS FUNDAMENTAL AS THE OFFICES AND OFFICERS OF THE CHURCH CAN BE CONSIDERED INDIFFERENT? IF, HE SAID, WE MUST CONTINUALLY SPEAK OF INDIFFERENTS, LET US AGREE UPON WHAT THEY REALLY ARE:

> OF THIS LATTER SORT ARE THESE POINTS: WHETHER IT BE MOST CONVENIENT, THAT PRAYER SHOULD BEGIN AT 8 OR 9 O'CLOCK; WHETHER THE SERMON SHOULD CONTINUE AN HOUR, OR AN HOUR AND A HALF; WHETHER THE PULPIT SHOULD BE OF WOOD OR OF STONE, &C.[11]

BACON'S POSITION IS VERY REASONABLE, REASONABLE THAT IS TO THOSE OF HIS PERSUASION, BUT BEFORE HIS ESSAY REALLY GETS UNDER WAY, HE HAS ESTABLISHED A FIRST PREMISE WHICH IN THE

10. IBID., P. 75.

11. MARPRELATE TRACTS, PP. 130-131.

PURITAN'S VIEW IS AT BEST TOTALLY MEANINGLESS, AND AT WORST WELL NIGH DAMNABLE.

BEFORE HE TURNS TO A DETAILED ANALYSIS OF THE "ACCIDENTS AND CIRCUMSTANCES" OF THE CONTROVERSIES, BACON COMMENTS SPECIFICALLY ON MARTIN'S DEVICES. IT IS TO BE EXPECTED, HE SAYS, THAT A "FEELING CHRISTIAN" WILL EXPRESS HIMSELF WITH EITHER LOVE OR ZEAL, BUT "TO TURN RELIGION INTO A COMEDY OR SATIRE; TO SEARCH AND RIP UP WOUNDS WITH A LAUGHING CONTENANCE; TO INTERMIX SCRIPTURE AND SCURRILITY SOMETIME IN ONE SENTENCE; IS A THING FAR FROM THE DEVOUT REVERENCE OF A CHRISTIAN. . . ."[12] CURIOUS CONTROVERSIES CONDUCTED WITH PROFANE SCOFFING LEAD ONE PRECIPITOUSLY DOWN THE TERRIBLE ROAD TO ATHEISM. AND IN SPITE OF THE DANGERS OF TREADING ON A HOT FLAME, THE OUTBURSTS OF MARTIN AND HIS KIND ARE TO BE STRICTLY CENSURED, "AS THE INTEMPERATE EXTRAVAGANCIES OF SOME LIGHT PERSONS." MEN ARE READY ENOUGH TO FIND FAULT WITH THOSE IN HIGH PLACES, AND THERE ARE "DANGEROUS AMPLIFICATIONS" IN SUGGESTING TO THE WORLD THAT THE GOVERNMENT HAS "NEAR LOST THE FORCE OF HER SINEWS, AND [IS] READY TO ENTER INTO SOME CONVULSION."[13] ALL MEN INCLINED TO SMILE AT THE ANTICS OF MARTIN SHOULD CONVERT THEIR MIRTH TO BLUSHING AND THEIR SPORT TO REVERENCE.

AFTER THESE MORE OR LESS GENERALIZED COMMENTS, BACON

12. WORKS, VIII, 76-77.

13. IBID., PP. 78-79.

TURNS TO A DETAILED CLASSIFICATION OF THE CAUSES OF CHURCH CONTROVERSIES. PERHAPS THERE IS SOME REASON TO CALL THESE PHENOMENA BACON'S "RELIGIOUS IDOLS"; CERTAINLY THE CATEGORIES INCLUDE MANY OF THE CONDITIONS WHICH HAVE DRAWN CHRISTIANS APART SINCE THE REFORMATION. BECAUSE THE CLASSIFICATION IS GIVEN IN SUMMARY FORM, I QUOTE IT IN FULL:

> 1. THE FIRST IS, THE GIVING OF OCCASION UNTO THE CONTROVERSIES: AND ALSO THE INCONSIDERATE AND UNGROUNDED TAKING OF OCCASION.
>
> 2. THE NEXT IS, THE EXTENDING AND MULTIPLYING OF THE CONTROVERSIES TO A MORE GENERAL OPPOSITION OR CONTRADICTION THAN APPEARETH AT THE FIRST PROPOUNDING OF THEM, WHEN MEN'S JUDGMENTS ARE LESS PARTIAL.
>
> 3. THE THIRD IS, THE PASSIONATE AND UNBROTHERLY PRACTICES AND PROCEEDINGS OF BOTH PARTS TOWARDS THE PERSONS EACH OF OTHERS, FOR THEIR DISCREDIT AND SUPPRESSION.
>
> 4. THE FOURTH IS, THE COURSES HOLDEN AND ENTERTAINED ON EITHER SIDE, FOR THE DRAWING OF THEIR PARTIZANTS TO A MORE STRAIGHT UNION WITHIN THEMSELVES, WHICH EVER IMPORTETH A FURTHER DISTRACTION OF THE ENTIRE BODY.
>
> 5. THE LAST IS, THE UNDUE AND INCONVENIENT PROPOUNDING, PUBLISHING, AND DEBATING OF THE CONTROVERSIES. IN WHICH POINT THE MOST PALPABLE ERROR HATH BEEN ALREADY SPOKEN OF; AS THAT WHICH THROUGH THE STRANGENESS AND FRESHNESS OF THE ABUSE FIRST OFFERETH ITSELF TO THE CONCEITS OF ALL MEN.[14]

IT IS THE FIRST DIVISION, THE OCCASIONS OF CONTROVERSIES, TO WHICH BACON TURNS WITH THE MOST ENTHUSIASM. THERE ARE, HE SAYS, FOUR MAJOR CAUSES OF CONTROVERSIES: IMPERFECTIONS IN MEN HOLDING HIGH OFFICES, THE "NATURE AND HUMOUR

14. IBID., P. 79.

OF SOME MEN," THE "EXTREME AND UNLIMITED DETESTATION OF SOME FORMER HERESY OR CORRUPTION OF THE CHURCH ALREADY ACKNOWLEDGED AND CONVICTED," AND THE "PARTIAL AFFECTATION AND IMITATION OF FOREIGN CHURCHES." IN THE FIRST SUBDIVISION (CONCERNING IMPERFECTIONS OF MEN IN HIGH PLACES) BACON FOLLOWS A LINE OF THOUGHT WHICH, THOUGH OPENLY CRITICAL OF CORRUPTION IN A CHURCH HIERARCHY, MUST HAVE BEEN OF LITTLE CONSOLATION TO THE PURITANS. MEN IN CHARGE OF THE SPIRITUAL WELL-BEING OF A PEOPLE, HE SAYS, ARE UNDER CONSTANT SURVEILLANCE, AND ONCE THEY HAVE LOST THE CAPACITY TO CONFIRM "THEIR REPUTATION IN THE CONSCIENCES OF MEN" THEY BECOME THE TRUE ENEMIES OF THE FAITH. FORTUNATELY, BACON CONTINUES, HE HAS NOT OBSERVED HYPOCRISY OR OUTWARD CORRUPTION AMONG THE BISHOPS WITH WHOM HE IS ACQUAINTED, NOR CAN HE CONDEMN THE "REST GENERALLY." BUT IN ANY CASE, HE WARNS, IT IS NOT THE BUSINESS OF COMMON MEN (AMONG WHOM HE INCLUDES HIMSELF) TO "JUDGE OF THEM THAT BELONG TO SO HIGH A MASTER." IN THE WORDS OF SOLOMON--WHOSE WORD IN BACON'S MIND WAS VIRTUALLY AS GOOD AS GOD'S--"RULERS BE NOT REPROACHED; NO NOT IN THOUGHT."[15] AGAIN WE OBSERVE THAT BACON COULD NEVER CONSENT TO EXTENSIVE ATTACKS ON MEN IN HIGH PLACES. THE GREAT CHAIN OF BEING COULD ASSIMILATE CORRUPTION IF ITS LINKS WERE LEFT IN PLACE.

15. IBID., P. 81.

BACON'S DEEP-SEATED DISTRUST FOR THE UNATTACHED CONSCIENCE IS MANIFESTED IN THE SECOND SUBDIVISION, CONCERNED WITH "THE HUMOUR OF SOME MEN." THE GRANDOISE CONCEPTION OF THE INDIVIDUAL CONSCIENCE, WHICH SERVED AS A RALLYING POINT FOR THE REFORMERS, HAD VERY LITTLE POSITIVE MEANING FOR BACON. AMONG THE YOUNG, THE EXCITABLE, AND THE CONTENTIOUS, HE SAYS, RELIGIOUS ALLEGIANCE IS PRIMARILY A MATTER OF MAGNETISM. SOME MEN ARE BORN TO ATTRACT, OTHERS TO BE ATTRACTED, "SO IT IS TRUE WHICH IS SAID TRANSEUNT AB IGNORANTIA AD PRAEJUDICIUM, THEY LEAP FROM IGNORANCE TO A PREJUDICATE OPINION, AND NEVER TAKE A SOUND JUDGMENT IN THEIR WAY."[16] A NATURAL APPETITE FOR SECTARIANISM IS FED BY THE UNIVERSITIES, "THE SEAT AND CONTINENT OF THIS DISEASE." MEN--AND ONE IS REMINDED HERE OF THE IDOLS OF THE THEATER--ATTACH THEMSELVES UNTHINKINGLY TO THE NAMES OF THINGS AND PERSONS AND LET THE "THINGS THEMSELVES" GO BEGGING. THOSE WHO CONSTANTLY ASSERT THAT THE CHURCH'S DESIRE FOR PEACE RISES FROM A CARNAL DESIRE TO THE CHURCHMEN TO PROTECT THEIR OWN OFFICES SHOULD HEED THE WORDS OF THE APOSTLE PAUL, "WHILST THERE IS AMONGST YOU ZEAL AND CONTENTION, ARE YE NOT CARNAL?"

THE THIRD OCCASION OF CONTROVERSIES HAS REFERENCE TO ONE OF THE MOST HEATED BATTLES WHICH RAGED BETWEEN THE

16. IBID., PP. 82-83.

CHURCHMEN AND THE PURITANS, THAT CONCERNED WITH WHAT MIGHT BE CALLED THE "BENT-TWIG" THEORY OF REFORM, OR, THE THEORY OF "CONTRARIES." IT IS PROBABLY IMPOSSIBLE TO DETERMINE WHERE THIS THEORY WAS FIRST EXPRESSED, BUT IT WAS CARTWRIGHT'S EXPOSITION WHICH DREW THE ATTENTION OF BOTH WHITGIFT AND HOOKER--AND OF BACON, I AM SURE. CARTWRIGHT HAD SAID, "COMMON REASON DOTH TEACH THAT CONTRARIES ARE CURED BY THEIR CONTRARIES: NOW CHRISTIANITY AND ANTICHRISTIANITY, THE GOSPEL AND POPERY, BE CONTRARIES; THEREFORE ANTICHRISTIANITY MUST BE CURED NOT BY ITSELF, BUT BY THAT WHICH IS (AS MUCH AS MAY BE) CONTRARY UNTO IT."[17] AND ELSEWHERE HE HAD SAID, REFERRING AGAIN TO HOW FAR REFORM SHOULD GO:

> AS IF A MAN WOULD BRING A DRUNKEN MAN TO SOBRIETY, THE BEST AND NEAREST WAY IS TO CARRY HIM AS FAR FROM HIS EXCESS IN DRINK AS MAY BE; AND, IF A MAN COULD NOT KEEP A MEAN, IT WERE BETTER TO FAULT IN PRESCRIBING LESS THAN HE WOULD DRINK, THAN TO FAULT IN GIVING HIM MORE THAN HE OUGHT; AS WE SEE, TO BRING A STICK WHICH IS CROOKED TO BE STRAIGHT, WE DO NOT ONLY BOW IT SO FAR UNTIL IT COME TO BE STRAIGHT, BUT WE BEND IT SO FAR UNTIL WE MAKE IT SO CROOKED OF THE OTHER SIDE AS IT WAS BEFORE ON THE FIRST SIDE, TO THIS END THAT AT THE LAST IT MAY STAND STRAIGHT, AND AS IT WERE IN THE MIDWAY BETWEEN BOTH THE CROOKS. . . .[18]

SO THE PURITANS HAD THEIR CONCEPTION OF A <u>VIA MEDIA</u> TOO, BUT WHAT CONCERNED BOTH WHITGIFT AND HOOKER WAS HOW MUCH WRENCHING THAT POOR STICK COULD ENDURE. WHITGIFT REPLIED THAT CARTWRIGHT'S AWFUL CONTRARIES DISTORTED AND OVERSIMPLIFIED

17. <u>WHITGIFT'S WORKS</u>, II, 441. 18. IBID., 442-43.

THE MATTER OF REFORM. IF, HE SAID, ONE SIMPLY RUNS WILDLY FROM "ANTICHRISTIANITY" TO "CHRISTIANITY," HE OVERLOOKS THE POSSIBILITY THAT ROME MIGHT RETAIN SOMETHING THAT IS GOOD. THE FUNDAMENTAL ABUSES OF ROME, HE CONTINUED, HAD INDEED BEEN RECOGNIZED AS REPUGNANT BY THE ENGLISH CHURCH. FURTHERMORE, USE OF THE VERNACULAR, SIMPLIFICATION OF CEREMONIES, AND A HOST OF OTHER INNOVATIONS TESTIFIED TO THE SANCTITY OF THE ESTABLISHMENT.[19] HOOKER, WRITING IN 1593, AGAIN QUOTED CARTWRIGHT'S PASSAGE ON CONTRARIES, AND, UNDERSTANDING THE MALLEABILITY OF A METAPHOR, CONCLUDED:

> WE ARE CONTRARIWISE OF OPINION, THAT HE WHICH WILL PERFECTLY RECOVER A SICK AND RESTORE A DISEASED BODY UNTO HEALTH, MUST NOT ENDEAVOUR SO MUCH TO BRING IT TO A STATE OF SIMPLE CONTRARIETY, AS OF FIT PROPORTION IN CONTRARIETY UNTO THOSE EVILS WHICH ARE TO BE CURED. HE THAT WILL TAKE AWAY EXTREME HEAT BY SETTLING THE BODY IN EXTREMITY OF COLD, SHALL UNDOUBTEDLY REMOVE THE DISEASE, BUT TOGETHER WITH IT THE DISEASED TOO.[20]

BACON SUBSCRIBES ENTHUSIASTICALLY TO THE MODERATE POSITIONS OF WHITGIFT AND HOOKER, MAINTAINING THAT THE THIRD OCCASION OF CONTROVERSIES--AN OCCASION SECOND TO NONE AS A CAUSE OF SCHISM AND HERESY--IS MAN'S PERNICIOUS INCLINATION TO MEASURE THE TRUTH OF A RELIGIOUS PRINCIPLE BY HOW FAR IT HAS MOVED FROM "THE ERROR LAST CONDEMNED." "MANY IN OUR TIMES," HE CONTINUES, "CONDEMN THE CHURCH OF

19. SEE ESPECIALLY WHITGIFT'S WORKS, II, 441-42.

20. ECCLESIASTICAL POLITY, IV, VIII, I; VOL. I, 442.

ROME WITHOUT RESERVATION AND FORMULATE THEIR IDEAS OF THE GOOD AND THE HOLY AROUND A SERIES OF ANTI-CATHOLIC PROPOSITIONS. THIS PROCEDURE HAS THE MULTIPLE DEFECT OF DELUDING THE REFORMERS THEMSELVES, OF SEDUCING OTHERS, AND OF MAKING CALUMINATION OF THE ADVERSARY INEVITABLE. BEFORE MEN CONSENT TO A "GENERAL DEMOLITION" OF ROME, THEY WILL DO WELL TO TAKE A SOBER LOOK AT CATHOLIC INSTITUTIONS TO AVOID THE POSSIBILITY OF DESTROYING THE GOOD ALONG WITH THE BAD. TO PURGE THE CHURCH "EVERY DAY ANEW. . . IS THE WAY TO MAKE A WOUND IN HER BOWELS, AS IS ALREADY BEGUN."[21] NEVER ONE TO TAKE INTESTINAL DISORDERS LIGHTLY, BACON HERE SELECTS A METAPHOR DESIGNED TO REMIND THE REFORMERS OF THE ORGANIC NATURE OF THEIR MEASURES. DOCTRINAL SUBTLETIES, WHEN ATTACHED TO A "CAUSE," BECOME DANGEROUSLY CATHARTIC, AND LEST THE CURE BE WORSE THAN THE DISEASE, MEN ARE CAUTIONED TO AVOID THE EXCESSES OF CONTRARIES.

IN HIS DISCUSSION OF THE FOURTH AND LAST CAUSE OF CONTROVERSIES (THE "PARTIAL AFFECTATION AND IMITATION OF FOREIGN CHURCHES") BACON AGAIN DEMONSTRATES HIS ALLEGIANCE TO WHITGIFT AND REPEATS HIS REFRAIN ON CHRISTIAN UNITY. MCGINN OBSERVES THAT CARTWRIGHT, UNLIKE CALVIN—WHOSE SYSTEM EMBRACED ONLY A CITY STATE--ENVISIONED AN ENGLISH STATE CHURCH WHICH MIGHT EVENTUALLY AFFILIATE ITSELF WITH OTHER

21. <u>WORKS</u>, VIII, 84.

STATE CHURCHES.[22] THIS AFFILIATION, IN CARTWRIGHT'S WORDS, WOULD HAVE THE INESTIMABLE ADVANTAGE OF PROVIDING INDIVIDUAL PRESBYTERIAN BODIES WITH A MEANS OF SETTLING DOCTRINAL DISPUTES WITH A FORM OF INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION:

> SO, IF THE ELDERS OF ANY CHURCH SHALL DETERMINE ANYTHING CONTRARY TO THE WORD OF GOD, OR INCONVENIENTLY IN ANY MATTER THAT FALLETH INTO THEIR DETERMINATION, THE PARTIES WHICH ARE GRIEVED MAY HAVE RECOURSE, FOR REMEDY, UNTO THE ELDERS AND PASTORS OF DIVERS CHURCHES, THAT IS TO SAY, UNTO SYNODS OF SHIRES, OR DIOCESES, OR PROVINCES, OR NATIONS OF AS GREAT OR OF AS SMALL COMPASS AS SHALL BE THOUGHT CONVENIENT BY THE CHURCH, ACCORDING TO THE DIFFICULTY OR WEIGHT OF THE MATTERS WHICH ARE IN CONTROVERSY. . . .[23]

WHITGIFT WAS JUSTLY AMUSED BY THIS ROMANTIC CONCEPTION OF UNITY AMONG THE REFORMERS AND ANSWERED CARTWRIGHT WITH MASTERFUL IRONY:

> SO SHALL THERE BE TURBARUM ET CONTENTIONUM SATIS: 'MUCH UNQUIETNESS;' FOR ONE OR TWO BUSY PASTORS, SUCH AS YOUR SCHOOL CAN YIELD GOOD STORE OF, WOULD INVENT MATTER ENOUGH TO TROUBLE THE WHOLE CHURCH; AND PASTORS SHOULD THEN BE COMPELLED TO BE AS MUCH ABSENT FROM THEIR BENEFICES, BY REASON OF THOSE SYNODS, AS THEY BE NOW UPON OTHER OCCASIONS. LORD, WHAT A TUMULTUOUS CHURCH WOULD THIS BE, IF THIS PLATFORM MIGHT TAKE PLACE![24]

WE SEE HERE FRAGMENTS OF TWO TOTALLY DIFFERENT CONCEPTIONS OF CHURCH UNITY. THE PURITANS WERE DOCTRINALLY COMMITTED

22. THE ADMONITION CONTROVERSY, P. 135.

23. WHITGIFT'S WORKS, III, 263.

24. IBID., P. 264.

TO A SEARCH FOR ABSOLUTES AND THEY QUITE NATURALLY WISHED TO INCLUDE AS MUCH OF MANKIND IN THEIR QUEST AS THE ENERGY OF THE HOLY SPIRIT WOULD ALLOW. THE CHURCHMEN, ON THE OTHER HAND, RELIED ON RELATIVISM--OR AT LEAST THEY SAID THEY DID--AND THE GOVERNMENT KEPT INSISTING THAT IT HAD NO DESIRE TO SPONSOR RELIGIOUS CRUSADES, CERTAINLY NOT AMONG PROTESTANT NATIONS.

BACON'S FEAR OF INNOVATION, HIS DEDICATION TO POLITICAL EXPEDIENCY, AND HIS DISTASTE FOR PROSELYTIZING APPEAR WHEN HE DISCUSSES THIS FOURTH CAUSE OF CONTROVERSIES. HE EXPRESSES THROUGHOUT HIS WORKS ABSOLUTELY NO DESIRE TO SEE THE ENGLISH CHURCH ENGAGED IN EXTENSIVE MISSIONARY ACTIVITIES, NOR DOES HE SYMPATHIZE WITH CARTWRIGHT'S THEORY OF SPIRITUAL EXCHANGE. INDEED, WHEN HE SPEAKS OF "AFFECTATION AND IMITATION OF FOREIGN CHURCHES," HE HAS REFERENCE TO ALL FORMS OF ECCLESIASTICAL MIMICRY. THE MARIAN EXILES AND OTHERS "CONVERSANT IN CHURCHES ABROAD. . . HAVE VIOLENTLY SOUGHT TO INTRUDE THE SAME UPON OUR CHURCH."[25] FURTHERMORE, HE SAYS, EVEN GRANTING THAT CONTINENTAL CHURCHES MAY HAVE BETTER FORMS OF CHURCH GOVERNMENT AND DISCIPLINE, IT IS FREQUENTLY BETTER TO SEEK "<u>NOT WHAT IS BEST, BUT OF GOOD THINGS WHAT IS NEXT AND READIEST TO BE HAD</u>."[26] A FEW LINES LATER HE MAKES A SPECIFIC EQUATION

25. <u>WORKS</u>, VIII, 84. 26. IBID.

OF ECCLESIASTICAL TO CIVIL INNOVATIONS WHEN HE SAYS, "IT MAY BE, IN CIVIL STATES, A REPUBLIC IS BETTER POLICY THAN A KINGDOM; YET GOD FORBID THAT LAWFUL KINGDOMS SHOULD BE TIED TO INNOVATE AND MAKE ALTERATION." BACON DOES NOT SAY WHAT HE FINDS ADMIRABLE ABOUT CONTINENTAL CHURCHES, BUT HE IS NOT READY TO ADMIT THAT THE "PARITY AND EQUALITY" OF REFORMED MINISTERS IS A THING TO BE ADMIRED, FOR, ESPECIALLY IN RELIGIOUS MATTERS, CONFUSION RESULTS "WHEN VOICES SHALL BE NUMBERED AND NOT WEIGHED." SIMILARLY--BACON HERE REFERS TO A "WISE FATHER"--COUNCILS ARE MORE APT TO INCREASE THAN ABATE "ILL THINGS." IN OTHER WORDS, CARTWRIGHT'S SYNODING HAS LITTLE MERIT AS A MEANS OF ACHIEVING CHURCH UNITY.

TO THE CHARGE THAT CHURCHES ABROAD REAP FRUITS DENIED THE ENGLISH, BACON ANSWERS, "I BESEECH THE LORD TO MULTIPLY HIS BLESSINGS AND GRACES UPON THOSE CHURCHES AN HUNDRED FOLD."[27] POSSIBLY "THEIR FRUITS ARE AS TORCHES IN THE DARK, WHICH APPEAR GREATEST AFAR OFF," BUT IN ANY CASE, BACON CONTINUES, HIS DEVOUT HOPE IS THAT HIS CHURCH WILL CONTEND WITH OTHERS "AS THE VINE WITH THE OLIVE, WHICH OF US BEARETH BEST FRUIT; AND NOT AS THE BRIER WITH THE THISTLE, WHICH OF US IS MOST UNPROFITABLE."[28]

IT IS APPARENT FROM BACON'S DESCRIPTION OF THE FOUR MAJOR CAUSES OF CONTROVERSIES THAT THE REFORMERS CARRY

27. IBID., P. 85. 28. IBID.

THE PRIMARY BURDENS OF HIS ACCUSATIONS. IT IS THEY WHO EXCORIATE MEN IN HIGH OFFICES, THEY WHO POSSESS UNCONTROLLABLE HUMORS, THEY WHO JUMP FROM IGNORANCE TO PREJUDICE, AND THEY WHO MISTAKENLY EMULATE FOREIGN CHURCHES. YET IT BECOMES CLEAR IN THE SECOND MAJOR DIVISION OF THE ESSAY (CONCERNING "EXTENDING AND MULTIPLYING OF THE CONTROVERSIES" BEYOND THEIR ORIGINAL BOUNDS) THAT BACON IS FAR FROM SATISFIED WITH THE CHURCH'S OWN POLICIES, ESPECIALLY IN LIGHT OF THE FACT THAT THESE POLICIES BEAR VERY LITTLE RESEMBLANCE TO WHAT THEY ONCE WERE. HE SPEAKS OF THE INTEMPERATE INCLINATION OF BOTH SIDES TOWARD MULTIPLICATION AND EXTENSION OF CONTROVERSIES, BUT HIS BASIC CONCERN IS TO CHARGE THE CHURCHMEN WITH PROGRESSIVE DOCTRINAL RIGORMORTIS. IN THE BEGINNING, HE SAYS, THEY WERE WILLING TO ACKNOWLEDGE MANY IMPERFECTIONS IN THEIR DISCIPLINE, THOUGH THEY WISELY WARNED AGAINST PULLING UP THE CORN ALONG WITH THE TARES. BUT NOW, HE CONTINUES, THEY HAVE GROWN STIFF AND IMMOBILE AND HAVE REJECTED ALL SUGGESTED INNOVATIONS. IN THE EYES OF AN INDIFFERENT PERSON THIS INFLEXIBILITY SEEMS HIGHLY SUSPECT. "IS NOTHING AMISS?" HE ASKS. IS THERE NO ABUSE OF EXCOMMUNICATION? ARE THERE NO BILLS FOR THE BISHOPS TO PRESENT TO PARLIAMENT? NO PROPOSALS WHEREBY THE AILING AND INSUFFICIENT MINISTRY MAY BE REVIVIFIED? ALTHOUGH IT MAY NOT BE A TIME TO PLANT, THE "GOOD HUSBANDMAN IS EVER PROYNING AND STIRRING HIS VINEYARD OR FIELD.[29]

29. IBID., P. 88.

BACON PURPOSEFULLY AVOIDS SUGGESTING IN ANY COMPREHENSIVE WAY WHAT THIS "PROYNING AND STIRRING" MIGHT INVOLVE, BUT HIS CRITICISM OF CHURCH RIGIDITY AND LETHARGY IS VIGOROUS AND BITING. IF, HE SAYS, THE BISHOPS ADMIT--AND THEY MUST--THAT THE CHURCH IS NOW AS FAR REMOVED FROM ITS FORMER POLICIES AS IT ONCE WAS FROM THOSE OF ROME, IT IS OBLIGED TO OPEN ITS DOORS AGAIN (JUST A SAGACIOUS CRACK OF COURSE) TO THE REFORMERS. OTHERWISE THE ESTABLISHMENT IS IN DANGER OF COMING FULL CYCLE BACK TO MARIANISM.

IN THE THIRD MAJOR DIVISION OF THE ESSAY (RELATING TO THE UNBROTHERLY PRACTICES OF THE DISPUTANTS TOWARD EACH OTHER) BACON EXPANDS HIS COMMENTS ON THE UNJUST PRACTICES OF THE CHURCHMEN, CONCENTRATING ON THEIR UNBROTHERLINESS BECAUSE "INJURIAE POTENTIORUM SUNT: INJURIES COME FROM THEM THAT HAVE THE UPPER HAND."[30] I MENTIONED ABOVE MARTIN'S INDIGNATION THAT THE CHURCHMEN WERE CONSTANTLY EQUATING HIS CAUSE WITH TREASON BY ASSOCIATING IT WITH THE MANIACAL ELEMENT OF PROTESTANTISM--ESPECIALLY ANABAPTISM. AMONG THE CONDITIONS OF TRUCE LISTED BY MARTIN IS THE FOLLOWING REQUIREMENT: "THAT THEY [THE CHURCHMEN] NEVER SLANDER THE CAUSE OF REFORMATION, OR THE FURTHERERS THEREOF, IN TERMING THE CAUSE BY THE NAME OF ANABAPTISTERY, SCHISM, &C., AND THE MEN PURITANS, AND ENEMIES OF THE STATE."[31] BACON

30. IBID.

31. MARPRELATE TRACTS, P. 80.

FINDS THIS ASPECT OF MARTIN'S CRITICISM THOROUGHLY REASONABLE, SAYING:

> THEY HAVE CHARGED THEM AS THOUGH THEY DENIED TRIBUTE TO CAESAR, AND WITHDREW FROM THE CIVIL MAGISTRATE THEIR OBEDIENCE WHICH THEY HAVE EVER PERFORMED AND TAUGHT. THEY HAVE EVER SORTED AND COUPLED THEM WITH THE FAMILY OF LOVE, WHOSE HERESIES THEY HAVE LABOURED TO DESCRY AND CONFUTE.[32]

SIMILARLY, THE BISHOPS HAVE BEEN QUICK TO BELIEVE RUMORS ABOUT THE REFORMERS, AND THEIR "EXAMINATIONS AND INQUISITIONS HAVE BEEN STRAIT." SUBSCRIPTION HAS BEEN ENFORCED IN SUCH A WAY THAT NONCONFORMISTS WHO MIGHT OTHERWISE HAVE REMAINED SUFFICIENTLY LOYAL TO THE CHURCH HAVE BEEN FORCED, AS A MATTER OF CONSCIENCE, TO DISSENT; FURTHERMORE, THE CENSORING AND SILENCING OF PREACHERS, SOMETIMES FOR THE MOST INSIGNIFICANT OF ISSUES (FOR EXAMPLE, FOR SAYING IN THE BAPTISM CEREMONY "DO YOU BELIEVE" FOR "DOST THOU BELIEVE") HAS CREATED A SCARCITY OF PREACHERS WHICH IS FAR MORE HARMFUL TO THE CHURCH THAN MODERATE NON-CONFORMITY. BACON ENDS THIS SECTION WITH THE ASSERTION THAT IT IS BETTER TO LIVE IN A NATION IN WHICH THERE IS NO LAW THAN

32. WORKS, VIII, 89. THE FAMILISTS IN ENGLAND WERE FREQUENTLY THE SCAPEGOATS OF REFORM--THE ENGLISH ANABAPTISTS, SO TO SPEAK. IT IS INTERESTING THAT IN 1604--IN A PETITION TO JAMES--THE FAMILY DID "UTTERLY DISCLAIM AND DETEST ALL THE ABSURD AND SELF-CONCEITED OPINIONS AND DISOBEDIENT AND ERRONEOUS SORTS OF ANABAPTISTS, BROWN, PENRY, PURITANS, AND ALL OTHER PROUD-MINDED SECTS AND HERESIES." SEE E. BELFORT BAX, RISE AND FALL OF THE ANABAPTISTS (NEW YORK, MACMILLAN CO., 1903), P. 358.

IN ONE IN WHICH "ALL THINGS ARE LAWFUL" (THAT IS, PRESCRIBED BY LAW). LAWS, HE CONCLUDES, ARE LIKENED UNTO GRAPES, WHICH IF PRESSED BEYOND REASON "YIELD AN HARD AND UNWHOLESOME WINE."

IF THE REFORMERS HAVE BEEN GIVEN SOME OCCASION TO REJOICE IN THIS DISCUSSION OF THE THIRD DIMENSION OF CONTROVERSIES, IN THE FOURTH THEY ARE SHOWN NO PITY AS BACON GOES DIRECTLY TO WHAT HE CONSIDERS TO BE THE FUNDAMENTAL FALLACIES OF THEIR CONCEPTION OF RELIGIOUS TRUTH. IN THE FIRST PLACE HE CHARGES THE REFORMERS WITH DIVIDING CHRISTIANITY INTO TWO NEAT CATEGORIES--THE ZEALOUS AND SINCERE, WHO ALONE ARE TRULY OF GOD'S KINGDOM; AND THE CHRISTIAN "INTELLECTUALS," WHO, UNABLE TO MUSTER AN EMOTIONAL COMMITTMENT TO GOD, CAN NEVER BE MORE THAN "CIVIL AND MORAL" MEN. THE LATTER, SAY THE REFORMERS, ARE THE "POLITIQUES" OF FAITH, MEN WHO CONFINE THEIR RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE TO A CARNAL SAVORING OF THEIR OWN BRAINS. MINISTERS OF THIS SCHOOL, MEN WHO ACTUALLY--SAYS BACON--CONSTRUCT THEIR ARGUMENTS "WITH STRONG PROOFS AND WARRANTS," ARE ACCUSED OF ESCHEWING SIMPLICITY IN FAVOR OF THE SEDUCTIVE LANGUAGE OF THE INTELLECT. IT IS ALL VERY WELL, CONTINUES BACON, FOR A MAN TO SPEAK PLAINLY, BUT THERE ARE CERTAIN FUNCTIONS OF LIFE WHICH DEMAND THAT MEN PROCEED BEYOND APPEALS TO THE EMOTIONS. UNFORTUNATELY, THE REFORMERS DEAL IN "GENERALITY AND REPETITION." "THE WORD (THE <u>BREAD OF LIFE</u>) THEY TOSS IT UP AND

DOWN, THEY BREAK IT NOT."[33] WHAT DO THEY REALLY MEAN WHEN THEY SPEAK OF OBSERVING THE SABBATH-DAY OR SPEAK AGAINST PURSUING UNLAWFUL GAIN? PRECISELY WHAT MAY BE DONE ON THE SABBATH? WHAT SORT OF GAIN IS TRULY LAWFUL? THESE ARE QUESTIONS WHICH DEMAND REVIEW BY THE BEST MINDS OF A CULTURE, SAYS BACON; THEY ARE QUESTIONS WHICH CAN NEVER BE ANSWERED WITH ZEALOUS GENERALIZATIONS OR MEANINGLESS JUGGLINGS OF ABSTRACTIONS.

BACON ALSO THINKS IT UNWISE TO OPEN CONTROVERSIES TOUCHING "ALL POINTS OF DOCTRINE" TO THE GENERAL POPULATION, A PROCEDURE WHICH VIOLATES THE APOSTLE'S PRECEPT "THAT THE WEAK BE NOT ADMITTED UNTO QUESTIONS AND CONTROVERSIES."[34] EVEN MORE, HE OPPOSES ADOPTING SCRIPTURE AS THE SOLE RULE OF FAITH, FOR THIS IS AN ABUSE WHICH PREVENTS THE REFORMERS FROM UTILIZING THE AUTHORITATIVE COMMENTS OF THE FATHERS. TEXTUAL INDIVIDUALISM, RESORTING TO "NAKED EXAMPLES, CONCEITED INFERENCE, AND FORCED ALLUSIONS," UNDERMINES "ALL CERTAINTY OF RELIGION." LIKEWISE, THE PURITAN FETISH FOR PREACHING PUTS MANY UNQUALIFIED PREACHERS BEFORE CONGREGATIONS, MEN WHO FREQUENTLY HAVE NEITHER THE TRAINING NOR THE INNATE CAPACITY TO SERVE GOD FROM THE PULPIT. THESE MEN MAY HAVE "ZEAL AND HATE OF SIN," BUT BACON ASKS THEM TO "TAKE HEED THAT IT BE NOT TRUE WHICH ONE OF

33. IBID., P. 92.

34. IBID., P. 93.

THEIR ADVERSARIES SAID, THAT THEY HAVE BUT TWO SMALL WANTS, KNOWLEDGE AND LOVE."[35] THUS HE CONCLUDES THE FOURTH POINT.

IN THE FIFTH AND LAST DIVISION ("TOUCHING THE DUE PUBLISHING AND DEBATING OF THESE CONTROVERSIES") BACON BRIEFLY RECAPITULATES HIS EARLIER CENSURE OF MARTIN'S ABUSIVE ATTACKS AND CONCLUDES HIS ARGUMENT WITH AN APPEAL TO THE FACTIOUS TO HAVE THEIR DISPUTES ARBITRATED IN THE "PRIVATE ASSEMBLIES AND CONFERENCES OF THE LEARNED."

IN A STUDY WHICH HAS BEEN WIDELY USED BY STUDENTS OF BACON, EDWIN ABBOTT MAKES THE FOLLOWING OBSERVATION ON THE ADVERTISEMENT TOUCHING THE CONTROVERSIES OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND: "BACON WRITES LIKE A SENSIBLE ERASTIAN, WITH PURITAN INCLINATIONS, WHO HAS A PROFOUND INDIFFERENCE TO SMALL DETAILS OF CHURCH GOVERNMENT OR CEREMONIES. NO ANGLICAN, AND NO DECIDED PURITAN, COULD HAVE WRITTEN THIS PAPER."[36] CERTAINLY BACON IS SENSIBLE ENOUGH, AND I THINK IT IS THIS VERY QUALITY WHICH ACCOUNTS FOR BOTH THE VIRTUES AND WEAKNESS OF HIS RATIONALE OF CONTROVERSIES. HIS OWN INVOLVEMENT IN THE CONTEMPORARY DISPUTE IS THOROUGHLY UNEMOTIONAL; IN FACT HE MAKES A POINT OF HIS OWN INDIFFERENCE. HIS MAJOR APPEAL, AS IT WILL BE IN ALL OF HIS RELIGIO-POLITICAL TRACTS, IS TO REASON RATHER THAN FAITH. THERE IS NO SUGGESTION THAT

35. IBID., P. 94.

36. FRANCIS BACON (LONDON, MACMILLAN AND CO., 1885), P. 25.

THE REFORMERS (OR THE CHURCHMEN) ARE DAMAGING THEIR CHANCES FOR SALVATION BY BEING CONTENTIOUS. THEY ARE SIMPLY WASTING HUMAN ENERGY. IMMODERATE ZEAL IN CONTROVERSIES IS BAD BECAUSE IT IS IRRATIONAL, AND WHEN SOMETHING IS IRRATIONAL, IT SERVES AS A TRAP FOR THE STAGGERING, IGNORANT MASSES WHO CAN NEVER DO MORE THAN FOLLOW THE BRIGHTEST STAR IN THE SKY. WHEN THAT LUMINARY IS AN INTEMPERATE, UNLEARNED MAN, HIS DISCIPLES ARE CONDEMNED TO A REIGN OF WASTEFUL EXCESS, CONDEMNED TO FOLLOW HIS LIGHT UNTIL IT IS ECLIPSED BY THAT OF A MORE FASHIONABLE ZEALOT. LEARNED MEN, FROM WHOM MOST CONTROVERSIES DESCEND, ARE OBLIGED TO RECOGNIZE THE DANGERS OF DOCTRINES WHICH MAY SERVE AS RALLYING POINTS FOR ENTHUSIASTS.

WE CAN ALWAYS FIND REASONS TO PRAISE A SENSIBLE AND MODERATE MAN, BUT IN RELIGIOUS CONTROVERSIES THERE IS A LIMIT BEYOND WHICH COMMON SENSE CANNOT PROCEED. I SHOULD THINK THAT, IN ALL FAIRNESS TO BACON, THE PURITANS WOULD NOT HAVE FOUND HIS ARGUMENTS NEARLY AS REASONABLE AS HE FOUND THEM. I AM SOMEWHAT AT A LOSS TO DISCOVER WHY ABBOT FOUND ANY "PURITAN INCLINATIONS" IN THE <u>ADVERTISEMENT</u>, BUT I AM TOTALLY CONFOUNDED BY A REMARK HE MAKES A FEW LINES LATER:

> AS BETWEEN THE CONTROVERSIALISTS, IT WOULD BE HARD TO DETECT PARTIALITY; FOR BACON'S INDIGNATION AT THE OPPRESSIONS OF THE BISHOPS IS EQUALLED BY HIS SCORN FOR THE BIGOTED NARROWNESS OF SOME OF THE PURITANS. BUT IN HIS FRANK

> RECOGNITION OF THE EXISTENCE OF IMPERFECTIONS IN THE CHURCH, AND OF THE NEED OF SOME REFORM, HE APPEARS TO INCLINE TO THE LATTER.[37]

I THINK I HAVE DEMONSTRATED THAT IN BACON'S MIND THE PURITAN HAD TO BE A PURITAN ON ANGLICAN TERMS. THE EPISCOPACY WAS TO STAND FIRM AND ITS MEMBERS WERE NOT TO BE CRITICIZED BY MORTALS; THE BIBLE WAS TO BE DEMOTED; PREACHING WAS TO BE LIMITED; AND THE PURITANS WERE TO AGREE THAT MOST OF THE THINGS THEY SUED FOR WERE NOT REALLY OF MUCH IMPORTANCE ANYWAY. IT IS OF COURSE IMPOSSIBLE TO DETERMINE WHAT SORT OF CHURCH GOVERNMENT AND DISCIPLINE THE PURITANS AT ANY GIVEN TIME WOULD HAVE BEEN CONTENT TO ACCEPT, BUT IF ALL THEY REALLY REQUIRED IN 1589 WAS BACON'S REASONABLE ADJUSTMENT, IT IS EXCEEDINGLY DIFFICULT TO ACCOUNT FOR THEIR SURVIVAL.

IT MUST BE ADMITTED THAT IN THE ADVERTISEMENT BACON VASTLY OVER-SIMPLIFIES THE WHOLE MATTER OF REFORM, BUT HIS SYNTHESIS OF THE FORCES RESPONSIBLE FOR MANY ASPECTS OF FACTION IS FIRMLY GROUNDED IN PSYCHOLOGY. ASSUMING THAT HE ACTUALLY BELIEVED HIS LITTLE TRACT CAPABLE OF RESOLVING CONTEMPORARY DISPUTES, WE MAY WONDER, HOWEVER, IF HIS OWN INDIFFERENCE DID NOT LEAD HIM TO UNDERESTIMATE PURITANISM. IN THE NEXT CHAPTER, WHICH DEALS WITH SOME ASPECTS OF "THE CONTROVERSIES THEMSELVES," WE SHALL PERHAPS COME TO A FULLER

37. IBID., PP. 25-26.

UNDERSTANDING OF BACON'S IDEA OF PURITANISM, AND WE MAY SEE IF THE OPTIMISM AND GENEROSITY OF 1589 ABANDONED BACON IN HIS LATER YEARS.

CHAPTER IV

THE PACIFICATION AND EDIFICATION OF THE CHURCH

IN THIS CHAPTER WE SHALL DISCUSS THOSE OF BACON'S REFLECTIONS ON PURITANISM AND THE CHURCH WHICH WERE COMPOSED DURING THE REIGN OF KING JAMES. MOST OF THEM ARE FOUND IN A SINGLE TRACT, CERTAIN CONSIDERATIONS TOUCHING THE BETTER PACIFICATION AND EDIFICATION OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND (1603), A WORK WHICH CONTAINS BACON'S FULLEST DISCUSSION OF THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF THE CHURCH. THE OTHER STATEMENTS, DISTURBINGLY FRAGMENTARY AND AMORPHOUS, CONSTITUTE THE ONLY RECORD WE HAVE OF BACON'S ATTITUDE TOWARD THE SPIRITUAL SIDE OF PURITANISM DURING THOSE VITAL YEARS WHEN THE FORCES WHICH ERUPTED IN THE CIVIL WAR WERE BEING FORMED.

LIKE MANY A CONTEMPORARY, BACON HAD A RELATIONSHIP WITH QUEEN ELIZABETH WHICH COULD HARDLY BE DESCRIBED AS IDEAL. APPARENTLY THE QUEEN'S ATTITUDE HAD BEEN THAT THE SON OF HER FIRST LORD KEEPER WAS A MAN TO BE ADMIRED AND USED, BUT NOT ONE TO BE GIVEN A MAJOR OFFICE IN HER REALM. CONTINUALLY DISAPPOINTED BY THE QUEEN, BACON HAD BEEN VERY NEARLY FORCED TO EXECUTE HIS MELANCHOLY PLAN TO DESERT NATIONAL POLITICS AND DEVOTE ALL OF HIS ENERGIES TO THE ADVANCEMENT OF LEARNING. BUT THE ACCESSION OF JAMES BROUGHT NEW HOPE. ANTHONY BACON (BACON'S BROTHER, WHO HAD

RECENTLY DIED), A KIND OF SELF-APPOINTED AND SELF-SUSTAINING AMBASSADOR ABOUT EUROPE, HAD MADE MANY IMPORTANT FRIENDS IN JAMES' SCOTTISH COURT; AND FRANCIS DID NOT HESITATE TO RECOMMEND HIMSELF TO THE NEW KING IN THE FIRST DAYS OF HIS REIGN. REALIZING THAT JAMES WOULD SOON FACE THE PROBLEM OF INFORMING HIS NEW COUNTRYMEN OF HIS ECCLESIASTICAL POLITY, AND REALIZING THAT THERE IS NO TIME LIKE THE PRESENT TO ADVANCE ONE'S OWN CAUSE, BACON TOOK IT UPON HIMSELF TO COMPOSE A LENGTHY TRACT ON THE PACIFICATION AND EDIFICATION OF THE CHURCH, A TRACT DESIGNED TO SUGGEST THE MEASURES OF CHURCH REFORM WHICH HE FELT THE PURITANS WOULD VALUE AND THE CHURCHMEN WOULD ENDURE. BUT BEFORE WE CONSIDER BACON'S PROPOSALS, IT WILL BE NECESSARY TO OUTLINE THE VIEWS ON CHURCH GOVERNMENT AND DISCIPLINE WHICH JAMES BORE TO ENGLAND HIDDEN UNDER HIS ROYAL CROWN.

TREVELYAN, A GREAT SCHOLAR WHO HAD ABOUT AS MUCH AFFECTION FOR JAMES AS THE PURITANS EVENTUALLY DID, MAINTAINS IN HIS HISTORY OF ENGLAND[1] THAT JAMES' TRAGIC ERROR WAS TO ATTEMPT TO "MATERIALIZE ENGLISH KING-WORSHIP INTO THE POLITICAL DOGMA OF DIVINE HEREDITARY RIGHT. . . ."[2] WHEN HE INSISTED UPON THE DIVINE RIGHT OF KINGS, WHEN HE WROTE THE

1. (NEW YORK, LONGMANS, GREEN & CO., 1926; 1952.) I HAVE USED THE ANCHOR EDITION (NEW YORK, 1956), 3 VOLS.

2. IBID., II, 153.

DIALECTIC OF THE RIGHT WITH HIS OWN PEN AND DELIVERED IT WITH HIS OWN LIPS, THE ENGLISHMEN TOOK FROM THEIR SOVEREIGN WHAT THEY HAD TACITLY GRANTED BOTH HENRYS AND ELIZABETH.

AS ANY STUDENT OF ENGLISH HISTORY KNOWS, JAMES TOOK HIS ROLE AS DEFENDER OF THE FAITH VERY SERIOUSLY. PERHAPS HIS IDEA OF THE ROYAL OFFICE IS NOWHERE BETTER STATED THAN IN A SONNET WHICH HE PREFIXED TO BASILIKON DORON (OR HIS MAISTIES INSTRVCTIONS TO HIS DEAREST SONNE, HENRY THE PRINCE [1599]:

> GOD GIVES NOT KINGS THE STILE OF GODS IN VAINE,
> FOR ON HIS THRONE HIS SCEPTER DOE THEY SWEY:
> AND AS THEIR SUBIECTS OUGHT THEM TO OBEY,
> SO KINGS SHOULD FEARE AND SERVE THEIR GOD AGAIN
> IF THEN YE WOULD ENIOY A HAPPIE RAIGNE,
> OBSERVE THE STATUTES OF YOUR HEAVENLY KING,
> AND FROM HIS LAW, MAKE ALL YOUR LAWES TO SPRING:
> SINCE HIS LIEUTENANT HERE YE SHOULD REMAIN,
> REWARD THE IUST, BE STEADFAST, TRUE, AND PLAINE,
> REPRESS THE PROUD, MAINTAYNING AYE THE RIGHT,
> WALKE ALWAYES SO, AS EVER IN HIS SIGHT,
> WHO GUARDES THE GODLY, PLAGUING THE PROPHANE:
> AND SO YE SHALL IN PRINCELY VERTUES SHINE,
> RESEMBLING RIGHT YOUR MIGHTIE KING DIVINE.[3]

IN AN EARLIER WORK, THE TRUE LAW OF FREE MONARCHIES (1598) JAMES STATES EXPLICITLY WHAT SORT OF GOVERNMENT BEST SUITS THE LIEUTENANT OF GOD. THE FORM, HE SAYS, WHICH APPROACHES NEAREST TO PERFECTION IS THE MONARCHY, FOR IT BEARS A DIRECT RESEMBLANCE TO THE LAWS OF DIVINITY AND FINDS ITS CORRESPONDENCY IN NATURE ITSELF. THE MONARCHY IS AN EXPRESSION

3. QUOTED FROM THE POLITICAL WORKS OF JAMES I, EDITED WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY CHARLES HOWARD MCILWAIN (HARVARD UNIV. PRESS, 1918), P. 3. THIS IS A REPRODUCTION OF THE EDITION OF 1616, WHICH JAMES PUBLISHED BECAUSE OF THE APPEARANCE OF SPURIOUS EDITIONS OF HIS POLITICAL WORKS.

OF UNITY, AND UNITY IS "THE PERFECTION OF ALL THINGS."[4] JAMES THEN PROCEEDS TO ESTABLISH THE DIVINE NATURE OF THE ROYAL OFFICE WITH SCRIPTURAL WARRANTS: "KINGS ARE CALLED GODS BY THE PROPHETICALL KING DAUID [PSALM 82:6], BECAUSE THEY SIT VPON GOD HIS THRONE IN THE EARTH, AND HAUE THE COUNT OF THEIR ADMINISTRATION TO GIUE VNTO HIM."[5] SINCE KINGS ARE APPOINTED AND ANOINTED BY GOD, SAYS JAMES, GOD ALONE CAN REMOVE THEM FROM OFFICE. THE PEOPLE, ONCE THEY HAVE BEEN GIVEN A LAWFUL KING, ARE BOUND TO OBEY HIM, BOUND TO ARM THEMSELVES WITH "PATIENCE AND HUMILITIES" IF HE SHOULD BRING THEM PAIN AND SORROW. IN VERY UNCOMPROMISING TERMS HE SUMS UP HIS POSITION ON CIVIL OBEDIENCE:

> SHORTLY THEN TO TAKE VP IN TWO OR THREE SENTENCES, GROUNDED VPON ALL THESE ARGUMENTS, OUT OF THE LAWE OF GOD THE DUETIE, AND ALLEAGEANCE OF THE PEOPLE TO THEIR LAWFUL KING, THEIR OBEDIENCE, I SAY, OUGHT TO BE TO HIM AS TO GODS LIEUTENANT IN EARTH, OBEYING HIS COMMANDS IN ALL THINGS, EXCEPT DIRECTLY AGAINST GOD, AS THE COMMANDS OF GODS MINISTER, ACKNOWLEDGING HIM A IUDGE SET BY GOD OUER THEM, HAUING POWER TO IUDGE THEM, BUT TO BE IUDGED ONELY BY GOD, WHOM TO ONELY HEE MUST GIUE COUNT OF HIS IUDGMENT; FEARING HIM AS THEIR IUDGE, LOUING HIM AS THEIR FATHER; PRAYING FOR HIM AS THEIR PROTECTOUR; FOR HIS CONTINUANCE, IF HE BE GOOD; FOR HIS AMENDEMENT, IF HE BE WICKED; FOLLOWING AND OBEYING HIS LAWFULL COMMANDS, ESCHEWING AND FLYING HIS FURY IN HIS VNLAWFULL, WITHOUT RESISTANCE, BUT BY SOBBES AND TEARES TO GOD, ACCORDING TO THAT SENTENCE VSED IN THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH IN THE TIME OF THE PERSECUTION. PRECES, & LACHRYMAE SUNT ARMA ECCLESIAE.[6]

IT IS LITTLE WONDER, JUDGING BY THE UNCTUOUS TONE OF THESE

4. IBID., P. 55. 5. IBID., PP. 54-55. 6. IBID., P. 61.

PHRASES, THAT HISTORIANS CLAIM JAMES HAD LITTLE IN COMMON WITH THE PEOPLE OF HIS SOUTHERN KINGDOM. ALTHOUGH HOOKER COMES TO THE SAME CONCLUSION ABOUT THE SOCIAL CONTRACT, JAMES SOUNDS A GOOD DEAL MORE LIKE HOBBES THAN HE DOES THE CHURCHMAN. JAMES' CONTRACT IS SCRIPTURAL--DIVINE, IF YOU WILL--WHEREAS HOBBES' IS EMPIRICAL, BUT BOTH THEORIES MEAN PRECISELY THE SAME THING TO THE PEOPLE. WHETHER THEY DIRECT THEIR "SOBBES AND TEARES" TO GOD OR TO THE LIEUTENANT HIMSELF MAKES VERY LITTLE DIFFERENCE.

IT IS THIS THEORY OF THE ROYAL OFFICE WHICH LED JAMES TO SAY, "NO BISHOP, NO KING." IN THE NATURAL ORDER OF NATURE, SAYS JAMES, THE EPISCOPACY, ACTING UNDER THE SUPERVISION OF THE CROWN, IS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE SPIRITUAL WELL-BEING OF THE NATION. UNFORTUNATELY THIS CHAIN OF COMMAND HAD BEEN DENIED JAMES BY SCOTTISH PRESBYTERIANISM, AND HIS THOROUGH DISAFFECTION FOR SCOTLAND'S CHURCH IS VIGOROUSLY STATED IN BASILIKON DORON. THE KING TELLS HIS SON THAT SCOTLAND, UNLIKE ENGLAND, DENMARK, AND PARTS OF GERMANY, HAS EXPERIENCED A REFORMATION LARGELY GUIDED BY "POPULAR TUMULT AND REBELLION," BY FIERY MINISTERS CLOGGED WITH THEIR OWN PASSIONS AND FANTASIES. HENCE HE COUNSELS HENRY TO

> TAKE HEEDE THEREFORE. . . TO SUCH PURITANES, VERIE PESTES IN THE CHURCH AND COMMON-WEALE, WHOM NO DESERTS CAN OBLIGE, NEITHER OATHES OR PROMISES BINDE, RAILING WITHOUT REASON, AND MAKING THEIR OWNE IMAGINATIONS (WITHOUT ANY

WARRANT OF THE WORD) THE SQUARE OF THEIR CONSCIENCE.[7]

A FEW LINES LATER HE MAKES THIS RECRIMINATING REMARK: "CHERISH NO MAN MORE THEN A GOOD PASTOR, HATE NO MAN MORE THEN A PROUDE PURITANE." AND WHEN HE SPEAKS OF REFORMED PRIDE, WE SEE HOW DEEP HIS DISTRUST FOR THE PURITAN CONSCIENCE EXTENDED: "AND WHAT IS BETWIXT THE PRIDE OF A GLORIOUS NEBUCHADNEZZAR, AND THE PREPOSTEROUS HUMILITY OF ONE OF THE PROUD PURITANES, CLAIMING TO THEIR PARITIE, AND CRYING, WEE ARE ALL BUT VILE WORMES, AND YET WILL IUDGE AND GIUE LAW TO THEIR KING, BUT BE IUDGED NOR CONTROLLED BY NONE?"[8]

MCILWAIN MAKES THE INTERESTING OBSERVATION (THIS IS A MAJOR THESIS OF HIS "INTRODUCTION," IN FACT) THAT WE NEED NOT FEAR WE ARE ENCOUNTERING IN THESE EARLY WORKS IDEAS WHICH JAMES LATER ABANDONED, FOR IT WAS A MAJOR FEATURE OF JAMES' PERSONALITY NEVER TO ABANDON AN IDEA WHICH HAD ONCE BEEN POSSESSED. COMBINE THIS IDIOSYNCRASY WITH GARRULITY AND WE HAVE A FAIR NOTION OF WHAT LAY AT THE BOTTOM OF MANY OF JAMES' DIFFICULTIES.[9]

7. JAMES WAS LATER OBLIGED TO INDICATE JUST WHOM HE HAD IN MIND WHEN HE USED THE WORD PURITAN. IN THE EPISTLE TO THE READER--ATTACHED TO THIS ESSAY IN THE 1616 EDITION--JAMES SAID THAT HE HAD REFERENCE TO THOSE PEOPLE WHO, LIKE THE ANABAPTISTS, ASSUMED THAT THE INDIVIDUAL CONSCIENCE WAS THE ONLY CRITERION IN MATTERS OF FAITH. (POLITICAL WORKS, P. 6.) SEE PP. 23-24 FOR THE QUOTATION ABOVE.

8. IBID., P. 38.

9. BACON, IN A THOROUGHLY COMPLIMENTARY MOOD, ONCE COMMENTED ON JAMES' READINESS TO ENTER ALL INTELLECTUAL LISTS: ". . . I HAVE OBSERVED IN YOUR MAJESTY. . .

THIS BRIEF SKETCH OF JAMES' IDEA OF A KING AND CHURCH GOVERNMENT SHOULD BE SUFFICIENT TO INDICATE WHAT SORT OF MAN BACON WAS WRITING TO WHEN HE COMPOSED THE PACIFICATION AND EDIFICATION. IT IS NOT POSSIBLE TO KNOW HOW FULLY BRIEFED HE HAD BEEN ON JAMES' RELIGIOUS PREJUDICES, BUT IT WAS OF COURSE COMMON KNOWLEDGE THAT THE KING WAS DISSATISFIED WITH SCOTTISH PRESBYTERIANISM. THE MATTER WAS COMPLICATED, HOWEVER, BECAUSE JAMES, FAR FROM SURE THAT HE WOULD SUCCEED ELIZABETH, HAD DISPLAYED AN OPENMINDEDNESS TO RELIGIOUS DIVERSITY WHICH, THOUGH BELIED IN THE FIRST MONTHS OF HIS REIGN, HAD CONVINCED PURITAN AND CATHOLIC ALIKE THAT HE WAS PREPARED TO SPONSOR CONSIDERABLE REVISIONS IN ENGLAND'S ECCLESIASTICAL GOVERNMENT. THE ENGLISH WERE IN A CONCILIATORY MOOD,[10] AS RELIGIOUS MOODS GO, AND IT WOULD APPEAR FROM THE PACIFICATION AND EDIFICATION TRACT THAT BACON, THOUGH GENERALLY IN ACCORD WITH JAMES' VIEW OF THE EPISCOPACY, FELT THAT A NUMBER OF CHANGES IN CHURCH POLICY WERE NEEDED IF THE ENGLISH WERE TO REMAIN TRACTABLE. THIS IS NOT THE SAME THING AS SAYING THAT REVISIONS ARE NEEDED TO GAIN THE SUPPORT OF GOD, AND WE SHOULD BE GREATLY MISLED IN EVALUATING THIS ESSAY IF WE WERE TO FAIL TO KEEP THIS IMPORTANT DISTINCTION IN MIND.

> SUCH A READINESS TO TAKE FLAME AND BLAZE FROM THE LEAST OCCASION PRESENTED, OR THE LEAST SPARK OF ANOTHER'S KNOWLEDGE DELIVERED." (THIS IS FROM THE SECOND PARAGRAPH OF THE DEDICATION OF THE ADVANCEMENT OF LEARNING.)

10. TREVELYAN, II, 157-58.

BACON OPENS HIS DISCUSSION OF THE PACIFICATION AND EDIFICATION OF THE CHURCH WITH AN APOLOGY FOR HIS OWN PARTICIPATION IN SUCH AFFAIRS AND WITH A FEW SELECT GENERALIZATIONS ABOUT CHURCH CONTROVERSIES. ALTHOUGH, HE SAYS, THE SUBJECT OF CHURCH POLICY DOES NOT PROPERLY APPERTAIN TO HIS PROFESSION, IT IS A WISE SAYING THAT A MAN WHO STANDS TO THE SIDE OF AN ISSUE MAY SEE IT MORE CLEARLY THAN THOSE ACTUALLY INVOLVED IN IT.[11] AFTER THIS APOLOGY, BACON MAKES A DIRECT APPEAL TO JAMES TO PRESERVE CHURCH UNITY, WHICH, HE SAYS, IS NO LESS PRECIOUS THAN NATIONAL UNITY (LAUDED SHORTLY BEFORE IN ANOTHER BRIEF TO JAMES). HE HUMBLY COUNSELS THE KING TO ADOPT A COURSE OF "GOLDEN MEDIOCRITY" BETWEEN THOSE WHO SAY THAT THE CHURCH CAN SUFFER NO CHANGE--THAT, IN EFFECT, THE BAD IN IT MUST BE PROTECTED BY THE GOOD--AND THOSE WHO CLAIM THAT THE CHURCH NEEDS A BROAD REFORMATION. CONCERNING THESE TWO EXTREMES, HE SAYS:

> BUT BEFORE I ENTER INTO THE POINTS CONTROVERTED, I THINK GOOD TO REMOVE (IF IT MAY BE) TWO OPINIONS, WHICH DO DIRECTLY CONFRONT AND OPPONE TO REFORMATION,--THE ONE BRINGING IT TO A NULLITY, AND THE OTHER TO AN IMPOSSIBILITY. THE FIRST IS, THAT IT IS AGAINST GOOD POLICY TO INNOVATE ANYTHING IN CHURCH MATTERS; THE OTHER, THAT ALL REFORMATION MUST BE AFTER ONE PLATFORM.[12]

11. LATER HE DID NOT GRANT THE SAME FRANCHISE TO "MONKS AND CLOSET PENMEN" WHO HAD TAKEN IT UPON THEMSELVES TO EVALUATE ELIZABETH'S GOVERNMENT: "BUT IT IS NOT TO MONKS OR CLOSET PENMEN THAT WE ARE TO LOOK FOR GUIDANCE IN SUCH A CASE; FOR MEN OF THAT ORDER, BEING KEEN IN STYLE, POOR IN JUDGMENT, AND PARTIAL IN FEELING, ARE NO FAITHFUL WITNESSES AS TO THE REAL PASSAGES OF BUSINESS." (WORKS, VI, 305.)

12. WORKS, X, 105.

TO FURTHER DEMONSTRATE HIS AFFINITY TO SOME FORMS OF INNOVATION, BACON EMPLOYS A HYDROLOGIC METAPHOR WHICH READERS OF HIS PHILOSOPHICAL WORKS WILL IMMEDIATELY RECOGNIZE:

> WHO KNOWETH NOT THAT TIME IS TRULY COMPARED TO A STREAM, THAT CARRIETH DOWN FRESH AND PURE WATERS INTO THAT SALT SEA OF CORRUPTION WHICH ENVIRONETH ALL HUMAN ACTIONS? AND THEREFORE IF MAN SHALL NOT BY HIS INDUSTRY, VIRTUE, AND POLICY, AS IT WERE WITH THE OAR ROW AGAINST THE STREAM AND INCLINATION OF THE TIME, ALL INSTITUTIONS AND ORDINANCES, BE THEY NEVER SO PURE, WILL CORRUPT AND DEGENERATE.[13]

IN ALL OTHER CASES THIS STREAM IS BRINGING DOWN THE OFFAL AND LIGHT STUFF OF ANTIQUITY,[14] BUT HERE, IN MAKING REFERENCE TO THE PRIMITIVE PURITY OF THE CHURCH OF CHRIST, BACON FOULS HIS CRYSTALLINE WATERS IN THE STAGNANT MERES OF HUMAN ACTION.

BUT INNOVATION, WE ARE SOON TO LEARN, IS NOT TO EXTEND INTO THE HALLOWED CHAMBERS OF THE ESTABLISHED CHURCH-GOVERNMENT. IN "REVOLVING THE SCRIPTURES" BACON HAS FOUND NO INDICATION THAT GOD HAS PRESCRIBED ONE PLATFORM OF CHURCH GOVERNMENT. ON THE CONTRARY, GOD HAS LEFT SUCH MATTERS "TO BE VARIED ACCORDING TO THE TIME AND PLACE AND ACCIDENTS, WHICH NEVERTHELESS HIS HIGH AND DIVINE PROVIDENCE

13. IBID.

14. FOR EXAMPLE, IN THE PREFACE TO THE GREAT INSTAURATION BACON SAYS, "TIME IS LIKE A RIVER, WHICH HAS BROUGHT DOWN TO US THINGS LIGHT AND PUFFED UP, WHILE THOSE WHICH ARE WEIGHTY AND SOLID HAVE SUNK" (WORKS, IV, 15).

DOTH ORDER AND DISPOSE."[15] BUT THEN BACON MAKES THE CUSTOMARY ANGLICAN LEAP FROM THE MULTI-PLATFORM PRINCIPLE TO THE PRINCIPLE OF THE IMMUNITY OF ESTABLISHED SYSTEMS. THAT WHICH IS LAWFULLY AND PROPERLY ESTABLISHED, HE SAYS, "OUGHT TO BE MAINTAINED INVIOLATE." SIMILARLY, THE SUBSTANCE OF CHURCH DOCTRINE (ONE FAITH, ONE BAPTISM), LIKE THE FUNDAMENTAL LAWS OF CIVIL GOVERNMENT, IS IMMUTABLE; BUT RITES, CEREMONIES, POLICIES, AND DISCIPLINES ARE "LEFT AT LARGE." CONCERNING ESSENTIALS, BACON CONTINUES, LET US EMBRACE THE WORDS OF CHRIST, THAT HE WHO IS NOT WITH US IS AGAINST US; BUT CONCERNING THINGS INDIFFERENT, HE THAT IS NOT AGAINST US IS WITH US.[16] THE LOGICAL CONCLUSION OF THIS PROGRESS IS A DIRECT DEFENSE OF THE EPISCOPACY:

> FIRST, THEREFORE FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF BISHOPS, I FOR MY PART, NOT PREJUDGING THE PRECEDENTS OF OTHER REFORMED CHURCHES, DO HOLD IT WARRANTED BY THE WORD OF GOD AND BY THE PRACTICE OF THE ANCIENT CHURCH IN THE BETTER TIMES, AS MUCH MORE CONVENIENT FOR KINGDOMS, THAN PARITY OF MINISTERS AND GOVERNMENT BY SYNODS.[17]

WE NEED HARDLY SAY THAT BACON HAS SIMPLY BEEN REPEATING THE COMMONPLACE USED FOR SEVERAL DECADES BY THE CHURCHMEN TO DEFEND THE ESTABLISHMENT. HIS OWN MOTIVES IN THESE

15. WORKS, X, 107. 16. IBID., P. 108.

17. IBID., PP. 108-09. LATER (P. 111) BACON SUGGESTS THAT CONVOCATION BE GRANTED SOME OF ITS FORMER JURISDICTION, BUT HE MAKES NO SPECIFIC RECOMMENDATIONS.

OPENING PARAGRAPHS WOULD NOT BE TO INFORM JAMES, TO WHOM THE CHURCH'S DEFENSE WAS AN OLD STORY, BUT TO SUGGEST TO THE NEW KING THAT HE (BACON) WAS AMENABLE TO HIS SOVEREIGN'S IDEA OF CHURCH GOVERNMENT.

BACON'S SPECIFIC RECOMMENDATIONS FOR REFORM BEGIN, HOWEVER, WITH A CRITICISM OF CHURCH GOVERNMENT. WE MAY RECALL HIS EARLIER STRICTURES ON THE AUTONOMY OF THE EPISCOPACY, AND BOTH OF HIS RECOMMENDATIONS CONCERNING THE OFFICE OF THE BISHOPS RELATE TO THIS ABUSIVE USE OF AUTHORITY. THE BISHOPS, HE SAYS, ARE COMMISSIONED TO MAKE DECISIONS OF THE GRAVEST NATURE WITHOUT INVITING COUNSEL, AND HE FINDS THIS POWER, PARTICULARLY WHEN IT APPLIES TO EXCOMMUNICATION, EXCESSIVE. THE BISHOPS HAVE A FRANCHISE WHICH IS PRACTICALLY WITHOUT EXAMPLE IN ECCLESIASTICAL AND CIVIL HISTORY--EVEN KINGS HAVE THEIR COUNSELLORS! IN ONE OF HIS FEW WINDY PASSAGES, BACON RAMBLES ON UNNECESSARILY ABOUT HOW COUNSEL HAS ALWAYS BEEN SOUGHT BY MEN IN IMPORTANT OFFICES, CONCLUDING THAT THE BISHOPS SHOULD BE REQUIRED TO SEEK ADVICE IN THEIR WEIGHTIEST DECISIONS:

> AND THEREFORE IT SEEMS TO ME A THING REASONABLE AND RELIGIOUS, AND ACCORDING TO THE FIRST INSTITUTION, THAT BISHOPS, IN THE GREATEST CAUSE, AND THOSE WHICH REQUIRE A SPIRITUAL DISCERNING, NAMELY IN ORDAINING, SUSPENDING, OR DEPRIVING MINISTERS, IN EXCOMMUNICATION. . . IN SENTENCING THE VALIDITY OF MARRIAGES AND LEGITIMATIONS, IN JUDGING

> CAUSES CRIMINOUS, AS SIMONY, INCEST, AND THE LIKE, SHOULD NOT PROCEED SOLE AND UNASSISTED. . . .[18]

BACON BELIEVES THIS IS A REFORMATION IN THE CHURCH WHICH WILL GO "SINE STREPITU, WITHOUT ANY PERTURBATION AT ALL."

THE SECOND RECOMMENDATION CONCERNS THE TENDENCY OF BISHOPS TO DELEGATE THEIR AUTHORITY IN CASES WHICH DEMAND THEIR PERSONAL ATTENTION. THE BISHOP, BACON AFFIRMS, HAS THE KIND OF AUTHORITY WHICH CANNOT IN CERTAIN RESPECTS BE DELEGATED. LIKE A JUDGE, HE IS CHOSEN BECAUSE HE HAS THE SINGULAR CAPACITY TO EXECUTE HIS OFFICE; HENCE TO DELEGATE AUTHORITY IS TO DENY THE VERY NATURE OF HIS OFFICE. IT IS THE RIGHT OF A CHRISTIAN INVOLVED IN A HIGHLY SERIOUS MATTER TO HAVE ACCESS TO THE BISHOP HIMSELF. THIS TOO IS A THING REASONABLE. AND RELIGIOUS.

IN THE ANGLICAN-PURITAN DEBATE A QUESTION FULLY AS IMPORTANT AS THAT RELATING TO CHURCH GOVERNMENT CONCERNED THE FORM OF PUBLIC PRAYER, FOR IF THE EPISCOPACY WERE TO REMAIN UNIMPAIRED AND THE UNIFORMITY ACT IN EFFECT, THE PURITANS COULD BE PACIFIED ONLY IF THEY WERE PERMITTED TO CHANGE THE CHURCH SERVICE ITSELF, A RIGHT WHICH THEY HAD NOT BEEN GRANTED UNDER ELIZABETH. IT IS THIS PROBLEM TO WHICH BACON TURNS NEXT, AND A BRIEF LOOK AT HOOKER'S VIEWS WILL DEMONSTRATE HOW FUNDAMENTALLY SYMPATHETIC HE IS WITH THE CHURCHMAN'S POSITION.

18. IBID., PP. 110-11.

HOOKER'S DEFENSE OF A SET FORM OF PUBLIC PRAYER, WHICH IS PRIMARILY AN EXTENSION OF THE DEBATE CONDUCTED BY CARTWRIGHT AND WHITGIFT, UNFOLDS FROM THE FIRST PREMISE THAT THE CHRISTIAN WHOLE "EXCEEDETH THE WORTH" OF ANY OF ITS SEPARATE PARTS.[19] THEREFORE, MEN JOINED TOGETHER IN THE MYSTICAL BODY OF THE VISIBLE CHURCH WORSHIP GOD IN A WAY THEY COULD NOT IN DISJUNCTION, WHATEVER THE SINCERITY OF THEIR INDIVIDUAL DEVOTION. IF PUBLIC WORSHIP IS THE HIGHEST FORM OF WORSHIP, IT FOLLOWS THAT ITS FORM SHOULD BE DETERMINED BY THOSE BEST QUALIFIED TO INTERPRET THE WILL OF GOD--SKILLED AND REVERENT THEOLOGIANS. HOOKER MAINTAINS THAT ALTHOUGH CERTAIN VARIATIONS IN THE FORM OF COMMON PRAYER CAN BE OBSERVED IN THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH OF CHRIST, IT IS CERTAIN THAT ALL TRUE LITURGY HAS PROCEEDED FROM ONE MOLD, "AND THAT THE PUBLIC PRAYERS OF THE PEOPLE OF GOD IN CHURCHES THOROUGHLY SETTLED DID NEVER USE TO BE VOLUNTARY DICTATES PROCEEDING FROM ANY MAN'S EXTEMPORAL WIT."[20] THE "STRANGE CONCEIT" THAT ANY SET FORM OF SERVICE IS SUPERSTITIOUS IS BORN, HE AFFIRMS, OF THE "BEST STRATAGEM" OF SATAN, WHO WELL KNOWS THAT THE SUREST WAY TO SHAKE THE FOUNDATIONS OF GOD'S KINGDOM IS TO MAKE

19. HOOKER'S COMPREHENSIVE EXPLICATION OF PRIVATE AND PUBLIC WORSHIP IS CONTAINED IN CHAPTERS XXIII-XXVII OF BOOK FIVE OF THE <u>LAWS OF ECCLESIASTICAL POLITY</u>. BOOK FIVE WAS PUBLISHED IN 1597.

20. <u>ECCLESIASTICAL POLITY</u> V, XXV, 4; VOL. II, 121.

THE PUBLIC PRAYER ODIOUS. HOOKER HAS, OF COURSE, NO SYMPATHY FOR THOSE WHO WISH TO ABOLISH A PRESCRIBED FORM OF WORSHIP ALTOGETHER, TO WORSHIP "ACCORDING TO THE EXIGENCE OF PRESENT OCCASIONS"; NOR, THOUGH HE ADMITS THAT SOME ASPECTS OF THE SERVICE ARE NOT COMPLETELY UNALTERABLE, IS HE INCLINED TO OPEN THE COMMON PRAYER TO INTERNAL REVISIONS. HE IS, IN A WORD, DEFENDING THE CHURCH RATHER THAN PACIFYING PURITANS.

BACON TAKES A LESS UNCOMPROMISING STAND, BUT IN HIS SIX MAJOR RECOMMENDATIONS ON CHURCH SERVICE WE SEE HIS BASIC ALIGNMENT WITH HOOKER:

> AND THEREFORE, FIRST, THAT THERE BE A SET FORM OF PRAYER AND THAT IT BE NOT LEFT EITHER TO AN EXTEMPORAL FORM OR TO AN ARBITRARY FORM. SECONDLY, THAT IT CONSIST AS WELL OF LAUDS, [HYMN] AND THANKSGIVINGS, AS OF PETITIONS, PRAYERS, AND SUPPLICATIONS. THIRDLY, THAT THE FORM THEREOF BE QUICKENED WITH SOME SHORTNESS AND DIVERSITY OF PRAYERS AND HYMNS, AND WITH SOME INTERCHANGE OF THE VOICE OF THE PEOPLE AS WELL AS OF THE VOICE OF THE MINISTER. FOURTHLY, THAT IT ADMIT SOME DISTINCTIONS OF TIMES AND COMMEMORATIONS OF GOD'S PRINCIPAL BENEFITS, AS WELL GENERAL AS PARTICULAR. FIFTHLY, THAT PRAYERS LIKEWISE BE APPROPRIATED TO SEVERAL NECESSITIES AND OCCASIONS OF THE CHURCH. SIXTHLY, THAT THERE BE A FORM LIKEWISE OF WORDS AND LITURGY IN THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE SACRAMENTS AND IN THE DENOUNCING [I.E., "ANNOUNCING"] OF THE CENSURES OF THE CHURCH, AND OTHER HOLY ACTIONS AND SOLEMNITIES. THESE THINGS I THINK WILL NOT BE MUCH CONTROVERTED.[21]

THE FIRST RECOMMENDATION IS, OF COURSE, VASTLY MORE IMPORTANT THAN THE SUM OF THE OTHER FIVE, WHICH ARE DOMINATED BY

21. WORKS, X, 115.

AN APPEAL TO INSTITUTE A PLEASING DIVERSITY AND TO MAKE PROVISIONS IN THE SERVICE FOR EXIGENCY. THE OBJECT OF THE CHURCH SERVICE, THAT IS, WHAT IT IS SUPPOSED TO ACCOMPLISH IS TO REMAIN UNCHANGED.[22]

IT IS NOW OBVIOUS WHAT BACON WILL SAY ABOUT THE ROLE OF THE MINISTER IN THE SERVICE AND ABOUT THE PROPER FUNCTION OF THE SERMON. HIS DISCUSSION "TOUCHING A PREACHING MINISTRY" IS THE MOST THOROUGHLY BACONIAN PASSAGE IN THE TRACT:

> TO SPEAK OF A LEARNED MINISTRY, IT IS TRUE THAT THE WORTHINESS OF THE PASTORS AND MINISTERS IS OF ALL OTHER POINTS OF RELIGION THE MOST SUMMARY; I DO NOT SAY THE GREATEST, BUT THE MOST EFFECTUAL TOWARDS ALL THE REST. BUT HEREIN TO MY UNDERSTANDING WHILE MEN GO ON IN ZEAL TO HASTEN THIS WORK, THEY ARE NOT AWARE OF AS GREAT OR GREATER INCONVENIENCE THAN THAT WHICH THEY SEEK TO REMOVE. FOR WHILE THEY INVEIGH AGAINST A DUMB MINISTRY, THEY MAKE TOO EASY AND TOO PROMISCUOUS AN ALLOWANCE OF SUCH AS THEY ACCOUNT PREACHERS, HAVING NOT RESPECT ENOUGH TO THEIR LEARNINGS IN OTHER ARTS, WHICH ARE HANDMAIDS TO DIVINITY; NOT RESPECT ENOUGH TO THE GIFT ITSELF, WHICH MANY TIMES IS NONE AT ALL. FOR GOD FORBID, THAT EVERY MAN THAT CAN TAKE UNTO HIMSELF BOLDNESS TO SPEAK AN HOUR TOGETHER IN A CHURCH UPON A TEXT, SHOULD BE ADMITTED FOR A PREACHER, THOUGH HE MEAN NEVER SO WELL. I KNOW THERE IS A GREAT LATITUDE IN GIFTS AND A GREAT VARIETY IN AUDITORIES AND CONGREGATIONS, BUT YET SO AS

22. I SUSPECT--AND THIS IS A THOROUGHLY REASONABLE PROPOSITION--THAT BACON HAD HOOKER'S WORK BEFORE HIM AS HE COMPOSED MUCH OF THIS TRACT. THERE IS A MARKED SIMILARITY IN THE WAY ISSUES ARE APPROACHED, AND OCCASIONALLY BACON SEEMS ATTRACTED TO HOOKER'S IRONY. IN THESE TRACTS WHICH WE ARE CONSIDERING BACON ALMOST NEVER MAKES SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO CONTEMPORARY PERSONALITIES. THIS IS IN KEEPING WITH HIS POSE AS THE INDIFFERENT MAN, BUT MORE FUNDAMENTALLY IT IS THE RECOGNITION OF THE ODIUM ASSOCIATED WITH MANY OF THE CHURCHMEN.

> THERE IS ALIQUID INFIMUM BELOW WHICH YOU OUGHT NOT TO DESCEND. FOR YOU MUST RATHER LEAVE THE ARK TO SHAKE AS IT SHALL PLEASE GOD, THAN PUT UNWORTHY HANDS TO HOLD IT UP, AND WHEN WE ARE IN GOD'S TEMPLE, WE ARE WARNED RATHER TO PUT OUR HANDS UPON OUR MOUTH THAN TO OFFER THE SACRIFICE TO FOOLS.[23]

IT IS HARD TO DETECT IN THIS PASSAGE EVEN A MODICUM OF RESPECT FOR WHAT MANY PROTESTANTS CALL "LAY INSPIRATION" OR ANY RESPECT FOR COMMUNAL ENTHUSIASM IN GENERAL. A COMELY SERVICE INTERRUPTED BY A SPONTANEOUS OVERFLOW OF RELIGIOUS EMOTION WOULD FIND NO FAVOR IN THE EYES OF FRANCIS BACON. HE INSISTS THAT FAITH, LIKE ALL OTHER EXPERIENCES OF LIFE, BE REASONABLE, MODERATE, AND ORDERLY.

BACON HAS THREE RECOMMENDATIONS CONCERNING THE MINISTRY, THE FIRST OF WHICH IS RATHER INTERESTING IN LIGHT OF HIS MANY ENCOMIUMS ON ELIZABETH'S ECCLESIASTICAL POLITY. DURING A PORTION OF ELIZABETH'S REIGN MINISTERS HAD BEEN PERMITTED TO "PROPHESY," THAT IS, TO ASSEMBLE IN SMALL GROUPS AND GIVE INDIVIDUAL INTERPRETATIONS OF SCRIPTURAL PASSAGES. CUSTOMARILY DISCUSSIONS WOULD BE INITIATED BY THE YOUNGER MEMBERS OF THE MINISTRY AND WOULD END AS SEASONED MINISTERS GAVE THEIR INTERPRETATIONS OF THE PASSAGES IN QUESTION. IDEALLY CONDUCTED, PROPHESYING WAS AN EXCELLENT DEVICE TO TRAIN YOUNG MINISTERS, BUT IN 1576 ELIZABETH FELT THAT THE EXERCISE HAD GOTTEN OUT OF HAND AND THEREFORE INSTRUCTED ARCHBISHOP GRINDAL TO HAVE IT DISPENSED WITH. GRINDAL,

23. WORKS, X, 118-19.

HOWEVER, DID NO MORE THAN ATTEMPT TO CONTROL THE MEETINGS THEMSELVES. THIS HALF-MEASURE DISPLEASED THE QUEEN, WHO IN MAY OF 1577 SENT PERSONAL LETTERS TO HER BISHOPS PROHIBITING PROPHESYING. GRINDAL OPENLY OPPOSED THIS MEASURE, AN ACT FOR WHICH HE WAS DISGRACED AND SEQUESTRATED FOR SIX MONTHS.[24] FRERE MAINTAINS THAT PROPHESYING CONTINUED IN VARIOUS FORMS IN SPITE OF THE QUEEN'S IRRITABILITY.

BACON WISHES TO SEE PROPHESYING REVIVED, FOR HE THINKS ITS METHODS ARE ADMIRABLY SUITED TO THE TRAINING OF MINISTERS. ORATORS, LAWYERS, LOGICIANS, AND "EVERY PRACTICE OF SCIENCE" HAVE THEIR DEVICES FOR INSTRUCTING THE NOVICE, HE SAYS. PREACHING ONLY, "WHICH IS THE WORTHIEST, AND WHEREIN IT IS MOST DANGER TO DO AMISS, WANTETH AN INTRODUCTION, AND IS VENTURED AND RUSHED UPON AT THE FIRST."[25] HE WILL, HOWEVER, SUGGEST TWO PROVISIONS, ONE THAT THE MINISTERS INVOLVED MEET DIRECTLY AFTER THE EXERCISES AND ADMONISH OFFENDERS, AND THE OTHER THAT YOUNG DIVINES IN THE UNIVERSITIES BE REQUIRED TO PARTICIPATE IN THE EXERCISE BEFORE THEY PRESUME TO PREACH. TO THOSE WHO FEAR THAT PROPHESYING WILL BREED NEW CONTROVERSIES BACON GIVES THE ASSURANCE

24. W. H. FRERE, A HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH CHURCH IN THE REIGNS OF ELIZABETH AND JAMES I (LONDON, MACMILLAN AND CO., 1904; 1924), PP. 193-94. ACTUALLY GRINDAL REMAINED IN DISGRACE UNTIL HE DIED, BLIND, IN 1583. ELIZABETH WISHED TO DEPRIVE GRINDAL BUT WAS DISSUADED BY HER COUNCIL.

25. WORKS, X, 120.

THAT "MATTERS OF CONTROVERSY TENDING ANY WAY TO THE VIOLATING AND DISQUIETING OF THE PEACE OF THE CHURCH" MAY BE STRICTLY FORBIDDEN. IF A "GRAVE PERSON" ATTENDS THE MEETINGS, AS PRESIDENT OR MODERATOR, THEY CAN BE ADEQUATELY POLICED.

THE SECOND RECOMMENDATION CONCERNING THE MINISTRY IS THAT CLERGYMEN BE SUBJECTED TO A MORE "EXACT PROBATION AND EXAMINATION" AND THAT THEIR ORDINATIONS OCCUR ONLY AT SPECIFIED TIMES, WITH APPROPRIATE COMPLEMENTARY CEREMONIES. THE THIRD RECOMMENDATION IS THAT AN EFFORT BE MADE TO DISTRIBUTE MINISTERS MORE EQUITABLY THROUGHOUT THE REALM.

IN HIS REMAINING SUGGESTIONS, OF WHICH THERE ARE A GOOD MANY, BACON RANGES AT LARGE OVER THE CHURCH'S DISCIPLINE, AND IN AN ATTEMPT TO AVOID REACHING THE POINT OF DIMINISHING RETURNS IN THIS DISCUSSION I SHALL PRESENT RELEVANT BACKGROUND MATERIAL ONLY IN THOSE CASES WHICH ARE PARTICULARLY KNOTTY OR WHICH THROW AN INTERESTING LIGHT ON BACON'S OWN OPINIONS. FREQUENTLY THE IMPLICATIONS OF HIS ADVICE WILL BE IMMEDIATELY PERCEIVED.

IN THE ADMONITION CONTROVERSY WHITGIFT AND CARTWRIGHT HAD COME TO ETYMOLOGICAL AND SPIRITUAL BLOWS OVER THE WORD PRIEST, WHOSE CONNOTATION OF "SACRIFICER" WAS OF COURSE ANATHEMA TO THE REFORMERS. WHITGIFT, THOUGH "NOT GREATLY DELIGHTED WITH THE NAME,"[26] AFFIRMED NONETHELESS THAT "A

26. WHITGIFT'S WORKS, III, 351.

TRUTH IS TO BE DEFENDED." HOOKER HAD BEEN EVEN LESS DELIGHTED WITH THE NAME, AND IN DISCUSSING THE NOMENCLATURE OF THE CHURCH'S MINISTRY HAD DISCARDED PRIEST AND HAD USED PRESBYTER, "BECAUSE IN A MATTER OF SO SMALL MOMENT [HE] WOULD NOT WILLINGLY OFFEND THEIR EARS TO WHOM THE NAME OF PRIESTHOOD IS ODIOUS THOUGH WITHOUT CAUSE."[27] BACON, FAVORING HOOKER'S ARGUMENT, SUGGESTS THAT PRIEST BE DISCONTINUED, "THE WORD MINISTER BEING ALREADY MADE FAMILIAR."[28]

AN ISSUE OF MORE IMPORTANCE (THOUGH IT IS DIFFICULT TO ASCERTAIN THE PLANES OF IMPORTANCE IN THE PURITAN MIND) CONCERNED CONFIRMATION. SIMPLY STATED, THE PROBLEM WAS THIS: IT WAS THE CHURCH'S POLICY TO MAKE BAPTISM AND CONFIRMATION TWO SEPARATE CEREMONIES, THE LATTER OF WHICH COULD BE PERFORMED ONLY BY A BISHOP. THE PURITANS HAD MANY CRITICISMS OF THIS POLICY. FOR EXAMPLE, IT WAS SIMILAR TO THE CATHOLIC SACRAMENT OF CONFIRMATION; IT IMPLIED THAT CONFIRMATION WAS MORE IMPORTANT THAN BAPTISM; IT SUGGESTED THAT THE BISHOP HAD A UNIQUE POWER IN THE "LAYING ON OF HANDS," A POWER DENIED HIM BY SCRIPTURE; AND IT SENT MANY A POOR FAMILY TRAMPING ACROSS THE COUNTRYSIDE IN SEARCH OF A BISHOP TO RENDER A SERVICE WHICH THE REFORMERS THOUGHT DID NOT NEED DOING IN THE FIRST PLACE. ALSO, SINCE THE

27. E. P. V, LXXVIII, 2; VOL. II, 469-70.

28. WORKS, X, 116.

CONFIRMATION CEREMONY INVOLVED THE EXAMINATION OF THE CONFIRMEE, THE REFORMERS FELT THE PROCEEDINGS WERE BETTER FITTED TO AN INDUCEMENT TO COMMUNION. BACON GREATLY OVERSIMPLIFIES THE MATTER, REFERRING ONLY TO THE LAST ASPECT:

> FOR CONFIRMATION, TO MY UNDERSTANDING THE STATE OF THE QUESTION IS WHETHER IT BE NOT A MATTER MISTAKEN AND ALTERED BY TIME; AND WHETHER THAT BE NOT NOW MADE A SUBSEQUENT TO BAPTISM [I.E., THE EXAMINATION], WHICH WAS INDEED AN INDUCEMENT TO THE COMMUNION. FOR WHEREAS IN THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH CHILDREN WERE EXAMINED OF THEIR FAITH BEFORE THEY WERE ADMITTED TO THE COMMUNION, TIME MAY SEEM TO HAVE TURNED IT TO REFER AS IF IT HAD BEEN TO RECEIVE A CONFIRMATION OF THEIR BAPTISM.[29]

BACON ALSO TOUCHES THE ABSOLUTION, IN COMMENTS WHICH WILL SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES:

> TOUCHING THE ABSOLUTION, IT IS NOT UNWORTHY CONSIDERATION WHETHER IT MAY NOT BE THOUGHT UNPROPER AND UNNECESSARY; FOR THERE ARE BUT TWO SORTS OF ABSOLUTION, BOTH SUPPOSING AN OBLIGATION PRECEDENT; THE ONE UPON AN EXCOMMUNICATION, WHICH IS RELIGIOUS AND PRIMITIVE; THE OTHER UPON CONFESSION AND PENANCE, WHICH IS SUPERSTITIOUS OR AT LEAST

29. IBID. FOR HOOKER'S EXPLICATION, WHICH CONTAINS A LENGTHY REVIEW OF PURITAN COMPLAINTS, SEE E. P. V, LXVI; VOL. II, 337-48. HOOKER DEFENDS BOTH THE CONCEPTION AND CEREMONY OF CONFIRMATION, REFERRING TO THE UNFORTUNATE "DEEP NEGLECT OF THIS CHRISTIAN DUTY" (LXVI, 8; VOL. II, 345). THIS IS, IN FACT, ONE OF HOOKER'S MORE IMPASSIONED SECTIONS. THE ANGLICAN-PURITAN DEBATE ON BAPTISM ITSELF HAD MANY PRONGS; BACON MENTIONS BRIEFLY THAT BAPTISM BY LAYMEN OR WOMEN IS NOT "GENERALLY DEFENDED" (WORKS, X, 117). AT THE HAMPTON COURT CONFERENCE THE CHURCHMEN AGREED TO CHANGE THE CHURCH'S RUBRIC ON BAPTISM TO AVOID THE IMPLICATION THAT A MOTHER (UNDER CERTAIN CONDITIONS) COULD BAPTIZE HER CHILD AT HOME. PART OF THE RUBRIC WAS CHANGED FROM "LET THEM THAT BE PRESENT CALL UPON GOD FOR HIS GRACE, AND SAY THE LORD'S PRAYER, IF THE

> POSITIVE; AND BOTH PARTICULAR, NEITHER GENERAL. THEREFORE SINCE THE ONE IS TAKEN AWAY, AND THE OTHER HATH HIS PROPER CASE, WHAT DOTH A GENERAL ABSOLUTION, WHEREIN THERE IS NEITHER PENANCE NOR EXCOMMUNICATION PRECEDENT? FOR THE CHURCH NEVER LOOSETH, BUT WHERE THE CHURCH HATH BOUND. AND SURELY I MAY THINK THIS AT THE FIRST WAS ALLOWED IN A KIND OF SPIRITUAL DISCRETION, BECAUSE THE CHURCH THOUGHT THE PEOPLE COULD NOT SUDDENLY BE WEANED FROM THEIR CONCEIT OF ASSOILING [I.E., "ABSOLVING"], TO WHICH THEY HAD BEEN SO LONG ACCUSTOMED.[30]

WITH HIS EMPIRICAL VIEW OF CHURCH DOGMA BACON MIGHT HAVE LAID WASTE A GREAT MANY CEREMONIES BY SIMPLY EXPLAINING THEIR IRRATIONALITY, BUT CHURCHMEN WERE NOT ALWAYS AS CONFIDENT AS HE THAT REASON WOULD RULE THE DAY, OR THAT IT NEEDED TO.

SINCE 1560, THE YEAR OF THE VESTARIAN CONTROVERSY, THE QUESTION OF THE ATTIRE OF MINISTERS HAD NEVER BEEN OUT OF THE SPOTLIGHT. TO MANY PURITANS ANGLICAN VESTMENT WAS SYMBOLIC OF ALL THAT WAS BAD ABOUT THE ESTABLISHMENT; AND THE CHURCHMEN, THOUGH CONTINUALLY MAINTAINING THAT THEIR APPAREL WAS A MATTER OF INDIFFERENCE, WENT ON ACTING AS IF IT WERE A CONCERN OF THE HIGHEST ORDER. A PORTION OF HOOKER'S ARGUMENT WILL SUFFICE TO SHOW US HOW THE CHURCH'S ARGUMENT RAN:

TIME WILL SUFFICE" TO "LET THE MINISTER OF THE PARISH . . . CALL UPON GOD. . . ." QUOTED FROM E. P. V, LXII, I, N. 3; VOL. II, 280-81. ORDINARILY IN MATTERS LIKE THIS BACON HOPES FOR A SOLUTION WHICH WILL SATISFY THE MORE AGGRESSIVE GROUP.

30. WORKS, X, 116.

> THE ATTIRE WHICH THE MINISTER OF GOD IS BY ORDER TO USE AT TIMES OF DIVINE SERVICE BEING BUT A MATTER OF MERE FORMALITY, YET SUCH AS FOR COMELINESS-SAKE HATH HITHERTO BEEN JUDGED BY THE WISER SORT OF MEN NOT UNNECESSARY TO CONCUR WITH OTHER SENSIBLE NOTES BETOKENING THE DIFFERENT KIND OR QUALITY OF PERSONS AND ACTIONS WHERETO IT IS TIED; AS WE THINK NOT OURSELVES THE HOLIER BECAUSE WE USE IT, SO NEITHER SHOULD THEY WITH WHOM NO SUCH THING IS IN USE THINK US THEREFORE UNHOLY, BECAUSE WE SUBMIT OURSELVES UNTO THAT, WHICH IN A MATTER SO INDIFFERENT THE WISDOM OF AUTHORITY AND LAW HATH THOUGHT COMELY.[31]

THIS IS THE KIND OF ARGUMENT WHICH ONE CAN WALK THROUGH FROM ANY ANGLE AND NEVER LEAVE A TRACK, FOR SOMEWHERE BETWEEN INDIFFERENCE AND SENSIBLE COMELINESS THE GROUND BECOMES VERY FLUID. THE PURITANS, TIME AND TIME AGAIN, HAD INFORMED THE CHURCHMEN THAT THEY DID NOT THINK ATTIRE WAS A MATTER OF INDIFFERENCE. IN FACT, MANY OF THEIR MINISTERS WERE SO OPPOSED TO THE CHURCH'S APPAREL THAT THEY REFUSED TO WEAR IT, AND WERE THEREFORE NOT PERMITTED TO PREACH. THIS MEANT THAT CONGREGATIONS WERE LEFT WITHOUT MINISTERS OF ANY SORT. WOULD IT NOT BE REASONABLE, THEN, TO SACRIFICE COMELINESS FOR THE RETURN OF THESE MINISTERS TO THEIR FLOCKS? THE CHURCH SAID NO. COMELINESS WAS NOT A THING TO BE TAKEN INDIFFERENTLY.

IN THIS CASE BACON SYMPATHIZES WITH THE PURITANS, AND THE LINE OF HIS ARGUMENT IS VERY INTERESTING (AND DIFFICULT) TO FOLLOW:

31. E. P. V, XXIX, 1; VOL. II, 128-29.

> FOR THE CAP AND SURPLICE, SINCE THEY BE THINGS IN THEIR NATURE INDIFFERENT AND YET BY SOME HELD SUPERSTITIOUS, SO THAT THE QUESTION IS BETWEEN SCIENCE AND CONSCIENCE, IT SEEMS TO FALL WITHIN THE COMPASS OF THE APOSTLE'S RULE, WHICH IS, THAT THE STRONGER DO DESCEND AND YIELD TO THE WEAKER. ONLY THE DIFFERENCE IS, THAT IT WILL BE MATERIALLY SAID, THAT THAT RULE HOLDS BETWEEN PRIVATE MEN AND PRIVATE MAN, NOT BETWEEN THE CONSCIENCE OF A PRIVATE MAN AND THE ORDER OF A CHURCH. BUT SINCE THE QUESTION AT THIS TIME IS OF TOLERATION, NOT BY CONNIVANCE WHICH MAY ENCOURAGE DISOBEDIENCE, BUT BY A LAW WHICH MAY GIVE A LIBERTY, IT IS GOOD AGAIN TO BE ADVISED WHETHER IT FALL NOT WITHIN THE EQUITY OF THE FORMER RULE; THE RATHER BECAUSE THE SILENCING OF MINISTERS BY THIS OCCASION IS (IN THE SCARCITY OF GOOD PREACHERS) A PUNISHMENT THAT LIGHTS UPON THE PEOPLE AS WELL AS UPON THE PARTY.[32]

THIS IS ONE OF THE MOST CONTORTED PASSAGES IN THE BACON CANON, BUT ITS OBJECTIVITY IS EVEN MORE REMARKABLE THAN ITS SYNTAX. BACON SEEMS TO BE VIEWING THE VESTMENT CONTROVERSY FROM THE COMMON-SENSE PLATEAU OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY RATHER THAN FROM THE TEMPESTUOUS WATERS OF HIS OWN.

ANOTHER INDIFFERENT WHICH BACON FEELS MAY BE CONCEDED TO THE PURITANS CONCERNS THE RING IN THE WEDDING CEREMONY:

> FOR THE FORM OF CELEBRATING MATRIMONY, THE RING SEEMETH TO MANY EVEN OF VULGAR SENSE AND UNDERSTANDING A CEREMONY NOT GRAVE, SPECIALLY TO BE MADE (AS THE WORDS MAKE IT) THE ESSENTIAL PART OF THE ACTION: BESIDES, SOME OTHER OF THE WORDS ARE NOTED IN COMMON SPEECH TO BE NOT DECENT AND FIT.[33]

32. WORKS, X, 118.

33. IBID., P. 117.

THE RING CEREMONY (WHICH HAS NOT BEEN CHANGED, INCIDENTALLY) FOLLOWS THE VOWS OF THE HUSBAND AND WIFE TO "TAKE THEE TO MY WEDDED. . . &C." IT THEN PROCEEDS

> THEN SHALL THEY AGAIN LOOSE THEIR HANDS; AND THE MAN SHALL GIVE UNTO THE WOMAN A RING, LAYING THE SAME UPON THE BOOK WITH THE ACCUSTOMED DUTY TO THE PRIEST AND CLERK. AND THE PRIEST, TAKING THE RING, SHALL DELIVER IT UNTO THE MAN, TO PUT IT UPON THE FOURTH FINGER OF THE WOMAN'S LEFT HAND. AND THE MAN HOLDING THE RING THERE, AND TAUGHT BY THE PRIEST, SHALL SAY, 'WITH THIS RING I THEE WED, AND WITH MY BODY I THEE WORSHIP, AND WITH ALL MY WORLDLY GOODS I THEE ENDOW: IN THE NAME OF THE FATHER, AND OF THE SON, AND OF THE HOLY GHOST. AMEN.'

WHEN BACON SAYS "SOME OTHER OF THE WORDS ARE NOTED IN COMMON SPEECH TO BE NOT SO DECENT AND FIT," HE NO DOUBT HAS REFERENCE TO "WITH MY BODY I THEE WORSHIP." CARTWRIGHT HAD SAID, "THEY MAKE THE NEW-MARRIED MAN ACCORDING TO THE POPISH FORM TO MAKE AN IDOL OF HIS WIFE, SAYING, 'WITH THIS RING I THEE WED, WITH MY BODY I THEE WORSHIP.'"[34] THOUGH ADMITTING THAT THE RING CEREMONY WAS NOT STRICTLY ESSENTIAL, BOTH WHITGIFT AND HOOKER DEFENDED IT AT LENGTH AS AN ACTION SYMBOLICALLY APPROPRIATE TO THE UNION OF MAN AND WIFE. CARTWRIGHT'S CONTENTION WAS THAT THE SYMBOL LOOKED VERY LIKE THE CATHOLIC SACRAMENT OF MARRIAGE. BACON'S COMMENTS ARE TOO BRIEF TO REVEAL HIS OWN CONVICTIONS, BUT HE IS CLEARLY READY TO ABANDON THE LITTLE BAND

34. WHITGIFT'S WORKS, III, 353. HOOKER DISCUSSES THE RING CEREMONY IN E. P. V, LXXIII, 6-7; VOL. II, 429-33.

OF GOLD, WHICH HAS MEANT SO MUCH TO SO MANY BRIDES, IN THE NAME OF NATIONAL ORDER AND TRANQUILLITY.

ONE OF BACON'S MOST IMPORTANT RECOMMENDATIONS INVOLVES THE SO-CALLED THREE-FOLD SUBSCRIPTION. ONE OF WHITGIFT'S FIRST ACTIONS AS ARCHBISHOP (HE ACCEDED IN 1583) WAS TO REQUIRE ALL PREACHERS AND ALL IN ORDERS TO SWEAR TO THIS SUBSCRIPTION BEFORE PERFORMING ANY ECCLESIASTICAL FUNCTION. ONE PROVISION OF THE SUBSCRIPTION "[AFFIRMED] THE QUEEN'S SUPREMACY, ONE [ASSERTED] THAT THE PRAYER BOOK AND ORDINAL CONTAINED 'NOTHING CONTRARY TO THE WORD OF GOD' WITH A PROMISE TO USE IT AND NONE OTHER, [AND ONE ALLOWED] THE ARTICLES AS 'AGREEABLE TO THE WORD OF GOD.'"[35] IT IS PLAIN TO SEE WHY THE PURITANS WERE GREATLY DISPLEASED WITH THIS SUBSCRIPTION, AND BACON SUGGESTS THAT IN THIS CASE CHURCH UNIFORMITY MIGHT BE MODIFIED TO INSURE NATIONAL UNITY:

> AND FOR THE SUBSCRIPTION, IT SEEMETH TO BE IN THE NATURE OF A CONFESSION, AND THEREFORE MORE PROPER TO BIND IN THE UNITY OF FAITH, AND TO BE URGED RATHER FOR ARTICLES OF DOCTRINE THAN FOR RITES AND CEREMONIES AND POINTS OF OUTWARD GOVERNMENT. FOR HOWSOEVER POLITIC CONSIDERATIONS AND REASONS OF STATE MAY REQUIRE UNIFORMITY, YET CHRISTIAN AND DIVINE GROUNDS LOOK CHIEFLY UPON UNITY.[36]

IT WAS NOT UNTIL THE GROWTH OF ARMINIANISM IN THE REIGN OF CHARLES I THAT THE GREAT DOCTRINAL SCHISM IN THE CHURCH CAME ABOUT. NO DOUBT THERE WAS A GOOD DEAL OF MERIT IN

35. BROOK, WHITGIFT, P. 82. 36. WORKS, X, 118.

BACON'S RECOMMENDATION IN 1603, FOR ON MANY DOCTRINAL ISSUES THE CHURCH WAS UNITED, AND THE THREE-FOLD SUBSCRIPTION MADE THE CHURCHMEN'S POSITION ON INDIFFERENCE AND COMELINESS EXCEEDINGLY HYPOCRITICAL. BACON'S FRANK ADMISSION OF THIS FACT DOES NOT MAKE HIM A PURITAN, BUT IT DOES CARRY THE IMPLICATION THAT THE CHURCH OUGHT TO PRACTICE WHAT IT PREACHES.

EARLIER IN THIS DISCUSSION WE NOTED THAT BACON FAVORED A PLEASING DIVERSITY IN THE CHURCH SERVICE. ALTHOUGH HE SAYS VERY LITTLE MORE ABOUT VARIETY AND HARMONY IN THE COMMON PRAYER, HE DOES MAKE A RATHER LENGTHY COMMENT ON CHURCH MUSIC:

> FOR MUSIC IN CHURCHES, THAT THERE SHOULD BE SINGING OF PSALMS AND SPIRITUAL SONGS IS NOT DENIED. SO THE QUESTION IS DE MODO; WHEREIN IF A MAN WILL LOOK ATTENTIVELY INTO THE ORDER AND OBSERVANCE OF IT, IT IS EASY TO DISCERN BETWEEN THE WISDOM OF THE INSTITUTION AND THE EXCESS OF THE LATER TIMES. FOR FIRST, THERE ARE NO SONGS OR VERSES SUNG BY THE QUIRE, WHICH ARE NOT SUPPOSED BY CONTINUAL USE TO BE FAMILIAR WITH THE PEOPLE, AS THEY HAVE THEM WITHOUT BOOK, WHEREBY THE SOUND HURTETH NOT THE UNDERSTANDING, AND THOSE WHICH CANNOT READ UPON THE BOOK, ARE YET PARTAKERS OF THE SENSE AND MAY FOLLOW IT WITH THEIR MIND. SO AGAIN, AFTER THE READING OF THE WORD OF GOD, IT WAS THOUGHT FIT THERE SHOULD BE A PAUSE FOR HOLY MEDITATION, BEFORE THEY PROCEEDED TO THE REST OF THE SERVICE; WHICH PAUSE WAS THOUGHT FIT TO BE FILLED RATHER WITH SOME GRAVE SOUND, THAN WITH A STILL SILENCE, WHICH WAS THE REASON OF THE PLAYING UPON THE ORGANS AFTER THE SCRIPTURES READ. ALL WHICH WAS DECENT AND TENDING TO EDIFICATION. BUT THEN THE CURIOSITY OF DIVISION AND REPORTS AND OTHER FIGURES OF MUSIC, HATH NO AFFINITY WITH THE

REASONABLE SERVICE OF GOD, BUT WERE ADDED IN MORE POMPOUS TIMES.[37]

MINISTERS OF GOD, LIKE OTHER MORTALS, ARE NOT IMMUNE TO THE TEMPTATION TO MAKE THEIR SERVICES JUST A LITTLE MORE IMPRESSIVE THAN THOSE OF A BROTHER WHOSE CHURCH IS DOWN THE STREET. THE PROBLEM OF DETERMINING THE LINE BETWEEN RELIGIOUS AND SENSUOUS DELIGHT IS NOT AN EASY ONE IN THOSE CHURCHES FORTUNATE ENOUGH TO POSSESS REAL MUSICAL TALENT. MUSICIANS ARE CLANNISH AND PROUD PEOPLE WHO, EVEN IN A CHURCH SERVICE, TEND TO CREATE THEIR OWN RULES OF CONDUCT. BACON'S POSITION IS VERY NEARLY THAT OF HOOKER, WHO, IN ONE OF THE TRULY MELODIOUS SECTIONS OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL POLITY, AFFIRMS THAT MUSIC HAS POWER TO MOVE THE SOUL (TO DELIGHT OR SORROW) AS NO OTHER SINGLE TEMPORAL INSTRUMENT, BUT HE IS CAUTIOUS TO WARN THAT WORSHIP MUST NOT BECOME THE SLAVE OF MUSIC.[38]

THIS BRINGS US TO THE EDGE OF THE FOREST, AND I THINK THAT BACON'S REMAINING RECOMMENDATIONS CAN BE TREATED SUMMARILY. TOWARD THE END OF THE ESSAY HE EXPANDS HIS EARLIER

37. IBID., P. 117.

38. E. P. V, XXXVIII; VOL. II, 159-162. REFORMED OPINIONS VARIED A GOOD DEAL, ALL THE WAY FROM NARROW TO RATHER LIBERAL VIEWPOINTS. A NOTABLE ONE FROM THE FIRST ADMONITION FOLLOWS: "AS FOR ORGANS AND CURIOUS SINGING, THOUGH THEY BE PROPER TO POPISH DENS, I MEAN TO CATHEDRAL CHURCHES, YET SOME OTHERS MUST ALSO HAVE THEM. THE QUEEN'S CHAPEL, AND THESE CHURCHES MUST BE PATTERNS AND PRECEDENTS TO THE PEOPLE OF ALL SUPERSTITIONS." SEE WHITGIFT'S WORKS, III, 392.

COMMENT ON EXCOMMUNICATION, ABOUT WHICH HE HAS TWO ADDITIONAL RECOMMENDATIONS: THE FIRST THAT EXCOMMUNICATION BE RESTORED TO ITS FORMER DIGNITY AS A PUNISHMENT OF THE HIGHEST ORDER, AND NOT "AN ORDINARY PROCESS TO LACKEY UP AND DOWN FOR FEES"; AND THE SECOND THAT IT BE EXECUTED ONLY BY A BISHOP (WHO, WE RECALL, IS TO SEEK COUNSEL IN SUCH MATTERS).

A SUBJECT ALWAYS GOOD FOR A FEW ANNOTATIONS WAS PLURALITIES AND NONRESIDENCE. BACON'S ADVICE ON PLURALITIES IS BRIEF AND CLINICAL,[39] BUT IF ANY SECTION OF THE ESSAY COMES FROM HIS CHRISTIAN BREAST, THE DISCUSSION OF NONRESIDENCE DOES. FIERCELY CANDID, AND USING THE PROBATIVE STYLE WITH GREAT PRECISION, HE GOES DIRECTLY TO THE CORE OF NONRESIDENCE:

> FOR NON-RESIDENCE, EXCEPT IT BE IN A CASE OF NECESSARY ABSENCE, IT SEEMETH AN ABUSE DRAWN OUT OF COVETOUSNESS AND SLOTH; FOR THAT MEN SHOULD LIVE OF THE FLOCK THAT THEY DO NOT FEED, OR OF THE ALTAR AT WHICH THEY DO NOT SERVE, IS A THING CAN HARDLY RECEIVE JUST DEFENCE. . . .[40]

HE WILL EXTEND HIS CENSURE TO THE SANCTITY OF THE COURT ITSELF:

39. HE SAYS THAT PLURALITIES ARE "IN NO SORT TOLERABLE" WHEN THERE IS A SUFFICIENT NUMBER OF MINISTERS. HOWEVER, WHEN THERE IS NOT, LITTLE CAN BE DONE. WHERE POSSIBLE, UNION OF BENEFICES SHOULD BE CONSIDERED; THERE SHOULD BE AN EFFORT TO MAKE BENEFICES MORE COMPATIBLE (GEOGRAPHICALLY); AND IT MIGHT BE WELL TO CONSIDER GIVING LIBERAL STIPENDS TO PREACHERS TO SUPPLY PLACES WITHOUT SUFFICIENT PASTORS. (IBID., PP. 123-24.)

40. IBID., P. 122.

> FOR THE CASE OF CHAPLAINS, LET ME SPEAK IT WITH YOUR MAJESTY'S PARDON, AND WITH DUE REVERENCE TOWARDS OTHER PEERS AND GREAT PERSONS WHICH ARE BY STATUTE PRIVILEGED, I SHOULD THINK THAT THE ATTENDANCE USED AND GIVEN IN YOUR MAJESTY'S COURT, AND IN THE HOUSES AND FAMILIES OF THEIR LORDS, WERE A JUSTER REASON WHY THEY SHOULD HAVE NO BENEFICE, THAN WHY THEY SHOULD BE QUALIFIED TO HAVE TWO.[41]

IN AN INTERESTING PASSAGE WHICH NO GRADUATE STUDENT CAN READ WITHOUT SOME TWISTED DELIGHT, BACON SUGGESTS THAT BENEFICES BE NOT ABANDONED FOR "INTENDING STUDIES IN THE UNIVERSITIES": HE RATHER FAVORS ON-THE-JOB TRAINING: "NEITHER DO I SEE BUT THAT THEY PROCEED RIGHT WELL IN ALL KNOWLEDGE WHICH DO COUPLE STUDY WITH THEIR PRACTICE, AND DO NOT FIRST STUDY ALTOGETHER, AND THEN PRACTICE ALTOGETHER; AND THEREFORE THEY MAY VERY WELL STUDY AT THEIR BENEFICES."[42] BACON CLOSES THE DISCUSSION OF NONRESIDENCE WITH TWO CONCESSIONS: A PERSON ON SOME "EXTRAORDINARY SERVICE OF THE CHURCH" (FOR EXAMPLE, ONE SENT TO ATTEND A GENERAL COUNCIL) MAY BE SUSTAINED FOR A TIME; AND ONE SUBJECTED TO "INFIRMITY OF THE BODY AND THE LIKE" MAY LIKEWISE BE EXCUSED. OBVIOUSLY HE HAS LITTLE CHARITY TO EXTEND TO THE NONRESIDENTS, BUT FEW MEN DID.

THE ESSAY IS CONCLUDED WITH A DISCUSSION "TOUCHING THE PROVISION FOR THE SUFFICIENT MAINTENANCE OF THE CHURCH." BACON COMMENTS FREQUENTLY ON THE DEPLORABLE STATE OF CHURCH

41. IBID., PP. 122-23. 42. IBID., P. 123.

FINANCES IN THE TRACT, BUT HE DOES NOT PROCEED BEYOND THE GENERALIZATION THAT THE STATE--ESPECIALLY THROUGH IMPROPRIATIONS--HAS TAKEN AN UNJUST SHARE OF THE CHURCH'S REVENUE. AND, HE SAYS, SINCE THE CHURCH DOES NOT HAVE THE AUTHORITY OR CAPACITY TO FILL ITS OWN COFFERS, IT FOLLOWS THAT THE STATE HAS THE OBLIGATION TO ASSIST IT. THIS IS A RECOMMENDATION BACON MADE SEVERAL TIMES DURING JAMES' REIGN, BUT THE KING, CONSTANTLY IN NEED OF MONEY HIMSELF, DID NOT FIND IT POSSIBLE TO SPONSOR A REDISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH.

IN THE CLOSING LINES OF THE TRACT, LINES WHICH ARE ALMOST LITURGICAL IN TONE, BACON MAKES A COMMENT ON CHURCH UNITY WHICH MUST BE AS IRONIC AS ANY EXTANT ON THE HOUSE OF STUART:

> . . . I END WITH MY DEVOUT AND FERVENT PRAYER TO GOD, THAT AS HE HATH MADE YOUR MAJESTY THE CORNERSTONE IN JOINING TWO KINGDOMS, SO YOU MAY BE ALSO AS A CORNERSTONE TO UNITE AND KNIT TOGETHER THESE DIFFERENCES IN THE CHURCH OF GOD. . . .[43]

IT IS INTERESTING TO LEARN WHAT HAPPENED TO BACON'S ADVICE TO KING JAMES, THOUGH ANYONE FAMILIAR WITH THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER KNOWS WHAT HAPPENED TO MOST OF IT. THE HAMPTON COURT CONFERENCE, IN WHICH JAMES SPOKE WITH THE BISHOPS AND THE PURITAN LEADERS, OPENED JANUARY 14, 1604,[44] AND INSIDE OF TWO DAYS THE ANGLICANS AND PURITANS

43. IBID., P. 126. 44. FRERE, P. 296.

HAD A COMPREHENSIVE VIEW OF THE NEW KING'S ECCLESIASTICAL POLITY. DURING THE FIRST DAY, JAMES MET WITH THE BISHOPS AND THE LORDS OF HIS COUNCIL, AND AN EYE-WITNESS SUMMARIZED THE PROCEEDINGS AS FOLLOWS:

> THE KING ASSEMBLING ONLY THE LORDS OF HIS COUNCIL AND THE BISHOPS, MYSELF /DR. MONTAGUE, THE KING'S CHAPLAIN/ HAD THE FAVOUR TO BE PRESENT BY THE KING HIS COMMAND. THE COMPANY MET, AND HIMSELF SATE IN HIS CHAIR. HE MADE A VERY ADMIRABLE SPEECH, OF AN HOUR LONG AT LEAST. . . .
>
> HIS M. PROPOUNDED SIX POINTS UNTO THEM. THREE IN THE COMMON PRAYER BOOK, TWO FOR THE BISHOPS' JURISDICTION, AND ONE FOR THE KINGDOM OF IRELAND.
>
> IN THE PRAYER-BOOK HE NAMED THE GENERAL ABSOLUTION, THE CONFIRMATION OF CHILDREN, AND THE PRIVATE BAPTISM BY WOMEN. IN THE CONCLUSION, THE KING WAS WELL SATISFIED IN THE TWO FORMER, SO THAT THE MANNER MIGHT BE CHANGED, AND SOME THINGS CLEARED. FOR THE PRIVATE BAPTISM, IT HELD THREE HOURS AT LEAST; THE KING ALONE DISPUTING WITH THE BISHOPS, SO WISELY, WITTILY, AND LEARNEDLY, WITH THAT PRETTY PATIENCE, AS I THINK NEVER MAN LIVING HEARD THE LIKE. IN THE END HE WON THIS OF THEM, THAT IT SHOULD ONLY BE ADMINISTERED BY MINISTERS, YET IN PRIVATE HOUSES, IF OCCASION REQUIRED; AND THAT WHOSOEVER ELSE SHOULD BAPTIZE SHOULD BE UNDER PUNISHMENT.
>
> FOR THE COMMISSARIES' COURTS AND THE CENSURES OF EXCOMMUNICATION AND SUSPENSION, THEY SHALL BE MENDED, AND THE AMENDMENT IS REFERRED TO THE LORD CHANCELLOR AND THE LORD CHIEF JUSTICE. BUT FOR THEIR COMMON AND ORDINARY EXCOMMUNICATION FOR TRIFLES, IT SHALL BE UTTERLY ABOLISHED. THE FIFTH POINT WAS ABOUT THE SOLE JURISDICTION OF BISHOPS; SO HE GAINED THAT OF THEM, THAT THE BISHOPS, IN ORDINATION, SUSPENSION, AND DEGRADATION, AND SUCH LIKE, THEY SHALL EVER SOME GRAVE MEN TO BE ASSISTANTS WITH THEM IN ALL CENSURES.
>
> FOR IRELAND, THE CONCLUSION WAS (THE KING MAKING A MOST LAMENTABLE DESCRIPTION OF THE STATE THEREOF), THAT IT SHOULD BE REDUCED TO CIVILITY, PLANTED WITH SCHOOLS AND MINISTERS, AS MANY AS COULD BE GOTTEN.
>
> THESE THINGS DONE, HE PROPOUNDED MATTERS WHEREABOUT HE HOPED THERE WOULD BE NO CONTROVERSY; AS TO HAVE A LEARNED MINISTRY, AND MAINTENANCE FOR

> THEM AS FAR AS MIGHT BE. AND FOR PLURALITIES AND NON-RESIDENCE, TO BE TAKEN AWAY, OR AT LEAST MADE SO FEW AS POSSIBLE MIGHT BE.[45]

IT IS DIFFICULT TO KNOW TO WHAT EXTENT JAMES HAD BEEN INFLUENCED BY BACON'S ADVICE, FOR THE SUBSTANCE OF BACON'S OWN PROPOSALS HAD BEEN PRESENTED TO THE KING BY THE PURITANS IN THE SO-CALLED MILLENARY PETITION WHILE JAMES WAS STILL IN PROGRESS.[46] AND THE PROBLEMS WERE, AS I HAVE ATTEMPTED TO DEMONSTRATE, SEVERAL DECADES OLD. BUT IN ANY CASE WE SEE THAT THE BISHOPS WERE AMENABLE TO SEVERAL OF BACON'S RECOMMENDATIONS.

BUT THESE WERE NOT THE TRULY IMPORTANT ISSUES, AND WHEN JAMES MET WITH THE PURITANS ON THE FOLLOWING DAY, A COMPLETELY DIFFERENT MOOD DOMINATED THE PROCEEDINGS. DR. MONTAGUE, PRESENT ALSO AT THIS MEETING, REPORTED:

> THEY [THE PURITANS] PROPOUNDED FOUR POINTS: THE FIRST, PURITY OF DOCTRINE. SECONDLY, THE MEANS TO MAINTAIN IT, AS GOOD MINISTERS, ETC. THIRDLY, THE COURTS OF BISHOPS, CHANCELLORS, AND COMMISSARIES. FOURTHLY, THE COMMON-PRAYER BOOK.
>
> FOR DOCTRINE, IT WAS EASILY AGREED UNTO BY ALL. FOR MINISTERS ALSO: FOR JURISDICTION LIKEWISE.
>
> FOR THE BOOK OF COMMON-PRAYER, AND SUBSCRIPTIONS TO IT, THERE WAS MUCH STIR ABOUT ALL THE CEREMONIES AND EVERY POINT IN IT. THE KING PLEADED HARD TO HAVE GOOD PROOF AGAINST THE CEREMONIES; AND IF THEY HAD EITHER THE WORD OF GOD AGAINST THEM, OR GOOD AUTHORITY, HE WOULD REMOVE THEM: BUT IF THEY HAD NO WORD

45. QUOTED FROM BACON'S <u>WORKS</u>, X, 128-29.

46. ABBOTT, P. 107.

> OF GOD AGAINST THEM, BUT ALL AUTHORITY FOR THEM, BEING ALREADY IN THE CHURCH, HE WOULD NEVER TAKE THEM AWAY: FOR HE CAME NOT TO DISTURB THE STATE, NOR TO MAKE INNOVATIONS, BUT TO CONFIRM AND CORRECT WHAT WAS CORRUPTED BY THEM. THEY ARGUED THIS POINT VERY LONG. THE BISHOPS OF WINCHESTER AND LONDON, WHO OF ALL THE BISHOPS WERE PRESENT, LABOURED THIS POINT HARD, AND DIVERS OF THE DEANS; BUT AT LENGTH THE KING UNDERTOOK THEM HIMSELF, AND EXAMINED THEM BY THE WORD AND BY THE FATHERS. THERE WAS NOT ANY OF THEM THAT THEY COULD PROVE TO BE AGAINST THE WORD, BUT ALL OF THEM CONFIRMED BY THE FATHERS, AND THAT LONG BEFORE POPERY. SO THAT, FOR THE CEREMONIES, I SUPPOSE NOTHING WILL BE ALTERED. AND TRULY THE DOCTORS ARGUED BUT WEAKLY AGAINST THEM: SO THAT ALL WONDERED THEY HAD NO MORE TO SAY AGAINST THEM.[47]

THERE IS LITTLE WONDER THAT THE DOCTORS HAD NO MORE TO SAY: WHAT MORE WAS THERE FOR THEM TO SAY? THE KING'S VERY LINE OF QUESTIONING AND HIS DEFENSE OF THE STATUS QUO HAD MADE THEIR POSITION BRUTALLY CLEAR; AND IF THIS WERE NOT ENOUGH, JAMES, AFTER BEING ASKED BY THE PURITANS HOW FAR THE CHURCH'S AUTHORITY EXTENDED IN THE PRESCRIPTION OF CEREMONIES, DEMONSTRATED HIS UNCOMPROMISING ALLEGIANCE TO THE EPISCOPACY:

> THIS. . . IS LIKE MR. JOHN BLACK, A BEARDLESS BOY, WHO TOLD ME, THE LAST CONFERENCE IN SCOTLAND, THAT HE SHOULD HOLD CONFORMITY WITH HIS MAJESTY IN MATTERS OF DOCTRINE; BUT EVERY MAN, FOR CEREMONIES, WAS TO BE LEFT TO HIS OWN LIBERTY. BUT I WILL HAVE NONE OF THAT, I WILL HAVE ONE DOCTRINE, ONE DISCIPLINE, ONE RELIGION, IN SUBSTANCE AND CEREMONY. NEVER SPEAK MORE ON THAT POINT--HOW FAR YOU ARE BOUND TO OBEY.[48]

47. WORKS, X, 129-30.

48. IBID., PP. 127-28.

NEVER IS A LONG TIME, BUT JAMES MEANT WHAT HE SAID, AS THE COURSE OF HIS REIGN WAS TO TESTIFY.

BACON MUST HAVE BEEN DEEPLY DISAPPOINTED WHEN HE LEARNED OF JAMES' ACTIONS, FOR THE KING HAD MADE TWO TRAGIC MISTAKES IN THE CONDUCT OF HIS OFFICE. THE FIRST WAS TO DESCEND FROM THE LOFTY REACHES OF THE THRONE TO DEBATE LIKE A COMMON MORTAL. BUT THIS WAS AN ERROR WHICH MIGHT HAVE BEEN RECTIFIED HAD JAMES MANAGED TO SAY THE RIGHT THINGS. HE HAD NOT, HOWEVER, AND RATHER THAN ADOPT A COURSE OF "GOLDEN MEDIOCRITY"--FEIGNED OR REAL--HAD BECOME AN OUTRIGHT PARTISAN OF THE BISHOPS. FURTHERMORE, HE HAD STATED HIS CASE IN TERMS SO UNEQUIVOCAL THAT NO ROAD REMAINED OPEN FOR SUBSEQUENT COMPROMISE. THE PURITANS NOW HAD TWO CHOICES: THEY COULD EITHER ABANDON THEIR DEEPEST CONVICTIONS AND SOMEHOW SERVE GOD SUFFICIENTLY WITHIN THE CONFINES OF THE ESTABLISHMENT, OR THEY COULD BRING THE KING TO HIS KNEES.

CUSTOMARILY, BACON'S ECCLESIASTICAL POLITY DRAWS ABOUT AS MUCH SCHOLARLY ATTENTION AS DO ALL THE WORKS OF JOHN TAYLOR, THE WATER POET, BUT THE <u>PACIFICATION AND EDIFICATION</u>, COMING AS IT DOES AT THE BEGINNING OF JAMES' REIGN, AND REPRESENTING AS IT DOES BACON'S LENGTHIEST COMMENTARY ON THE CHURCH, IS FREQUENTLY DISCUSSED BY SCHOLARS. USUALLY THEIR COMMENTS ARE CHARACTERIZED BY A GRACIOUS INDIFFERENCE, BUT OCCASIONALLY SOMEONE IS INSPIRED TO PRESENT A THESIS;

AND BEFORE PROCEEDING TO MY OWN CONCLUSIONS (THOSE WHICH HAVE NOT BEEN IMPLIED ALREADY), I SHOULD LIKE TO REVIEW A FEW OF THE MORE NOTEWORTHY COMMENTARIES.

RICHARD W. CHURCH,[49] A MAN WHO CERTAINLY KNEW HIS WAY AROUND IN RELIGIOUS CONTROVERSIES, SELECTED THE TRACT DISCUSSED IN THE LAST CHAPTER, THE ADVERTISEMENT TOUCHING THE CONTROVERSIES OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND, TO EXPOUND BACON'S RELIGIOUS PHILOSOPHY. THOUGH STRESSING BACON'S "FAIRNESS" IN THE ADVERTISEMENT AND ACKNOWLEDGING BACON'S SEVERE CRITICISMS OF THE POLICIES OF THE BISHOPS, DEAN CHURCH CONCLUDED THAT THE TRACT HAD BEEN WRITTEN BY A MAN WITH A DEEP FEAR THAT "THE PURITANS WERE AIMING AT A TYRANNY WHICH, IF THEY ESTABLISHED IT, WOULD BE MORE COMPREHENSIVE, MORE SEARCHING, AND MORE CRUEL THAN THAT OF THE OLDER SYSTEM. . . ."[50] NOT COMMITTED TO DEFENDING THE INDEFENSIBLE--AS HOOKER WAS AT TIMES--BACON, CONTINUED CHURCH, COULD CRITICIZE BOTH CAMPS. BUT THROUGH PERSONAL OBSERVATION HE HAD SEEN "THE INSIDE OF PURITANISM" AND REMAINED FUNDAMENTALLY SYMPATHETIC WITH THE CHURCHMEN. CHURCH PRAISED BACON'S CAPACITY TO ELEVATE RELIGIOUS WRANGLINGS TO A HIGHER PLANE OF ARGUMENTATION, BUT CRITICIZED HIM FOR REDUCING MAJOR CONFLICTS TO FACILE FIRST PREMISES WHICH NEEDED THE TEST OF "WELL-PROVED AND ASCERTAINED MINORS."[51] IN OTHER WORDS, BACON HAD OVERSIMPLIFIED THE SPIRIT OF THE CONTROVERSIES.

49. BACON (NEW YORK, HARPER & BROTHERS, 1884).

50. IBID., P. 13.

51. IBID., P. 14.

EVIDENTLY CHURCH FELT HE HAD MADE HIS POINT ABOUT BACON'S FAITH AND THEREFORE DISPOSED OF THE PACIFICATION AND EDIFICATION IN THIS FASHION: "THE HAMPTON COURT CONFERENCE BETWEEN THE BISHOPS AND THE PURITAN LEADERS WAS AT HAND, AND [BACON] DREW UP A MODERATING PAPER ON THE PACIFICATION OF THE CHURCH."[52] EDWIN ABBOTT FOUND DEAN CHURCH'S FLIPPANT DISPOSAL OF THE PACIFICATION AND EDIFICATION HIGHLY UNSCHOLARLY. ABBOTT, IT WILL BE RECALLED, HAD FOUND IT "HARD TO DETECT PARTIALITY" IN THE ADVERTISEMENT, A POSITION WHICH SHOULD FAIRLY WELL PREPARE US FOR HIS EVALUATION OF THE LATER TRACT:

> THIS TREATISE COMPLETELY DISPOSES OF THE NOTION THAT BACON WAS A SOUND ANGLICAN AND AN APPROVER OF WHITGIFT'S ATTITUDE TOWARD THE PURITANS. ALL THE REFORMS HE ADVOCATES, THE ABOLUTION OF PRIVATE BAPTISM BY LAYMEN, THE DISCONTINUANCE OF THE RITE OF CONFIRMATION, OF THE RING IN THE MARRIAGE SERVICE, OF THE CAP AND SURPLICE, AND OF ORNATE CHURCH MUSIC, WERE DEMANDED IN THE PETITION PRESENTED TO JAMES, ON HIS PROGRESS TO LONDON IN 1603 BY PURITAN MINISTERS, AND COMMONLY CALLED THE MILLENARY PETITION. AS FAR AS REGARDS RELIGIOUS CEREMONIAL, BACON WAS HIMSELF AT THIS TIME (1604) A PURITAN IN HIS PERSONAL INCLINATIONS, THOUGH NOT A PURITAN IN THE SENSIBLE, STATESMANLIKE BREADTH OF MIND WITH WHICH HE REGARDED THE BITTER CONTROVERSIES OF THE EXTREME PARTIES CONCERNING MATTERS IN THEMSELVES PETTY.[53]

ABBOTT WENT SO FAR AS TO ASSERT THAT THE PACIFICATION AND EDIFICATION HAD A UNIQUE CLAIM TO REPRESENT BACON'S TRUE

52. IBID., P. 65. 53. FRANCIS BACON, P. 107 (1885).

FEELINGS "BECAUSE HERE, AND HERE ALONE, HE IS SPEAKING HIS OWN MIND, FREED FROM EXTERNAL PRESSURE."[54] ABBOTT WAS PARTICULARLY ATTRACTED BY BACON'S SUGGESTION THAT A CHURCH, LIKE A STATE, IS IN CONSTANT NEED OF INTERNAL ADJUSTMENT.

W. H. FRERE,[55] IN WHAT IS STILL PROBABLY THE BEST SINGLE VOLUME ON THE CHURCH IN THE REIGNS OF ELIZABETH AND JAMES, GAVE TO BACON A VERY SMALL ROLE IN THE RELIGIOUS AFFAIRS OF ENGLAND. FRERE MAINTAINED THAT THERE WERE THREE BASIC ATTITUDES TOWARD PURITANISM IN THE EARLY PART OF JAMES' REIGN. THOSE SYMPATHETIC TO WHITGIFT'S POLICIES WERE COMMITTED TO THE THEORY THAT PURITANISM WAS TO BE SEEN ONLY AS A THREAT TO THE ESTABLISHMENT, AS A PLAN TO REPLACE THE CHURCH WITH A "NEW PRESBYTERIAN BODY." THIS GROUP, WHILE CONSCIOUS OF THE VALIDITY OF CERTAIN PURITAN COMPLAINTS, BELIEVED THE REFORMERS WERE TO BE SUPPRESSED WITH ALL THE POWER THE CHURCH COULD MUSTER. FRERE PLACES BACON IN THE SECOND GROUP:

> BACON MAY BE TAKEN AS THE BEST REPRESENTATIVE OF THOSE WHO REGARDED [PURITANISM] FROM THE POLITICAL POINT OF VIEW, AND WHO HAD NOT MUCH INSIGHT AS TO THE IMPORTANCE OF THOSE CHURCH PRINCIPLES, WHICH WERE REALLY THE POINTS AT STAKE, ALTHOUGH TO ALL APPEARANCE THE FIGHT WAS ABOUT TRIVIAL MATTERS. THESE SAW IN THE PURITAN PARTY A BODY OF EARNEST MEN, WHO HAD MANY REAL GRIEVANCES MIXED UP WITH SOMEWHAT

54. IBID., P. 107.

55. A HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH CHURCH IN THE REIGNS OF ELIZABETH AND JAMES I (1904; 1924).

> MINUTE AND TIRESOME SCRUPLES, AND WHO, HAVING ATTRACTED TO THEMSELVES A LARGE SECTION OF THE BEST RELIGIOUS PEOPLE OF THE TIME, DESERVED RATHER TO BE MET AND CONCILIATED THAN TO BE REPRESSED AND SILENCED. THE [EDIFICATION TRACT] WHICH BACON PLACED IN THE KING'S HANDS AT HIS FIRST COMING, THOUGH LACKING IN PENETRATION, [WAS] FULL OF THE RIGHT SPIRIT OF CONCILIATION. WHILE MAINTAINING STOUTLY THE EPISCOPAL AND HISTORICAL HIERARCHY, HE WISHED TO SEE MORE LIBERTY IN CHURCH POLICY, BUT HE WISELY ABSTAINED FROM ANYTHING BUT GENERALITIES, WHICH SOUNDED WELL, BUT WERE USELESS. ON OTHER POINTS HE WAS MORE EXPLICIT, AND HIS RECOMMENDATIONS TO RESTRICT THE ABSOLUTISM OF BISHOPS, TO INCREASE THE POWER OF CONVOCATION, TO RESTORE THE PROPHESYINGS AS TRAINING GROUNDS FOR PREACHERS, AND TO REFORM THE TENURE OF BENEFICES AND ENDOWMENTS, DESERVED MORE ATTENTION THAN THEY SECURED. JAMES' POINT OF VIEW [THIS IS THE THIRD GROUP, COMPOSED OF ONE, I TAKE IT] . . . WAS NEITHER OF THESE; IT AGREED WITH THE LATTER IN BEING BASED ON POLITICAL, NOT ECCLESIASTICAL CONSIDERATIONS, BUT WITH THE FORMER IN BEING ADVERSE TO PURITANISM.[56]

PROFESSOR JORDAN, TO WHOSE ORIENTATION I AM GREATLY INDEBTED, ADOPTED SEVERAL OF FRERE'S RESERVATIONS ABOUT THE TRACT BUT WAS MORE WILLING TO GIVE BACON CREDIT FOR UNDERSTANDING THE TRUE NATURE OF PURITANISM. JORDAN'S MAJOR THESIS WAS THAT BACON POSSESSED AN UNCANNY CAPACITY TO STAND TO THE SIDE OF HIS AGE AND VIEW RELIGIOUS CONTROVERSIES IN THEIR LARGEST PERSPECTIVES. JORDAN MENTIONED THE SAGACITY OF BACON'S ORGANIC VIEW OF CHURCH AS EXPRESSED IN THE PACIFICATION ESSAY, AND WENT ON TO SAY:

56. IBID., PP. 291-92. IT IS INTERESTING THAT FRERE, WORKING UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE CHURCH HISTORICAL SOCIETY, DID NOT LIST BACON'S SUGGESTION CONCERNING VESTMENT AMONG THE ESSAY'S MORE ENLIGHTENING OBSERVATIONS.

> WITH CRITICAL DISCERNMENT BACON'S COLDLY ERASTIAN INTELLIGENCE SWEPT THROUGH ALL OF THE CONTROVERSIES WHICH LOOMED SO LARGE IN THE ENGLISH RELIGIOUS SCENE. THE LITURGY SHOULD BE EMPLOYED TO GAIN UNITY OF FAITH RATHER THAN TO SECURE A SUPERSTITIOUS UNIFORMITY IN OUTWARD CEREMONIES. IT SHOULD BE THOROUGHLY REFORMED IN ORDER TO MEET THE JUST DEMANDS OF THOSE WHO CANNOT IN CONSCIENCE ACCEPT MANY OF ITS DETAILS.[57]

THESE SAMPLES SHOULD BE SUFFICIENT TO INDICATE THAT A MAN WHO IS DESIGNEDLY MODERATE AND INDIFFERENT RUNS THE RISK OF BEING ADOPTED BY ANY PARTY CONVINCED OF ITS OWN INDEFATIGABLE LIBERALITY. THAT IS WHAT ALWAYS HAPPENS TO MODERATES, OR TO PEOPLE WHO SAY THAT THEY ARE MODERATES. BUT I THINK BACON'S PARTY LINE CAN BE FAIRLY WELL DETERMINED FROM THE FACTS, WHICH I HAVE ATTEMPTED TO PRESENT IN CONSIDERABLE DETAIL. WE SHALL LEARN SHORTLY THAT BACON'S SUBSEQUENT REMARKS ON PURITANS AND THE CHURCH SHOW LITTLE OF THE LIBERALITY EXPRESSED IN THIS TRACT, BUT THEY ARE COLORED BY THE TIMES AND MUST BE CONSIDERED IN THEIR PROPER MILIEUX. HOWEVER, THE MAJOR LINES ARE DRAWN. DEAN CHURCH, IN SPITE OF HIS UNCONSCIONABLE NEGLECT OF THE EDIFICATION TRACT, WAS RIGHT ABOUT BACON'S ALLEGIANCE. ABBOTT'S ERROR WAS TO IMAGINE THAT THE TRACT IS A CONFESSION

57. THE DEVELOPMENT OF RELIGIOUS TOLERATION IN ENGLAND, II, 471 (1936). MARY STURT, IN HER TENDER AND LOVING BIOGRAPHY OF BACON, DESCRIBED THE ESSAY AS A "LITTLE TRACT. . . SO CHARACTERISTIC OF BACON," HER MAJOR THESIS BEING THAT BACON HAD APPROACHED THE PROBLEM OF RELIGIOUS CONTROVERSIES LIKE A SENSIBLE LAWYER INTENT ON DOING WHAT WAS RIGHT BY EVERYONE. SEE IN PARTICULAR CHAPTER IX, "CHURCH AND UNION."

OF FAITH, A CANDID DECLARATION MADE WHEN BACON'S MIND WAS "FREED FROM EXTERNAL PRESSURE." ACTUALLY BACON'S GOAL WAS TWOFOLD: 1) CONVINCE A MAN KNOWN TO DETEST PRESBYTERIANISM THAT FRANCIS BACON WAS WORTHY TO BE CONSIDERED FOR AN OFFICE IN A NEW GOVERNMENT; AND 2) SUGGEST WHAT MEASURES WERE BEST SUITED TO THE PACIFICATION AND EDIFICATION OF A GREAT NUMBER OF ENGLISHMEN WHOSE RELIGIOUS DISSATISFACTION MADE THEM POTENTIAL THREATS TO NATIONAL UNITY. RARELY DO WE HAVE ANY INDICATION THAT BACON'S RECOMMENDATIONS PROCEED FROM ANY MOTIVE DEEPER THAN THE DESIRE TO SEE HIS NATION UNIFIED BEHIND JAMES, BUT THIS IS NOT, AFTER ALL, A SHABBY MOTIVE AND IT SHOULD NOT BE USED AS A RUNNING COMMENTARY ON HIS INCAPACITY TO FEEL PURITANISM. HE WAS NOT ATTEMPTING TO EXPLAIN THE SPIRIT OF THE REFORMATION TO JAMES: HE WAS ONLY SUGGESTING HOW THIS SPIRIT MIGHT BE DEALT WITH.

I AM NOT PREPARED TO SAY WHAT WOULD HAVE HAPPENED TO ENGLAND IF ALL OF BACON'S RECOMMENDATIONS HAD FOUND THEIR WAY INTO ENGLISH LAW. WOULD THE CIVIL WAR HAVE BEEN AVOIDED? WE MAY AS WELL ASK WHAT WOULD HAVE HAPPENED IF LAUD HAD DIED OF THE PLAGUE OR IF CHARLES I HAD MARRIED A GOOD ENGLISH GIRL. BUT IF PURITANISM HAD TO HAVE ITS DAY, BACON'S ORGANIC VIEW OF CHURCH DISCIPLINE WAS FORMED ON AN UNWORKABLE HYPOTHESIS. TWO TOTALLY IRRECONCILABLE PRINCIPLES ARE AT WORK WITHIN IT: ONE THAT THE ULTIMATE

CONTROL OF THE CHURCH IS TO BE IN THE HANDS OF THE EPISCOPACY AND THE CROWN, AND THE OTHER THAT CONSTANT CONCESSIONS ARE TO BE MADE TO THE DISCONTENTED. THIS IS A PROCESS WHICH MAY WORK FOR A TIME, OF COURSE, BUT THE DAY MUST COME--UNLESS PEOPLE SIMPLY CEASE TO CARE--WHEN ONE PARTY FEELS IT CAN NO LONGER ENDURE THIS HARMONY. IT IS UNLIKELY THAT BACON WAS UNAWARE OF THE PARADOX INHERENT IN HIS THEORY, BUT PROBLEMS ARE TO BE SOLVED ONE STEP AT A TIME, AND HE EVIDENTLY FELT THAT THE FIRST STEP WAS TO GIVE THE PURITANS CONFIDENCE IN THE NEW KING. BY HIS OWN ADMISSION HIS RECOMMENDATIONS ARE DOMINATED BY REFORMATIONS WHICH WILL GO "SINE STREPITU, WITHOUT ANY PERTURBATION AT ALL," AND HIS SYMPATHY FOR THE PURITANS REALLY DOES NOT EXTEND FAR BEYOND THESE RECOMMENDATIONS. ABOVE ALL REFORM, HE PLACES THE INVIOLATE CHURCH HIERARCHY, AN ORGAN WHICH IS THE NATURAL EXTENSION OF THE MONARCHY ITSELF. BACON'S WHOLE IDEA OF THE STATE, HIS WHOLE IDEA OF THE INCAPACITY OF INDIVIDUALS TO GOVERN THEMSELVES, DENIES THE PURITANS THE RIGHT TO CONDUCT THEIR OWN REFORMATION, AND IF THEY COULD NOT DO THAT, THEY COULD NOT BE PURITANS.

BACON'S COURSE NOW LAY BEFORE HIM IN PERFECT CLARITY: HE COULD EITHER ADOPT THE KING'S ECCLESIASTICAL POLITY AND ATTEMPT TO MAKE IT WORK, OR HE COULD TAKE HIS GOLDEN MEDIOCRITY WITH HIM AND PERISH IN THE OBLIVION OF HIS PHILOSOPHICAL COGITATIONS. ANYONE INTERESTED IN PROVING THAT BACON

WAS NOT A VERY GOOD MAN, OR AT LEAST NOT A VERY HEROIC MAN, IS NATURALLY INCLINED TO SAY THAT THE ONLY RESPECTABLE THING FOR HIM TO HAVE DONE WOULD HAVE BEEN TO DISASSOCIATE HIMSELF FROM JAMES, OR, AT THE VERY LEAST TO HAVE ATTEMPTED TO CONVERT THE KING TO MODERATION. HIS DECISION, AND ITS AMPLIFICATIONS WILL BE OUR NEXT CONCERN.

AFTER 1604 BACON'S REFLECTIONS ON PURITANISM AND THE CHURCH ARE FRAGMENTARY AND ARE, AS I MENTIONED EARLIER, HEAVILY COLORED BY THE DEMANDS OF PARTICULAR POLITICAL SITUATIONS. BACON DID NOT AGAIN OPEN THE QUESTION OF ORGANIC REFORM, NOR DID HE FROM THIS TIME UNTIL HIS DEATH WRITE A SIGNIFICANT TREATISE ON THE INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE ESTABLISHMENT, EITHER AS A STATESMAN, PHILOSOPHER, OR INDIVIDUAL CHRISTIAN. SUCH A WORK AS "OF UNITY IN RELIGION" IS DESIGNED TO DEMONSTRATE THE EFFICACY OF CHURCH UNITY AND DEALS ONLY IN VERY GENERAL TERMS WITH DISCIPLINE. THE LARGELY POLITICAL NATURE OF HIS COMMENTS WILL BE BEST ILLUSTRATED LATER IN OUR DISCUSSION OF CATHOLICISM DURING THE REIGN OF JAMES, BUT EVEN IN HIS BRIEF REMARKS ON PURITANISM WE OBSERVE THAT BACON SAW THE REAL IMPLICATIONS OF JAMES' ECCLESIASTICAL POLITY AND DECIDED TO MAKE THE BEST OF DOCTRINAL INFLEXIBILITY. HIS POLITICAL MANEUVERINGS WITH THE PURITANS IS A MATTER FAR TOO COMPLEX TO RECORD IN

THIS STUDY, BUT THEY ARE GUIDED BY ONE PRINCIPLE: FIND WAYS TO CONVINCE THE PURITAN COMMONS THAT JAMES, WHATEVER HIS PERSONAL FAILINGS, REPRESENTS AN IDEA OF GOVERNMENT WHICH THE NATION CANNOT AFFORD TO ABANDON; IT IS THE IDEA WHICH BROUGHT ORDER OUT OF CHAOS AND GAVE THE ENGLISHMAN DECADES OF PROSPERITY UNDER THE TUDORS; AND IT IS THE IDEA WHICH GAVE ENGLAND INTERNATIONAL RESPECTABILITY.

ABOVE ALL, BACON'S POLITICAL ADVICE IS DOMINATED BY AN EFFORT TO GIVE THE CROWN BARGAINING POWER WITH THE COMMONS. TO ACCOMPLISH THIS END--AN END WHICH HE ASSOCIATES DIRECTLY WITH NATIONAL SURVIVAL--HE USES WHATEVER DEVICES ARE AT HAND. HE KEEPS THE RELIGIOUS AND POLITICAL THREAT OF CATHOLICISM BEFORE THE EYES OF HIS COUNTRYMEN; HE COUNSELS JAMES TO AVOID DIRECT APPEALS FOR FINANCIAL RELIEF; AND HE LOOKS CONTINUALLY FOR MEANS TO FILL THE ROYAL TREASURY WITHOUT THE AID OF SUBSIDIES. BUT HE DOES NOT--AND HE COULD NOT--BARGAIN WITH THE PURITANS ON RELIGIOUS GROUNDS, AT LEAST NOT ON THEIR RELIGIOUS GROUNDS.

IN 1611 (HE IS NOW SOLICITOR GENERAL) WE FIND BACON HOPEFUL THAT THE KING HAS NOT FORGOTTEN THE ENDURING NEED TO FUNNEL MONEY INTO DEPRESSED AREAS, AND WE FIND HIM ANXIOUS TO HAVE THE CROWN SPONSOR ACTIVITIES WHICH WILL STRENGTHEN ENGLAND'S DEFENSE OF HER CHURCH, BOTH BY CREATING A "COLLEGE OF CONTROVERSIES" AND BY OPENING HER DOORS TO THOSE IN OTHER NATIONS WHO ARE STRUGGLING SO VALIANTLY

AGAINST SUPERSTITION AND OTHER FORMS OF SPIRITUAL CORRUPTION.[58] HE APPEARS CONCERNED THAT THE CHURCH DOES "STILL PROCEED SINGLE," AND HE SUGGESTS THAT ENGLAND, IN BEING A REFUGE FOR RELIGIOUSLY DISPLACED PERSONS (OF THE RIGHT KIND), MIGHT ADD NEW DIMENSIONS TO HER UNDERSTANDING OF INTERNATIONAL CHRISTIANITY:

> FOR I DOUBT NOT BUT THERE ARE IN SPAIN, ITALY, AND COUNTRIES OF THE PAPISTS, MANY WHOSE HEARTS ARE TOUCHED WITH A SENSE OF THOSE CORRUPTIONS AND AN ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF A BETTER WAY; WHICH GRACE IS MANY TIMES SMOTHERED AND CHOKED THROUGH A WORLDLY CONSIDERATION OF NECESSITY; MEN NOT KNOWING WHERE TO HAVE SUCCOUR AND REFUGE. THIS LIKEWISE I HOLD A WORK OF GREAT PIETY AND A WORK OF GREAT CONSEQUENCE, THAT WE MAY ALSO BE WISE IN OUR GENERATION, AND THAT THE WATCHFUL AND SILENT NIGHT MAY BE USED AS WELL FOR SOWING OF GOOD SEED AS OF TARES.[59]

THIS IS ONE OF THE RARE OCCASIONS IN WHICH BACON SPEAKS OF HIS HOMELAND AS A FORTRESS OF THE REFORMATION IN TRULY PIOUS TERMS.

58. SIMPLY STATED, THE OCCASION OF THIS ADVICE WAS THAT THE WEALTHY THOMAS SUTTON HAD DIED LEAVING A CONSIDERABLE FORTUNE TO VARIOUS CHARITIES--TOWARD THE CONSTRUCTION OF A MAGNIFICENT HOSPITAL (WHICH WAS TO BECOME THE ENGLISH CHARTERHOUSE), TOWARD THE ADVANCEMENT OF EDUCATION, AND TOWARD THE FURTHERING OF RELIGION. THE WILL WAS CONTESTED BY A PRETENDED HEIR, AND WHILE THE DECISION (ULTIMATELY GRANTED IN FAVOR OF THE WILL) WAS PENDING, BACON SUGGESTED TO THE KING HOW THE MONEY MIGHT BEST BE USED.

59. WORKS, XI, 254. SPEDDING'S DISCUSSION OF THE TRACT IS ON PAGES 247-49.

NEXT WE ENCOUNTER A DARK AND A BRIGHT EPISODE, ONE IN WHICH BACON PARTICIPATES IN THE TORTURE OF A PURITAN MINISTER, AND THE OTHER IN WHICH HE PERSONALLY RECOMMENDS THAT A SILENCED PURITAN BE PERMITTED TO PREACH AGAIN. THE FIRST EPISODE, WHICH DETRACTORS OF BACON FIND GLORIOUSLY SUITED TO HIS DEFAMATION, CONCERNS THE FATE OF EDMUND PEACHAM.[60] WHILE THIS PURITAN MINISTER WAS BEING INVESTIGATED FOR CHARGES HE ALLEGEDLY MADE AGAINST THE BISHOP OF BATH AND WELLS, HIS HOUSE WAS SEARCHED, AND AMONG HIS PAPERS WAS A SERMON--READY TO BE PREACHED--WHICH NOT ONLY REITERATED THE CHARGES AGAINST THE BISHOP BUT ALSO CONTAINED VIOLENT INVECTIVES AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT AND THE SOMBER PREDICTION THAT GREAT CATASTROPHES WERE IN STORE FOR THE KING, AMONG THEM AN UPRISING OF THE PEOPLE. DURING HIS FIRST EXAMINATION, WHICH WAS TAKEN BEFORE THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY AND OTHER MEMBERS OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL, PEACHAM FAILED TO GIVE THE INFORMATION WHICH THE EXAMINERS FELT HE HAD, PARTICULARLY THAT CONCERNING THE POPULAR REVOLT. TO FIND A SOLUTION TO HIS OBSTINACY, THE COUNCIL ISSUED A WARRANT WHICH COMMISSIONED EIGHT EXAMINERS TO QUESTION

60. SPEDDING'S DEFENSE OF BACON'S ROLE IN THE INVESTIGATION, TRIAL, AND CONVICTION OF PEACHAM IS A KEY CHAPTER IN HIS VINDICATION OF BACON'S CHARACTER. HIS ARGUMENT, WHICH ONE MUST READ FULLY TO EVALUATE, IS DESIGNED TO PROVE THREE THINGS: 1) PEACHAM WAS GUILTY; 2) BACON WAS NOT A PRIME MOVER IN THE INVESTIGATION; AND 3) THE METHODS USED IN THE INVESTIGATION WERE FULLY SANCTIONED BY THE TIMES. (WORKS, XII, 90 FF.)

PEACHAM, "AND IF YOU FIND HIM OBSTINATE AND PERVERSE AND NOT WILLING OR READY TO TELL THE TRUTH, THEN. . . PUT HIM TO THE MANACLES, AS IN YOUR DISCRETION YOU SHALL SEE OCCASION."[61] BACON WAS ONE OF THE EXAMINERS AND WAS PRESENT WHILE PEACHAM, WHO REMAINED ADAMANT, WAS TORTURED.

THE KING (WHOSE SUMMARY OF THE EPISODE IS THE LENGTHIEST EXTANT) WAS ANXIOUS TO PROSECUTE PEACHAM, BUT TO AVOID POPULAR DISAPPROVAL HE WANTED TO BE ASSURED THAT THE JUDGES OF THE KING'S BENCH WERE OF HIS PERSUASION. BACON, THEREFORE, WAS GIVEN THE TASK OF ASKING EACH JUDGE TO RENDER A SEPARATE DECISION. ALL CONCURRED BUT COKE (BACON'S ARCH-ENEMY), WHO, AFTER MANY DELAYS MAINTAINED THAT THE KING WAS NOT WITHIN HIS RIGHTS TO ASK FOR A PRE-JUDGMENT. MEANWHILE, AS THE KING PROCEEDED IN HIS INVESTIGATION OF PEACHAM, BACON MADE THE FOLLOWING SUGGESTION: "I THINK ALSO IT WERE NOT AMISS TO MAKE A FALSE FIRE, AS IF ALL THINGS WERE READY FOR HIS GOING DOWN TO HIS TRIAL, AND THAT WE WERE UPON THE VERY POINT OF BEING CARRIED DOWN, TO SEE IF THAT WILL WORK WITH HIM."[62]

WE NEXT LEARN THAT PEACHAM SOON BECAME SO INCONSISTENT IN HIS TESTIMONY THAT NO ONE LONGER DOUBTED HIS GUILT. IN SPITE OF COKE, HE WAS CONVICTED, AND THOUGH HE WAS NOT EXECUTED HE DIED WITHIN A FEW MONTHS IN JAIL. BY SPEDDING'S

61. IBID., P. 91. 62. IBID., P. 123.

CAREFUL COMPUTATION, THE WORST WE CAN SAY OF BACON'S ROLE IN THIS INVESTIGATION IS THAT IT WAS THOROUGHLY IN KEEPING WITH THE METHODS OF THE TIMES. THE BEST WE CAN SAY IS THAT PEACHAM'S GUILT WAS SO UNPROBLEMATICAL THAT PROCURING A CONFESSION WAS WARRANTED BY THE NATURE OF HIS OFFENCE--HIGH TREASON. IN ANY CASE, IF WE ASSUME THAT BACON BELIEVED PEACHAM GUILTY, HE WAS DEALING WITH A MAN WHO HAD MADE CONSCIENCE A MATTER OF TREASONABLE FACTION, AND FOR THIS BRAND OF RELIGIOUS LIBERTY HE NEVER SHOWS THE SLIGHTEST SYMPATHY.

THE NEXT EPISODE CONCERNS THE FAMOUS PURITAN PREACHER DR. BURGESS, AND ITS DETAILS REMIND US OF THE POWER OF AN INDIVIDUAL MINISTER TO GATHER A FLOCK IN SPITE OF THE LAWS OF A LAND. BURGESS, WHO HAD BEEN CENSURED AND FORBIDDEN TO PREACH, HAD TURNED HIS TALENTS TO MEDICINE. WHILE ADMINISTERING TO THE PHYSICAL INFIRMITIES OF LUCY, COUNTESS OF BEDFORD (AN INTIMATE OF THE QUEEN'S), DR. BURGESS HAD, IN SPEDDING'S WORDS, "TAKEN THE OPPORTUNITY TO MINISTER TO HER MIND." THE COURT PHYSICIAN, MAYERNE, HAD BEEN SO TAKEN WITH LUCY'S PHYSICAL RECOVERY THAT HE THOUGHT IT WOULD BE A PERSONAL FAVOR TO RECOMMEND THE WORTHY DOCTOR TO THE KING HIMSELF. JAMES, NEEDLESS TO SAY, DID NOT SHARE MAYERNE'S ENTHUSIASM AND PLACED BURGESS UNDER INVESTIGATION BY THE ARCHBISHOP, WITH THE RESULT THAT BURGESS WAS REMOVED FROM THE COURT. BUT LADY BEDFORD RETAINED HER DEVOTION TO

BURGESS, AND, MOREOVER, SHE HAD MANY IMPORTANT FRIENDS, AMONG THEM LADY WINWOOD, WIFE OF RALPH WINWOOD (SECRETARY OF STATE). SIX MONTHS AFTER BURGESS' EXILE FROM THE COURT WE FIND THE WINWOODS MOVED TO BURGESS' NEW NEIGHBORHOOD AND RENTING A RESIDENCE AT AN EXORBITANT RATE.[63] BEFORE LONG, BURGESS HAD ASSEMBLED A NUMBER OF IMPORTANT ADMIRERS, WHO HAD CONVINCED HIM TO TEMPER HIS NONCONFORMITY AND REGAIN HIS LICENSE TO PREACH.

AT THIS POINT BACON WROTE A LETTER TO GEORGE VILLIERS, THE KING'S FAVORITE, IN AN ATTEMPT TO ASSIST THE PURITAN DOCTOR:

> THERE IS A PARTICULAR WHEREIN I THINK YOU MAY DO YOURSELF HONOUR, WHICH AS I AM INFORMED HATH BEEN LABORED BY MY LADY OF BEDFORD AND PUT IN GOOD WAY BY THE BISHOP OF BATH AND WELLS, CONCERNING THE RESTORING TO PREACH OF A FAMOUS PREACHER, ONE DOCTOR BURGESS; WHO THOUGH HE HATH BEEN SILENCED A GREAT TIME, YET HE HATH NOW MADE SUCH A SUBMISSION TOUCHING HIS CONFORMITY AS GIVETH SATISFACTION. IT IS MUCH DESIRED ALSO BY GRAY'S-INN (IF HE SHALL BE FREE FROM THE STATE) TO CHOOSE HIM FOR THEIR PREACHER: AND CERTAINLY IT IS SAFER TO PLACE HIM THERE THAN IN ANOTHER AUDITORY, BECAUSE HE WILL BE WELL WATCHED, IF HE SHOULD ANY WAYS FLY FORTH IN HIS SERMONS BEYOND DUTY. THIS MAY SEEM A TRIFLE; BUT I ASSURE YOU, IN OPENING

63. EVIDENTLY THESE GOINGS-ON DREW A GOOD DEAL OF POPULAR INTEREST. MUCH OF SPEDDING'S INFORMATION IS TAKEN FROM THE CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN JOHN CHAMBERLAIN (1553-1627) AND SIR DUDLEY CARLETON (1573-1632). CHAMBERLAIN, AN ACCOMPLISHED SCHOLAR AND LETTER-WRITER, HAD MANY FRIENDS AMONG THE EMINENT MEN OF HIS DAY. CARLETON, A MEMBER OF JAMES' FIRST PARLIAMENT, SERVED IN SEVERAL GOVERNMENTAL OFFICES AND SHARED IMPORTANT REFLECTIONS AND OBSERVATIONS WITH CHAMBERLAIN. SEE WORKS, XII, 371-72 FOR SPEDDING'S DISCUSSIONS.

> THIS MAN'S MOUTH TO PREACH, YOU SHALL OPEN VERY MANY MOUTHS TO SPEAK HONOUR OF YOU; AND I CONFESS I WOULD HAVE A FULL CRY OF PURITANS, OF PAPISTS, OF ALL THE WORLD TO SPEAK WELL OF YOU; AND BESIDES I AM PERSUADED (WHICH IS ABOVE ALL EARTHLY GLORY) YOU SHALL DO GOD GOOD SERVICE IN IT. . . .[64]

THIS IS A VARIATION ON A REFRAIN WHICH WE HAVE NOW LEARNED TO RECOGNIZE WHEN ITS FIRST NOTE IS STRUCK. A PURITAN, EVEN ONE WHO HAS RECEIVED ECCLESIASTICAL CENSURE, IS A FITTING AGENT TO SERVE GOD, PROVIDED OF COURSE THAT HIS SERMONS DO NOT FLY BEYOND DUTY.

THE BOUNDS OF CHRISTIAN DUTY ARE EXPLAINED IN A LETTER WHICH WAS COMPOSED TO VILLIERS LATER IN THE SAME YEAR (1616), A LETTER WHICH CONSTITUTES BACON'S LENGTHIEST (AND VERY NEARLY HIS LAST) ANALYSIS OF THE INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE CHURCH COMPOSED AFTER THE EDIFICATION TRACT.

THE CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN BACON AND VILLIERS (EXTANT FROM 1615) IS A RECORD OF DELIGHTS AND SORROWS, OF SUPREME WISDOM AND UTTER MADNESS, EXTENDING FROM BACON'S RISE TO THE PINNACLE OF HIS PROFESSION TO THE AFTERMATH OF HIS INGLORIOUS FALL. DURING THIS TIME VILLIERS ROSE RAPIDLY IN THE ESTIMATION OF THE KING AND WAS EVENTUALLY CREATED DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM. AS THE KING'S "FAVORITE" HE OCCUPIED THAT ENVIABLE POSITION--WHICH SO MANY COURTIERS HAVE STRIVEN FOR--NEXT TO THE SOVEREIGN'S EAR. FROM THIS HAPPY VANTAGE POINT HE FREQUENTLY ACTED IN BACON'S BEHALF, BUT IN HIS

64. IBID., PP. 372-73.

DEALINGS WITH BACON HE COULD BE CONSUMMATELY PETTY TOO. FOR BACON HE OBVIOUSLY HAD THE DEEPEST RESPECT: HE ASKED FOR ADVICE, RECEIVED GRACIOUSLY WHAT WAS GIVEN, AND ON OCCASION EVEN MANAGED TO TAKE IT TO HEART. BACON'S OWN ATTITUDE TOWARD VILLIERS IS COMPOUNDED OF MANY THINGS: A KIND OF CURIOUS ADMIRATION, A KIND OF LOVE HE COULD SHOW FOR ANOTHER MAN, AND THE DEEP-SEATED FEAR THAT GEORGE WAS IN THE WRONG BUSINESS. PERHAPS THE MOST INTERESTING THING ABOUT BACON'S ADVICE TO VILLIERS IS THAT IT USUALLY PROCEEDS FROM THE NOTION THAT THE FAVORITE DOES NOT REALLY KNOW ANYTHING. THE ADVICE IS, IF YOU WILL, REMEDIAL; BUT IT IS ENVELOPED SO MANY VARIETIES OF APPROBATION THAT IGNORANCE SEEMS ALMOST A VIRTUE. VILLIERS IS A VIRGIN FIELD INTO WHICH BACON CAN SOW SOME OF THOSE SEEDS HE HAS BEEN SO ANXIOUS TO SEE GERMINATE.

I MENTION ALL OF THIS TO EXPLAIN WHY THE FOLLOWING TRACT APPEARS TO HAVE BEEN WRITTEN BY ARCHBISHOP LAUD IN ONE OF HIS MORE CONSERVATIVE FITS. ITS BACKGROUND CAN BE SKETCHED IN BRIEFLY. VILLIERS HAD BEEN RECENTLY ELEVATED TO THE PEERAGE, AND IT HAD BEEN GENERALLY ACKNOWLEDGED THAT HE WAS NOW THE KING'S FAVORITE. BACON HAD THOUGHT IT WISE TO SUGGEST HOW HE MIGHT CONDUCT HIMSELF IN HIS NEW ROLE AND THEREFORE SENT HIM A LETTER OF ADVICE. VILLIERS RESPONDED WITH A REQUEST THAT BACON EXPAND HIS FIRST LETTER, WHICH HE DID. THE EXPANDED VERSION HAS EIGHT HEADINGS,

DEALING WITH A LARGE RANGE OF GOVERNMENTAL PROBLEMS. ONE DIVISION CONCERNS THE COMPLEX RELIGIOUS PROBLEM, AND SINCE THE SHORTER VERSION CONTAINS OPINIONS NOT INCLUDED IN THE LONGER, I QUOTE BOTH IN FULL:

> 1. FOR RELIGION, IF ANY THING BE OFFERED TO YOU TOUCHING IT OR TOUCHING THE CHURCH OR CHURCH MEN, OR CHURCH GOVERNMENT, RELY NOT UPON YOURSELF, BUT TAKE THE OPINION OF SOME GRAVE AND EMINENT DIVINES; ESPECIALLY SUCH AS ARE SAD AND DISCREET MEN, AND EXEMPLARY FOR THEIR LIVES.
>
> 2. IF ANY QUESTION BE MOVED CONCERNING THE DOCTRINE OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND EXPRESSED IN THE 39 ARTICLES, GIVE NOT THE LEAST EAR TO THE MOVERS THEREOF. THIS IS SO SOUNDLY AND SO ORTHODOXALLY SETTLED AS CANNOT BE QUESTIONED WITHOUT EXTREME DANGER TO THE HONOUR AND STABILITY OF OUR RELIGION, WHICH HATH BEEN SEALED WITH THE BLOOD OF SO MANY MARTYRS AND CONFESSORS, AS ARE FAMOUS THROUGH THE CHRISTIAN WORLD. THE ENEMIES AND UNDERMINERS THEREOF ARE THE ROMISH CATHOLIQUES (SO STILING THEMSELVES) ON THE ONE HAND, WHOSE TENENTS ARE INCONSISTENT WITH THE TRUTH OF RELIGION, PROFESSED AND PROTESTED BY THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND (WHENCE WE ARE CALLED PROTESTANTS) AND THE ANABAPTISTS AND SEPARATISTS, AND SECTARIES ON THE OTHER HAND, WHOSE TENENTS ARE FULL OF SCHISM, AND INCONSISTENT WITH MONARCHY. FOR THE REGULATING OF EITHER, THERE NEEDS NO OTHER COERCION THAN THE DUE EXECUTION OF THE LAWS ALREADY ESTABLISHED BY PARLIAMENT.
>
> 3. IF ANY ATTEMPT BE MADE TO ALTER THE DISCIPLINE OF OUR CHURCH, ALTHOUGH IT BE NOT AN ESSENTIAL PART OF OUR RELIGION, YET IT IS SO NECESSARY NOT TO BE RASHLY ALTERED, AS THE VERY SUBSTANCE OF RELIGION WILL BE INTERESSED IN IT: THEREFORE I DESIRE YOU BEFORE ANY ATTEMPT BE MADE OF AN INNOVATION BY YOUR MEANS, OR BY ANY INTERCESSION TO HIS MAJESTY CALL TO MIND, THAT WISE AND WEIGHTY PROCLAMATION, WHICH HIMSELF PENNED, AND CAUSED TO BE PUBLISHED IN THE FIRST YEAR OF HIS REIGN, AND IS PREFIXED IN PRINT BEFORE THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER (OF THAT IMPRESSION); IN WHICH YOU WILL FIND SO PRUDENT, SO WEIGHTY REASONS, NOT

TO HEARKEN TO INNOVATIONS, AS WILL FULLY SATISFY YOU THAT IT IS DANGEROUS TO GIVE THE LEAST EAR TO SUCH INNOVATORS, BUT IT IS DESPERATE TO BE MISLED BY THEM: BUT TO SETTLE YOUR JUDGMENT, MARK BUT THE ADMONITION OF THE WISEST OF MEN, KING SOLOMON, PROV. 27. V. MY SON, FEAR GOD AND THE KING, AND MEDDLE NOT WITH THOSE WHO ARE GIVEN TO CHANGE.[65]

FOLLOWING IS THE EXPANDED VERSION:

1. IN THE FIRST PLACE, BE YOU RIGHTLY PERSUADED AND SETTLED IN THE TRUE PROTESTANT RELIGION, PROFESSED BY THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND; WHICH DOUBTLESS IS AS SOUND AND ORTHODOX IN THE DOCTRINES THEREOF, AS ANY CHRISTIAN CHURCH IN THE WORLD.

2. AND IN THIS YOU NEED NOT BE A MONITOR TO YOUR MASTER THE KING. THE CHIEFEST OF HIS IMPERIAL TITLES IS TO BE THE DEFENDER OF THE FAITH, AND HIS LEARNING IS EMINENT, NOT ONLY ABOVE OTHER PRINCES, BUT ABOVE OTHER MEN; BE BUT HIS SCHOLAR, AND YOU ARE SAFE IN THAT.

3. FOR THE DISCIPLINE OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND BY BISHOPS, ETC., I WILL NOT POSITIVELY SAY THAT IT IS JURE DIVINO; BUT THIS I SAY AND THINK, EX ANIMO, THAT IT IS NEAREST TO THE APOSTOLICAL TRUTH; AND I SHALL CONFIDENTLY SAY, IT IS FITTEST FOR MONARCHY OF ALL OTHER. I WILL USE NO OTHER AUTHORITY UNTO YOU, THAN THAT EXCELLENT PROCLAMATION SET OUT BY THE KING'S MAJESTY HIMSELF IN THE FIRST YEAR OF HIS REIGN, AND PREFIXED BEFORE THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER, WHICH I DESIRE YOU TO READ; AND (IF AT ANY TIME THERE SHOULD BE THE LEAST MOTION MADE FOR INNOVATION), TO PUT THE KING IN MIND TO READ IT HIMSELF. FOR IT IS MOST DANGEROUS IN A STATE TO GIVE EAR TO THE LEAST ALTERATION OF GOVERNMENT.

4. TAKE HEED, I BESEECH YOU, THAT YOU BE NO INSTRUMENT TO COUNTENANCE THE ROMISH CATHOLICS, NOR THE RELIGION PROFESSED BY THEM. I CANNOT FLATTER YOU; THE WORLD, SIR, BELIEVES THAT SOME NEAR IN BLOOD TO YOU ARE TOO MUCH OF THAT PERSUASION; YOU MAY USE THEM WITH FIT RESPECTS,

65. WORKS, XIII, 17-18.

ACCORDING TO THE BOND OF NATURE; YOU ARE OF KIN, AND SO MUST BE A FRIEND OF THEIR PERSONS, BUT NOT OF THEIR ERRORS.

5. THE ARCHBISHOPS AND BISHOPS, NEXT UNDER THE KING, HAVE THE GOVERNMENT OF THE CHURCH AND AFFAIRS ECCLESIASTICAL: BE NOT, SIR, A MEAN TO PREFER ANY TO THOSE PLACES FOR ANY BY-RESPECT; BUT ONLY SUCH AS FOR THEIR LEARNING, GRAVITY, AND WORTH ARE DESERVING: AND WHOSE LIVES AND DOCTRINES ARE AND OUGHT TO BE EXEMPLARY.

6. THE DEANS, CANONS, AND PREBENDS OF CATHEDRAL CHURCHES, IN THEIR FIRST INSTITUTION, WERE OF GREAT USE IN THE CHURCH; AND THEY WERE NOT ONLY TO BE OF COUNSEL WITH THE BISHOP FOR HIS REVENUE, BUT CHIEFLY FOR HIS GOVERNMENT IN CAUSES ECCLESIASTICAL: USE YOUR BEST MEANS TO PREFER SUCH TO THOSE PLACES AS ARE FIT FOR THAT PURPOSE; MEN EMINENT FOR THEIR LEARNING, PIETY, AND DISCRETION; AND PUT HIS MAJESTY OFTEN IN MIND THEREOF; AND LET THEM BE REDUCED AGAIN TO THE PRIMITIVE INSTITUTION.

7. YOU WILL BE OFTEN SOLICITED, AND PERHAPS IMPORTUNED, TO PREFER SCHOLARS TO CHURCH LIVINGS. YOU MAY FURTHER YOUR FRIENDS IN THAT WAY, CAETERIS PARIBUS; OTHERWISE, I PRAY, REMEMBER THAT THESE ARE PLACES NOT MERELY OF FAVOUR; THE CHARGE OF SOULS LIES UPON THEM; THE GREATEST ACCOUNT WHEREOF WILL BE REQUIRED AT THEIR OWN HANDS; BUT THEY WILL SHARE DEEPLY IN THEIR FAULTS THAT ARE INSTRUMENTS OF THEIR PREFERMENTS.

8. BESIDES THE ROMAN CATHOLICS, THERE ARE A GENERATION OF SECTARIES, THE ANABAPTISTS, BROWNISTS, FAMILISTS, SCRIPTURISTS, AND MANY OTHER OF THAT KIND. THEY HAVE BEEN SEVERAL TIMES VERY BUSY IN THIS KINGDOM, UNDER THE COLOURABLE PRETENSIONS OF ZEAL FOR THE REFORMATION OF RELIGION. THE KING YOUR MASTER KNOWS THEIR DISPOSITIONS VERY WELL; A SMALL THING WILL PUT HIM IN MIND OF THEM; HIS MAJESTY HAD EXPERIENCE OF THEM IN SCOTLAND, I HOPE HE WILL BEWARE OF THEM IN ENGLAND; A LITTLE COUNTENANCE OR CONNIVANCE SETS THEM ON FIRE.

9. ORDER AND DECENT CEREMONIES IN THE CHURCH ARE NOT ONLY COMELY BUT COMMENDABLE; BUT THEN THERE MUST BE GREAT CARE TAKEN NOT TO INTRODUCE INNOVATIONS. THEY WILL QUICKLY PROVE SCANDALOUS. MEN

ARE NATURALLY OVER-PRONE TO SUPERSTITION; THE TRUE PROTESTANT RELIGION IS SETTLED IN THE GOLDEN MEAN [NOT QUITE BACON'S "GOLDEN MEDIOCRITY"]; THE ENEMIES UNTO HER ARE THE EXTREMES ON EITHER HAND.

10. THE PERSONS OF CHURCH-MEN ARE TO BE HAD IN DUE RESPECT FOR THEIR WORK'S SAKE, AND PROTECTED; BUT IF A CLERGYMAN BE LOOSE AND SCANDALOUS, HE MUST NOT BE PATRONIZED NOR WINKED AT; THE EXAMPLES OF BUT A FEW THAT ARE SUCH CORRUPT MANY.

11. GREAT CARE MUST BE TAKEN THAT THE PATRIMONY OF THE CHURCH BE NOT SACRILEGIOUSLY DIVERTED TO LAY USES: HIS MAJESTY IN HIS TIME HATH MOST RELIGIOUSLY STOPPED A LEAK WHICH DID MUCH HARM, AND WOULD ELSE HAVE DONE A GREAT DEAL MORE. BE SURE, AS MUCH AS IN YOU LIES, TO STOP THE LEAK ON ALL OCCASIONS.

12. COLLEGES AND SCHOOLS OF LEARNING ARE TO BE CHERISHED AND ENCOURAGED, FOR THERE IS THE SEMINARY TO BREED UP A NEW STOCK TO FURNISH THE CHURCH AND COMMONWEALTH WHEN THE OLD STORE IS DEAD OR TRANSPLANTED. THIS KINGDOM HATH IN THIS LATER AGE BEEN FAMOUS FOR GOOD LITERATURE; AND IF PREFERMENT SHALL ATTEND DESERVERS, THERE WILL NOT WANT SUPPLIES.[66]

I THINK IT IS ACCURATE TO SAY THAT THIS ADVICE IS INTENDED FOR A MAN WHO, IN BACON'S MIND, SHOULD DO NOTHING BEFORE ASKING SOMEONE WHAT SHOULD BE DONE. IN THESE LETTERS WE SEE MOST OF BACON'S RELIGIO-POLITICAL THEMES COMPRESSED INTO A FORM WHICH IS ADMIRABLY SUITED TO READY REFERENCE AND THEREFORE DECEPTIVELY UNYIELDING. THE ADVICE IS LAID OUT IN SUCH A WAY THAT VILLIERS NEED ONLY RUN HIS FINGER DOWN A COLUMN OF NUMBERS TO FIND THE KEY TO ANY RELIGIOUS QUESTION WHICH MIGHT CONFRONT HIM, BUT THE KEY FREQUENTLY OPENS THE SAME DOOR: THE DOOR TO SOMEONE ELSE'S

66. IBID., PP. 30-32.

JUDGMENT.

"FULL OF SCHISM AND INCONSISTENT WITH MONARCHY" MIGHT SERVE AS A MOTTO FOR BACON'S RELIGIO-POLITICAL THOUGHT IN THE REIGNS OF BOTH ELIZABETH AND JAMES. IN THIS ADVICE TO VILLIERS BACON ADDS NO NEW DIMENSIONS TO HIS PREVIOUS REFLECTIONS, BUT THERE IS PERHAPS SOME INDICATION THAT A CONSERVATIVE INCLINATION HAS DEVELOPED INTO A CONSERVATIVE HABIT. THE ADVICE IS FILLED, HOWEVER, WITH COMMON SENSE, WITH THE DESIRE TO SEE THE CHURCH STAFFED BY RESPONSIBLE MEN WHO ARE TAKING CARE OF THEIR FLOCKS. THE OLD ANXIETY ABOUT FACTION IS PRESENT, OF COURSE, BUT BACON CERTAINLY DEMONSTRATES NO MALICE TOWARD PURITANISM; RATHER, IT IS CATHOLICISM AND THE MANIACAL ELEMENT OF PROTESTANTISM WHICH HE CENSURES. BUT MY OWN OPINION IS THAT TO EXTRAPOLATE BACON'S FAITH FROM THESE LETTERS WOULD BE A HIGHLY VENTURESOME PROCESS. PROPERLY THEY BELONG TO THE BIOGRAPHY OF VILLIERS.

TO COMPLETE THIS SECTION ON PURITANISM AND THE CHURCH WE SHALL CONSIDER ANOTHER LETTER OF ADVICE FROM BACON TO VILLIERS. THOUGH VERY SHORT, IT REVEALS A GOOD DEAL MORE ABOUT BACON'S ATTITUDE TOWARD PURITANISM THAN DO THE ORACLES ABOVE.

THE CLANDESTINE PILGRIMAGE OF PRINCE CHARLES AND VILLIERS TO SPAIN (1623) TO SETTLE WITH THE SPIRIT OF YOUTH WHAT THE SAGEST AND MEANEST COUNSELLORS OF ENGLAND AND

SPAIN COULD NOT CONCLUDE HAD THE EFFECT OF MAKING VILLIERS, FOR A MOMENT, A NATIONAL HERO. BACON (SEE CHAPTER VII), LIKE MOST ENGLISHMEN, WAS OPPOSED TO THE SPANISH MATCH, AND WHEN CHARLES AND VILLIERS RETURNED TO ENGLAND WITH THE NEWS THAT THE MARRIAGE BETWEEN THE PRINCE AND THE INFANTA WAS HIGHLY UNLIKELY, BACON NO DOUBT FOUND OCCASION TO REJOICE, THOUGH FALLEN. THE DETAILS OF THE AFFAIR--WHAT VILLIERS AND CHARLES HAD REALLY LEARNED AND WHAT THE KING PLANNED TO DO--WERE KEPT SECRET, BUT THE COMMON BRUIT (ALL THAT BACON HAD ACCESS TO APPARENTLY) HAD IT THAT VILLIERS WAS THE NEW CHAMPION OF PROTESTANT ENGLAND AGAINST POPISH SPAIN. IN OCTOBER OF 1623 CHAMBERLAIN WROTE TO CARLETON:

> THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM'S CARRIAGE IN ALL THE BUSINESS IS MUCH APPLAUDED AND COMMENDED; AND SURE IF IT WERE ALTOGETHER AS IS REPORTED, IT WAS BRAVE AND RESOLUTE. . . . THE EARL OF BRISTOL AND THE SPANIARDS GIVE OUT THAT IF IT HAD NOT BEEN FOR HIS IMPATIENCE THE MARRIAGE HAD BEEN CONSUMMATED BEFORE CHRISTMAS DAY. . .
> . . . . . .
> THIS JOURNEY HATH WROUGHT ONE UNEXPECTED EFFECT, THAT WHEREAS IT WAS THOUGHT THE SPANIARDS AND WE SHOULD PIECE AND GROW TOGETHER, IT SEEMS WE ARE GENERALLY MORE DISJOINED AND FURTHER ASUNDER IN AFFECTION THAN EVER.[67]

IT IS EVIDENT FROM HIS LETTER THAT AT THIS TIME BACON, THOUGH BY HIS OWN ADMISSION LIVING IN DARKNESS AS TO PARTICULARS, BELIEVED THE DUKE HAD BECOME THE SYMBOL OF ENGLISH RESISTANCE TO SPAIN AND CATHOLICISM. THIS MEANT THAT

67. QUOTED FROM BACON'S WORKS, XIV, 440, N. 2. FOR BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION ON CHAMBERLAIN AND CARLETON SEE NOTE 63, PAGE 148.

VILLIERS WAS SUDDENLY THE HEAD OF A SPIRITUAL CAUSE WHICH HE HAD NEVER TAKEN MUCH TROUBLE TO UNDERSTAND. BACON'S ADVICE--AND IT SHOWS THE WEIGHT OF MANY YEARS OF GOVERNMENTAL SERVICE--IS A SHARP WARNING THAT VILLIERS HAD BETTER SET HIS SPIRITUAL HOUSE IN ORDER AND MAKE IT VERY CLEAR TO HIS COUNTRYMEN THAT HE IS A GOOD PROTESTANT. HE IS PARTICULARLY CONCERNED TO ALERT THE DUKE TO THE STRENGTH OF PURITANISM, WHOSE DEVOTEES MUST NOT BE MISHANDLED OR UNDERESTIMATED. BUT I WILL LET A PORTION OF THE LETTER SPEAK FOR ITSELF:

> YOUR GRACE IS TO MAINTAIN YOURSELF FIRM AND CONSTANT IN THE WAY WHICH YOU HAVE BEGUN; WHICH IS, IN BEING AND SHEWING YOURSELF TO BE A TRUE AND SOUND PROTESTANT. THIS IS YOUR SOUL'S HEALTH. THIS IS WHAT YOU OWE GOD ABOVE FOR HIS SINGULAR FAVOURS, AND THIS IS THAT WHICH HATH BROUGHT YOU INTO THE GOOD OPINION AND GOOD WILL OF THE REALM IN GENERAL. SO THAT AS YOUR CASE DIFFERETH. . . FROM THE CASE OF OTHER FAVOURITES, IN THAT YOU HAVE BOTH KING AND PRINCE; SO IN THIS THAT YOU HAVE ALSO, NOW, THE HEARTS OF THE BEST SUBJECTS (FOR I DO NOT LOVE THE WORD PEOPLE), YOUR CASE DIFFERETH FROM YOUR OWN AS IT STOOD BEFORE.
>
> AND BECAUSE I WOULD HAVE YOUR REPUTATION IN THIS POINT COMPLETE; LET ME ADVISE YOU THAT THE NAME OF PURITANS, IN A PAPIST'S MOUTH, DO NOT MAKE YOU TO WITHDRAW YOUR FAVOUR FROM SUCH AS ARE HONEST AND RELIGIOUS MEN, (SO AS THEY BE NOT OF TURBULENT AND FACTIOUS SPIRITS, NOR ADVERSE TO THE GOVERNMENT OF THE CHURCH), THOUGH THEY BE SOMETIMES TRADUCED BY THAT NAME. FOR OF THIS KIND IS THE GREATEST PART OF THE BODY OF THE SUBJECTS, AND BESIDES (WHICH IS NOT TO BE FORGOTTEN), IT IS SAFEST FOR THE KING AND HIS SERVICE, THAT SUCH MEN HAVE THEIR DEPENDENCE UPON YOUR GRACE (WHO ARE INTIRELY THE KING'S) RATHER THAN UPON ANY OTHER SUBJECT.[68]

68. IBID., PP. 448-49.

THIS OBJECTIFICATION OF THE SPIRITUAL FORCES WITHIN THE NATION, THIS CONVERSION OF THEM INTO POLITICAL FORCE, IS THOROUGHLY BACONIAN. VILLIERS' OBLIGATION TO GOD "FOR HIS SINGULAR FAVOURS" IS REALLY AN OBLIGATION TO THE EXIGENCES OF SELF-PRESERVATION.

I HOPE WE ARE NOW SOMEWHAT CLOSER TO AN UNDERSTANDING OF BACON'S IDEA OF PURITANISM AND THE CHURCH. IMPROMPTU COMMENTS, WHICH MIGHT TELL US IN A FEW WORDS MORE THAN LETTERS AND FORMAL ESSAYS CAN, ARE UNFORTUNATELY LACKING IN THE BACON CANON, BUT I VENTURE TO SAY THAT THEY WOULD BE DOMINATED BY THE FEAR THAT ENGLAND IS NOT YET READY FOR ANY REAL DEGREE OF RELIGIOUS TOLERATION. HE SHOWS ABSOLUTELY NO MALICE FOR THE SPIRITUAL SIDE OF PURITANISM, NOR DOES HE, I THINK, PAY IT ANY REAL HOMAGE. BACON WAS NOT A DEMOCRATIC MAN ("I DO NOT LOVE THE WORD PEOPLE"), AND THE GENEROSITY FOR THE GOOD IN PURITANISM MUST ALWAYS BE SEEN IN THE LIGHT OF HIS DEEP DISTRUST FOR THE ABILITY OF INDIVIDUALS TO DO MORE THAN THEY ARE LED TO DO BY THE BEST OR WORST MEN IN THEIR SOCIETY. CONSEQUENTLY THE CHURCH MUST PURIFY ITS FORMS FROM WITHIN WHILE PRESERVING ITS BASIC STRUCTURE. THE CHURCH HIERARCHY, PROPERLY STAFFED, REPRESENTS THE MOST EFFICIENT AND REASONABLE MEANS WHEREBY THE BEST THAT IS THOUGHT AND SAID ABOUT RELIGIOUS MATTERS MAY BE TRANSMITTED TO THE INDIVIDUAL CHRISTIAN. RELIGION IN BACON'S

MIND IS PRIMARILY A DIVISION OF EDUCATION RATHER THAN A SEPARATE DISCIPLINE WHICH MAKES ITS OWN RULES. RELIGIOUS EDUCATION, LIKE ALL OTHER FORMS OF LEARNING AND ALL OTHER FORMS OF PERSONAL DEVELOPMENT, MUST BE IN THE HANDS OF THE LEARNED AND SKILLED. THIS IS A POSITION WHICH BACON FINDS BOTH REASONABLE AND RELIGIOUS.

CHAPTER V

ELIZABETH AND THE CATHOLICS

IN THE WORKS WHICH WE HAVE ENCOUNTERED TO THIS POINT WE HAVE OBSERVED THAT BACON, ALTHOUGH A CONFIRMED PROTESTANT, HAD DEMONSTRATED VERY LITTLE OUTWARD HOSTILITY TOWARD THE CHURCH OF ROME; AND I THINK IT IS ACCURATE TO SAY THAT HE--IN COMPLETE CONTRAST TO HIS MOTHER--BELIEVED THAT INDIVIDUAL CATHOLICS HAD A PERFECTLY GOOD CHANCE TO MAKE THEIR PEACE WITH GOD. HIS ATTITUDE TOWARD CATHOLICISM IS, HOWEVER, FAR REMOVED FROM THE UNCOMMONLY CHARITABLE POSITION OF THOMAS BROWNE, A MAN WHO, ALTHOUGH "OF THAT REFORMED NEW-CAST RELIGION,"[1] COULD OPEN HIS ARMS TO THE CATHOLICS, COULD PRAY FOR THEM OR WITH THEM, AND COULD WEEP REAL TEARS AT THEIR SOLEMN PROCESSIONS.[2] BROWNE, THAT IS, COULD VIEW CATHOLICISM SOLELY IN TERMS OF FAITH. BACON, ON THE OTHER HAND, ALWAYS LOOKED UPON ROME AS A VAST RELIGIO-POLITICAL ORGANISM WHOSE GROWTH, UNLESS CHECKED, WOULD EVENTUALLY COVER THE WHOLE OF WESTERN EUROPE. IN HIS MIND THE SPIRITUAL ASPECTS OF THE CATHOLIC FAITH COULD NEVER BE SEPARATED FROM THE POLITICAL AGGRESSIVENESS OF VARIOUS CATHOLIC STATES.

1. RELIGIO-MEDICI, P. 3. QUOTED FROM THE EVERYMAN EDITION (LONDON, J. M. DENT, 1906-1959).

2. IBID., PP. 4-5.

IN THIS CHAPTER WE SHALL CONSIDER THOSE OF BACON'S WORKS WHICH DEAL SPECIFICALLY WITH A DEFENSE OF ELIZABETH'S ENGLAND AND ELIZABETH HERSELF AGAINST THE ATTACKS OF ROME: THE OBSERVATIONS ON A LIBEL (1593), IN FELICEM MEMORIAM ELIZABETHAE (1606), AND A LETTER WRITTEN OUT OF ENGLAND TO A GENTLEMAN REMAINING AT PADAU (1599). AS USUAL, BACON AVOIDS ANY SIGNIFICANT INVOLVEMENT IN DOCTRINAL ISSUES, BUT I BELIEVE THESE TRACTS WILL GIVE US AN IMPORTANT INSIGHT TO HIS COMPREHENSIVE VIEW OF CATHOLICISM.

IN MANY WAYS THE OBSERVATIONS ON A LIBEL IS ELIGIBLE TO BE CALLED BACON'S MOST IMPORTANT OCCASIONAL PIECE. IT IS, AMONG OTHER THINGS, HIS LENGTHIEST TRACT DEALING SPECIFICALLY WITH A VINDICATION OF THE ESTABLISHMENT ON AN INTERNATIONAL LEVEL, AND IT DEMONSTRATES HOW AN INDIFFERENT MAN MIGHT GO ABOUT JUSTIFYING ENGLAND'S BRAND OF PROTESTANTISM TO THE REST OF THE CHRISTIAN WORLD. BACON'S OPTIMISM, HIS DEDICATION TO ORDER, HIS DESTESTATION OF IMPASSIONED DEBATES AND RELIGIOUS PROPAGANDA, HIS DREAM OF A RATIONAL UNIVERSE--ALL OF THESE ATTITUDES AND CONCEPTS FUNDAMENTAL TO HIS VIEW OF THE GOOD LIFE SERVE AS A BACKGROUND FOR HIS DEFENSE OF THE ENGLISH NATION, HER GOVERNORS, AND HER FAITH.

THE TRACT WAS WRITTEN IN DIRECT RESPONSE TO THE

RESPONSIO AD EDICTUM REGINAE ANGLIAE (1592),[3] AN EMBITTERED INVECTIVE BY THE JESUIT FATHER PARSONS WHICH ATTEMPTED TO DEMONSTRATE THAT THE ENGLISH GOVERNMENT, HELD CAPTIVE SINCE THE BEGINNING OF ELIZABETH'S REIGN BY THE HIGHLY EVIL AND SELF-SEEKING WILLIAM CECIL, WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR MOST OF THE ILLS OF CHRISTENDOM. SINCE BACON REVIEWS THIS ESSAY IN GREAT DETAIL, IT WILL BE NECESSARY TO SPEAK BRIEFLY OF PARSONS HIMSELF AND TO OUTLINE THE MAJOR THEMES OF THE RESPONSIO.

PROFESSOR JORDAN MAINTAINS THAT FATHER PARSONS, THE LEADING ENGLISH JESUIT OF HIS TIME, WAS OPPOSED TO THE POSITION--TAKEN BY THE MAJORITY OF JESUITS--THAT THE ENGLISH CATHOLICS SHOULD NEVER BE CONTENT TO BE A MINORITY GROUP AND THAT THEY SHOULD REFUSE TO ACCEPT ANY DEGREE OF RELIGIOUS TOLERATION WHICH WAS GRANTED UNDER THE STIPULATION THAT THEY WOULD GIVE THEIR UNQUALIFIED POLITICAL ALLEGIANCE TO THE CROWN. THE MAJORITY OF JESUITS, THAT IS, IN THEIR CHARACTERISTICALLY UNCOMPROMISING WAY, LOOKED FORWARD TO THE DAY

3. BACON GAVE THE ENGLISH TITLE OF THE TRACT: A DECLARATION OF THE TRUE CAUSES OF THE GREAT TROUBLES PRESUPPOSED TO BE INTENDED AGAINST THE REALM OF ENGLAND. THIS LED SPEDDING TO SUPPOSE THAT AN ENGLISH VERSION OF THE TRACT HAD APPEARED IN 1592, THOUGH HE COULD NOT LOCATE A COPY. HIS CONJECTURE WAS CORRECT, AND I GIVE THE LONG TITLE: A DECLARATION OF THE TRVE CAVSES OF THE GREAT TROVBLES, PRESVPPOSED TO BE INTENDED AGAINST THE REALME OF ENGLAND. VVHEREIN THE INDIFFERENT READER SHALL MANIFESTLY PERCEAVE, BY WHOME, AND BY WHAT MEANES, THE REALME IS BROUGHT INTO THESE PRETENDED PERILLS. A COPY OF THE ENGLISH EDITION IS AT THE HUNTINGTON LIBRARY. MY REFERENCES ARE TO UNIVERSITY MICROFILMS, NO. 3465. WITH OBVIOUS EXCEPTIONS I HAVE MODERNIZED THE TEXT. BACON'S TRACT WAS WRITTEN EARLY IN 1593 BUT WAS NOT PUBLISHED DURING HIS LIFETIME. SPEDDING SAYS, HOWEVER, THAT THE EXISTENCE OF SEVERAL MANUSCRIPTS TESTIFIES TO A WIDE DISTRIBUTION OF THE WORK. SEE WORKS, VIII, 143-208. THE TRACT ITSELF IS SIXTY-TWO PAGES IN LENGTH.

WHEN ENGLAND MIGHT AGAIN PAY HOMAGE TO THE CATHOLIC GOD.

PARSONS, HOWEVER, TO USE JORDAN'S SUMMARY:

> PLEADED FOR AN EQUAL STATUS OF CATHOLICISM WITH THE OTHER MINORITY RELIGIOUS GROUPS IN ENGLAND. HE DID NOT DEMAND EQUALITY WITH ANGLICANISM; ONLY TOLERATION. HE PROTESTED LOYALTY OF CATHOLIC SUBJECTS AND DEMANDED A CLOSER DIFFERENTIATION BETWEEN TREASON AND THE EXERCISE OF FAITH. HE URGED THAT THE RESOLUTE CONSCIENCE CANNOT BE FORCED, AND THAT ANY ATTEMPT TO COMPEL IT IS BRUTAL, DANGEROUS AND SINFUL. . . . HE DISCLAIMED THE AUTHORITY OF THE CIVIL GOVERNMENT IN AFFAIRS OF RELIGION. HIS POSITION, IN FINE, SHOWS THAT EVEN THE CATHOLIC CHURCH MUST INEVITABLY MODIFY ITS TEACHINGS AND EMBRACE TO A LIMITED DEGREE THE CAUSE OF TOLERATION IN THOSE COUNTRIES IN WHICH IT FINDS ITSELF IN THE UNUSUAL ROLE OF A PERSECUTED MINORITY GROUP.[4]

THE ARGUMENTS OF THE RESPONSIO ARE HEAVILY AD HOMINEM AND DO NOT REPRESENT FAIRLY THE BODY OF PARSONS' WORKS, BUT THEY DO--IN QUIETER MOMENTS--DEMONSTRATE HIS DESIRE TO TESTIFY TO THE PATRIOTISM OF THE ENGLISH CATHOLICS. ALTHOUGH THE ESSAY IS RATHER HAPHAZARDLY ORGANIZED, ITS ARGUMENTS GENERALLY REVOLVE AROUND FOUR MAJOR ISSUES, WHICH, AFTER A LENGTHY INTRODUCTION WHICH CONSUMES FULLY HALF OF THE SEVENTY-SEVEN PAGES OF THE TRACT, PARSONS ANNOUNCES:

> THE FIRST SHALL BE, TOUCHING THE MATTERS OF FAITH AND RELIGION, WHEREIN THERE WAS NEVER SUCH GREAT AND WONDERFUL CONFUSION. THE SECOND, TOUCHING EXTERIOR ENEMIES, WHEREOF THE REALM HAD NEVER SO MANY NOR NONE SO 'PUISANT.' THE THIRD, OF THE SUNDRY COMPETITORS FOR THE CROWN, AND THE UNCERTAINTY OF THE SUCCESSOR. THE FOURTH AND

4. THE DEVELOPMENT OF RELIGIOUS TOLERATION IN ENGLAND, I, 394.

> LAST SHALL CONCERN THE OVERTHROW OF THE NOBILITY, AND THE GENERAL OPPRESSION OF THE PEOPLE.[5]

IN THE INTRODUCTORY MATERIAL PARSONS INSISTS THAT THE ENGLISHMAN IS LIVING IN THE WORST OF ALL POSSIBLE WORLDS, A WORLD IN WHICH THE MULTITUDES CRY FOR RELIEF FROM THEIR OPPRESSION, THEIR POVERTY, AND THEIR DISEASE. THE "SUNDRY ADVERSITIES SUSTAINED BY THE INHABITANTS" EXCEED THE ADVERSITIES "OF ALL AGES PAST, IN THE MEMORY OF MAN."[6] CONCERNED TO ESTABLISH A RELIGIOUS FRAME OF REFERENCE FOR HIS ARGUMENTS, PARSONS USES AN EXPANSIVE METAPHOR OF A NEW GARDEN OF EDEN--ENGLAND BEFORE THE PROTESTANT FALL, ENGLAND IN PRISTINE PURITY READY TO BE LED ALONG THE MARIAN PATH BY THE NEW VIRGIN QUEEN, "A PRINCESS YONGE AND BEAUTIFULL, AND ABOUNDANTLY ADORNED WITH THE GIFTES OF NATURE," A WOMAN WHO WOULD SURELY HAVE CONTINUED IN THE CATHOLIC FAITH HAD SHE NOT BEEN SEDUCED BY THE SUBTLE SERPENT CECIL, A "SLY SICOPHANT" INTENT ON HIS OWN ADVANCEMENT AT ALL COSTS, A MAN-LOW BORN--WHO FOUND DURING MARY'S REIGN THAT NO "CREEPING TO THE CROSS" OR SHOW OF EXTERNAL DEVOTION COULD OBTAIN HIM THE HIGH PLACE DENIED HIM BY HIS LOW BIRTH.

AFTER SEDUCING ELIZABETH WITH THE DARKSOME ARGUMENT THAT SHE COULD RETAIN HER CROWN ONLY IF SHE CHANGED HER FAITH--PARSONS CONTINUES--CECIL CHOSE AS HIS RIGHT-HAND

5. <u>RESPONSIO</u>, P. 39. 6. IBID., P. 3.

MAN NICHOLAS BACON, ALSO OF MEAN BIRTH, AND OF "AN EXCEDING CRAFTIE WITT."[7] NOT CONTENT WITH DECREEING THAT THE ENGLISH FAITH WOULD BE CHANGED, CECIL DECIDED ALSO WHAT THE CHANGES THEMSELVES WOULD BE. HE JAILED OR EXILED THE MARIAN BISHOPS AND FILLED THEIR PLACES WITH "THE VERY RIF RAF AND REFUSE OF THE WORLD." THE RESULT OF THIS SERPENTINE REFORMATION WAS A FAITH UNLIKE ANY OTHER ON THE FACE OF THE EARTH.

AFTER THESE REMARKS, PARSONS SPEAKS OF A NUMBER OF CECIL-INSPIRED INVASIONS OF SPANISH TERRITORIES AND POSSESSIONS, INVASIONS MARKED BY BRUTALITY, WASTE, AND SELF-INTEREST. IN THE FACE OF SUCH FLAGRANT PROVOCATION, THE SPANISH HAVE REMAINED PATIENT BEYOND ALL COMPUTATION, BUT THE ENGLISH HAVE BEEN FORCED TO SUFFER FOR THEIR WICKED DEEDS AND ARE NOW DANGEROUSLY CLOSE TO INTERNAL COLLAPSE.

IN HIS DISCUSSION OF THE FIRST OF THE FOUR ISSUES LISTED ABOVE ("TOUCHING THE MATTERS OF FAITH AND RELIGION") PARSONS EXPANDS HIS COMMENTS ON THE WONDROUS NATURE OF THE NEW ENGLISH FAITH, OBSERVATIONS WHICH I THINK ARE WORTH QUOTING:

> THE PROTESTANTIZED CALVINISM BEING BUT OF 33 YEARS ANTIQUITY, AND PECULIARLY CHOSEN AND COMPOUNDED OF MANY, AND FULLY AGREEING WITH NONE, IS NOW GROWN UNTO SUCH DIVISION IN ITSELF, AS IS VERY WONDERFUL; AND BEING ESTABLISHED BY AUTHORITY OF A PARLIAMENTAL SYNOD

7. IBID., P. 10.

> AND ADVANCED UNTO THE HIGH TITLE, OF THE GLORIOUS GOSPEL OF CHRIST, HATH NOT YET BEEN ABLE SO FEW YEARS, TO RETAIN THAT CREDIT AND ESTEEM, BUT IS GROWN CONTEMPTIBLE, DETECTED OF IDOLATRY, HERESY, AND MANY SUPERSTITIOUS ABUSES BY A PURIFIED SORT OF POSSESSORS OF THE SAME GOSPELLERS NOW CALLED BROWNISTS.[8]

BUT, PARSONS CONTINUES, IN SPITE OF THE FACT THAT SOME OF THESE "PURIFIED SORT," DIRECTED BY "THE GREATER FERVOR OF THE UNHOLY GHOST," HAVE AFFIRMED THAT THE REFORMATION WILL NOT BE COMPLETE UNTIL THE PEOPLE EXECUTE THE QUEEN AND TAKE THE REFORMATION IN THEIR OWN HANDS, IT HAS BEEN THE CATHOLICS IN THE REALM, PERSONS "OF GREAT VIRTUE, MODESTY, AND PATIENCE," WHO HAVE BEEN PERSECUTED AND HAVE NOT BEEN GIVEN A CHANCE TO VOICE THEIR OPINIONS. CERTAINLY THEY HAVE NEVER GONE SO FAR AS TO SAY A MONARCH MIGHT BE OVERTHROWN.[9] PARSONS RESENTS THE EQUATION OF ENGLISH CATHOLICISM WITH TREASON:

> AND THE ADVERSARY IN SO MUCH LABORING TO DETAIN FROM CATHOLICS, THE DESERVED HONOR AND GLORY OF THE CAUSE FOR WHICH THEY SUFFER, [DOES] THEREBY PROCLAIM HIS OWN INIQUITY AND INJUSTICE, TO ALL THE WORLD, MAKING THAT TO BE NEW TREASON, WHICH IS NOTHING ELSE BUT OLD FAITH AND RELIGION.[10]

EARLIER IN THE ESSAY HE HAD SAID ABOUT THE SAME THING: "[THE GOVERNMENT] DIRECTLY SEEKING THE LIVES AND GOODS OF CATHOLICS, FOR THEIR CONSCIENCE AND RELIGION, LABORETH BY ALL MEANS POSSIBLE, TO MAKE THE CAUSE OF THEIR SUFFERANCE TO SEEM TO BE FOR TREASON."[11]

8. IBID., P. 40.
9. IBID., PP. 40-41.
10. IBID., P. 41.
11. IBID., P. 4.

IN THE THREE REMAINING DIVISIONS OF THE ESSAY PARSONS CHARGES UP AND DOWN THE ENGLISH COUNTRYSIDE, OVERTURNING WITH HIS PIOUS SPADE A MULTITUDE OF BLEMISHES IN THE ENGLISH NATION AND CHARACTER. ENGLAND, HE SAYS, HAS NOT FOUGHT FOR A NOBLE CAUSE IN THIRTY-THREE YEARS. SHE HAS NO FRIENDS EXCEPT THE TURK AND OTHER "MAHOMETANS AND MOORES OF BARBARIE"--ALL PROFESSED ENEMIES OF CHRIST. IN SO FAR AS THE ROYAL OFFICE IS CONCERNED, SHE HAS COMMITTED HERSELF TO THE PRINCIPLE THAT THE CROWN BELONGS TO ANYONE WHO CAN WIN AND HOLD IT. IT MAY BE, IN FACT, THAT "ENGLAND MAY HAPPEN TO HAVE A KING CECIL THE FIRST, THAT IS SUDDENLY METAMORPHOSED FROM THE GROOM OF THE WARDROBE, TO THE WEARING OF THE BEST ROBE WITHIN THE WARDROBE."[12] MUCH MORE IS WRONG. ENGLAND'S NOBILITY, FOR EXAMPLE, HAS ALL BUT DISAPPEARED. ELIZABETH'S MINISTERS ARE EXECRABLE CHARACTERS, UNPRINCIPLED MEN WHO SEND THE COMMONERS TO FIGHT UNJUST WARS AND THEN ABANDON THEM WHEN THEY RETURN FROM BATTLE. WOMEN AND CHILDREN STARVE. THE NUMBER OF MERCHANTS HAS DECLINED; THERE IS NO JUSTICE; THE PRISONS ARE FULL, THE HIGHWAYS FRAUGHT WITH ROBBERS. THE COUNTRYSIDE IS FILLED WITH BEGGARS--ONLY LAWYERS AND USURERS SEEM TO BE THRIVING. A TWENTY-TWO PAGE INVECTIVE ON CECIL HIMSELF BRINGS THIS REMARKABLE ESSAY TO A RAUCOUS CLOSE.

12. IBID., PP. 55-56.

BACON'S REACTION TO THE RESPONSIO, TO ITS PROGRESS AND ITS CONCLUSIONS, IS THOROUGHLY PREDICTABLE IN THE LIGHT OF HIS REMARKS TO THIS POINT. FOR THE AUTHOR HIMSELF HE HAS NOTHING BUT THE CONTEMPT HE ALWAYS SHOWS TOWARD MEN WHO SHED MORE HEAT THAN LIGHT, AND BEFORE HE TURNS TO THE RESPONSIO ITSELF, HE EXPLORES THE MOTIVES AND TECHNIQUES OF THE WHOLE CLASS OF PROFESSIONAL LIBELLERS. REPEATING ONE OF ELIZABETH'S CREDOS, BACON MAINTAINS THAT HOWEVER IMPASSIONED DEBATES BETWEEN HOSTILE STATES MAY BECOME, EVEN IF THEY LEAD TO WAR, THE PERSONS OF PRINCES ARE NOT TO BE MALIGNED. WAR BETWEEN NATIONS--EITHER ON A VERBAL OR A MILITARY LEVEL--IS A MATTER OF THE HIGHEST HONOR, NOT AN EXERCISE IN MASSACRE AND CONFUSION. BOTH THE LAW OF NATIONS AND THE LAW OF HONOR HAVE ALWAYS PRONOUNCED CONSPIRATORS AGAINST THE LIVES OF SOVEREIGNS, AND LIBELLERS AGAINST THEIR NAMES, TO BE THE COMMON ENEMIES OF SOCIETY. BACON SPEAKS OF THE NOBLE WAY IN WHICH ELIZABETH HAS CONDUCTED HERSELF IN HER DEALINGS WITH PHILIP OF SPAIN. WITH THE EXCEPTION THAT SHE HAS ALLOWED COMMENTS ON PHILIP'S AMBITION, SHE HAS NOT PERMITTED ANY DEFAMATION OF HIS CHARACTER. AND ELIZABETH'S WARS HAVE BEEN GROUNDED ON "JUST AND HONOURABLE CAUSES."

BUT, BACON CONTINUES, IF ONE LOOKS TO THE "OTHER PART" HE WILL BE ASTONISHED AT THE NUMBER OF CUNNING, DEFAMATORY WRITINGS WHICH HAVE PASSED "THROUGH THE WORLD IN ALL

LANGUAGES AGAINST HER MAJESTY AND HER GOVERNMENT." THESE LIBELS HAVE PARADED AS CHURCH STORIES--TO EXCITE FAITH--AS "REMONSTRANCES AND ADVERTISEMENTS OF ESTATE, TO MOVE REGARD"; THEY HAVE BEEN PRESENTED AS TRAGEDIES OF THE PERSECUTION OF CATHOLICS--TO MOVE PITY--AND SOMETIMES THEY HAVE BEEN USED AS "PLEASANT PASQUILS AND SATIRES, TO MOVE SPORT."[13] THE AUTHORS OF THESE INFAMOUS TRACTS, BACON CONTINUES, ARE THOSE "EAGER AND UNQUIET SCHOLARS" WHO HAVE LEFT ENGLAND TO FIND A MORE CONGENIAL GROUND UPON WHICH TO EXERCISE THEIR "TURBULENT AND HUMOUROUS" NATURES. ONCE ABROAD, THEY ABANDON LEARNING AND TURN TO AMPLIFYING GOSSIP. WHEN NECESSITY OR AMBITION CALLS THEM

> THEY FALL ON DEVISING HOW TO DO SOME ACCEPTABLE SERVICE TO THAT SIDE WHICH MAINTAINETH THEM; SO AS EVER WHEN THEIR CREDIT WAXETH COLD WITH FOREIGN PRINCES, OR THAT THEIR PENSIONS ARE ILL PAID, OR SOME PREFERMENT IS IN SIGHT AT WHICH THEY LEVEL, STRAIGHTWAYS OUT COMETH A LIBEL, PRETENDING THEREBY TO KEEP IN LIFE THE PARTY OF ILL SUBJECTS WITHIN THE REALM (WHEREIN THEY ARE AS WISE AS HE THAT THINKETH TO KINDLE A FIRE BY BLOWING IN THE DEAD ASHES). . . .[14]

IF ONE SIMPLY REFLECTS ON THE MOTIVES OF THESE MEN, BACON CONTINUES, HE NEED NOT MARVEL AT THE NUMBER OF LIBELS PRODUCED.

AFTER THESE COMMENTS, BACON TURNS DIRECTLY TO THE <u>RESPONSIO</u> AND ITS AUTHOR. ALTHOUGH, HE SAYS, THE LIBEL

13. <u>WORKS</u>, VIII, 147-48.

14. IBID., PP. 148-49.

ITSELF NEED GIVE PLACE TO "NONE OF THE REST IN MALICE AND UNTRUTHS," ITS STYLE IS NOTABLY INFERIOR. ALSO, HE CONTINUES, THE ATTACKS ON LORD BURGHLEY MERELY SERVE AS A CLOAK FOR A BROADER MALICE WHICH EXTENDS TO THE QUEEN HERSELF. BUT BACON WILL HEED THE COUNSEL OF SOLOMON, NOT TO ANSWER "A FOOL IN HIS OWN KIND, LEST THOU ALSO BE LIKE HIM." HE WILL CONCERN HIMSELF ONLY WITH UNCOVERING THE MALICE AND UNTRUTHS OF THE LIBEL.

NOT ALL OF THE EIGHT MAJOR OBSERVATIONS BACON MAKES ON THE LIBEL[15] ARE STRICTLY RELEVANT TO THIS STUDY, BUT HIS ADVERTIZEMENT OF ENGLISH PROSPERITY AND WELL-BEING IS HIGHLY GERMANE, FOR THE FIRST PREMISE OF THE RESPONSIO IS THAT GOD HAS BROUGHT THE LOCUST TO ENGLAND AS AN AWFUL TESTIMONY OF HIS DISAPPROVAL OF THE ESTABLISHMENT. BACON IS THEREFORE CONCERNED TO DEMONSTRATE THAT THE FACTS SUGGEST

15. 1. "OF THE SCOPE OR DRIFT OF THE LIBELLER"; 2. "OF THE PRESENT ESTATE OF THIS REALM OF ENGLAND, WHETHER IT MAY BE TRULY AVOUCHED TO BE PROSPEROUS OR AFFLICTED"; 3. "OF THE PROCEEDINGS AGAINST THE PRETENDED CATHOLICS, WHETHER THEY HAVE BEEN VIOLENT OR MODERATE AND NECESSARY"; 4. "OF THE DISTURBANCE OF THE QUIET OF CHRISTENDOM, AND TO WHAT CAUSES IT MAY BE JUSTLY IMPUTED"; 5. "OF THE CUNNING OF THE LIBELLER, IN PALLIATION OF HIS MALICIOUS INVECTIVE AGAINST HER MAJESTY AND THE STATE WITH PRETENSE OF TAXING ONLY THE ACTIONS OF LORD BURGHLEY"; 6. "CERTAIN TRUE GENERAL NOTES UPON THE ACTIONS OF LORD BURGHLEY"; 7. "OF DIVERSE PARTICULAR UNTRUTHS AND ABUSES DISPERSED THROUGH THE LIBEL"; 8. "OF THE HEIGHT OF IMPUDENCY THAT THESE MEN ARE GROWN UNTO IN PUBLISHING AND AVOUCHING UNTRUTHS; WITH PARTICULAR RECITAL OF SOME IN AN ASSAY." IBID., P. 51.

GOD'S OVERWHELMING APPROVAL OF THE ENGLISH VERSION OF HIS CHURCH:

> THE BENEFITS OF ALMIGHTY GOD UPON THIS LAND, SINCE THE TIME THAT IN HIS SINGULAR PROVIDENCE HE LED AS IT WERE BY THE HAND AND PLACED IN THE KINGDOM HIS SERVANT OUR QUEEN ELIZABETH, ARE SUCH AS, NOT IN BOASTING OR IN CONFIDENCE OF OURSELVES BUT IN PRAISE OF HIS BLESSED NAME, ARE WORTHY TO BE BOTH CONSIDERED AND CONFESSED, YEA AND REGISTERED IN PERPETUAL MEMORY. NOTWITHSTANDING, I MEAN NOT AFTER THE MANNER OF A PANEGYRIC TO EXTOL THE PRESENT TIME. IT SHALL SUFFICE ONLY THAT THOSE MEN THAT THROUGH THE GALL AND BITTERNESS OF THEIR OWN HEART HAVE LOST THEIR TASTE AND JUDGMENT, AND WOULD DEPRIVE GOD OF HIS GLORY AND US OF OUR SENSES IN AFFIRMING OUR CONDITION TO BE MISERABLE AND FULL OF TOKENS OF THE WRATH AND INDIGNATION OF GOD, BE REPROVED.[16]

BACON BALLASTS THESE GENERALIZATIONS WITH A SERIES OF STATISTICAL FACTS. THE THREE BENEDICTIONS OF GOD--PEACE, PLENTY, AND HEALTH--HAVE BEEN BESTOWED UPON THE ENGLISH PEOPLE AS NEVER BEFORE, HE AFFIRMS. IN "FIVE HUNDRED FOUR SCORE AND MORE YEARS," DURING WHICH TIME TWENTY-TWO RULERS HAVE COME TO ENGLAND, THE QUEEN HAS ALREADY OUTLASTED SIXTEEN. HER MAJESTY'S REIGN HAS BEEN PEACEFUL TWO OUT OF EVERY THREE YEARS, AND WARS HAVE NOT "CONSUMED PAST TWO OF ANY NOBLE HOUSE. . . AND VERY FEW BESIDES OF QUALITY OR APPEARANCE. THEY HAVE SCARCE MOWED DOWN THE OVERCHARGE OF THE PEOPLE WHICH HAVE BEEN BRED WITHIN THE REALM."[17] FURTHERMORE, THE FREQUENCY AND SEVERITY OF THE PLAGUE HAVE DIMINISHED MARKEDLY

16. IBID., PP. 153-54.

17. IBID., P. 157.

DURING ELIZABETH'S REIGN, SO MUCH IN FACT THAT MEN HAD BEGUN TO MARVEL AT THE NATIONAL HEALTH UNTIL "IT PLEASED GOD TO TEACH US THAT WE OUGHT TO ASCRIBE IT ONLY TO HIS MERCY, BY TOUCHING US A LITTLE THIS PRESENT YEAR."[18]

WHEN BACON DISCUSSES THE BENEDICTION OF PLENTY, WHICH IS ONE OF HIS MOST INTERESTING COMMENTS ON THE "GOOD LIFE," THE STUDENT OF LITERATURE CANNOT HELP BEING REMINDED OF THE "NEGATIVE FORMULA" WHICH FREQUENTLY WARMED THE MEDIEVAL HEART. BACON, SO MUCH A DEVOTEE OF THIS-WORLD, PLACES HIS HEAVEN ON EARTH; AND ONE DOES NOT EVEN HAVE TO CROSS A STREAM TO GET TO IT:

> FOOD: . . . WHEREAS ENGLAND WAS WONT TO BE FED BY OTHER COUNTRIES FROM THE EAST, IT SUFFICETH NOW TO FEED OTHER COUNTRIES.
>
> REAL ESTATE: THERE WAS NEVER THE LIKE NUMBER OF FAIR AND STATELY HOUSES AS HAVE BEEN BUILT AND SET UP FROM THE GROUND SINCE HER MAJESTY'S REIGN; INSOMUCH THAT THERE HAVE BEEN RECKONED IN ONE SHIRE THAT IS NOT GREAT TO THE NUMBER OF THREE AND THIRTY, WHICH HAVE BEEN ALL NEW BUILT FOR TWO THOUSAND POUNDS.
>
> LANDSCAPE: THERE WAS NEVER THE LIKE PLEASURES OF GOODLY GARDENS AND ORCHARDS, WALKS, POOLS, AND PARKS, AS DO ADORN ALMOST EVERY MANSION HOUSE.
>
> TOMBSTONES AND MONUMENTS: THERE WAS NEVER THE LIKE NUMBER OF BEAUTIFUL AND COSTLY TOMBS AND MONUMENTS, WHICH ARE ERECTED IN SUNDRY CHURCHES IN HONOURABLE MEMORY OF THE DEAD.
>
> LUXURIES: THERE WAS NEVER THE LIKE QUANTITY OF PLATE, JEWELS, SUMPTUOUS MOVABLES AND STUFF, AS IS NOW WITHIN THE REALM.

18. IBID., P. 156. SPEDDING NOTES (P. 156) THAT THE "SICKNESS OF 1592 BEGAN ABOUT THE MIDDLE OF AUGUST."

> RECLAMATION: THERE WAS NEVER THE LIKE QUANTITY OF WASTE AND UNPROFITABLE GROUND INNED, RECLAIMED, AND IMPROVED.
>
> HUSBANDRY: THERE WAS NEVER THE LIKE HUSBANDING OF ALL SORTS OF GROUNDS BY FENCING, MANURING, AND ALL KINDS OF GOOD HUSBANDRY.
>
> URBANIZATION AND FAIR-GOING: THE TOWNS WERE NEVER BETTER BUILT NOR PEOPLED; NOR THE PRINCIPAL FAIRS AND MARKETS NEVER BETTER CUSTOMED OR FREQUENTED.
>
> WATERWAYS: THE COMMODITIES AND EASES OF RIVERS CUT BY THE HAND AND BROUGHT INTO A NEW CHANNEL, OF PIERS THAT HAVE BEEN BUILT, OF WATERS THAT HAVE BEEN FORCED AND BROUGHT AGAINST THE GROUND, WERE NEVER SO MANY.
>
> MANUFACTURE: THERE WAS NEVER SO MANY EXCELLENT ARTIFICERS, NOR MANY NEW HANDICRAFTS USED AND EXERCISED, NOR NEW COMMODITIES MADE WITHIN THE REALM; AS SUGAR, PAPER, GLASS, COPPER, DIVERS SILKS, AND THE LIKE.
>
> ORDNANCE: THERE WAS NEVER SUCH COMPLETE AND HONOURABLE PROVISION OF HORSE, ARMOUR, WEAPON, OR ORDNANCE OF THE WAR.[19]

WE SEE IN THIS TESTIMONY TO THE BENEDICTION OF PLENTY THE WISDOM OF PROFESSOR TAWNEY'S THESIS THAT MANY ENGLISHMEN DEVELOPED A REMARKABLE CAPACITY TO EQUATE THEIR REFORMATION WITH TEMPORAL PROSPERITY.[20] THE PROTESTANT ETHIC IS STRONGLY AT WORK IN BACON--AS WE MIGHT EXPECT--AND ALTHOUGH HE TAKES GREAT CARE TO WARN AGAINST THE TRAPS OF COVETOUSNESS, THE EVIDENCE IS INESCAPABLE THAT HE BELIEVED A LITTLE

19. IBID., PP. 158-59. THE ITALICIZED HEAD-WORDS ARE MINE.

20. RELIGION AND THE RISE OF CAPITALISM (NEW YORK, HARCOURT BRACE & CO., 1926). SEE ESPECIALLY CH. III, "THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND." MY REFERENCES ARE TO THE NEW AMERICAN LIBRARY EDITION (NEW YORK, 1947; 1955).

CASH IN THE HAND NEVER HURT ANYONE'S CHANCE FOR SALVATION. HOW CLOSELY HE ASSOCIATED SPIRITUAL AND TEMPORAL WELL-BEING CAN BE SEEN AS HE EXTENDS HIS LIST OF THE BENEDICTIONS OF GOD UPON THE ENGLISH PEOPLE. AMONG THESE BOUNTIES HE GIVES "PURITY OF RELIGION" A PROMINENT PLACE. THIS IS A BENEFIT, HE SAYS, WHICH IS INESTIMABLE, A BENEFIT "UNTIL THE DAYS OF HER MAJESTY'S FATHER OF FAMOUS MEMORY, UNHEARD OF."[21] PRINCIPALLY, IT HAS BROUGHT THE "TRUE KNOWLEDGE AND WORSHIP OF GOD," BUT THERE HAVE ALSO BEEN "THREE POINTS OF GREAT CONSEQUENCE UNTO THE CIVIL ESTATE":

> ONE, THE STAY OF A MIGHTY TREASURE WITHIN THE REALM, WHICH IN FORETIMES WAS DRAWN FORTH TO ROME [I.E., PETER'S PENCE]: ANOTHER, THE DISPERSING AND DISTRIBUTION OF THOSE REVENUES (AMOUNTING TO A THIRD PART OF THE LAND OF THE REALM, AND THAT OF THE GOODLIEST AND RICHEST SORT) WHICH HERETOFORE WAS UNPROFITABLY SPENT IN MONASTERIES, INTO SUCH HANDS AS BY WHOM THE REALM RECEIVETH AT THIS DAY SERVICE AND STRENGTH, AND MANY GREAT HOUSES HAVE BEEN SET UP AND AUGMENTED: THE THIRD, THE MANUMIZING AND ENFRANCHISING OF THE REGAL DIGNITY FROM THE RECOGNITION OF A FOREIGN SUPERIOR.[22]

TAWNEY MAINTAINS THAT THE ENGLISHMAN WAS QUICK TO LEARN THAT A POORLY RUN MONASTIC ENCLOSURE WAS OF CONSIDERABLE MORE USE TO THE COMMUNITY THAN THE SAME LAND RUN BY A SELF-SEEKING "ABBEY-LUBBER,"[23] BUT--AT LEAST FOR THE SAKE OF THIS ARGUMENT--BACON HAS THE HIGHEST PRAISE FOR HENRY'S

21. WORKS, VIII, 159. 22. IBID., PP. 159-60.

23. RELIGION AND THE RISE OF CAPITALISM, PP. 118-28.

REDISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH. TYING UP ALL OF THAT LAND FOR THE CATHOLIC GOD WAS NO WAY TO DEVELOP NATURAL RESOURCES.

BACON PROCEEDS FROM THIS ADVERTIZEMENT OF THE FELICITY OF THE ENGLISH PEOPLE TO AN EXAMINATION OF THE MAJOR DIVISIONS OF THE RESPONSIO. HE ANSWERS PARSONS' ATTACKS ON THE ENGLISH FAITH IN TWO SEPARATE SECTIONS, ONE DEALING WITH THE "PRETENDED CALAMITIES" WITHIN THE CHURCH ITSELF, AND THE OTHER WITH THE GOVERNMENT'S TREATMENT OF THE CATHOLICS. IT WILL BE RECALLED THAT PARSONS DESCRIBED THE CHURCH AS "PROTESTANTIZED CALVINISM," AS A BODY "PECULIARLY CHOSEN AND COMPOUNDED OF MANY, AND FULLY AGREEING WITH NONE." BEFORE ANSWERING THIS CHARGE DIRECTLY, BACON ASSERTS THAT A STATE MAY MAKE TWO MAJOR ERRORS IN ITS ECCLESIASTICAL POLITY: THE ONE IS TO PERMIT THE EXERCISE OF MORE FAITHS THAN ONE (THAT IS, ON EQUAL TERMS) WITHIN ITS BORDERS, AND THE OTHER IS THE "ENTERING AND SIFTING INTO MEN'S CONSCIENCES WHEN NO OVERT SCANDAL IS GIVEN, WHICH IS A RIGOROUS AND STRAINABLE INQUISITION. . . ."[24] WHAT BACON IS SAYING HERE, AND THIS IS THE ESSENCE OF HIS IDEA OF RELIGIOUS TOLERATION, IS THAT THE GOVERNMENT HAS NO INTEREST IN FORCING THE CONSCIENCES OF MEN WHO DO NOT MAKE THEIR FAITH A MATTER OF STATE.

TO PARSONS' CHARGE THAT THE CHURCH IS FILLED WITH

24. WORKS, VIII, 164.

DISCORD, CONFUSION, AND HERESY, BACON REPLIES WITH THE SAME ARGUMENT HE USED EARLIER AGAINST THE ANGUISHED MARTIN. IT IS, HE SAYS, A NATURAL CONDITION OF THE CHURCH OF CHRIST TO EXPERIENCE CONTENTIONS. DISAGREEMENT, AFTER ALL, IS A SIGN OF VITALITY, A SIGN THAT MEN BELIEVE THEIR FAITH IS WORTH "FALLING OUT FOR." HE WILLINGLY ADMITS THAT CERTAIN ENGLISH PROTESTANTS HAVE BASED THEIR FAITHS ON CONTRARIES AND HAVE EMULATED FOREIGN CHURCHES TO EXCESS, BUT, HE CONTINUES,

> NEITHER HAVE THE GROUNDS OF THE CONTROVERSIES EXTENDED UNTO ANY POINT OF FAITH; NEITHER HATH THE PRESSING AND PROSECUTION EXCEEDED, IN THE GENERALITY, THE NATURE OF SOME INFERIOR CONTEMPTS; SO AS THEY HAVE BEEN FAR FROM HERESY AND SEDITION, AND THEREFORE RATHER OFFENSIVE THAN DANGEROUS TO THE CHURCH OR STATE.[25]

IT IS HIGHLY UNLIKELY THAT BACON CONSIDERED THESE LINES TO BE AN ACCURATE CHARACTERIZATION OF THE ANGLICAN-PURITAN DEBATE, BUT THE REMARKS ARE ADMIRABLY SUITED TO INTERNATIONAL CONSUMPTION. BACON FOLLOWS HIS OWN ADVICE TO MARTIN--THAT THE "DANGEROUS AMPLIFICATIONS" OF ANNOUNCING DISCORD ARE TO BE CAREFULLY AVOIDED.

TO CONCLUDE THIS BRIEF, EXPORTABLE DEFENSE OF THE INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE ESTABLISHMENT, BACON COMMENTS ON PARSONS' ACCUSATION THAT THE CHURCH HAS BEEN DANGEROUSLY CHALLENGED (AND THE CROWN ITSELF) BY THE MANIACAL

25. IBID., P. 165.

ELEMENT OF REFORM, PARTICULARLY BY THE BROWNISTS AND THE "FANATICAL PAGEANT OF HACKETT."[26] BACON'S CURT ANSWER IS THAT THE BROWNISTS, "A VERY SMALL NUMBER OF VERY SILLY AND BASE PEOPLE," HAVE BEEN FAIRLY WELL DISPERSED AND THAT THEY ARE NOT MUCH HEARD OF ANY MORE. CONCERNING HACKETT, BACON REMARKS IRONICALLY THAT A MAN MUST BE CONSIDERED A VERY DANGEROUS HERETIC WHO COULD NEVER MUSTER MORE THAN TWO DISCIPLES, AND THOSE MADMEN.[27]

THE THIRD DIVISION OF THE OBSERVATIONS IS A DEFENSE OF ELIZABETH'S POLICIES INVOLVING THE ENGLISH CATHOLICS, POLICIES WHICH PARSONS FELT HAD BEEN GROSSLY UNJUST SINCE THE VERY BEGINNINGS OF THE QUEEN'S REIGN. SINCE THIS DEFENSE IS PERHAPS BACON'S MOST IMPORTANT ANALYSIS OF THE TREATMENT OF HIS CATHOLIC COUNTRYMEN, I QUOTE A CONSIDERABLE PART OF IT:

26. IN JULY OF 1591 HACKETT, IN LONDON, PROCLAIMED THAT HE WAS CHRIST. HIS CONTEMPORARIES THOUGHT THAT HE WAS MAD, WHICH I SUPPOSE HE WAS (UNLESS HE WAS CHRIST) AND HE WAS EXECUTED IN JULY. HE HAD PLOTTED TO REMOVE ELIZABETH FROM OFFICE, ALONG WITH HER BISHOPS, AND TO ESTABLISH HIS OWN CHURCH DISCIPLINE. HE HAD A VERY SMALL FOLLOWING, COMPOSED FOR THE MOST PART, APPARENTLY, OF UNSTABLE ZEALOTS. SEE BROOK, WHITGIFT AND THE ENGLISH CHURCH, PP. 139-40.

27. WORKS, VIII, 165-66.

I FIND HER MAJESTY'S PROCEEDINGS GENERALLY TO HAVE BEEN GROUNDED UPON TWO PRINCIPLES;

THE ONE, THAT CONSCIENCES ARE NOT TO BE FORCED, BUT TO BE WON AND REDUCED BY THE FORCE OF TRUTH, BY THE AID OF TIME, AND THE USE OF ALL GOOD MEANS OF INSTRUCTION OR PERSUASION;

THE OTHER, THAT CAUSES OF CONSCIENCE WHEN THEY EXCEED THEIR BOUNDS AND GROW TO BE A MATTER OF FACTION, LEESE THEIR NATURE; AND THAT SOVEREIGN PRINCES OUGHT DISTINCTLY TO PUNISH THE PRACTICE OR CONTEMPT, THOUGH COLOURED WITH THE PRETENCES OF CONSCIENCE AND RELIGION.

ACCORDING TO THESE TWO PRINCIPLES, HER MAJESTY AT HER COMING TO THE CROWN, UTTERLY DISLIKING OF THE TYRANNY OF THE CHURCH OF ROME, WHICH HAD USED BY TERROR AND RIGOUR TO SEEK COMMANDMENT OF MEN'S FAITHS AND CONSCIENCES, ALTHOUGH AS A PRINCE OF GREAT WISDOM AND MAGNANIMITY SHE SUFFERED BUT THE EXERCISE OF ONE RELIGION, YET HER PROCEEDINGS TOWARDS THE PAPISTS WAS WITH GREAT LENITY, EXPECTING THE GOOD EFFECTS WHICH TIME MIGHT WORK IN THEM.

AND THEREFORE HER MAJESTY REVIVED NOT THE LAWS MADE IN [THE 28TH AND 35TH YEARS] OF HER FATHER'S REIGN, WHEREBY THE OATH OF SUPREMACY MIGHT HAVE BEEN OFFERED AT THE KING'S PLEASURE TO ANY SUBJECT, THOUGH HE KEPT HIS CONSCIENCE NEVER SO MODESTLY TO HIMSELF, AND THE REFUSAL TO TAKE THE SAME OATH WITHOUT FURTHER CIRCUMSTANCE WAS MADE TREASON. BUT CONTRARIWISE HER MAJESTY (NOT LIKING TO MAKE WINDOWS INTO MEN'S HEARTS AND SECRET THOUGHTS, EXCEPT THE ABUNDANCE OF THEM DID OVERFLOW INTO OVERT AND EXPRESS ACTS AND AFFIRMATIONS,) TEMPERED HER LAW SO, AS IT RESTRAINETH ONLY MANIFEST DISOBEDIENCE IN IMPUGNING AND IMPEACHING ADVISEDLY AND MALICIOUSLY HER MAJESTY'S SUPREME POWER, AND MAINTAINING AND EXTOLLING A FOREIGN JURISDICTION. AS FOR THE OATH, IT WAS ALTERED BY HER MAJESTY INTO A MORE GRATEFUL FORM; THE HARSHNESS OF THE NAME AND APPELLATION OF SUPREME HEAD WAS REMOVED [IT WAS CHANGED TO 'SUPREME GOVERNOR']; AND THE PENALTY OF THE REFUSAL THEREOF TURNED ONLY INTO A DISABLEMENT TO TAKE ANY PROMOTION OR TO EXERCISE ANY CHARGE; AND YET THAT WITH A LIBERTY OF BEING REVESTED THEREIN, IF ANY MAN SHALL ACCEPT THEREOF DURING HIS LIFE.

BUT AFTER MANY YEARS' TOLERATION OF A MULTITUDE OF FACTIOUS PAPISTS, WHEN PIUS QUINTUS HAD

> EXCOMMUNICATED HER MAJESTY, AND THE BULL OF EXCOMMUNICATION WAS PUBLISHED IN LONDON [IN 1570] WHEREBY HER MAJESTY WAS IN A SORT PROSCRIBED, AND ALL HER SUBJECTS DRAWN UPON PAIN OF DAMNATION FROM HER OBEDIENCE; AND THAT THEREUPON, AS UPON A PRINCIPAL MOTIVE OR PREPARATIVE, FOLLOWED THE REBELLION IN THE NORTH; YET NOTWITHSTANDING, BECAUSE MANY OF THOSE EVIL HUMOURS WERE BY THAT REBELLION PARTLY PURGED, AND THAT SHE FEARED AT THAT TIME NO FOREIGN INVASION, AND MUCH LESS THE ATTEMPTS OF ANY WITHIN THE REALM NOT BACKED BY SOME SUCCOURS FROM WITHOUT, SHE CONTENTED HERSELF TO MAKE A LAW AGAINST THAT SPECIAL CASE OF BRINGING IN OR PUBLISHING OF BULLS OR THE LIKE INSTRUMENTS; WHEREUNTO WAS ADDED A PROHIBITION, NOT UPON PAIN OF TREASON, BUT OF AN INFERIOR DEGREE OF PUNISHMENT, AGAINST BRINGING IN OF AGNUS DEI'S, HALLOWED BEADS, AND SUCH OTHER MERCHANDISE OF ROME AS ARE WELL KNOWN NOT TO BE ANY ESSENTIAL PART OF THE ROMAN RELIGION, BUT ONLY TO BE USED IN PRACTICE AS LOVE TOKENS TO ENCHANT AND BEWITCH THE PEOPLE'S AFFECTIONS FROM THEIR ALLEGIANCE TO THEIR NATURAL SOVEREIGN. IN ALL OTHER POINTS HER MAJESTY CONTINUED HER FORMER LENITY.[28]

BACON CONTINUES EXAMINING THE CIRCUMSTANCES WHICH NECESSITATED NEW AND FIRMER LAWS AGAINST THE RECUSANTS. THE BLOSSOMING OF THE SEMINARIES, THE INTENDED INVASION OF THE REALM BY SPAIN, AND THE ATTEMPTS ON HER MAJESTY'S PERSON--ALL THESE COMPLICATIONS MADE NEW LAWS IMPERATIVE. AGAINST DIFFICULT RECUSANTS THERE WERE ADDED PECUINARY PUNISHMENTS, "NOT TO ENFORCE CONSCIENCES, BUT TO ENFEEBLE AND IMPOVERISH THOSE WITH WHOM IT RESTED INDIFFERENT AND AMBIGUOUS WHETHER THEY WERE RECONCILED OR NO."[29] FINALLY, TO STEM THE DISSEMINATION OF SEDITIOUS PROPAGANDA,

28. IBID., PP. 177-79. 29. IBID., P. 80.

"PRIESTS OF THE NEW ERECTION WERE EXILED, AND THOSE THAT WERE AT THE TIME WITHIN THE LAND SHIPPED OVER, AND SO COMMANDED TO KEEP HENCE UPON THE PAIN OF TREASON."[30]

BACON'S ARGUMENT, AND IT IS THE ARGUMENT BOTH ELIZABETH AND JAMES USED CONSISTENTLY TO DEFEND THEIR ANTI-CATHOLIC LEGISLATION, IS BASED ON THE SUPPOSITION THAT THE CATHOLICS HAVE BEEN GIVEN AS MUCH LIBERTY AS THEY DESERVE AND THAT RESTRICTIONS HAVE ALWAYS FOLLOWED OVERT ACTS TO UNDERMINE THE PROTESTANT STABILITY OF THE ENGLISH NATION. DETERMINING THE JUSTICE OF A GOVERNMENT'S POLICIES OF RELIGIOUS TOLERATION IS, OF COURSE, LARGELY A MATTER OF WHOSE

30. IBID., P. 180. THIS SECTION OF THE OBSERVATIONS (BEGINNING ABOVE ON PAGE 177) HAS AN INTERESTING AND PERPLEXING HISTORY. IT FIRST APPEARED AS THE FIRST HALF OF A LETTER ADDRESSED TO MONSIEUR CRITOY, SECRETARY OF FRANCE, OVER THE SIGNATURE OF SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM, ONE OF ELIZABETH'S LEADING MINISTERS. SPEDDING BELIEVED THAT BACON WAS CONTRACTED TO WRITE A SUMMARY OF ELIZABETH'S RELIGIOUS POLICIES IN ORDER TO ASSURE HENRY OF NAVARRE, NEWLY CROWNED KING OF FRANCE (1589), THAT THE QUEEN WAS A GOOD PROTESTANT. HENRY, ACCORDING TO SPEDDING, WAS A PROFESSED PROTESTANT, AND ENGLAND WAS ANXIOUS TO GAIN FRANCE'S FRIENDSHIP AT THE TIME. THE LETTER, IN ADDITION TO THE DISCUSSION OF THE CATHOLICS, CONTAINS A FEW REMARKS ON THE PURITANS. SEE WORKS, VIII, 95 FF., FOR SPEDDING'S DISCUSSION AND THE TEXT. OCCASIONALLY I HAVE FOUND A RELUCTANCE TO ATTRIBUTE THE WORK TO BACON (FOR EXAMPLE SEE JORDAN, RELIGIOUS TOLERATION, I, 200 FF.), BUT TO THE BEST OF MY KNOWLEDGE NO ONE HAS REFUTED SPEDDING'S CAREFUL ARGUMENT WITH ANY SUCCESS. IF ONE WISHES TO ATTRIBUTE THE WORK TO WALSINGHAM, HE IS FACED WITH EXPLAINING WHY BACON WOULD HAVE LIFTED THIS SECTION, WORD FOR WORD, FROM WALSINGHAM'S LETTER AND PLACED IT IN THE MIDDLE OF HIS OWN DISCOURSE. FURTHERMORE, AS WE SHALL SEE LATER, HE USED A VARIATION OF THE PASSAGE IN 1606, WHEN HE WROTE IN FELICEM MEMORIAM ELIZABETHAE.

SIDE ONE IS ON, AND WE SHOULD NOT EXPECT BACON'S EXPLANATION OF ELIZABETH'S POLICIES TO BE PARTICULARLY SATISFYING TO A CONTEMPORARY CATHOLIC. THE BASIC PROBLEM WAS THAT THE ENGLISH CATHOLICS, HOWEVER READY THEY AS INDIVIDUALS MIGHT BE TO ACCEPT ELIZABETH'S PLATFORM, WERE BOUND BY CONSCIENCE TO SUBSCRIBE TO THE DICTATES OF ROME. THIS DUAL ALLEGIANCE, WHOSE COMPLICATIONS WE SHALL OBSERVE AT LENGTH IN THE NEXT CHAPTER, PLACED THE RECUSANT IN THE VIRTUALLY HOPELESS POSITION OF BEING A TRAITOR EITHER TO HIS COUNTRY OR TO HIS SOUL. FURTHERMORE, EVEN IF IT WERE POSSIBLE FOR HIM TO STRIKE A SATISFACTORY COMPROMISE BETWEEN THE DEMANDS OF THE POPE AND THE QUEEN, HE WAS CONSTANTLY ASSOCIATED WITH ALL ATTEMPTS BY OTHER CATHOLICS, OF WHATEVER NATIONALITY, TO WEAKEN THE ENGLISH FAITH AND NATION. GUILT BY ASSOCIATION IS ONE OF THE MOST DURABLE TYRANNIES OF SOCIETY, AND MANY A PATRIOTIC ENGLISH CATHOLIC HAD TO SUFFER FOR THE RASH ACTS OF HIS ZEALOUS BROTHERS.

IT IS PROFESSOR JORDAN'S CONVICTION THAT THE GOVERNMENT'S POSITION, AS EXPRESSED HERE BY BACON, WAS AS LIBERAL AS THE CIRCUMSTANCES PERMITTED.[31] CERTAINLY IT WAS TO BE DEMONSTRATED LATER IN JAMES' REIGN THAT LEGISLATIVE OR OTHER GENEROSITY TOWARD THE ENGLISH CATHOLICS WAS IMMEDIATELY ATTENDED BY GREAT STIRRINGS WITHIN AND WITHOUT THE

31. THIS IS A MAJOR THESIS OF VOL. I. JORDAN'S DISCUSSION OF THE CATHOLIC IDEA OF RELIGIOUS TOLERATION IN ELIZABETH'S REIGN CAN BE FOUND IN PP. 303 FF.

STATE, MOTIONS WHICH WARNED OF THE IMMINENT DANGERS OF TOLERATING TWO FAITHS. AS LONG AS ROME CHERISHED ITS VISION OF A CATHOLIC ENGLAND, THE GOVERNMENT HAD NO CHOICE BUT TO MAKE RECUSANCY HIGHLY UNCOMFORTABLE. AS HER REIGN PROGRESSED, ELIZABETH WAS EVENTUALLY FORTIFIED BY A BODY OF LEGISLATION WHICH MUST HAVE CHILLED THE CATHOLIC IN THE READING,[32] BUT IN SPITE OF THE FACT THAT HER ORIGINAL LIBERALITY PROVED UNREALISTIC AND HAZARDOUS, THE QUEEN WAS CONSISTENTLY FAR MORE TOLERANT THAN THE LETTER OF HER LAW MIGHT SUGGEST. JUDGED BY THE RIGOROUS STANDARDS SET BY HER FATHER AND SISTER, SHE WAS INDEED A CHARITABLE SOVEREIGN. BACON'S SUBSCRIPTION TO HER POLICIES, AND HIS DEVOTED DEFENSE OF THEM, IS THOROUGHLY IN KEEPING WITH HIS IDEA OF THE STATE. THE INDIVIDUAL CHRISTIAN CONSCIENCE WAS FREE TO ROAM THE EARTH IN ANY GUISE IT CHOSE AS LONG AS IT POSED NO THREAT TO THE ESTABLISHED CIVIL AND ECCLESIASTICAL GOVERNMENTS OF A NATION.

IT WILL BE NOTED THAT IN BACON'S ACCOUNT THE "PRINCESS YONGE AND BEAUTIFULL, AND ABOUNDANTLY ADORNED WITH THE GIFTES OF NATURE" HAS PARTICIPATED DIRECTLY AND ENTHUSIASTICALLY IN THE RELIGIO-POLITICAL AFFAIRS OF HER NATION, AN INCONTESTABLE FACT WHICH ANY PURITAN LEGISLATOR MIGHT HAVE TOLD PARSONS.

32. A USEFUL "ANTHOLOGY" OF TUDOR LEGISLATION INVOLVING RELIGION IS CONTAINED IN GILBERT W. CHILD'S <u>CHURCH AND STATE UNDER THE TUDORS</u> (LONDON, LONGMANS GREEN, 1890). I HAVE FOUND BACON'S REFERENCES TO CONTEMPORARY LAWS THOROUGHLY RELIABLE.

IN THE REMAINING PAGES OF THE OBSERVATIONS THERE ARE A FEW REFLECTIONS WHICH DESERVE OUR ATTENTION. AMONG THEM IS BACON'S EXCULPATION OF LORD BURGHLEY, A DEFENSE WHICH IS VERY NEARLY A PANEGYRIC ON THE BRILLIANT AND DURABLE STATESMAN. PARSONS, WE MAY REMEMBER, ACCUSED BURGHLEY OF BEING A TEMPORIZER IN MATTERS OF FAITH. BACON REPLIES THAT THE LORD WAS "NEVER NO BREWER OF HOLY WATER IN COURT" DURING MARY'S REIGN, NOR HAS HE BEEN THE PRIMUM MOBILE OF THE CONTROVERSIES IN THE CHURCH (WHICH, BACON SAYS, ARE ONLY ABOUT INDIFFERENTS ANYWAY). QUITE TO THE CONTRARY, BURGHLEY HAS BEEN "A MOST RELIGIOUS AND WISE MODERATOR IN CHURCH MATTERS TO HAVE UNITY KEPT. . . ."[33] AND AS AN INDIVIDUAL, BACON CONTINUES, THE STATESMAN "EVER BARE HIMSELF REVERENTLY AND WITHOUT SCANDAL IN MATTERS OF RELIGION, AND WITHOUT BLEMISH IN HIS PRIVATE COURSE OF LIFE. . . ."[34] TO THE CHARGE THAT HIS LORDSHIP PRESCRIBED THE FORM AND CONTENT OF ELIZABETH'S CHURCH, BACON REPLIES:

> THE SAME FORM, NOT FULLY SIX YEARS BEFORE, HAD BEEN RECEIVED IN THIS REALM IN KING EDWARD'S TIME: SO AS HIS LORDSHIP, BEING A CHRISTIAN POLITIC COUNSELLOR, THOUGHT IT BETTER TO FOLLOW A PRECEDENT THAN TO INNOVATE, AND TO CHOOSE A PRECEDENT RATHER AT HOME THAN ABROAD.[35]

BACON'S PRAISE GOES TO BURGHLEY AS THE GREAT EXPONENT OF

33. WORKS, VIII, 199.
34. IBID., P. 201.
35. IBID., P. 203.

UNITY, NOT, IT WILL BE OBSERVED, AS THE CHAMPION OF REFORM.[36]

IN ADDITION TO THIS DEFENSE OF BURGHLEY, BACON DENIES PARSONS' ASSERTION THAT NO CATHOLIC HAS EVER ATTEMPTED TO MURDER ANY MEMBERS OF ELIZABETH'S COURT. QUITE TO THE CONTRARY:

> OF CATHOLICS (I MEAN THE TRAITOROUS SORT OF THEM) A MAN MAY SAY AS CATO SAID SOMETIMES OF CAESAR, EUM AD EVERTENDAM REMPUBLICAM SOBRIUM ACCESSISSE: THEY COME SOBER AND WELL ADVISED TO THEIR TREASONS AND CONSPIRACIES; AND COMMONLY THEY LOOK NOT SO LOW AS THE COUNSELLORS, BUT HAVE BENT THEIR MUDEROUS ATTEMPTS IMMEDIATELY AGAINST HER MAJESTY'S SACRED PERSON (WHICH GOD HAVE IN HIS PRECIOUS CUSTODY); AS MAY APPEAR BY THE CONSPIRACY OF SOMERVILE, PARRY, SAVAGE, THE SIX, AND OTHERS; NAY (WHICH IS MORE) THEY HAVE DEFENDED IT IN THESI TO BE A LAWFUL ACT.[37]

36. BACON'S DEFENSE OF HIS OWN FATHER IS VERY BRIEF: "FOR ALL THE WORLD NOTED SIR NICHOLAS BACON TO BE A MAN PLAIN, DIRECT, AND CONSTANT, WITHOUT ALL FINENESS OR DOUBLENESS; AND ONE THAT WAS OF THE MIND THAT A MAN IN HIS PRIVATE PROCEEDINGS, AND A STATE IN THE PROCEEDINGS OF STATE, SHOULD REST UPON THE SOUNDNESS AND STRENGTH OF THEIR OWN COURSES, AND NOT UPON PRACTICE TO CIRCUMVENT OTHERS; ACCORDING TO THE SENTENCE OF SALOMON, VIR PRUDENS ADVERTIT AD GRESSUS SUOS, STULTUS AUTEM DIVERTIT AD DOLOS; INSOMUCH THAT THE BISHOP OF ROSS, A SUBTLE AND OBSERVING MAN, SAID OF HIM THAT HE COULD FASTEN NO WORDS UPON HIM, AND THAT IT WAS IMPOSSIBLE TO COME WITHIN HIM, BECAUSE HE OFFERED NO PLAY; AND QUEEN-MOTHER OF FRANCE, A VERY POLITIC PRINCESS, SAID OF HIM THAT HE SHOULD HAVE BEEN OF THE COUNCIL OF SPAIN, BECAUSE HE DESPISED THE OCCURRENCES, AND RESTED UPON THE FIRST PLOT. SO THAT IF HE WERE CRAFTY IT IS HARD TO SAY WHO IS WISE." IBID., PP. 202-3.

37. IBID., P. 203.

PARSONS HAD ALSO COMPLAINED THAT THE METHOD OF EXECUTING OFFENDING CATHOLICS WAS EXTREMELY BRUTAL (WHICH INDEED IT WAS), TO WHICH BACON REPLIES THAT THE "CUSTOM OF THE LAND FROM ALL ANTIQUITY" HAS PRESCRIBED BOWELLING AND THE CONSUMING OF ENTRAILS WITH FIRE TO BE THE INSTRUMENT OF DEATH IN TREASONABLE CASES. IN ANY CASE, HE SAYS, THIS METHOD IS FAR MORE HUMANE THAN THE WHEEL, FORCIPATION, OR EVEN "SIMPLE BURNING." WE MAY REJOICE THAT THE LOGIC OF BACON'S ARGUMENT ON THIS GRUESOME ISSUE PARTIALLY ESCAPES US.

THE OBSERVATIONS ON A LIBEL CONTAINS MUCH MORE THAT MIGHT INTEREST US, BUT I THINK THAT THIS SAMPLING IS SUFFICIENT TO INDICATE HOW BACON CONDUCTED HIMSELF IN A SPECIES OF DEBATE WHICH FREQUENTLY ATTRACTED MEN WHO WERE VERY LITTLE INTERESTED IN THE FACTS OF A CASE. AFTER THE RESPONSIO THE OBSERVATIONS MAKES RATHER SLOW READING, BUT ONE LEAVES IT WITH THE CONVICTION THAT IF THESE DEBATES MUST BE, THIS IS THE WAY THEY OUGHT TO BE CONDUCTED. BACON WASTES LITTLE TIME ON THE LIBELLER HIMSELF; RATHER, HE FILLS ENGLAND'S RIVERS WITH SHIPS, HER COFFERS WITH GOLD, AND HER FIELDS WITH CORN. HE COUNTS HER BUILDINGS AND TELLS US HOW SPLENDID THEY ARE, GLORIFIES IN HER LANDSCAPE, BOASTS OF HER LUXURIES, HER FAIRS, MARKETS, MANUFACTURE, AND HER WEAPONS. HE COUNTS THE YEARS OF HIS QUEEN'S REIGN AND HELPFULLY GIVES US THE MATHEMATICAL-HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF HER LONGEVITY. IF HE ACCUSES THE CATHOLICS (THE

TRAITOROUS SORT) OF PLOTTING THE DEATH OF ELIZABETH, HE TELLS US WHO THESE CONSPIRATORS ARE, AND IF HE DEFENDS INDIVIDUALS, HE GIVES US THE NAMES OF NOTABLES WHO HAVE PRAISED THEIR SAGACITY AND VIRTUE. IF WE DOUBT BACON'S VERACITY, WE ARE OBLIGED TO GO OUT TO DO SOME COUNTING, SOME MULTIPLYING, AND SOME DIVIDING FOR OURSELVES. IN A WORD, BACON IS CONCRETE, AND IT IS CONCRETENESS WHICH IS SO FREQUENTLY LACKING IN RELIGIOUS CONTROVERSIES.

IN FELICEM MEMORIAM ELIZABETHAE

IN FELICEM MEMORIAM ELIZABETHAE, A WORK OF WHICH BACON WAS PARTICULARLY FOND, IS A DIRECT DESCENDANT OF THE OBSERVATIONS AND IS ITS AUTHOR'S SINGLE SIGNIFICANT CONTRIBUTION TO THE ERUPTION OF INTERNATIONAL DEBATES WHICH FOLLOWED THE GUNPOWDER PLOT OF 1605. THE SEVERE ANTI-CATHOLIC LAWS PASSED BY PARLIAMENT IN 1606, AS A RESULT OF THE PLOT, SHARPENED MANY A CATHOLIC PEN, AND AMONG THE TRACTS TO APPEAR WAS ONE ENTITLED EXAMEN CATHOLICUM EDICTI ANGLICANI, QUOD CONTRA CATHOLICOS EST LATUM, AUCTORITATE PARLIAMENTI ANGLIAE. ACCORDING TO SPEDDING, THE INTRODUCTION TO THIS WORK CONTAINS A COMPREHENSIVE COLLECTION OF DEFAMATORY REMARKS MADE AGAINST THE QUEEN, WITH A CONSIDERABLE NUMBER OF ADDITIONS BY THE

LIBELLER HIMSELF.[38] SPEDDING CONJECTURES THAT IT WAS THIS WORK, OR ONE VERY LIKE IT, WHICH LED BACON TO COMPOSE HIS RETALIATORY TREATISE, WHOSE VINDICATION OF THE QUEEN AND HER RELIGIOUS POLICIES FOLLOWS THE GENERAL LINES LAID DOWN IN THE OBSERVATIONS, THOUGH CONSIDERABLY MORE EMPHASIS IS PLACED UPON THE QUEEN'S PERSONAL CHARACTER IN THE LATER ESSAY.

THIS WAS A CHARACTER WHICH BACON HAD SEEN A GOOD DEAL OF AND ONE WHICH HE HAD NEVER CEASED TO ADMIRE, WHATEVER THE STATE OF HIS OWN FORTUNES WITH THE QUEEN HAD BEEN. TO BACON SHE WAS THE GLORIOUS PRIMUM MOBILE OF HER PROTESTANT NATION IN TIMES OF INCOMPARABLE PERIL. SHE WAS, HE SAYS, TUTORED IN ADVERSITY BY THE PERSONAL HAND OF DIVINE PROVIDENCE, COMING TO THE THRONE AT THE PRIME AGE OF TWENTY-FIVE AND REIGNING WITH HER FACULTIES WHOLE FOR FORTY-FOUR MAGNIFICENT YEARS. PEACE CHARACTERIZED HER REIGN, A FACT ALL THE MORE REMARKABLE IF ONE REMEMBERS THAT IN ADDITION TO HER FOREIGN ENEMIES SHE HAD TO CONTEND WITH THE NATURAL INCLINATION OF THE ENGLISHMAN TO BE "EVER EAGER FOR WAR AND IMPATIENT OF PEACE."[39]

38. WORKS, XI, 107-8. SPEDDING DISCUSSES THE BACKGROUND OF THIS ESSAY IN WORKS, XI, 107 FF. BUT THE TEXT WILL BE FOUND IN VOL. VI, 281-318. BACON WROTE HIS ANSWER IN LATIN; THE TRANSLATION IS SPEDDING'S.

39. WORKS, VI, 308. CONTRARY TO WHAT IT MIGHT SEEM, THIS IS PRAISE OF THE HIGHEST SORT FOR THE ENGLISHMAN. I SHALL DISCUSS BELOW BACON'S IDEAS ON WAR AND PEACE, BUT IT IS NECESSARY TO SAY AT THIS POINT THAT BACON

HE WILL GO SO FAR AS TO SAY THIS INNATE BELLIGERENCE WAS ABETTED BY INTERNAL STRIFE OF A RELIGIOUS NATURE: "FOR IN A KINGDOM LABOURING WITH INTESTINE FACTION ON ACCOUNT OF RELIGION, AND STANDING AS A SHIELD AND STRONGHOLD OF DEFENSE AGAINST THE THEN FORMIDABLE AND OVERBEARING AMBITION OF SPAIN, MATTER FOR WAR WAS NOWISE WANTING. . . ."[40] APPARENTLY BACON FELT THE TIMES WERE SUFFICIENTLY REMOVED FROM ELIZABETH'S REIGN TO ALLOW THIS ADMISSION OF RELIGIOUS DISCORD, FOR WHAT IS NOW "INTESTINE FACTION" WAS IN THE OBSERVATIONS A FEW DYSPEPTIC SQUABBLES ABOUT INDIFFERENTS.

BEFORE DISCUSSING THE DETAILS OF ELIZABETH'S ECCLESIASTICAL POLITY, BACON MAKES THIS IMPORTANT COMMENT ON THE QUEEN'S PERSONAL FAITH:

> IN RELIGION ELIZABETH WAS PIOUS AND MODERATE, CONSTANT, AND ADVERSE TO INNOVATION. OF HER PIETY, THOUGH THE PROOFS APPEAR MOST CLEARLY IN HER ACTIONS, YET NO SLIGHT TRACES WERE TO BE FOUND LIKEWISE IN HER ORDINARY WAY OF LIFE AND CONVERSATION. PRAYERS AND DIVINE SERVICE, EITHER IN HER CHAPEL OR CLOSET, SHE SELDOM FAILED TO ATTEND. OF THE SCRIPTURES AND THE WRITINGS OF THE FATHERS, ESPECIALLY THOSE OF ST. AUGUSTINE, SHE WAS A GREAT READER. SOME PRAYERS UPON PARTICULAR OCCASIONS SHE HERSELF COMPOSED. IF SHE CHANCED EVEN IN COMMON TALK TO SPEAK OF GOD, SHE ALMOST ALWAYS GAVE HIM THE TITLE OF MAKER, AND COMPOSED HER EYES AND COUNTENANCE TO AN EXPRESSION OF HUMILITY AND REVERENCE; A THING WHICH I HAVE MYSELF OFTEN OBSERVED.[41]

GREATLY ADMIRED THE MILITARY PROWESS OF HIS COUNTRYMEN. A MILITARY POTENTIAL HELD IN CHECK BY A WISE SOVEREIGN WAS HIS IDEA OF THE PROPER MARTIAL POSTURE OF A NATION.

40. IBID., P. 309.

41. IBID., P. 312.

MODERATE, CONSTANT, ADVERSE TO INNOVATION--THESE ARE THE CARDINAL VIRTUES IN BACON'S CONCEPT OF CHURCH AND STATE. WE MIGHT ASK IF IT IS POSSIBLE TO BE MODERATE AND ADVERSE TO INNOVATION AT THE SAME TIME, BUT I THINK BACON SAW NO FUNDAMENTAL CONTRADICTION IN TERMS, JUST AS HE SAW NO CONTRADICTION IN COUNTENANCES WHEN THE PROUD QUEEN CHANCED IN COMMON TALK OF GOD TO COMPOSE HERSELF IN AN EXPRESSION OF HUMILITY AND REVERENCE, "ALMOST ALWAYS."

IF WE COMPARE BACON'S ANALYSIS OF ELIZABETH'S TREATMENT OF THE CATHOLICS IN THE OBSERVATIONS (PP. 178-79 ABOVE) WITH THAT OF IN FELICEM MEMORIAM ELIZABETHAE, WE WILL NOTICE IDENTICAL FRAMEWORKS, BUT IN THE LATTER PIECE THE ENGLISHMAN HAS BEEN GIVEN A NEW VOLATILITY:

> WITH REGARD TO HER MODERATION IN RELIGION THERE MAY SEEM TO BE A DIFFICULTY, ON ACCOUNT OF THE SEVERITY OF THE LAWS MADE AGAINST POPISH SUBJECTS. BUT ON THIS POINT I HAVE SOME THINGS TO ADVANCE WHICH I MYSELF CAREFULLY OBSERVED AND KNOW TO BE TRUE.
>
> HER INTENTION UNDOUBTEDLY WAS, ON THE ONE HAND NOT TO FORCE CONSCIENCES, BUT ON THE OTHER NOT TO LET THE STATE, UNDER PRETENCE OF CONSCIENCE AND RELIGION, TO BE BROUGHT IN DANGER. UPON THIS GROUND SHE CONCLUDED AT THE FIRST THAT, IN A PEOPLE COURAGEOUS AND WARLIKE AND PROMPT TO PASS FROM STRIFE OF MINDS TO STRIFE OF HANDS, THE FREE ALLOWANCE AND TOLERATION BY PUBLIC AUTHORITY OF TWO RELIGIONS WOULD BE CERTAIN DESTRUCTION. SOME OF THE MORE TURBULENT AND FACTIOUS BISHOPS ALSO SHE DID, IN THE NEWNESS OF HER REIGN WHEN ALL THINGS WERE SUBJECT TO SUSPICION,--BUT NOT WITHOUT LEGAL WARRANT--RESTRAIN AND KEEP IN FREE CUSTODY. THE REST, BOTH CLERGY AND LAITY, FAR FROM TROUBLING THEM WITH ANY SEVERE INQUISITION, SHE SHELTERED BY A GRACIOUS CONNIVENCY. THIS WAS THE CONDITION OF AFFAIRS AT FIRST. NOT EVEN WHEN PROVOKED

> BY THE EXCOMMUNICATION PRONOUNCED AGAINST HER BY PIUS QUINTUS (AN ACT SUFFICIENT NOT ONLY TO HAVE ROUSED INDIGNATION BUT TO HAVE FURNISHED GROUND AND MATTER FOR A NEW COURSE OF PROCEEDING), DID SHE DEPART ALMOST AT ALL FROM THIS CLEMENCY, BUT PERSEVERED IN THE COURSE WHICH WAS AGREEABLE TO HER OWN NATURE. FOR BEING BOTH WISE AND OF HIGH SPIRIT, SHE WAS LITTLE MOVED WITH THE SOUND OF SUCH TERRORS; KNOWING SHE COULD DEPEND UPON THE LOYALTY AND LOVE OF HER OWN PEOPLE, AND UPON THE SMALL POWER OF THE POPISH PARTY WITHIN THE REALM HAD TO DO HARM, AS LONG AS THEY WERE NOT SECONDED BY A FOREIGN ENEMY.[42]

AS HE DOES IN THE OBSERVATIONS, BACON PROCEEDS FROM THIS POINT TO A DISCUSSION OF THE BLOSSOMING OF SEMINARIES, OF THE "PRIESTS. . . SENT OVER INTO ENGLAND FOR THE PURPOSE OF KINDLING AND SPREADING ZEAL FOR THE ROMISH RELIGION. . . ." HE SPEAKS OF "WICKED LIBELS," THE ATTEMPTED INVASION OF IRELAND BY SPAIN, AND OF A SERIES OF OTHER FERMENTS WHICH MADE NEW LAWS IMPERATIVE. YET, HE INSISTS, IN SPITE OF NEW LITIGATION, ELIZABETH REMAINED TRUE TO HER FORMER LIBERALITY:

> AND YET WHAT HER OWN NATURAL DISPOSITION WAS APPEARS PLAINLY IN THIS, THAT SHE SO BLUNTED THE LAW'S EDGE THAT BUT A SMALL PROPORTION OF THE PRIESTS WERE CAPITALLY PUNISHED. ALL WHICH I SAY NOT BY WAY OF APOLOGY; FOR THESE PROCEEDINGS NEED NO APOLOGY; SINCE THE SAFETY OF THE KINGDOM TURNED UPON THEM, AND ALL THIS SEVERITY BOTH IN MANNER AND MEASURE OF IT CAME FAR SHORT OF THE BLOODY EXAMPLES SET BY THE PRIESTHOOD. . . . BUT I CONCEIVE THAT I HAVE MADE GOOD MY ASSERTION, AND SHOWN THAT IN THE CAUSE OF RELIGION SHE WAS INDEED MODERATE, AND THAT WHAT VARIATION THERE WAS WAS NOT IN HER NATURE BUT IN THE TIMES.[43]

42. IBID., P. 313.

43. IBID., PP. 315-16.

IN THE OBSERVATIONS BACON SAID VERY LITTLE ABOUT ELIZABETH'S REASON FOR ADOPTING THE EDWARDIAN DISCIPLINE (HE WAS CONCERNED ONLY TO DEMONSTRATE THAT THE DISCIPLINE WAS NOT SOMETHING CECIL HAD ENGENDERED), BUT HERE HE EXPLORES HER MOTIVES DIRECTLY:

> OF HER CONSTANCY IN RELIGION AND WORSHIP THE BEST PROOF IS HER DEALING WITH POPERY: WHICH THOUGH IN HER SISTER'S REIGN IT HAD BEEN ESTABLISHED BY PUBLIC AUTHORITY AND FOSTERED WITH GREAT CARE AND LABOUR, AND HAD TAKEN DEEP ROOT IN THE LAND, AND WAS STRENGTHENED BY THE CONSENT AND ZEAL OF ALL WHO WERE IN AUTHORITY AND POWER; YET BECAUSE IT WAS NOT AGREEABLE EITHER TO THE WORD OF GOD OR TO THE PRIMITIVE PURITY OR TO HER OWN CONSCIENCE, SHE AT ONCE WITH GREATEST COURAGE AND FEWEST HELPS PROCEEDED TO UPROOT AND ABOLISH. AND YET SHE DID IT NOT PRECIPITATELY OR UPON EAGER IMPULSE, BUT PRUDENTLY AND ALL IN DUE SEASON. . . .[44]

BUT LEST HE HAS MADE THE QUEEN SEEM A BIT TOO TEMPERATE AND CAUTIOUS, BACON ADDS:

> AND YET SHE DID NOT INTRODUCE THESE CHANGES TIMIDLY EITHER, NOR BY STARTS; BUT PROCEEDING IN DUE ORDER, GRAVELY AND MATURELY, AFTER CONFERENCE HAD BEEN FIRST HAD BETWEEN THE PARTIES, AND A PARLIAMENT HELD, SHE THEN AT LAST, AND YET ALL WITHIN A SINGLE YEAR, SO ORDERED AND ESTABLISHED EVERYTHING RELATING TO THE CHURCH, THAT TO THE LAST DAY OF HER LIFE SHE NEVER ALLOWED A SINGLE POINT TO BE DEPARTED FROM. NAY AT ALMOST EVERY MEETING OF PARLIAMENT SHE GAVE A PUBLIC WARNING AGAINST INNOVATION IN THE DISCIPLINE AND RITES OF THE CHURCH. AND SO MUCH FOR THE POINT OF RELIGION.[45]

AS I SUGGESTED ABOVE, IT WAS IMPOSSIBLE FOR BACON TO

44. IBID., P. 316.

45. IBID., PP. 316-17.

FORMULATE A RATIONALE FOR RELIGIOUS TOLERATION WHICH COULD MEET THE DEMANDS OF BOTH THE CATHOLICS AND THE ENGLISH PROTESTANTS OF ELIZABETH'S ERA, AND THE GUNPOWDER PLOT HAD CERTAINLY NOT EXTENDED THE HOPELESSLY NARROW BOUNDS OF THE MIDDLE GROUND. BACON'S EXCULPATION OF THE QUEEN AND HER RELIGIOUS POLICIES IN IN FELICEM MEMORIAM ELIZABETHAE EVOLVES, AS IT DID IN THE OBSERVATIONS, FROM THE ASSUMPTION THAT THE SPIRITUAL WELL-BEING OF A NATION IS CONTINGENT UPON ITS POLITICAL STABILITY. IN THE LATER ESSAY, WRITTEN AT A TIME WHEN THE HORRORS OF INSURRECTION WERE FRESH UPON EVERYONE'S MIND, BACON DISPLAYS AN INTERESTING WILLINGNESS TO ACKNOWLEDGE INTERNAL PROBLEMS OF HIS NATION, BUT HE DISCUSSES THEM TO DEMONSTRATE THE UNCOMPROMISING PATRIOTISM OF HIS PROTESTANT COUNTRYMEN IN A TIME OF CRISIS, AND TO DEMONSTRATE THE ABILITY OF AN ENGLISH SOVEREIGN (TUTORED BY DIVINE PROVIDENCE) TO CALL UPON "THE PEOPLE" TO DEFEND CHURCH AND NATION FROM FOREIGN ENEMIES. ELIZABETH WAS ONE LITTLE MOVED WITH THE SOUND OF CATHOLIC TERRORS, AND OF COURSE ALL SANE CATHOLICS WERE TO INFER THAT JAMES WAS OF THE SAME SOLID PROTESTANT SUBSTANCE, AND THAT HE TOO COULD RELY UPON THE PATRIOTISM OF THE ENGLISHMAN. THUS IN FELICEM MEMORIAM ELIZABETHAE IS BOTH A DEFENSE OF BACON'S BELOVED QUEEN AND A CONTRIBUTION TO THE PROPAGANDIST DIALOGUE OF THE DAY. THE ENGLISHMAN STANDS READY--LET US SAY EVER READY--TO MOUNT HIS HORSES AND MAN HIS SHIPS TO DESTROY THE ENEMIES

OF HIS FAITH AND NATION; YET HE HAS ALSO DEMONSTRATED HIS WILLINGNESS TO FOLLOW THE POLICIES OF A WISE AND MODERATE SOVEREIGN. WISDOM AND MODERATION ARE PRECIOUS COMMODITIES IF ONE LOOKS AT THE EVOLUTION OF THE CHURCH OF CHRIST IN ENGLAND, SAYS BACON, AND ONE SHOULD PONDER THE LESSONS OF HISTORY WITH GREAT CARE BEFORE MALIGNING THE CHARACTER OF A SOVEREIGN DEMONSTRABLY DEVOTED TO THE PRINCIPLES OF JUSTICE AND TOLERATION. IF THIS IS NOT A THOROUGHLY REASONABLE POSITION, IT IS BECAUSE BACON DOES NOT HAVE A THOROUGHLY REASONABLE TASK BEFORE HIM.

A LETTER WRITTEN OUT OF ENGLAND TO A GENTLEMAN REMAINING AT PADAU

TO COMPLETE THIS SECTION ON THE MORE OR LESS COSMOPOLITAN ASPECTS OF BACON'S DEFENSE OF HIS CHURCH AND GOVERNMENT I THINK IT WILL BE ILLUMINATING TO PRESENT AN ABRIDGEMENT OF ONE OF BACON'S WORKS WHICH SELDOM SEES THE LIGHT OF DAY. I DO NOT MEAN TO SUGGEST THAT IT SHOULD, NECESSARILY, BUT IT DOES CATCH ITS AUTHOR IN A MOOD--AND A STYLE--UNLIKE ANYTHING WE SEE ELSEWHERE. THE LONG TITLE OF THE PIECE IS A LETTER WRITTEN OUT OF ENGLAND TO AN ENGLISH GENTLEMAN REMAINING AT PADAU, CONTAINING A TRUE REPORT OF A STRANGE CONSPIRACY CONTRIVED BETWEEN EDWARD SQUIRE, LATELY EXECUTED FOR THE SAME TREASON, AS ACTOR, AND RICHARD WALLPOOLE, A JESUIT,

AS DEVISER AND SUBORNER, AGAINST THE PERSON OF THE QUEEN'S MAJESTY (1599).[46] THE NEAREST I CAN COME TO A CLASSIFICATION OF THE WORK IS TO SAY THAT IT IS AN EPISTOLARY DRAMATIZATION OF A CRIMINAL LAW-SUIT. MOST OF THE FACTS WILL SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES, SO IT WILL BE SUFFICIENT AT THIS POINT TO MENTION THAT THE LETTER RECOUNTS THE ATTEMPT OF EDWARD SQUIRE, ACTING AS AN AGENT OF THE JESUITS IN SPAIN, TO POISON THE QUEEN, IN 1597. THE ATTEMPT FAILED, AND IT APPEARS THAT THE GOVERNMENT WAS NOT ACQUAINTED WITH IT UNTIL MAY OF 1598. BACON'S PAMPHLET WAS WRITTEN AFTER SQUIRE HAD BEEN TRIED, CONVICTED, AND EXECUTED. ALTHOUGH THE FACTS OF THE CASE HAVE A SINGULARLY FICTITIOUS RING AT TIMES AS THEY ARE PRESENTED BY BACON, SPEDDING MAINTAINS THAT THEY ARE FULLY DOCUMENTED IN THE EXTANT TRANSCRIPTS OF THE TRIAL. THE WORK SEEMS TO BE DESIGNED TO INFORM THE PEOPLE ABOUT THE TRUE NATURE OF THE CONSPIRACY TO RALLY SUPPORT FOR THE GOVERNMENT'S ACTIONS, A KIND OF LABOR WHICH BACON FREQUENTLY FOUND HIMSELF INVOLVED IN. I HAVE INCLUDED THE LETTER PRIMARILY BECAUSE IT CONTAINS ONE OF ITS AUTHOR'S LENGTHIER DISCUSSIONS OF JESUIT TACTICS. ALTHOUGH BACON'S ACCOUNT OF THE EPISODE IS LARGELY FACTUAL, I THINK IT WILL BE OBVIOUS THAT A FEW COMMENTS ARE PREDOMINATELY SUBJECTIVE.

46. THE WORK WAS PUBLISHED BY THE QUEEN'S PRESS IN 1599, ANONYMOUSLY. BUT AS SPEDDING SAYS--AND AS ANYONE CAN READILY SEE AFTER READING THE OBSERVATIONS ON A LIBEL--IT IS UNQUESTIONABLY BACON'S. SEE WORKS, IX, 110-19 FOR SPEDDING'S DISCUSSION AND FOR THE COMPLETE TEXT.

OF PARTICULAR INTEREST IS A KIND OF OBLIQUE CHARACTERIZATION OF THE JESUIT AT WORK, BRAINWASHING HIS HAPLESS VICTIM, DRAWING HIM BODY AND SOUL INTO THE INEXORABLE WEB OF JESUIT TREACHERY. SQUIRE HIMSELF PROVIDED MANY OF THE DETAILS ON THE JESUIT'S METHODOLOGY, BUT IT IS CLEAR THAT BACON PUTS A PECULIAR PROTESTANT EDGE ON SEVERAL OF THEM. (THE TEXT IS REDUCED ABOUT ONE-HALF.)

> SIR,
>
> I THANK YOU FOR YOUR RELATION OF FERRARA; AND TO MAKE YOU PAYMENT IN THE LIKE COMMODITIES, I RETURN TO YOU A TRUE REPORT OF A FRESH ACCIDENT OF STATE HAPPENED HERE WITH US; MEMORABLE FOR THE STRANGENESS OF THE MATTER; AND THE GREAT SIGNIFICANCE IT CARRIETH WITH IT OF GOD'S EXTRAORDINARY AND MOST VISIBLE PROVIDENCE; BUT OTHERWISE TO BE DAMNED TO PERPETUAL OBLIVION, AS WELL FOR THE DETESTABLE NATURE OF THE FACT, AS YET MORE (IF MORE WERE POSSIBLE) FOR THE IMPIETY OF THE PERSUASION; SUCH AS I ASSURE YOU A MAN OUGHT TO MAKE SCRUPLE TO INFLAME THE TIMES OR INFECT MEN'S COGITATIONS WITH THE REPETITION OF IT, WERE IT NOT THAT THESE WORKS OF DARKNESS ARE FRAMED AND FORGED IN SUCH A DEEP VAULT OF HYPOCRISY AS THERE IS MORE DANGER THAT THEY SHOULD BE UNREVEALED OR UNBELIEVED, THAN THAT BEING BROUGHT TO CLEAR LIGHT THEY SHOULD PROVOKE AN IMITATION IN ANY OF THAT WHICH IS SO ODIOUS AND FOUL. . . .
>
> /A RICHARD SQUIRE, EMPLOYED FOR TWO YEARS "ABOUT THE QUEEN'S STABLE," GREW DISSATISFIED WITH HIS POSITION AND WENT TO SEA WITH FRANCIS DRAKE TO THE INDIES. HE WAS SEPARATED FROM THE FLEET AT GUADALOUPE AND TAKEN CAPTIVE BY THE SPANISH. HE WAS THEN TAKEN TO SPAIN AND SET AT LIBERTY./
>
> NOT LONG AFTER HIS ENLARGEMENT HE BECAME KNOWN TO RICHARD WALPOOLE, AN ENGLISH FUGITIVE, AND BY ORDER A JESUIT, A MAN OF PRINCIPAL CREDIT THERE, AND A KIND OF VICAR-GENERAL TO PARSONS IN HIS ABSENCE. THIS WALPOOLE, CARRYING A WAKING AND WAITING EYE UPON THOSE OF OUR NATION, TO DISCOVER AND SINGLE

OUT FIT INSTRUMENTS FOR THE GREATEST TREASONS, OBSERVED THIS SQUIRE; FOUND HIM A MAN OF MORE THAN ORDINARY SENSE AND CAPACITY FOR HIS QUALITY AND EDUCATION; FOUND HIM A MAN THAT HAD PASSED HIS MIDDLE AGE, WELL ADVISED AND YET RESOLVED ENOUGH, AND NOT APPREHENSIVE AT ALL OF DANGER (FOR I DO AFFIRM THIS UNTO YOU, THAT NEVER MAN ANSWERED UPON HIS TRIAL FOR LIFE AND DEATH WITH LESS PERTURBATION, NAY SCARCELY WITH ANY ALTERATION, AS IF HE UNDERSTOOD NOT HIS PERIL AND CALAMITY, AND YET AS SENSIBLE FOR SPEECH AS INSENSIBLE FOR PASSION) . . .

/WALPOOLE REALIZES THE SPECIAL ADVANTAGE OF SQUIRE'S HAVING BEEN IN THE SERVICE OF THE QUEEN AND REALIZES THAT SINCE HE HAS BEEN A PRISONER, HIS RETURN TO ENGLAND WILL NOT BE SUSPECT./

YET NEVERTHELESS, THE BETTER TO PREPARE HIM AND WORK HIM TO HIS PURPOSE; AND THE BETTER TO GIVE COLOUR (WHEN SQUIRE SHOULD RETURN TO ENGLAND) THAT HE WAS A MAN THAT HAD SUFFERED IN SPAIN FOR HIS CONSCIENCE; SUBTILLY HE COMPASSED THAT, UPON A QUARREL PICKED, SQUIRE WAS PUT INTO THE INQUISITION. BY THIS MEANS WHEN HE HAD GOT HIS HEART INTO HIS HANDS, MOLLIFIED BY DISTRESS, AND BECOME SECURE OF HIM THAT HE WAS A FIXED AND RESOLVED PAPIST, AFTER PROBATION AND PREPARATION SUFFICIENT, HE BEGAN TO OPEN HIMSELF UNTO HIM; AND FIRST FOR INTRODUCTION FELL INTO THIS ORDINARY BURDEN OR SONG OF THAT KIND OF PEOPLE TOUCHING THE TYRANNIES AND PERSECUTIONS EXERCISED HERE IN ENGLAND AGAINST CATHOLICS; THOUGH, SIR, YOU KNOW VERY WELL THE DISTINCTION AND MODERATION OF THE PROCEEDINGS HERE IN ECCLESIASTICAL CAUSES, WITH WHAT LENITY AND GENTLENESS IT HATH BEEN CARRIED, EXCEPT WHERE IT WAS MIXED WITH MATTER OF STATE; FOR ELSE I WOULD GLADLY LEARN WHAT SHOULD MAKE THE DIFFERENCE IN THE TEMPER OF THE LAWS OF THE FIRST YEAR OF THE QUEEN AND IN 23 OR 27, BUT THAT AT THE ONE TIME THEY WERE PAPISTS IN CONSCIENCE AND AT THE OTHER THEY WERE GROWN PAPISTS IN FACTION; OR WHAT SHOULD MAKE THE DIFFERENCE AT THIS DAY IN LAW BETWEEN A QUEEN MARY PRIEST AND A SEMINARY PRIEST; SAVE THAT ONE IS A PRIEST OF SUPERSTITION AND THE OTHER IS A PRIEST OF SEDITION. BUT TO THE PURPOSE: AFTER THE JESUIT HAD DISCOURSED HIS PLEASURE OF THE MISERIES OF CATHOLICS HERE IN ENGLAND, AND OF THE SLANDERS OF THE GOVERNMENT, AND UPON HOW FEW

PERSONS' LIVES THE STATE HERE DID STAND; AND THAT SQUIRE ON THE OTHER SIDE (WHO WANTED NO WIT TO PERCEIVE WHICH WAY HE WAS LED) HAD FIRST MADE SOME SIGNIFICATION, AND AFTER SOME MORE SERIOUS AND VEHEMENT PROTESTATION OF HIS MIND AND DEVOTION TO DO SERVICE TO THE CAUSE; WHEN THE WICKED FRIAR SAW HE WAS GOTTEN INTO THE TRUE CIRCLE, HE BEGAN TO CHARM; AND YET NOT HAVING THE POWER TO FALL UPON THE HIGHEST POINT FIRST /THAT IS, TO KILL THE QUEEN/, WITHOUT A BRIDGE, IT WERE NO DOUBT (SAITH HE) AN ACT VERY MERITORIOUS TO KILL THE EARL OF ESSEX; BUT UNUM NECESSARIUM, ONE THING IS NECESSARY.

/SQUIRE IS SUBSEQUENTLY ENCOURAGED TO ASSASSINATE THE QUEEN AND IS GIVEN INSTRUCTIONS RELATIVE TO THE ACT. THE PLAN IS TO EMPOISON THE POMMEL OF HER MAJESTY'S SADDLE. FROM THE POMMEL, IT IS HOPED, SHE WILL CONVEY THE POISON TO HER MOUTH./

AND IT PLEASED GOD FOR THE MANIFESTATION OF HIS GLORY THAT THE SUNDAY SE'NIGHT NEXT AFTER SQUIRE'S COMING OUT OF SPAIN, HE UNDERSTOOD THAT THE HORSES WERE MADE READY FOR HER MAJESTY'S RIDING ABROAD. WHEREUPON, FULL OF THOSE EVIL SPIRITS WHEREWITH SO MANY EXORCISMS HAD POSSESSED HIM, HE CAME INTO THE STABLE-YARD WHERE HER MAJESTY'S HORSE STOOD READY SADDLED, AND IN A FAMILIAR AND CHEERFUL MANNER, IN THE HEARING OF DIVERS THAT STOOD THEREBY, HAVING ALL THINGS READY ACCORDING TO HIS INSTRUCTIONS, HE LAID HIS HAND UPON THE POMMEL OF THE SADDLE, AND SAID, 'GOD SAVE THE QUEEN' (WHEREIN IT PLEASED GOD TO TAKE HIS WORDS AND NOT HIS MEANING) AND BRUISED AS HE WAS DIRECTED /THAT IS, PERFORATED THE BLADDER OF POISON/.

THUS WAS HER MAJESTY'S SACRED AND PRECIOUS LIFE BY THE 'ALL-HAIL' OF A SECOND JUDAS BETRAYED, THE ATTEMPT PUT IN ACT, AND ALL THE CONSPIRATOR'S PART PLAYED TO THE UTTERMOST LINE AND TITLE; THERE RESTED ONLY GOD'S PART; FOR SO IT WAS THAT HER MAJESTY'S GOING ABROAD HELD; AND AS THE VIPER WAS UPON ST. PAUL'S HAND AND SHAKED OFF WITHOUT HURT, SO THIS DONE WAS IN JULY IN THE HEAT OF THE YEAR, WHEN THE PORES AND VEINS WERE OPENEST TO RECEIVE ANY MALIGN VAPOUR OR TINCTURE, IF HER MAJESTY BY ANY ACCIDENT HAD LAID HER HAND UPON THE PLACE. AND AS THE HEATHENISH PEOPLE AT THAT TIME DID ARGUE AND CONCLUDE THEREUPON THAT ST. PAUL WAS A

GOD, SO WE MAY CHRISTIANLY INFER THAT IT WAS GOD'S DOING AND POWER, WHO HATH DEFENDED HIS HANDMAID AND SERVANT BY HIS SECRET AND MORE THAN NATURAL INFLUENCE AND PRESERVATIVE FROM SO ACTUAL AND MORTAL A DANGER, SPEAKING BY THESE SIGNS TO ALL MEN DISLOYAL SUBJECTS AND AMBITIOUS ENEMIES, THAT AS HE HATH DONE GREAT THINGS BY HER PAST ORDINARY DISCOURSE OF REASON, SO HE HATH DONE AND WILL DO AS GREAT THINGS FOR HER BEYOND THE COURSE OF HIS ORDINARY PROVIDENCE.

FOR SURELY IF MAN CONSIDER HOW MANY TIMES HER LIFE HATH BEEN SOUGHT AND ASSAILED SINCE THE BEGINNING OF HER REIGN, BY VIOLENCE, BY POISONING, BY SUPERSTITIOUS VOTARIES, BY AMBITIOUS UNDERTAKERS, BY SINGULAR CONSPIRATORS, BY CONSPIRATORS COMBINED (SPEAKING OF THOSE THAT HAVE BEEN REVEALED; BESIDES A NUMBER--NO DOUBT--OF THE LIKE WHICH HAVE GROVELLED IN DARKNESS AND NEVER CAME TO LIGHT), WHO WILL NOT FIND THE LIKE REFLECTION OF GOD'S FAVOUR IN ANY SOVEREIGN PRINCE THAT HATH REIGNED?

BUT IN THE MEANTIME YOU SEE THE STRANGE MYSTERIES OF THE JESUITS' DOCTRINE, THAT HAVE MINGLED HEAVEN AND HELL, AND LIFT UP THE HANDS OF SUBJECTS AGAINST THE ANOINTED OF GOD; ARMING THEM WITH THE INVISIBLE ARMOUR OF SCRIPTURES, SACRAMENTS, VOWS, PRAYERS, AND BLESSINGS, AGAINST THEIR NATURAL SOVEREIGNS. WHEREIN THERE IS A GREAT DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE SPIRIT THAT WROUGHT IN DAVID AND THIS THAT WORKETH IN THEM. FOR DAVID WHEN RELATION WAS MADE TO HIM (BY ONE THAT THOUGHT HE HAD DONE SAUL THE LAST GOOD OFFICE) HOW SAUL HAD FALLEN UPON HIS OWN SWORD IN BATTLE, AND BEING IN THE ANGUISH OF DEATH CAREFUL NOT TO FALL ALIVE INTO THE HANDS OF THE PHILISTINES, A PEOPLE UNCIRCUMCISED, DESIRED THIS SOLDIER TO MAKE AN END OF HIM, WHO DID SO, AND WAS THEREFORE BY DAVID ADJUDGED TO DIE BECAUSE HE DARED TO LAY HIS HANDS UPON THE ANOINTED OF THE LORD; AND YET WAS SAUL A KING FORSAKEN AND ABANDONED OF GOD; HE HAD TAKEN THE MORTAL WOUND BEFORE, SO AS THIS SOLDIER TOOK FROM HIM HIS PAIN AND NOT HIS LIFE; AND IT WAS TO A GOOD END, LEST A HEATHENISH PEOPLE SHOULD REPROACH THE NAME OF GOD BY INSULTING UPON THE PERSON OF SAUL.

AND SURELY FOR MY PART I DO WONDER THAT PRINCES DO NOT CONCUR IN LOOSING THESE BANDS AND SUPPRESSING THIS SECT, WHICH MAKETH A TRAFFIC OF THEIR SACRED LIVES, CONCLUDING AND CONTRACTING FOR THEM WITH

THESE BLINDED VOTARIES IN THE SECRECY OF CONFESSIONS AND SHRIFTS. . . .[47]

[THE PAMPHLET CONCLUDES WITH A DISCUSSION OF HOW GOD, EVEN THOUGH THE PLOT FAILED (THAT IS, THE QUEEN WAS NOT AFFECTED BY THE POISON), REVEALED THE MATTER, HOW CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN THE CONSPIRATORS WAS INTERCEPTED, HOW SQUIRE WAS CAPTURED, CONVICTED, AND EXECUTED.]

SO IT IS THAT CONSPIRACIES AGAINST THE HANDMAID OF GOD ARE CONCLUDED. CONSCIENCE HAS EXCEEDED ITS BOUNDS, HAS BECOME TREASONABLE FACTION, AND HAS REACHED ITS FINAL RESTING PLACE AT THE FEET OF THE PUBLIC HANGMAN. IN THE PROTESTANT TALLY A TRAITOR IS DEAD, AND IN THE CATHOLIC A MARTYR IS BORN. THIS IS A HARD LESSON, PARTICULARLY FOR SQUIRE AND HIS KIND, BUT IT IS ONE WHICH BACON COUNSELLED ALL ENGLISHMEN TO LEARN WELL IF THEY WISHED TO WORSHIP IN ALBION. FREEDOM OF CONSCIENCE IS A PRIVILEGE TO BE GUARDED WITH CAREFUL OBEDIENCE TO CIVIL LAW; IT IS NEVER A RIGHT TO BE EXPLOITED AS AN AGENT OF RELIGIOUS REVOLUTION. ENGLAND DOES NOT--NOR CAN IT--PRETEND TO BE THE HAVEN AND HARBOR FOR ALL THE SECTS OF CHRISTENDOM. SUCH LIBERALITY WOULD BE A ROMANTIC LUXURY WHICH NO SANE GOVERNMENT COULD AFFORD TO EXTEND TO ITS SUBJECTS. IT HAS BEEN THE WISDOM OF ELIZABETH AND HER COUNSELLORS TO PURSUE POLICIES WHICH HAVE ALLOWED THE MAXIMUM AMOUNT OF TOLERATION POSSIBLE IN AN AGE WHEN MANY CHRISTIANS HAVE YET TO LEARN THAT IT IS NOT GOD'S WILL TO HAVE ALL NATIONS UNDER

47. IBID., PP. 110-17.

THE BANNER OF THE POPE. "BY THE AID OF TIME," BACON HOPEFULLY PREDICTS, THE ENGLISHMAN WILL LEARN TO MAKE THE NECESSARY ADJUSTMENT BETWEEN CONSCIENCE AND OBEDIENCE, BUT IN THE INTERIM, IN THAT INDETERMINABLE INTERVAL WHEN REASON SLOWLY LEARNS TO TEMPER FANATICISM, TEMPORAL LAW MUST CIRCUMSCRIBE THE PROMPTINGS OF THE SPIRIT. IF THAT IS TOO MUCH TO ASK OF THE SPIRIT, THEN THE SPIRIT MUST LEARN TO ASK FOR LESS--OR LOSE ITS RIGHT TO ASK FOR ANYTHING IN THIS WORLD. ALTHOUGH THIS IS BY NO MEANS A THOROUGHLY CHARITABLE POSITION, WE SHALL OBSERVE IN THE NEXT CHAPTER THAT AS BACON ASSUMES MORE AND MORE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE CONDUCT OF HIS COUNTRYMEN, HE BECOMES INCREASINGLY LESS GRACIOUS ABOUT RELIGIOUS DIVERSITY, PARTICULARLY AS IT REGARDS CATHOLICISM.

CHAPTER VI

JAMES AND THE CATHOLICS

BACON'S OBSERVATIONS ON CATHOLICISM DURING THE REIGN OF KING JAMES ARE THE NATURAL EXTENSIONS OF OPINIONS WE ENCOUNTERED EARLIER; THEY ARE, HOWEVER, INFORMED WITH MANY NEW MOODS WHICH REFLECT INCREASING TENSIONS BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT AND THE CATHOLICS, AND THEY REFLECT, I MIGHT ADD, A NEW VIGOR IN BACON'S EVALUATION OF THE LONG ARM OF ROME. WITH A FEW EARLY EXCEPTIONS, WE SHALL ENCOUNTER IN THIS CHAPTER HIS PURELY LEGALISTIC COMMENTS ON CATHOLICISM, MOST OF WHICH DEAL DIRECTLY WITH THE GOVERNMENT'S ATTITUDE TOWARD RECUSANCY AND WITH VARIOUS FACETS OF JESUIT STRATEGY. IN HIS PROFESSIONAL CAPACITY BACON WAS FREQUENTLY CALLED UPON TO REVIEW AND PUBLICIZE RECUSANCY LAWS TO STIMULATE MORE EFFECTIVE CONTROL OF THE CATHOLICS. HIS FORTE AS A LAWYER WAS THE CAPACITY TO KEEP ALL MINDS FOCUSED ON THE ESSENTIALS OF A CASE, AND WE SHALL SEE HOW VALUABLE THIS FACULTY, COUPLED WITH CONSUMMATE ORATORICAL SKILL, IS IN THE TANGLED ARENA OF RELIGIOUS LEGISLATION.

IN ORDER TO UNDERSTAND BACON'S OBSERVATIONS IT WILL BE NECESSARY TO REVIEW BRIEFLY THE LEGISLATION WHICH WAS

ENACTED AS A RESULT OF THE GUNPOWDER PLOT AND TO DISCUSS CERTAIN OF THE MAJOR FEATURES OF THE JESUIT THEORY OF THE STATE WITH WHICH BACON DEALS FROM TIME TO TIME IN THESE TRACTS. THE PLOT ITSELF WAS, OF COURSE, THE CLIMAX TO A SERIES OF EVENTS WHICH HAD FOLLOWED THE ACCESSION OF JAMES I. THE KING HAD COME TO ENGLAND POSSESSED WITH THE TOLERANT BUT UNWORKABLE NOTION THAT THE ENGLISH CATHOLICS COULD BE TREATED MORE GENEROUSLY THAN THEY HAD BEEN UNDER ELIZABETH WITHOUT ANY SUBSTANTIAL DANGER THAT THEIR FORCES MIGHT MULTIPLY. A YEAR BEFORE ELIZABETH'S DEATH, HE HAD SAID IN A LETTER TO ROBERT CECIL THAT HE HAD NEVER DESIRED TO SEE MEN SHED THEIR BLOOD BECAUSE OF DIVERSITY IN RELIGIOUS BELIEFS. HE HAD TOLD CECIL THAT HE WISHED TO SEE THE CATHOLICS CONTAINED AND GRADUALLY DEPLETED BY MEANS OF A PEACEFUL BANISHMENT OF RECALCITRANT PRIESTS AND JESUITS, NOT BY A POLICY OF AGGRESSIVE EXTINCTION.[1] THIS WAS PRECISELY THE ATTITUDE WHICH HE EXPRESSED AT HIS FIRST ENGLISH PARLIAMENT. IN SPITE OF THE WARNINGS OF ROBERT CECIL THAT HE SHOULD CAUTIOUSLY AVOID ACTION WHICH MIGHT ALIENATE THE ENGLISH PROTESTANTS, JAMES, IN THE FIRST YEAR OF HIS REIGN, REMITTED CERTAIN OF THE BURDENSOME RECUSANCY FINES

1. SAMUEL R. GARDINER, HISTORY OF ENGLAND, 1603-1642 (NEW YORK, LONGMANS GREEN & CO., 10 VOLS.), VOL. I, 82. ORIGINALLY PUBLISHED 1863-84; MY REFERENCES ARE TO THE EDITION OF 1900.

IN A VISIBLE EFFORT TO PACIFY THE CATHOLICS. THE IMMEDIATE RESULT OF HIS GENEROSITY WAS THAT CATHOLICS WHO COULD NOT PREVIOUSLY AFFORD OUTWARD NONCONFORMITY STOOD UP AND WERE COUNTED. WHEN THE NEW AND FRIGHTENING TALLY REACHED THE KING AND PARLIAMENT, THE OLD STATUTES AGAINST JESUITS, SEMINARY PRIESTS, AND RECUSANTS WERE REVIVED, AND ON SOME POINTS MORE SEVERE MEASURES WERE ENACTED.[2] THE EFFECT WAS THAT BY 1604 THE CATHOLICS FOUND THEMSELVES PRETTY MUCH WHERE ELIZABETH HAD LEFT THEM, BUT WITH A SOVEREIGN WHO MIGHT BE EXPECTED TO LIVE MANY LONG PROTESTANT YEARS.

JAMES' VACILLATION AND THE OBVIOUS COMMITTMENT OF THE GOVERNMENT TO A REPRESSION OF THEIR CAUSE WAS NOT ENOUGH TO DRIVE THE BODY OF ENGLISH CATHOLICS TO OPEN REVOLT, BUT THE LEADERS OF THE GUNPOWDER PLOT--CATESBY, PERCY, WINTERS, AND FAWKES AMONG THE NOTABLES--WERE STIRRED TO MAKE THEIR MOVE IN THE NAME OF THE POPE AND JESUS THE CHRIST. THEIR STORY IS TOLD BY PROFESSOR GARDINER[3] WITH CONSIDERABLE TENDERNESS AND A DEGREE OF ADMIRATION--THE ADMIRATION I SUPPOSE WE MUST ALWAYS SHOW FOR MEN WHO WILLINGLY SACRIFICE THEMSELVES AND OTHERS FOR THE INVISIBLE--BUT WHATEVER THEIR INDIVIDUAL TENACITY AND GRUESOME HEROISM, THE PLOTTERS APPLIED THE COUP DE GRÂCE TO THE ENGLISH CATHOLICS DURING THE REIGN OF JAMES. EARLY IN 1606 SEVERAL NEW ANTI-CATHOLIC

2. IBID., PP. 193-203.

3. IBID., PP. 234-64.

LAWS WERE PUT INTO EFFECT. FOR EXAMPLE, IT WAS NO LONGER POSSIBLE FOR A RECUSANT TO ATTEND A PARISH CHURCH AS A KIND OF NON-PARTICIPATING OBSERVER: HE WAS NOW REQUIRED TO ACCEPT THE EUCHARIST FROM THE PROTESTANT MINISTER. CHURCH-WARDENS AND PARISH CONSTABLES WERE LIABLE TO FINES OF TWENTY SHILLINGS FOR FAILURE TO REPORT NONATTENDANCE (AND COULD RECEIVE AN AWARD OF TWICE THAT AMOUNT FOR BEING INSTRUMENTAL IN THE CONVICTION OF NONATTENDERS). WEALTHY RECUSANTS, WHO HAD BEEN ABLE TO BEAR THE NONATTENDANCE FINES, NOW FOUND THAT THEIR LANDS WERE SUBJECT TO SEIZURE BY THE CROWN. ALSO, ANY PERSON KEEPING SERVANTS WHO DID NOT ATTEND CHURCH SERVICE WAS SUBJECT TO A FINE OF TEN POUNDS A MONTH (THE SUPPOSITION BEING THAT SERVANTS WOULD BE DRIVEN TO CHURCHES OR LOSE THEIR EMPLOYMENT). ADDITIONALLY, NO RECUSANT WAS TO APPEAR AT COURT OR LIVE WITHIN TEN MILES OF LONDON UNLESS HE HAD LEGITIMATE EMPLOYMENT. A STATUTE OF ELIZABETH'S REIGN (35 ELIZ. CAP. 2) WAS CONFIRMED, ENFORCING RECUSANTS TO REMAIN WITHIN FIVE MILES OF THEIR HOMES. THEY WERE ALSO FORBIDDEN TO HOLD ANY PUBLIC OFFICES IN THE STATE, FORBIDDEN TO PRACTICE AT THE BAR, AND FORBIDDEN TO ACT AS PHYSICIANS OR ATTORNEYS. IF THEY MARRIED OUT OF THE ANGLICAN CHURCH OR HAD THEIR CHILDREN BAPTIZED IN ANY BUT ANGLICAN RITES, THEY WERE SUBJECT TO HEAVY PENALTIES. ALL BOOKS RELATING TO THEIR RELIGION WERE TO BE DESTROYED, AND THEY

WERE TO BE DEPRIVED OF ALL FIREARMS EXCEPT THOSE ESSENTIAL TO SELF-PROTECTION.[4]

TO COMPLEMENT THESE MEASURES A NEW OATH OF ALLEGIANCE WAS FRAMED, ITS MAJOR PURPOSE BEING TO DRAW A LINE BETWEEN CATHOLICS WHO SUBSCRIBED TO THE POPE'S ULTIMATE POWER TO DEPOSE RULERS AND THOSE WHO DID NOT. BECAUSE THIS OATH IS HIGHLY IMPORTANT IN OUR SUBSEQUENT DISCUSSION AND BECAUSE ITS TONE IS FULLY AS IMPORTANT AS ITS CONTENT, I QUOTE IT IN FULL:

> I DOE TREWLY AND SINCERELY ACKNOWLEDGE, PROFESS, TESTIFY AND DECLARE IN MY CONSCIENCE BEFORE GOD AND THE WORLD, THAT OUR SOUERAIGNE LORD KING IAMES, IS LAWFULL KING OF THIS REALME, AND OF ALL OTHER HIS MAIESTIES DOMINIONS AND COUNTREYES: AND THAT THE POPE NEITHER HIMSELFE, NOR BY ANY AUTHORITY OF THE CHURCH OR SEA OF ROME, OR BY ANY MEANS WITH ANY OTHER, HATH ANY POWER OR AUTHORITIE TO DEPOSE THE KING, OR TO DISPOSE OF ANY OF HIS MAIESTIES KINGDOMES OR DOMINIONS, OR TO AUTHORIZE ANY FORREIGNE PRINCE TO INUADE OR ANNOY HIM OR HIS COUNTREYS, OR TO DISCHARGE ANY OF HIS SUBIECTS OF THEIR ALLEGIANCE AND OBEDIENCE TO HIS MAIESTIE, OR TO GIUE LICENCE OR LEAUE TO ANY OF THEM TO BEARE ARMES, RAISE RUMULTS, OR TO OFFER ANY VIOLENCE OR HURT TO HIS MAIESTIES ROYALL PERSON, STATE OR GOUERNMENT, OR TO ANY OF HIS MAISTIES SUBIECTS WITHIN HIS MAIESTIES DOMINIONS. ALSO I DOE SWEARE FROM HY HEART, THAT, NOTWITHSTANDING ANY DECLARATION OR SENTENCE OF EXCOMMUNICATION, OR DEPRIUATION MADE OR GRANTED, OR TO BE MADE OR GRANTED, BY THE POPE OR HIS SUCCESSORS, OR BY ANY AUTHORITIE DERIUED, OR PRETENDED TO BE DERIUED FROM HIM OR HIS SEA, AGAINST THE SAID KING, HIS HEIRES OR SUCCESSORS, OR ANY ABSOLUTION OF THE SAID SUBJECTS FROM THEIR OBEDIENCE; I WILL BEARE FAITH AND TREW ALLEGIANCE TO

4. IBID., PP. 287-88.

> HIS MAIESTIE, HIS HEIRES AND SUCCESSORS, AND HIM AND THEM WILL DEFEND TO THE VTTERMOST OF MY POWER, AGAINST ALL CONSPIRACIES AND ATTEMPTS WHATSOEUER, WHICH SHALBE MADE AGAINST HIS OR THEIR PERSONS, THEIR CROWNE AND DIGNITIE, BY REASON OR COLOUR OF ANY SUCH SENTENCE, OR DECLARATION, OR OTHERWISE, AND WILL DO MY BEST TO ENDEUOUR TO DISCLOSE AND MAKE KNOWNE VNTO HIS MAIESTIE, HIS HEIRES AND SUCCESSORS, ALL TREASONS AND TRAITEROUS CONSPIRACIES, WHICH I SHALL KNOW OR HEARE OF, TO BE AGAINST HIM OR ANY OF THEM. AND I DOE FURTHER SWEARE, THAT I DOE FROM MY HEART ABHORRE, DETEST AND ABIURE AS IMPIOUS AND HERETICALL, THIS DAMNABLE DOCTRINE AND POSITION, THAT PRINCES WHICH BE EXCOMMUNICATED OR DEPRIUED BY THE POPE, MAY BE DEPOSED OR MURTHERED BY THEIR SUBIECTS OR ANY OTHER WHATSOEUER. AND I DOE BELEEUE, AND IN CONSCIENCE AM RESOLUED, THAT NEITHER THE POPE NOR ANY PERSON WHATSOEUER, HATH POWER TO ABSOLUE ME OF THIS OATH, OR ANY PART THEREOF; WHICH I ACKNOWLEDGE BY GOOD AND FULL AUTHORITIE TO BE LAWFULLY MINISTERED VNTO MEE, AND DOE RENOUNCE ALL PARDONS AND DISPENSATIONS TO THE CONTRARIE. AND ALL THESE THINGS I DOE PLAINLY AND SINCERELY ACKNOWLEDGE AND SWEARE, ACCORDING TO THESE EXPRESS WORDS BY ME SPOKEN, AND ACCORDING TO THE PLAIN AND COMMON SENSE AND VNDERSTANDING OF THE SAME WORDS, WITHOUT ANY EQUIUOCATION, OR MENTAL EUASION, OR SECRET RESERUATION WHATSOEUER. AND I DO MAKE THIS RECOGNITION AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENT HEARTILY, WILLINGLY, AND TREWLY, VPON THE TREW FAITH OF A CHRISTIAN. SO HELP ME GOD.[5]

THE OATH COULD BE TENDERED TO ANYONE (EXCEPT NOBLES) EIGHTEEN YEARS OF AGE OR OLDER WHO WAS "UNDER SENTENCE OR INDICTMENT OF RECUSANCY, OR TO ANY STRANGER CONFESSING THE SAME UNDER OATH. . . ."[6] FOUR YEARS LATER A PROVISION WAS ADDED WHEREBY ANYONE NOT OF THE NOBILITY AND OVER THE ORIGINAL AGE-LIMIT COULD BE REQUIRED TO TAKE THE OATH.[7]

5. QUOTED FROM POLITICAL WORKS OF KING JAMES, PP. 73-4.

6. IBID., P. LI. 7. IBID., P. LII.

THERE IS MUCH IN THIS OATH WHICH IS VERY REASONABLE, BUT AS MCILWAIN SAYS, THE PROVISION BEGINNING "AND I DOE FURTHER SWEARE, THAT I DOE FROM MY HEART ABHORRE, DETEST AND ABIURE AS IMPIOUS AND HERETICALL" WAS A HIGHLY UNCOMFORTABLE ONE FOR A CATHOLIC, WHO IN EFFECT COULD BE REQUIRED TO STATE "WITHOUT ANY EQUIUOCATION" THAT THE POPE WAS HIMSELF A HERETIC.[8] PAUL V, WHO COULD HARDLY HAVE BEEN EXPECTED TO REMAIN SILENT, RESPONDED WITH A BREVE CONDEMNING THE OATH IN TOTO AND ADMONISHING CATHOLICS NOT TO TAKE IT, UNDER PENALTY OF JEOPARDIZING THEIR SALVATION: ". . . SUCH AN OATH CANNOT BE TAKEN WITHOUT HURTING THE CATHOLIC FAITH AND THE SALUATION OF YOUR SOULES. . . ."[9] THE CATHOLIC FAITH, CONTINUED THE POPE, HAD NEVER LACKED MARTYRS, AND IF ONE HAD TO CHOOSE BETWEEN SAVING HIS LIFE AND SAVING HIS SOUL, ONLY ONE CHOICE WAS THINKABLE.

WHAT WE SEE IN THESE EDICTS BY THE GOVERNMENT AND THE POPE IS THAT ALL AVENUES OF MEANINGFUL COMPROMISE BETWEEN CIVIL AND SPIRITUAL OBEDIENCE ARE HOPELESSLY BLOCKED. JAMES COULD NOT ADMIT THAT AN EXCOMMUNICATED SOVEREIGN COULD BE MURDERED BY HIS SUBJECTS AS AN ACT OF FAITH; AND THE CATHOLICS COULD NOT CALL THE SUPREME PONTIFF AN OUT-AND-OUT

8. FOR MCILWAIN'S COMMENTS ON THIS ISSUE SEE POLITICAL WORKS OF KING JAMES, PP. LII FF.

9. IBID., P. 74.

HERETIC. HOWEVER, REALIZING THAT THE ENGLISH CATHOLICS COULD NEVER BE ENGLISHMEN ON ROME'S TERMS IF THESE TERMS INVOLVED CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE, THE ENGLISH ARCHPRIEST, GEORGE BLACKWELL, AGREED TO TAKE THE OATH. HIS ACTION BROUGHT AN EXHORTATION FROM THE MIGHTY CARDINAL BELLARMINE, WHO, IN A LETTER WHICH ACCOMPANIED THE SECOND BREVE OF THE POPE,[10] COUNSELLED THE ARCHPRIEST TO ENDURE "MOMENTARIE TRIBULATION" RATHER THAN "LOSE AN ETERNAL WEIGHT OF GLORY"--WHETHER HE TOOK THE OATH OUT OF SUDDEN APPREHENSION, BITTERNESS OF PERSECUTION, OR IMBECILITY OF OLD AGE.[11] BELLARMINE ALSO MAINTAINED THAT FROM THE CHURCH'S INFANCY TO THE PRESENT DAY, NO POPE HAD EVER SANCTIONED REGICIDE.[12]

JAMES HIMSELF, NEVER ONE TO AVOID A HOT DEBATE ON CIVIL LAW AND SALVATION, ANSWERED THE TWO BREVES AND THE CARDINAL'S LETTER IN HIS <u>APOLOGIE FOR THE OATH OF ALLEGIANCE</u>, PUBLISHED ANONYMOUSLY IN 1607. JUDGED BY THE STANDARDS OF THEOLOGICAL CONTROVERSIES AND HIS OWN GARRULITY, JAMES' DEFENSE IS RATHER BRIEF. IT FOLLOWS THE DEEPLY RUTTED TRAILS WHICH LEAD BACK TO MARSIGLIO OF PADAU, WILLIAM OF OCCHAM, AND THE GREAT SCHISM, WITH DETOURS FOR JAMES' OWN EGO. THE KING MAINTAINS--WITH A GENEROUS USE

10. THE SECOND BREVE IS PRIMARILY A CONFIRMATION OF THE FIRST, WHICH SOME HAD THOUGHT SPURIOUS.

11. <u>POLITICAL WORKS OF KING JAMES</u>, P. 84.

12. IBID., P. 83.

OF FOOTNOTES--THAT THE SCRIPTURES, THE FATHERS, THE GENERAL RATIONAL STRUCTURE OF STATES, AND VARIOUS POPES THEMSELVES HAVE DICTATED THAT SUBJECTS OWE UNQUALIFIED ALLEGIANCE TO THEIR LEGAL SOVEREIGNS. BUT HE NOR ANY ENGLISH SOVEREIGN SINCE HENRY VIII HAS EVER CLAIMED TO BE SUPREME IN SPIRITUAL MATTERS, EXCEPT IN THE SENSE THAT NO ECCLESIASTICAL OFFICER HAS ULTIMATE JURISDICTION OVER THE SOVEREIGN OFFICE. IN ANSWER TO THE CLAIM THAT NO POPE HAS EVER SANCTIONED REGICIDE, JAMES GIVES SEVERAL PAGES OF EVIDENCE TO THE CONTRARY, AMONG THEM THE MANY PLOTS BY CATHOLICS TO DEPOSE ELIZABETH AND HIMSELF. THESE CATHOLICS, HE AFFIRMS HAVE CERTAINLY EXPRESSED NO FEARS THAT THEIR ACTS HAVE NOT HAD THE WARMEST BLESSINGS OF THE CHURCH OF ROME.

ON THE THEOLOGICAL PLANE THE DEBATE HAD JUST BEEN OPENED[13] AS ANGLICANS AND CATHOLICS AGAIN WENT TO WAR OVER REGNUM AND SACERDOTIUM AND HENRY VIII WAS AGAIN RAISED FROM HIS GRAVE TO STAND ACCUSED OF BEING THE FIRST OF THE ENGLISH POPES. BUT INSOFAR AS THE CIVIL ASPECTS OF THE OATH WERE CONCERNED--AND THESE WERE THE ONES WHICH BACON BECAME INVOLVED IN--THE LAST WORD HAD BEEN SAID. THE GOVERNMENT

13. A YEAR AFTER JAMES' APOLOGY WAS PUBLISHED, IT WAS ANSWERED BY BELLARMINE, WRITING UNDER THE NAME OF HIS CHAPLAIN, MATTHEW TORTUS. IN 1609 JAMES REISSUED HIS WORK UNDER HIS OWN NAME. AT THIS POINT THE DEFENSE OF ENGLAND'S POSITION WAS GIVEN TO A RELUCTANT BISHOP LANCELOT ANDREWES, WHO, IT MIGHT BE RECALLED, READ SEVERAL OF BACON'S MANUSCRIPTS IN THE COURSE OF THEIR PREPARATION.

HAD DECLARED THAT CONSCIENCE HAD BECOME A MATTER OF TREASONABLE FACTION AND THAT IF THE ENGLISH CATHOLICS AND THEIR SYMPATHIZERS WISHED TO SAVE THEIR SOULS IN THE NAME OF THE POPE, THEY MIGHT VERY WELL LOSE THEIR LIVES IN THE NAME OF THE KING.

FOR THE JESUITS WHO, DURING THE REIGN OF JAMES, SPEARHEADED THE CHURCH'S EFFORTS TO REGAIN LANDS LOST TO PROTESTANT INFIDELITY, THIS WAS A PRICE DEEMED NOT TOO GREAT TO PAY. BECAUSE OF THE VIGOROUSLY DEDICATED WORK OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS, THROUGHOUT THE FIRST QUARTER OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY JESUIT WAS TO THE ENGLISH GOVERNMENT SYNONYMOUS WITH THE MOST EXTREME FORM OF CATHOLIC SUBVERSION. THERE WAS GOOD CAUSE WHY THIS SHOULD BE, FOR THE JESUITS HAD POSITED A THEORY OF THE STATE WHICH WAS DESIGNED SPECIFICALLY TO MEET THE CHALLENGE OF POST-REFORMATION NATIONALISM, A MOVEMENT EPITOMIZED BY ENGLAND. THE MULTIPLICATION OF PROTESTANT STATES INSISTING UPON THEIR OWN IDENTITY AND RIGHT TO CONDUCT THEIR SPIRITUAL AFFAIRS WITHOUT THE COUNSEL OF ROME MADE THE CATHOLIC DREAM OF CHRISTIAN UNITY MORE AND MORE UNTENABLE; YET THE JESUITS BELIEVED THAT THIS UNITY, HOWEVER VISIONARY IT MIGHT SEEM, WAS NOT A PRINCIPLE WHICH COULD BE ABANDONED IF THE WORK OF GOD WERE TO PROCEED. HENCE, IN AN ATTEMPT TO MAKE THE CLAIMS OF PAPAL SUPREMACY MORE WORKABLE IN SOVEREIGN PROTESTANT STATES, THE JESUITS ADVANCED A THEORY OF THE STATE

WHICH INSISTED ON THE SOLELY TEMPORAL AUTHORITY OF THE KING AND EMPHASIZED THE SO-CALLED "SOVEREIGNTY OF THE PEOPLE."[14] AS POPULARLY UNDERSTOOD, THE THEORY EVOLVED FROM THE NOTION THAT SINCE THE POPE ALONE RECEIVED THE SOVEREIGN RIGHT AS SPIRITUAL LEGISLATOR DIRECTLY FROM GOD, A KING HAD ONLY A TEMPORAL FRANCHISE TO HIS OFFICE--A FRANCHISE GIVEN HIM BY HIS SUBJECTS. ALTHOUGH THE CIVIL STATE, DIRECTED BY THE TEMPORAL MAGISTRATE, HAD A FUNDAMENTALLY MUNDANE FUNCTION, IT WAS OBLIGED TO CONDUCT ITSELF IN A MANNER CONDUCIVE TO THE REAL END OF ANY SOCIETY--THE CULTIVATION OF HABITS FITTING MEN FOR THE KINGDOM OF GOD. IF, THEREFORE, IT BECAME OBVIOUS TO THE SPIRITUAL LEADER OF CHRISTENDOM THAT A KING WAS LEADING HIS SUBJECTS TO PERDITION, HE COULD CALL UPON THESE SUBJECTS TO DEPOSE HIM. THE PEOPLE WERE "SOVEREIGN," THAT IS, IN THE SENSE THAT WHAT THEY HAD GIVEN, THEY COULD ALSO TAKE AWAY.[15]

THERE WAS NOT, OF COURSE, ONE JESUIT THEORY OF STATE, BUT, PARED TO ITS MINIMUM ESSENTIALS, THIS WAS THE COMPLEX OF INCENDIARY IDEAS WHICH THE GOVERNMENT CONSISTENTLY

14. SHIRLEY, RICHARD HOOKER AND CONTEMPORARY POLITICAL IDEAS. SEE ESPECIALLY CHAPTER IV, "THE RIGHT TO RESIST: THE JESUIT ANSWER." FOR AN IMPORTANT DISCUSSION OF JESUIT STATECRAFT SEE SELECTIONS FROM THREE WORKS OF FRANCISCO SUAREZ (LONDON, OXFORD UNIV. PRESS, 1944, 2 VOLS.). VOL. II HAS A USEFUL INTRODUCTION BY J. B. SCOTT, PP. 1A-40A. THE TRANSLATIONS IN VOL. II ARE BY WILLIAMS, BROWN, WALDRON, AND DAVIS.

15. IBID.

REFERRED TO WHEN IT DEFENDED ITS ANTI-CATHOLIC LEGISLATION OR DIRECTED ITS ANATHEMA AT THE JESUITS. IT IS THE BUSINESS OF A GOVERNMENT TO PONDER THE DARKEST IMPLICATIONS OF THE POLITICAL THEORIES OF ITS ENEMIES, AND WE SHALL SEE THAT BACON FOUND FEW FRAGMENTS OF LIGHT AS HE AMBLED ABOUT IN THE CHAMBERS OF THE "DEEP VAULT OF HYPOCRISY."

BACON'S FIRST SIGNIFICANT EXTANT COMMENT ON THE GUNPOWDER PLOT AND ATTENDANT ISSUES OCCURS IN A LETTER WRITTEN TO TOBY MATTHEW IN 1607. MATTHEW, SON OF TOBIAS MATTHEW, WHO BECAME ARCHBISHOP OF YORK IN 1606, HAD LEFT ENGLAND IN 1605 TO TRAVEL IN ITALY, WHERE HE BECAME A CONVERT TO THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH. ALTHOUGH HE CORRESPONDED REGULARLY WITH BACON DURING HIS PERIOD ABROAD, HE APPARENTLY KEPT HIS CONVERSION A SECRET. AT ANY RATE, WHEN HE RETURNED TO ENGLAND IN THE SUMMER OF 1607, HE WAS PLACED IN CUSTODY AND ASKED BY THE KING TO TAKE THE OATH. HE REFUSED, WAS COMMITTED TO THE FLEET PRISON, AND SUBSEQUENTLY BANISHED FROM THE ISLAND.[16] MATTHEW WAS ONE OF BACON'S CLOSEST FRIENDS, AND WHILE HE WAS IN THE FLEET, BACON WROTE HIM THE FOLLOWING LETTER, A WORK COMPOUNDED OF DEEP PERSONAL AFFECTION QUALIFIED BY THE NECESSITIES OF CIVIL OBEDIENCE:

> MR. MATTHEW,
>
> DO NOT THINK ME FORGETFUL OR ALTERED TOWARDS YOU. BUT IF I SHOULD SAY I COULD DO YOU ANY GOOD, I SHOULD MAKE MY POWER MORE THAN IT IS. I DO HEAR THAT WHICH I AM RIGHT SORRY FOR;

16. WORKS, XI, 8-9.

> THAT YOU GROW MORE IMPATIENT AND BUSY THAN AT FIRST; WHICH MAKETH ME EXCEEDINGLY FEAR THE ISSUE OF THAT WHICH SEEMETH NOT TO STAND AT A STAY. I MYSELF AM OUT OF DOUBT, THAT YOU HAVE BEEN MISERABLY ABUSED, WHEN YOU WERE FIRST SEDUCED; BUT THAT WHICH I TAKE IN COMPASSION, OTHERS MAY TAKE IN SEVERITY. I PRAY GOD, THAT UNDERSTANDETH US ALL BETTER THAN WE UNDERSTAND ONE ANOTHER, CONTAIN YOU (EVEN AS I HOPE HE WILL) AT THE LEAST WITHIN THE BOUNDS OF LOYALTY TO HIS MAJESTY, AND NATURAL PIETY TOWARDS YOUR COUNTRY. AND I INTREAT YOU MUCH, SOMETIMES TO MEDIATE UPON THE EXTREME EFFECTS OF SUPERSTITION IN THIS LAST POWDER TREASON; FIT TO BE TABLED AND PICTURED IN THE CHAMBERS OF MEDITATION, AS ANOTHER HELL ABOVE THE GROUND: AND WELL JUSTIFYING THE CENSURE OF THE HEATHEN, THAT SUPERSTITION IS FAR WORSE THAN ATHEISM; BY HOW MUCH IT IS LESS EVIL TO HAVE NO OPINION OF GOD AT ALL, THAN SUCH AS IS IMPIOUS TOWARDS HIS DIVINE MAJESTY AND GOODNESS. GOOD MR. MATTHEW, RECEIVE YOURSELF BACK FROM THESE COURSES OF PERDITION.[17]

IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT TO COMPOSE A MORE ACCURATE PRÉCIS OF BACON'S VIEW OF CATHOLICISM. IT DOES NOT SEEM TO HAVE OCCURRED TO HIM THAT MATTHEW MIGHT HAVE ARRIVED AT HIS CONVICTION BY ANY RATIONAL PROCESS OR BY ANY GENUINE SPIRITUAL ENLIGHTENMENT. HE HAS BEEN SEDUCED, AND I FIND THROUGHOUT BACON'S WORKS A DISTRUST FOR THE MACHINERY OF CATHOLIC PROSELYTIZING WHICH GOES MUCH DEEPER THAN ANY POLITICAL CONSIDERATION MIGHT WARRANT. BUT IT IS IMPORTANT TO OBSERVE THAT TOBY IS NOT NOW (AS HE MOST SURELY WOULD HAVE BEEN IN LADY BACON'S MIND) AN AGENT OF SATAN'S

17. IBID., P. 10.

KINGDOM; NOR IS THERE, I THINK, ANY REAL SUGGESTION THAT MATTHEW'S NEW SPIRITUAL ALIGNMENT HAS NECESSARILY PLACED HIS SOUL IN JEOPARDY. IT IS GIVEN TO GOD TO UNDERSTAND THE TRUE CONDITION OF THE SOUL. NONETHELESS--AND THIS IS THE RATIONALE FOR BACON'S ARGUMENT--MATTHEW HAS AFFILIATED HIMSELF WITH A CHURCH WHOSE MEMBERS COMMIT ACTS "FIT TO BE TABLED" AMONG THE MOST UN-CHRISTIAN IMAGINABLE; AND BACON INSISTS THAT HIS FRIEND--SPIRITUAL CONSIDERATIONS ASIDE--CONSIDER THE VAST IMPLICATIONS OF HIS NEW ALLEGIANCE AGAINST THE BACKGROUND OF CATHOLIC CONSPIRACY. PATRIOTISM, IN OTHER WORDS, IS NOT SOMETHING TO BE LIGHTLY CAST ASIDE AS ONE PLUNGES AHEAD TO SALVATION.

APPARENTLY BACON ATTEMPTED TO INTERCEDE FOR MATTHEW BUT MET WITH NO SUCCESS; CONSEQUENTLY IN 1609 WE ENCOUNTER ANOTHER LETTER TO MATTHEW, NOW IN EXILE, A LETTER WHICH COMES AS CLOSE AS ANYTHING TO TELLING US WHAT BACON FELT ABOUT THE INTERNATIONAL DEBATE OVER THE OATH. BACON HAD SENT MATTHEW PART OF THE <u>INSTAURATIO MAGNA</u> FOR HIS PERUSAL AND, AFTER SAYING THAT THE QUESTION BETWEEN HIM AND THE ANCIENTS WAS "NOT OF THE VIRTUE OF THE RACE, BUT OF THE RIGHTNESS OF THE WAY" MADE AN INTERESTING COMMENT ON CONTEMPORARY RELIGIOUS CONTROVERSIES.

> MYSELF AM LIKE THE MILLER OF HUNTINGTON, THAT
> WAS WONT TO PRAY FOR PEACE AMONGST THE WILLOWS;

> FOR WHILE THE WINDS BLEW, THE WIND-MILLS WROUGHT, THAT THE WATER-MILL WAS LESS CUSTOMED. SO I SEE THAT CONTROVERSIES OF RELIGION MUST HINDER THE ADVANCEMENT OF SCIENCES. . . .[18]

IT MAY BE RECALLED THAT IT WAS THIS DEPLETION OF ENERGY OCCASIONED BY RELIGIOUS CONTROVERSIES WHICH BACON RETURNED TO FREQUENTLY IN HIS ANATOMY OF THE MALADIES OF LEARNING. IN 1620 HE WAS TO SAY--SPEAKING OF ONE OF THE IDOLS OF THE THEATER--"THAT NOW FOR MANY AGES MEN'S MINDS HAVE BEEN BUSIED WITH RELIGION AND THEOLOGY,"[19] AND HE NO DOUBT REMEMBERED CLEARLY THE SHIFTING WINDS OF THE CONTROVERSY OVER THE OATH, WINDS WHICH BLEW FINE SAND INTO THE EYES OF MEN WHO SHOULD HAVE BEEN, WITH ALL OF THEIR FACULTIES ABOUT THEM, CORRECTING DISTORTIONS IN THE ENCHANTED GLASS.[20]

ALTHOUGH HE COULD BE SOMEWHAT CAVALIER ABOUT THE GUSTY DIMENSIONS OF RELIGIOUS ALTERCATIONS, WHEN HE TURNED TO THE CONCRETE PROBLEMS OF FACTION, BACON WAS CONSISTENTLY GRAVE AND PEREMPTORY. IN 1611, AS SOLICITOR GENERAL, HE HAD THE TASK OF DEFINING THE FUNCTION OF THE OFFICERS OF THE RECENTLY COMMISSIONED COURT OF THE VERGE. THE VERGE--AN AREA

18. WORKS, XI, 137-38.

19. NOVUM ORGANUM, BOOK I, APHORISM LXIV.

20. TOBY MATTHEW RETURNED TO ENGLAND IN 1617 AND WAS A GUEST AT BACON'S RESIDENCE. THERE WERE RUMORS AT THE TIME THAT BACON WAS SHOWING A GOOD DEAL TOO MUCH FAVOR TO A CONFIRMED RECUSANT. SEE WORKS, XIII, 214 FF.

TWELVE MILES AROUND THE KING'S COURT--HAD HAD A PECULIAR FORM OF JURISDICTION WHICH THE KING'S LEGAL ADVISORS THOUGHT INEFFECTIVE; HENCE THE COURT OF THE VERGE WAS CREATED AND BACON GIVEN THE TASK OF LECTURING TO ITS MEMBERS. HIS SPEECH MIGHT BE CHARACTERIZED AS A JURISTIC PEP-TALK DESIGNED TO REVIEW EXISTING LAWS, BUT, MORE IMPORTANTLY, ONE FASHIONED TO STIR THE NEWLY APPOINTED OFFICERS TO DEDICATED SERVICE. THE COMPLETE TRACT DEALS WITH THE MANY PROBLEMS OF KEEPING THE KING'S ENVIRONS IN ORDER, SO I QUOTE FROM THOSE SECTIONS DEALING DIRECTLY WITH THE RELIGIOUS PROBLEM. MOST OF THEM REFER SPECIFICALLY TO RECUSANCY, BUT I INCLUDE A FEW PARTIALLY IRRELEVANT COMMENTS TO DEMONSTRATE BACON'S EFFECTIVE MODULATION:

> THE SERVICE OF ALMIGHTY GOD, UPON WHOSE BLESSINGS THE PEACE, SAFETY, AND GOOD ESTATE OF KING AND KINGDOM DOTH DEPEND, MAY BE VIOLATED AND GOD DISHONORED IN THREE MANNERS; BY PROFANATION, BY CONTEMPT, AND BY DIVISION OR BREACH OF UNITY.
>
> FIRST, IF ANY MAN HATH DEPRAVED OR ABUSED IN WORD OR DEED THE BLESSED SACRAMENT, OR DISTURBED THE PREACHER OR CONGREGATION IN THE TIME OF DIVINE SERVICE; OR IF ANY HAVE MALICIOUSLY STRICKEN WITH WEAPON, OR DRAWN WEAPON IN ANY CHURCH OR CHURCH-YARD; THESE ARE PROFANATIONS WITHIN THE PURVIEW OF SEVERAL STATUTES, AND THESE YOU ARE TO PRESENT: FOR HOLY THINGS, ACTIONS, TIMES, SACRED PLACES, ARE TO BE PRESERVED IN REVERENCE AND DIVINE RESPECT.
>
> FOR CONTEMPTS OF OUR CHURCH AND SERVICE, THEY ARE COMPREHENDED IN THAT KNOWN NAME, WHICH TOO MANY, IF IT PLEASED GOD, DO BEAR, RECUSANCY; WHICH OFFENCE HATH MANY BRANCHES AND DEPENDENCIES. THE WIFE-RECUSANT, SHE TEMPTS; THE CHURCH PAPIST, HE FEEDS AND RELIEVES; THE CORRUPT

> SCHOOLMASTER, HE SOWETH TARES; THE DISSEMBLER, HE CONFORMETH AND DOTH NOT COMMUNICATE. THEREFORE IF ANY PERSON, MAN OR WOMAN, WIFE OR SOLE, ABOVE THE AGE OF SIXTEEN YEARS, NOT HAVING SOME LAWFUL EXCUSE, HAVE NOT REPAIRED TO CHURCH ACCORDING TO THE SEVERAL STATUTES, THE ONE FOR WEEKLY, THE OTHER FOR THE MONTHLY REPAIR, YOU ARE TO PRESENT BOTH THE OFFENCE AND THE TIME HOW LONG. AGAIN, SUCH AS MAINTAIN, RELIEVE, KEEP IN SERVICE OF LIVERY RECUSANTS, THOUGH THEMSELVES BE NONE, YOU ARE LIKEWISE TO PRESENT; FOR THESE BE THE ROOTS OF NETTLES, WHICH STING NOT THEMSELVES, BUT BEAR AND MAINTAIN THE STINGING LEAVES: SO OF ANY THAT KEEPETH A SCHOOLMASTER THAT COMES NOT TO CHURCH, OR IS NOT ALLOWED BY THE BISHOP; FOR THAT INFECTION MAY SPREAD: SO SUCH RECUSANTS AS HAVE BEEN CONVICTED AND CONFORMED, AND HAVE NOT RECEIVED THE SACRAMENT ONCE A YEAR; FOR THAT IS THE TOUCHSTONE OF THEIR TRUE CONVERSION. AND OF THESE OFFENCES OF RECUSANCY TAKE YOU SPECIAL REGARD. TWELVE MILES FROM COURT IS NO REGION FOR SUCH SUBJECTS. IN THE NAME OF GOD, WHY SHOULD NOT TWELVE MILES ABOUT THE KING'S CHAIR BE AS FREE FROM PAPIST-RECUSANTS, AS TWELVE MILES FROM THE CITY OF ROME (THE POPE'S CHAIR) IS FROM PROTESTANTS? THERE BE HYPOCRITES AND ATHEISTS, AND SO I FEAR THERE BE AMONGST US; BUT NO OPEN CONTEMPT OF THEIR RELIGION IS ENDURED. IF THERE MUST BE RECUSANTS, IT WERE BETTER THEY LURKED IN THE COUNTRY, THAN HERE IN THE BOSOM OF THE KINGDOM.[21]

AFTER SHORT REMARKS ON PERJURY AND WITCHCRAFT, THE OTHER TWO OFFENCES AGAINST THE WORSHIP AND SERVICE OF GOD, BACON ANSWERS A QUESTION WHICH HE SUPPOSES HIS AUDITORY HAS BEEN SILENTLY PONDERING:

> AND HERE I DO CONCLUDE MY FIRST PART CONCERNING RELIGION AND ECCLESIASTICAL CAUSES: WHEREIN IT MAY BE THOUGHT THAT I DO FORGET MATTERS OF SUPREMACY, OR OF JESUITS, AND SEMINARIES, AND THE LIKE, WHICH ARE USUALLY SORTED

21. WORKS, XI, 267-68.

> WITH CAUSES OF RELIGION. BUT I MUST HAVE LEAVE TO DIRECT MYSELF ACCORDING TO MY OWN PERSUASION, WHICH IS, THAT, WHATSOEVER HATH BEEN SAID OR WRITTEN ON THE OTHER SIDE, ALL THE LATE STATUTES WHICH INFLICT CAPITAL PUNISHMENT UPON EXTOLLERS OF THE POPE'S SUPREMACY, DENIERS OF THE KING'S SUPREMACY, JESUITS AND SEMINARIES, AND OTHER OFFENDERS OF THAT NATURE, HAVE FOR THEIR PRINCIPAL SCOPE, NOT THE PUNISHMENT OF THE ERROR OF CONSCIENCE, BUT THE REPRESSING OF THE PERIL OF THE STATE.[22]

IT IS UNLIKELY THAT ANYONE PRESENT HAD NOT HEARD THAT SLOGAN AT ONE TIME OR ANOTHER, BUT BACON AND HIS GOVERNMENT WERE NOT ONES TO ABANDON A HAPPY PHRASE.

ONE MORE SECTION OF THIS "CHARGE" CONCERNS US, AND IN IT WE MAY OBSERVE NOW AND THEN A GENUINELY FOLKSY TONE AS BACON STIRS AMONG THE ASHES OF PROTESTANT PREJUDICE:

> THE THIRD PART OF PRACTICE [HE IS SPEAKING OF KINDS OF INTERNAL REBELLION] HATH DIVERS BRANCHES, BUT ONE PRINCIPAL ROOT IN THESE OUR TIMES, WHICH IS THE VAST AND OVERSPREADING AMBITION AND USURPATION OF THE SEA OF ROME; FOR THE POPE OF ROME IS ACCORDING TO HIS LATE CHALLENGES AND PRETENCES BECOME A COMPETITOR AND CORRIVAL WITH THE KING FOR THE HEARTS AND OBEDIENCE OF THE KING'S SUBJECTS: HE STANDS FOR IT, HE SENDS HIS LOVE-TOKENS AND BROKERS (UNDER COVER OF CONSCIENCE) TO STEAL AND WIN AWAY THE HEARTS AND ALLEGIANCES OF THE PEOPLE, AND TO MAKE THEM AS FUEL READY TO TAKE FIRE UPON ANY HIS COMMANDMENTS. THIS IS THAT YOKE WHICH THIS KINGDOM HATH HAPPILY CAST OFF, EVEN AT SUCH TIMES WHEN THE POPISH RELIGION WAS NEVERTHELESS CONTINUED, AND THAT DIVERS STATES WHICH ARE THE POPE'S VASSALS DO LIKEWISE BEGIN TO SHAKE OFF.
>
> IF THEREFORE ANY PERSON HAVE MAINTAINED AND EXTOLLED THE USURPED AUTHORITY OF THE BISHOP OF ROME WITHIN THE KING'S DOMINIONS, BY WRITING, PREACHING, OR DEED, ADVISEDLY, DIRECTLY, AND MALICIOUSLY; OR IF ANY PERSON HAVE PUBLISHED OR

22. IBID., P. 269.

> PUT IN USE ANY OF THE POPE'S BULLS OR INSTRUMENTS OF ABSOLUTION; OR IF ANY PERSON HAVE WITHDRAWN AND RECONCILED ANY OF THE KING'S SUBJECTS FROM THEIR OBEDIENCE, OR BEEN WITHDRAWN AND RECONCILED: OR IF ANY SUBJECT HAVE REFUSED THE SECOND TIME TO TAKE THE OATH OF SUPREMACY LAWFULLY TENDERED; OR IF ANY JESUIT OR SEMINARY COME AND ABIDE WITHIN THIS REALM; THESE ARE BY SEVERAL STATUTES MADE CASE OF HIGH TREASON: THE LAW ACCOUNTING THESE THINGS AS PREPARATIVES, AND THE FIRST WHEELS AND SECRET MOTIONS OF SEDITIONS AND REVOLTS FROM THE KING'S OBEDIENCE. OF THESE YOU ARE TO INQUIRE, BOTH OF THE ACTORS AND OF THEIR ABETTORS, COMFORTERS, RECEIVERS, MAINTAINERS, AND CONCEALERS, WHICH IN SOME CASES ARE TRAITORS AS WELL AS THE PRINCIPAL, IN SOME CASES IN PRAEMUNIRE, IN SOME OTHER IN MISPRISON OF TREASON (WHICH I WILL NOT STAND TO DISTINGUISH), AND IN SOME OTHER, FELONY; AS NAMELY THAT OF RECEIVING AND RELIEVING OF JESUITS AND PRIESTS. THE BRINGING IN AND DISPERSING OF AGNUS DEI'S, CROSSES, PICTURES, OR SUCH TRASH, IS LIKEWISE PRAEMUNIRE: AND SO IS THE DENIAL TO TAKE THE OATH OF SUPREMACY THE FIRST TIME.[23]

WE CANNOT HELP WONDERING IF THIS INDIFFERENT MAN, FILLED WITH THE PASSIONATE HOPE THAT ONE DAY NATURE AND MANKIND WOULD BE REDUCED TO ORDER AND CIVILITY, DID NOT FEEL, AS HE THUNDERED "OR SUCH TRASH," THAT HE WAS LIVING IN TWO TOTALLY DIFFERENT WORLDS, ONE FRANKLY VISIONARY AND THE OTHER HOPELESSLY AND IRRECOVERABLY LOST TO HUMAN FOLLY. BUT BACON WAS ONE OF THE MOST EFFECTIVE SPEAKERS OF HIS DAY, AND WHATEVER THE STRAIN ON HIS OWN SENSIBILITY, IT IS LIKELY THAT THE NEWLY APPOINTED OFFICERS OF THE COURT OF THE VERGE HAD NOW A CLEAR NOTION OF THE LETTER AND SPIRIT OF THEIR NEW COMMISSION.

IN THE TRACT WHICH COMES NEXT TO OUR ATTENTION WE SHALL

23. IBID., PP. 270-71.

OBSERVE BACON'S LENGTHIEST AND MOST STIRRING RÉSUMÉ OF THE JESUIT THEORY OF THE DEPOSITION OF RULERS. DURING THE FIRST DECADE OF JAMES' REIGN IT HAD BEEN THE POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT TO GIVE THE CATHOLICS OF IRELAND AS MUCH FREEDOM AS SECURITY WOULD PERMIT, GRANTING THEM, FOR EXAMPLE THE PRIVILEGE TO BE MEMBERS OF THE IRISH PARLIAMENT. IN 1613 WILLIAM TALBOT, LEADER OF THE CATHOLIC ELEMENT OF THAT BODY, CAME TO ENGLAND TO IRON OUT DIFFICULTIES CONCERNING IRISH PARLIAMENTARY RIGHTS. WHILE IN ENGLAND, HE WAS ASKED TO REPUDIATE CERTAIN OF THE DOCTRINES OF THE JESUIT FRANCISCO SUAREZ, WHOSE WRITINGS ON CHURCH AND STATE HAD BY 1613 BECOME A FIERY SYMBOL OF JESUIT TREACHERY.[24] TALBOT DECLINED TO REJECT THE DOCTRINES, EXCEPT IN TERMS THE GOVERNMENT THOUGHT FILLED WITH EQUIVOCATION,[25] AND WAS THEREFORE COMMITTED TO THE TOWER PENDING JUDICIAL ACTION. SPEDDING MAINTAINS THAT TALBOT HIMSELF WAS NOT SUSPECTED OF DISLOYALTY BUT THAT THE GOVERNMENT WAS PROBABLY ANXIOUS TO ESTABLISH A

24. SUAREZ (1548-1617), SPANISH THEOLOGIAN AND PHILOSOPHER, WAS PRINCIPAL PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY AT COIMBRA. AT THE INSTIGATION OF PAUL V, IN 1613 SUAREZ WROTE HIS DEFENSIO FIDEI CATHOLICAE, DIRECTED AT JAMES' OATH. JAMES HAD THE BOOK BURNED BY THE PUBLIC HANGMAN AND IMPOSED SEVERE PENALTIES ON ANYONE FOUND READING OF THE WORK. SEE THE INTRODUCTION TO SELECTIONS FROM THREE WORKS OF FRANCISCO SUAREZ, VOL. II; CITED IN FOOTNOTE 14, PAGE 211.

25. IN THE SENSE THAT IT IS USED HERE, EQUIVOCATION IS THE ACT OF TAKING AN OATH WITHOUT FIRST RENOUNCING PRINCIPLES OF ONE'S FAITH WHICH UNDER CERTAIN CONDITIONS NULLIFY THE SUBSCRIPTION. BACON DISCUSSES THE FALLACY OF THIS KIND OF EQUIVOCATION BELOW.

POINT OF LAW CONCERNING THE ALLEGIANCE OF THE IRISH CATHOLICS.[26]

WHEN TALBOT'S CASE CAME UP FOR HEARING, BACON DELIVERED THIS FORMAL CHARGE AGAINST HIM:

> I BROUGHT BEFORE YOU AT THE FIRST SITTING OF THIS TERM THE CAUSE OF DUELS; BUT NOW THIS LAST SITTING I SHALL BRING BEFORE YOU A CAUSE CONCERNING THE GREATEST DUEL WHICH IS IN THE CHRISTIAN WORLD, THE DUEL AND CONFLICT BETWEEN THE LAWFUL AUTHORITY OF SOVEREIGN KINGS, WHICH IS GOD'S ORDINANCE FOR THE COMFORT OF HUMAN SOCIETY, AND THE SWELLING PRIDE AND USURPATION OF THE SEE OF ROME, EVEN IN TEMPORALIBUS, TENDING ALTOGETHER TO ANARCHY AND CONFUSION: WHEREIN IF THIS PRETENCE IN THE POPE OF ROME BY CARTELS TO MAKE SOVEREIGN PRINCES AS THE BANDITTI, AND TO PROSCRIBE THEIR LIVES, AND TO EXPOSE THEIR KINGDOMS TO PREY; IF THESE PRETENCES, I SAY, AND ALL PERSONS THAT SUBMIT THEMSELVES TO THAT PART OF THE POPE'S POWER IN THE LEAST DEGREE BE NOT BY ALL POSSIBLE SEVERITY REPRESSED AND PUNISHED, THE STATE OF CHRISTIAN KINGS WILL BE NO OTHER THAN THE ANCIENT TORMENT DESCRIBED BY THE POETS IN THE HELL OF THE HEATHEN; A MAN SITTING RICHLY ROBED, SOLEMNLY ATTENDED, DELICIOUS FARE, &C. WITH A SWORD HANGING OVER HIS HEAD, HANGING BY A SMALL THREAD, READY EVERY MOMENT TO BE CUT DOWN BY AN ACCURSING AND ACCURSED HAND. SURELY I HAD THOUGHT THEY HAD BEEN THE PREROGATIVES OF GOD ALONE AND OF HIS SECRET JUDGMENTS, SOLVAM CINGULA REGUM, I WILL LOOSEN THE GIRDLES OF KINGS; OR AGAIN, HE POURETH CONTEMPT UPON PRINCES; OR I WILL GIVE A KING IN MY WRATH, AND TAKE HIM AWAY AGAIN IN MY DISPLEASURE, AND THE LIKE. BUT IF THESE BE THE CLAIMS OF A MORTAL MAN, CERTAINLY THEY ARE BUT THE MYSTERIES OF THAT PERSON WHICH EXALTS HIMSELF ABOVE ALL THAT IS CALLED GOD, SUPRA OMNE QUOD DICITUR DEUS. NOTE IT WELL, NOT ABOVE GOD (THOUGH THAT IN A SENSE BE TRUE) BUT ABOVE ALL THAT IS CALLED GOD; THAT IS, LAWFUL KINGS AND MAGISTRATES.[27]

26. WORKS, XII, 5 FF.

27. IBID., PP. 5-6.

AFTER THIS GENERAL PROLOGUE, BACON ACCUSES TALBOT DIRECTLY OF HAVING "GONE BACKWARD AND FORWARD" IN HIS EXAMINATION AND THEN PRESENTS THE ACTUAL CHARGE: "THAT HE HATH MAINTAINED AND MAINTAINETH UNDER HIS HAND A POWER IN THE POPE FOR THE DEPOSING AND MURTHERING OF KINGS." BUT BEFORE PROCEEDING TO PARTICULARS, BACON MAKES AN APPEAL AD HOMINEM TO THE COURT AS HE CALLS TO MIND THE MANY PLOTS AGAINST THE LIVES OF ELIZABETH AND JAMES DEVISED BY CATHOLIC ZEALOTS. ONLY THE "WATCHMAN THAT SLUMBERETH NOT" HAS PRESERVED THE PRECIOUS LIVES OF ENGLAND'S LAST TWO SOVEREIGNS, HE SAYS. SPEAKING OF THE GUNPOWDER PLOT, BACON STIRS THE SWEETNESS AND TENDERNESS OF HIS SOVEREIGN'S TEMPERAMENT INTO THE ACRID ASHES OF THE FOILED AND INFAMOUS PROJECT:

> AGAIN, OUR EXCELLENT SOVEREIGN KING JAMES, THE SWEETNESS AND CLEMENCY OF WHOSE NATURE WERE ENOUGH TO QUENCH AND MORTIFY ALL MALIGNITY, AND A KING SHIELDED AND SUPPORTED BY POSTERITY; YET THIS KING IN THE CHAIR OF MAJESTY, (HIS VINE AND OLIVE BRANCHES ABOUT HIM) ATTENDED BY HIS NOBLES AND THIRD ESTATE IN PARLIAMENT; READY IN THE TWINKLING OF AN EYE, AS IF IT HAD BEEN A PARTICULAR DOOMS-DAY, TO HAVE BEEN BROUGHT TO ASHES, DISPERSED TO THE FOUR WINDS.[28]

AS THE COURT FOLLOWS WITH THE FANCY THE SCATTERING AND SETTLING OF MULTITUDES OF PROTESTANT ASHES, BACON BEGINS TO PRESENT THE FULL DETAILS OF THE CHARGE AGAINST TALBOT:

> BUT NOW TO COME TO THE PARTICULAR CHARGE OF THIS MAN, I MUST INFORM YOUR LORDSHIPS THE OCCASION AND NATURE OF THIS OFFENCE: THERE HATH

28. IBID., P. 7.

BEEN PUBLISHED LATELY TO THE WORLD A WORK OF ZUAREZ, A PORTUGUESE, A PROFESSOR IN THE UNIVERSITY OF COIMBRA, A CONFIDENT, AND DARING WRITER, SUCH A ONE AS TULLY DESCRIBES IN DERISION, NIHIL TAM VERENS, QUAM NE DUBITARE ALIQUA DE RE VIDERETUR: ONE THAT FEARS NOTHING BUT THIS, LEST HE SHOULD SEEM TO DOUBT OF ANY THING. A FELLOW THAT THINKS WITH HIS MAGISTRALITY AND GOOSE QUILL TO GIVE LAWS AND MANAGES TO CROWN AND SCEPTERS. IN THIS MAN'S WRITINGS THIS DOCTRINE OF DEPOSING OR MURTHERING KINGS SEEMS TO COME TO A HIGHER ELEVATION THAN HERETOFORE; AND IT IS MORE ARTED AND POSITIVED THAN IN OTHERS. FOR IN THE PASSAGES WHICH YOUR LORDSHIPS SHALL HEAR READ ANON, I FIND THREE ASSERTIONS WHICH RUN NOT IN THE VULGAR TRACK, BUT ARE SUCH AS WHEREWITH MEN'S EARS (AS I SUPPOSE) ARE NOT MUCH ACQUAINTED; WHEREOF THE FIRST IS, THAT THE POPE HATH A SUPERIORITY OVER KINGS, AS SUBJECTS, TO DEPOSE THEM, NOT ONLY FOR SPIRITUAL CRIMES, AS HERESY AND SCHISM, BUT FOR FAULTS OF A TEMPORAL NATURE, FORASMUCH AS A TYRANNICAL GOVERNMENT TENDETH EVER TO THE DESTRUCTION OF THE SOUL. SO BY THIS POSITION KINGS OF EITHER RELIGION ARE ALIKE COMPREHENDED, AND NONE EXEMPTED. THE SECOND, THAT AFTER SENTENCE GIVEN BY THE POPE, THIS WRITER HATH DEFINED OF A SERIES, OR SUCCESSION, OR SUBSTITUTION OF HANGMEN OR BOURREAUX, TO BE SURE, LEST AN EXECUTIONER SHOULD FAIL; FOR HE SAITH, THAT WHEN A KING IS SENTENCED BY THE POPE TO DEPRIVATION OR DEATH, THE EXECUTIONER WHO IS IN THE FIRST PLACE IS WHOM THE POPE SHALL COMMIT THE AUTHORITY, WHICH MAY BE A FOREIGN PRINCE, IT MAY BE A PARTICULAR SUBJECT, IT MAY BE A GENERAL TO THE FIRST UNDERTAKER. BUT IF THERE BE NO DIRECTION OR ASSIGNATION IN THE SENTENCE SPECIAL NOR GENERAL, THEN DE JURE IT APPERTAINS TO THE NEXT SUCCESSOR; (A NATURAL AND PIOUS OPINION; FOR COMMONLY THEY ARE SONS OR BROTHERS, OR NEAR OF KIN, ALL'S ONE, SO AS THE SUCCESSOR BE APPARENT, ALSO THAT HE BE A CATHOLIC). BUT IF IT BE DOUBTFUL, OR THAT HE BE NO CATHOLIC, THEN IT DEVOLVES TO THE COMMONALTY OF THE KINGDOM; SO AS HE WILL BE SURE TO HAVE IT DONE BY ONE MINISTER OR OTHER. THE THIRD IS, HE DISTINGUISHETH TWO KINDS OF TYRANTS, A TYRANT IN TITLE, AND A TYRANT IN REGIMENT. THE TYRANT IN REGIMENT CANNOT BE RESISTED OR KILLED WITHOUT A SENTENCE PRECEDENT BY THE POPE; BUT A TYRANT IN TITLE MAY BE KILLED BY ANY PRIVATE MAN WHATSOEVER. BY WHICH DOCTRINE HE HATH PUT THE JUDGMENT OF KING'S TITLES

> (WHICH I WILL UNDERTAKE ARE NEVER SO CLEAR BUT THAT SOME VAIN QUARREL OR EXCEPTION MAY BE MADE UNTO THEM) UPON THE FANCY OF EVERY PRIVATE MAN; AND ALSO COUPLES THE JUDGMENT AND EXECUTION TOGETHER, THAT HE MAY JUDGE HIM BY A BLOW, WITHOUT ANY OTHER SENTENCE. YOUR LORDSHIPS SEE WHAT MONSTROUS OPINIONS THESE ARE, AND HOW BOTH THESE BEASTS, THE BEAST WITH SEVEN HEADS, AND THE BEAST WITH MANY HEADS, POPE AND PEOPLE, ARE ONCE LET IN, AND SET UPON THE SACRED PERSONS OF KINGS.[29]

IT IS UNQUESTIONABLE THAT BACON FEARED THE BEAST WITH MANY HEADS FULLY AS MUCH AS THAT WITH SEVEN, BUT WHEN BOTH BEASTS YOKED THEMSELVES TOGETHER, THEY BECAME A TEAM TRULY FITTED TO DRAW SATAN'S ABOMINABLE CARRIAGE THROUGH THE TREMBLING LANDS OF CHRISTENDOM.

ON BACON'S AUTHORITY WE LEARN THAT TALBOT WAS ASKED FOR HIS OPINION CONCERNING SUAREZ'S TEACHINGS AND THAT HE REPLIED IN THIS MANNER:

> MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HONOURABLE GOOD LORDSHIPS: CONCERNING THESE DOCTRINES OF ZUAREZ, I DO PERCEIVE BY WHAT I HAVE READ IN HIS BOOK THAT THE SAME DOTH CONCERN MATTER OF FAITH, THE CONTROVERSY GROWING UPON EXPOSITION OF SCRIPTURES AND COUNCILS, WHEREIN (BEING IGNORANT AND NOT STUDIED) I CANNOT TAKE UPON ME TO JUDGE. BUT I DO SUBMIT MINE OPINION THEREIN TO THE JUDGMENT OF THE CATHOLIC ROMAN CHURCH, AS IN ALL OTHER POINTS CONCERNING FAITH I DO. AND FOR MATTER CONCERNING MY LOYALTY, I DO ACKNOWLEDGE MY SOVEREIGN LIEGE LORD KING JAMES TO BE LAWFUL AND UNDOUBTED KING OF ALL THE KINGDOMS OF ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, AND IRELAND, AND I WILL BEAR TRUE FAITH AND ALLEGIANCE TO HIS HIGHNESS DURING MY LIFE.[30]

29. IBID., PP. 9-10. 30. IBID., P. 10.

THIS BRINGS US SQUARELY TO CORE OF THE DILEMMA DISCUSSED IN THE OPENING PAGES OF THIS CHAPTER. TALBOT'S POSITION WAS PERFECTLY ACCEPTABLE AS LONG AS THE ROMAN CHURCH (TO WHOM HE SHOWS DEFERENCE IN ALL SUCH MATTERS) WAS SATISFIED WITH TALBOT'S SOVEREIGN, BUT HE HAD LEFT THE WAY OPEN FOR THE CHURCH TO ABSOLVE HIM FROM HIS TEMPORAL ALLEGIANCE TO JAMES IF DEPOSITION OF THE KING SHOULD, BY PAPAL DECREE, FOR EXAMPLE BECOME A MATTER OF FAITH. BACON POINTS OUT THE FLAW IN TALBOT'S ARGUMENT, SAYING, "A MAN'S ALLEGIANCE MUST BE INDEPENDENT AND CERTAIN, AND NOT DEPENDENT AND CONDITIONAL."[31] TO COMPLETE HIS ARGUMENT, BACON APPLIES THE REDUCTIO AD ABSURDUM TO TALBOT'S POSITION:

> IF A MAN SHOULD ASK MR. TALBOT WHETHER HE DO CONDEMN MURTHER, OR ADULTERY, OR RAPE, OR THE DOCTRINE OF MAHOMET, OR OF ARIUS, INSTEAD OF ZUARIUS; MUST THE ANSWER BE WITH THIS EXCEPTION, THAT IF THE QUESTION CONCERN MATTER OF FAITH (AS NO QUESTION IT DOTH, FOR THE MORAL LAW IS MATTER OF FAITH), THAT THEREIN HE WILL SUBMIT HIMSELF TO WHAT THE CHURCH SHALL DETERMINE?[32]

BACON'S ARGUMENT MADE GOOD SENSE TO THE PROTESTANT COURT, AND TALBOT WAS FINED HEAVILY. HE DID NOT, HOWEVER, HAVE TO PAY THE FINE, AND HE WAS ALLOWED TO RETURN TO IRELAND WITH HIS COUNTRYMEN.[33]

IT IS NOT POSSIBLE TO KNOW AT WHAT LENGTH BACON

31. IBID., P. 11.

32. IBID., P. 12.

33. IBID.

PERUSED JESUIT STATECRAFT, BUT WE SEE IN THIS CHARGE AGAINST TALBOT HOW HE ALWAYS RESPONDED TO ANY THEORY OF STATE WHICH MADE ALLEGIANCE TO ONE'S SOVEREIGN CONDITIONAL. CHARACTERISTICALLY HE PARES SUCH A NOTION TO ITS EFFICIENT RATHER THAN ITS FINAL CAUSE AND TESTS, ABOVE ALL ELSE, THE MOST DANGEROUS IMPLICATIONS OF IT. REFLECTION ON HIS TREATMENT OF SUAREZ'S THESES WILL BE SUFFICIENT TO DEMONSTRATE HIS TECHNIQUE. ALMOST ALL OF THE THEORIES OF SUAREZ TO WHICH BACON REFERS ARE CONTAINED IN THE IMPORTANT FOURTH CHAPTER OF THE JESUIT'S DEFENSIO FIDEI CATHOLICAE (1613),[34] WRITTEN AT THE INSTIGATION OF PAUL V IN RESPONSE TO JAMES' DEFENSE OF THE OATH. (JAMES THOUGHT THE WORK ADMIRABLY SUITED FOR BURNING. SEE NOTE 24, PAGE 220.) IN READING THE DEFENSIO ONE IS IMMEDIATELY STRUCK BY THE SIMILARITY BETWEEN THE JESUIT'S AND BACON'S IDEAS OF THE STATE. AS SCOTT SAYS,[35] SUAREZ WAS AN ELEGANT CHAMPION OF THE INVIOLABILITY OF THE SOVEREIGN OFFICE; CLEARLY THERE IS IN HIS MIND NO HIGHER TEMPORAL BLESSING THAN UNCONDITIONAL CIVIL-OBEDIENCE. YET, HE DID SUBSCRIBE ULTIMATELY TO THE NOTION THAT THE POPE COULD DEPOSE A RULER, AND HE DID ADMIT THAT THERE WERE RARE OCCASIONS WHEN THE PEOPLE THEMSELVES COULD JUSTLY DEPOSE THEIR SOVEREIGNS. GRANTING THAT THE POPE COULD

34. SELECTIONS FROM THREE WORKS OF FRANCISCO SUAREZ, VOL. II.

35. IBID. THIS IS A MAJOR THESIS OF SCOTT'S "INTRODUCTION," PP. LA- 40A.

DEPOSE A RULER, SQUAREZ REASONED WITH HIS FELLOW JESUITS THAT THE PONTIFF COULD FIND A MEANS TO MAKE HIS DEPOSITION A FACT; HE COULD, THAT IS, DELEGATE SOMEONE (A KING, GROUP, OR INDIVIDUAL) TO CARRY OUT HIS EDICT, EVEN IF THIS MEANT HAVING THE RULER MURDERED.[36] THE AWESOME AND INCOMPREHENSIBLY DANGEROUS DEVOLUTION OF AUTHORITY WHICH BACON SPEAKS OF HAS REFERENCE TO THIS DELEGATION OF AUTHORITY, WHICH SUAREZ TAKES CONSIDERABLE CARE TO DELIMIT IN THE DEFENSIO. BUT ONE COULD NOT, IN SUAREZ'S VIEW, TAKE IT UPON HIMSELF AS AN INDIVIDUAL TO DEPOSE A RULER--UNDER ANY CIRCUMSTANCES. AN INDIVIDUAL ACTED AS A REPRESENTATIVE OF THE POPE OR OF THE COMMUNITY. SUAREZ BY NO MEANS PUTS KINGS' TITLES "UPON THE FANCY OF EVERY PRIVATE MAN." IN FACT, SPEAKING OF THE THEORY THAT A KING WHO IS RULING TYRANNICALLY MAY BE SLAIN BY AN INDIVIDUAL, HE SAYS:

> THE FIRST OF THESE GROUNDS IS ALTOGETHER FALSE AND HERETICAL, BECAUSE THE POWER OF AVENGING OR PUNISHING OFFENCES RESIDES, NOT IN PRIVATE INDIVIDUALS, BUT IN THEIR SUPERIOR OR IN THE WHOLE OF A PERFECT COMMUNITY; CONSEQUENTLY, A PRIVATE PERSON WHO ON THAT GROUND SLAYS HIS PRINCE, USURPS A JURISDICTION AND POWER WHICH HE DOES NOT RIGHTFULLY POSSESS; AND THEREFORE, HE SINS AGAINST JUSTICE.[37]

WHAT BACON DOES IN HIS REVIEW OF SUAREZ'S TRACT IS TO DELETE THE BODY OF THE JESUIT'S QUALIFICATIONS OF THE ACT

36. SEE ESPECIALLY THE DEFENSIO, IBID., PP. 716-21.

37. IBID., P. 708.

OF DEPOSITION--THE NECESSARY AND VERY STRINGENT CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH A PEOPLE MIGHT BE CALLED UPON TO DETHRONE THEIR SOVEREIGN. BUT BACON'S MOTIVES ARE THOROUGHLY UNDERSTANDABLE, FOR NOT ALL CATHOLICS COULD BE EXPECTED TO BE AS ENLIGHTENED AND PROVISIONAL AS SUAREZ. ONCE IT HAD BEEN GRANTED THAT EITHER THE POPE OR THE PEOPLE MIGHT DEPOSE A RULER, IT MADE NO DIFFERENCE UNDER WHAT CONDITIONS THIS DEPOSITION MIGHT BE EFFECTED--FOR NO CONDITIONS OF ANY KIND COULD BE ACCEPTABLE TO JAMES. ONE INDIVIDUAL WHO WAS CONVINCED THAT HE HAD THE COMMISSION OF ROME OR OF THE COMMUNITY--WHETHER HE HAD IT OR NOT--WOULD BE SUFFICIENT TO END JAMES' LIFE. UNDER THE CIRCUMSTANCES BACON SAID WHAT HAD TO BE SAID.

A COMPANION PIECE TO THIS WORK, THE LAST TO CONCERN US IN THIS CHAPTER, IS, IN SPEDDING'S JUDGMENT, THE FINEST EXAMPLE OF BACON'S ORATORY,[38] AND I AM PLEASED THAT IT SHOULD BE RELEVANT TO THIS STUDY. THE CIRCUMSTANCES GIVING OCCASION TO THE SPEECH ARE SIMILAR TO THOSE IN THE CHARGE AGAINST TALBOT. THIS TIME THE CHARGE IS BROUGHT AGAINST A JOHN OWEN, ACCUSED OF ADVOCATING THE MORALITY AND LEGALITY

38. IT WAS BACON'S CUSTOM TO DELIVER HIS SPEECHES FROM NOTES RATHER THAN FROM PREPARED MANUSCRIPTS. CONSEQUENTLY IN THOSE CASES IN WHICH HE DID NOT TAKE PAINS TO HAVE HIS SPEECHES COPIED, ONLY FRAGMENTS REMAIN, USUALLY THOSE PROVIDED BY COURT RECORDERS, WHO FREQUENTLY COPIED ONLY PARTS OF SPEECHES. IN THIS PARTICULAR CASE, PART OF BACON'S SPEECH IS MISSING, BUT THERE ARE TWO VERSIONS OF THE EXTANT SECTION, A ROUGH DRAFT AND AN EXPANDED VERSION. IT IS NOT KNOWN IF BACON REVISED THE SPEECH

OF MURDERING EXCOMMUNICATED KINGS AND OF SUBSCRIBING TO OTHER CATHOLIC DOCTRINES WHICH THE GOVERNMENT THOUGHT SEDITIOUS. THE CHARGE WAS DELIVERED IN 1615, AND WE SHALL OBSERVE THAT BACON HAD NOT FORGOTTEN WHAT HE HAD SAID MORE THAN A YEAR BEFORE.

BACON'S OBJECT IN THIS SPEECH IS NOT SO MUCH TO CONVICT OWEN AS IT IS TO DEMONSTRATE WHAT THE ACCUSED REPRESENTS IN THE FIELD OF CATHOLIC CONSPIRACY, FOR, HE SAYS, "HIGH TREASON. . . IS NOT WRITTEN IN ICE, THAT WHEN THE BODY MELTETH AND RELENTETH THE IMPRESSION GOETH AWAY; . . ."[39] OWEN HIMSELF IS A NONENTITY, "A PERSON BUT CONTEMPTIBLE, A HANG-BY OF THE SEMINARIES, A KIND OF VENOMOUS FLY THAT ONE WOULD THINK SHOULD RATHER BUZZ THAN STING."[40] EQUALLY CONTEMPTIBLE ARE THE PHILOSOPHICAL PREMISES UPON WHICH OWEN'S TREACHERY IS BASED. BACON WILL NOT EVEN CONDESCEND TO ARGUE THEIR VALIDITY:

> THE THIRD POINT THAT I WILL SPEAK TO IS THE DOCTRINE OR OPINION WHICH IS THE GROUND OF THIS TREASON; WHEREIN I WILL NOT ARGUE NOR SPEAK LIKE A DIVINE OR SCHOLAR (I AM SCHOLAR ENOUGH TO KNOW THE DISADVANTAGE), BUT AS A MAN BRED IN CIVIL LIFE; NAY I WILL NEVER GIVE TO THAT OPINION THAT HONOUR AS TO CONFUTE IT. FOR HOWSOEVER (AS IT IS IN ITSELF A SCARLET AND PURPLE AND BLOODY OPINION) IT HATH GOT THE CREDIT OF SOME

AFTER HE DELIVERED IT OR BEFORE, BUT THE REVISIONS OFFER AN EXCELLENT EXAMPLE OF HOW BACON REVISED HIS SPEECHES TO MAKE THEM MORE EFFECTIVE.

39. WORKS, XII, 160. 40. IBID.

> SCARLET AND PURPLE AND BLOODY DEFENDERS, POPES AND CARDINALS, YET I FOR MY PART WILL NEVER SPEAK OF IT BUT AS OF AN IMPIETY THAT DESERVETH DETESTATION AND NOT CONTESTATION.[41]

WHEN HE RETURNS TO THIS THIRD POINT (SPECIFICALLY THE "EXCOMMUNICATION OF THE POPE WITH A SENTENCE OF DEPOSING") BACON CALLS UPON THE WHOLE OF CHRISTENDOM TO CONDEMN THE THEORY AS AN UNHOLY OFFENCE AGAINST CIVILIZATION ITSELF:

> NAY (I SPEAK IT IN THE PRESENCE OF GOD) I THINK IT DESERVETH RATHER SOME HOLY LEAGUE AMONGST ALL CHRISTIAN PRINCES OF EITHER RELIGION, PAPIST AND PROTESTANTS, FOR THE EXTIRPING AND RAZING OF THIS OPINION AND THE AUTHORS THEREOF FROM THE FACE OF THE EARTH, AS THE COMMON ENEMIES OF MANKIND, THAN THE STYLE OF PEN OR SPEECH. THEREFORE IN THIS KIND I WILL SPEAK TO IT IN A FEW WORDS AND NOT OTHERWISE: AND I PROTEST IF I WERE A PAPIST (AS I HOPE I SHALL SOONER TO MY GRAVE THAN TO THAT CHURCH) I THINK I SHOULD SPEAK AS MUCH. NAY I SHOULD SPEAK IT WITH MORE INDIGNATION AND FEELING: FOR THIS HORRIBLE OPINION IS OUR ADVANTAGE, AND IT IS THEIR REPROACH, AND WILL IN THE END BE THEIR RUIN.[42]

BACON CONTINUES BY SPEAKING HEATEDLY OF THE INIMITABLE CLEMENCY WHICH THE KING HAS SHOWN TO THE CATHOLICS. IN SPITE OF CONSTANT PROVOCATION, HE SAYS, THE KING HAS REMAINED MERCIFUL. THE POWDER-TREASON ITSELF, "WHEREBY THE KING AND KINGDOM. . . SHOULD HAVE BEEN AT ONCE, AS BY A PARTICULAR DOOMS-DAY, DESTROYED BY FIRE," WAS SUFFICIENT REASON FOR JAMES TO HAVE TURNED "JUDGMENT INTO FURY." AND WHAT ARE WE TO THINK, HE CONTINUES, OF THE MULTIPLICATION OF PAPISTS WITHIN THE REALM? "THEY GROW IN NUMBER, AND

41. IBID., P. 161.

42. IBID., P. 165.

THEY GROW IN BOLDNESS AND PRESUMPTION, MASSING IN EVERY CORNER; THE PRISONS HAVE BEEN MADE AS ORATORIES AND CHANTRIES; WHOLE STREETS OF PAPISTS (AS I HEAR), AND WHOLE TRACTS AND TERRITORIES OF THEM IN SOME COUNTIES OF THIS KINGDOM."[43]

AND THEN THERE IS THE SOMBER SPECTACLE OF JESUIT LITERATURE:

> THESE BOOKS NO DOUBT COME TO THE KING'S HANDS; HE READS THEM; IN HIS GREAT WISDOM HE SEETH WHERETO THEY TEND, NAMELY TO SOUR THE LUMP OF ALL PAPISTS IN THEIR LOYALTY, AND TO MAKE KINGDOMS THE POPE'S FOOTSTOOLS, OR PERHAPS TO MAKE DUO LUMINARIA MAGNA, THE POPE AND THE KING OF SPAIN.[44]

YET THE KING REMAINS MERCIFUL, PERMITS "SWARMS OF PRIESTS" TO INFEST HIS LAND AND "RATHER BEARS THE SWORD THAN DRAWS IT." IT IS REMARKABLE, BACON CONTINUES, THAT IN HIS EIGHT YEARS AS SOLICITOR AND ATTORNEY THIS IS THE FIRST TIME HE HAS BEEN CALLED TO GIVE EVIDENCE AGAINST A TRAITOR. IT IS A "STRANGE THING,--BLOODY OPINIONS, BLOODY DOCTRINES, BLOODY EXAMPLES, AND YET THE GOVERNMENT SCARCE SPRINKLED WITH THE BLOOD OF ANY OFFENDERS OF THIS NATURE."[45]

TO WHAT CAN HE COMPARE THIS DESPICABLE THEORY OF THE OVERTHROW OF MONARCHS? BACON ASKS. TO WHAT CAN HE COMPARE THE GREED OF ROME? PERHAPS THE ANABAPTISTS CAN BE CALLED UPON ONCE MORE, BUT EVEN THEY ARE INSUFFICIENT TO THE TASK:

> THE ANABAPTISTS, IT IS TRUE, COME NEAREST. FOR THEY PROFESS THE PULLING DOWN OF MAGISTRATES, AND THE MONARCHY OF THEM THAT ARE INSPIRED; AND

43. IBID., P. 162. 44. IBID. 45. IBID., P. 163.

> THEY CAN CHAUNT THE PSALM TO BIND THEIR KINGS IN CHAINS AND THEIR NOBLES IN FETTERS OF IRON. . . BUT IT IS TRUE, HERE IS THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE ANABAPTISTS AND THE CONSISTORY OF ROME, THAT THE ONE IS A FURIOUS AND FANATICAL FOLLY AND THE OTHER IS A SAD AND MEDITATED TYRANNY. THE ONE IMAGINES MISCHIEF AS A VAIN THING, AND THE OTHER IMAGINES MISCHIEF AS A LAW.[46]

BACON ALSO EXPLORES THE FUNDAMENTAL DANGERS BEHIND ANY THEORY WHICH SANCTIONS THE OVERTHROW OF MONARCHS, STRESSING THE POINT THAT NOTHING NEW IS INVOLVED IN ENGLAND'S DEFENSE OF HER SOVEREIGN. SINCE THE TIME OF EDWARD III, HE SAYS, "ADHERING TO THE KING'S ENEMIES, OR LEVYING WAR AGAINST THE KING" HAS BEEN THE "CAPITAL OF CAPITALS." ANY THEOLOGICAL SUBTLETIES ENGENDERED BY THE ORGANS OF ROME HAVE NO MEANING IN THEIR APPLICATION TO THE CIVIL GOVERNMENT OF ENGLAND. IF A KING IS SUBJECT TO THE WHIMS OF CATHOLICISM, HE IS LIKENED TO A "MAN SITTING RICHLY ROBED AT TABLE, DELICATELY SERVED, SOLEMNLY ATTENDED, AND A SWORD OVER HIS HEAD HANGING BY A SMALL THREAD."[47] ADDITIONALLY, THE PROPAGATION OF SUCH THEORIES PROVIDES MEN NATURALLY INCLINED TO FACTION WITH A CONSTANT SOURCE OF INSPIRATION AND GUIDANCE FOR THEIR APPALLING DESIRES. COMMONLY "CONSPIRACIES HAVE THEIR PERIODS"; THEY DIE WITH THE PASSING OF TIME, BUT THESE IDEAS PRODUCE A "PERPETUITY OF CONSPIRACIES." SLANDER IS BROUGHT UPON THE CHRISTIAN FAITH, GOVERNMENTS ARE SUBVERTED, AND IN PROTESTANT

46. IBID., PP. 166-67.

47. IBID., P. 164.

COUNTRIES--FORCED INTO DEFENSIVE POSTURES--THE PAPISTS THEMSELVES ARE BROUGHT TO GREAT CALAMITIES.

THE CHARGE AGAINST OWEN[48] IS A VERY STIRRING SPEECH WHOSE RHETORIC IN NO WAY DIMINISHES BACON'S OBVIOUS SINCERITY. THE CATHOLICS COULD ACCUSE HIM OF TAKING THE SHORT VIEW OF LIFE, OF FORGETTING THAT ALL MEN ARE THE CHILDREN OF ONE GOD AND THEREFORE OBLIGED TO WORSHIP HIM WITH ONE FAITH, BUT IN HIS MIND THE PRICE OF THIS KIND OF UNITY WAS FAR TOO HIGH TO PAY. THE SPIRITUAL LIFE OF A NATION IS AN ORGANIC PART OF ITS CIVIL LIFE AND IT CAN UNDER NO CIRCUMSTANCES BE DICTATED BY A FOREIGN POWER.

AS I SAID IN THE BEGINNING, MY DESIRE IN THIS CHAPTER HAS BEEN TO EXHIBIT BACON AT WORK IN HIS PROFESSION. THERE ARE ONE OR TWO OTHER RELEVANT WORKS WHICH MIGHT HAVE BEEN INCLUDED, BUT THESE GIVE THE FULL RANGE OF HIS RHETORIC AND EMOTION. ALTHOUGH BACON'S VIEW OF PURITANISM REMAINS PARTIALLY UNDEFINED, IT IS POSSIBLE TO BE BRAZENLY CONFIDENT IN OUR EVALUATION OF HIS VIEWS OF CATHOLICISM. HE CAN BE A TENDER FRIEND TO AN INDIVIDUAL CATHOLIC, AND HE CAN ALMOST ADMIT THAT UNDER THE WILDEST OF CIRCUMSTANCES HE MIGHT HIMSELF BE A CATHOLIC; BUT FOR THE ORGANIZATION ITSELF, FOR

48. THE "VENOMOUS FLY," THOUGH CONVICTED OF HIGH TREASON, WAS NOT EXECUTED BY THE KING. HE REMAINED IN PRISON FOR THREE YEARS AND WAS THEN PARDONED, ON THE CONDITION THAT HE LEAVE THE COUNTRY. WORKS, XII, 168.

ITS MANY TENTACLES WHICH FEEL THEIR WAY ACROSS SOVEREIGN BORDERS, HE HAS ONLY DISTRUST, SUSPICION, AND--I BELIEVE--MORE THAN A LITTLE HATE. WHAT HE FELT ABOUT THE RIGHT OF PROTESTANTS TO INVADE CATHOLIC LANDS AND ABOUT THE RIGHT OF A UNITED CHRISTENDOM TO INVADE THE LAND OF THE INFIDEL, I SHALL HOPE TO ANSWER IN THE NEXT CHAPTER.

CHAPTER VII

THE DIVINE IN ARMOR

CHRISTIANS WHO HAVE SHOULDERED THEIR WEAPONS AND MARCHED OFF TO CONDUCT BLOODY WARS IN THE NAME OF THE PRINCE OF PEACE HAVE CUSTOMARILY FELT THE NEED TO JUSTIFY THEIR ACTS, AND ALTHOUGH THEY NO LONGER GO TO WAR ON STRICTLY RELIGIOUS GROUNDS, THEY STILL TAKE CONSIDERABLE COMFORT FROM THE CONVICTION THAT GOD IS ON THEIR SIDE. BACON LIVED IN AN AGE IN WHICH THE THEORY THAT A MAN'S LIFE COULD BE TAKEN TO SAVE HIS SOUL STILL HAD CONSIDERABLE CURRENCY, AMONG CATHOLICS AND PROTESTANTS ALIKE. UNFORTUNATELY HE LEFT NO COMPREHENSIVE ESSAY ON THE MORALITY OF RELIGIOUS WARS, BUT THE FRAGMENTS HE DID LEAVE, PARTICULARLY IN HIS CONSIDERATIONS TOUCHING A WAR WITH SPAIN (1624) AND HIS ADVERTISEMENT TOUCHING AN HOLY WAR (1622), GIVE US A FAIR INDICATION OF HIS TOTAL VIEW. THESE WORKS, SUPPLEMENTED WITH RELEVANT REFLECTIONS IN OTHER LITERARY AND OCCASIONAL PIECES, WILL BE THE MAJOR CONCERN OF THIS CHAPTER.

IT HARDLY NEEDS SAYING THAT AT HEART BACON WAS A PEACEABLE MAN, ONE DEVOTED TO THE PRINCIPLE THAT INDIVIDUALS AND NATIONS MUST LIVE IN HARMONY IF THE IMPORTANT WORK OF LIFE MIGHT PROCEED. IN THE NEW ATLANTIS, WHICH SHOULD NEVER BE

TAKEN LIGHTLY AS A CLUE TO BACON'S IDEA OF EMPIRE, THE BENSALEMITES LIVE IN CONSUMMATE ISOLATION. THEY SEND OUT THEIR CULTURAL SPIES TO GLEAN THE BEST THAT IS BEING SAID AND DONE IN THE WORLD, BUT THEY HAVE NO PLAN TO RISE IN ARMS ONE DAY TO ERADICATE UNIVERSAL STUPIDITY AND WASTE, MUCH LESS TO SPREAD THEIR FAITH. THEY ARE A QUIESCENT FOLK WHO ARE COMPLETELY SATISFIED TO REMAIN APART FROM THE MAIN-CURRENTS OF CIVILIZATION, CURRENTS WHICH ARE REALLY GOING NOWHERE ANYWAY. BUT BACON, WHEN HE VIEWED CONTEMPORARY LIFE AND THOUGHT ABOUT THE PAST, WAS INFLUENCED BY THE SOBER FACT THAT A NATION AT REST, A NATION LUXURIATING IN ITS OWN SELF-SUFFICIENCY, WOULD SOON PERISH. THE WHOLE COURSE OF HISTORY HAD TAUGHT HIM THAT, AND HE WAS NOT ONE TO FORGET THE LESSONS OF HISTORY.

BACON'S ESSAY "OF THE TRUE GREATNESS OF KINGDOMS AND ESTATES," DRAWN FROM MANY CORNERS OF HIS OTHER WORKS, WILL SERVE AS A USEFUL INTRODUCTION TO HIS TWO MAJOR TRACTS ON WAR. IT IS ESPECIALLY IMPORTANT TO OBSERVE IN THIS ESSAY THAT IT IS THE COMMON MAN, THE MEMBER OF THE SWELLING AND TURBULENT MOB, IN WHOSE HANDS THE DESTINY OF A NATION RESTS IN A TIME OF CRISIS. NEITHER TERRITORY, NOR WEALTH, NOR POPULATION IS THE TRUE MEASURE OF A KINGDOM'S MILITARY GREATNESS. IT IS THE ACTUAL COURAGE OF INDIVIDUAL WARRIORS WHICH DETERMINES THE OUTCOME OF A BATTLE:

> WALLED TOWNS, STORED ARSENALS AND ARMORIES, GOODLY RACES OF HORSE, CHARIOTS OF WAR, ELEPHANTS, ORDNANCE, ARTILLERY, AND THE LIKE; ALL THIS IS BUT A SHEEP IN A LION'S SKIN, EXCEPT THE BREED AND DISPOSITION OF THE PEOPLE BE WARLIKE. NAY, NUMBER (ITSELF) IN ARMIES IMPORTETH NOT MUCH, WHERE THE PEOPLE IS OF WEAK COURAGE; FOR (AS VIRGIL SAITH) IT NEVER TROUBLES A WOLF HOW MANY THE SHEEP BE.

A PRINCE, BACON CONTINUES, WHO MUST DEPEND UPON MERCENARY FORCES MAY WIN A SINGLE BATTLE, BUT HIS VICTORY WILL BE BUILT UPON A TEMPORARY FOUNDATION.

IN KEEPING WITH HIS DEDICATION TO THE STRATIFIED SOCIETY, BACON REFLECTS ON THE WISDOM OF HENRY VII, WHO TOOK GREAT CARE THAT THE COMMON PEOPLE MIGHT LIVE IN RELATIVE COMFORT AND RETAIN THEIR ALL-IMPORTANT SELF-RESPECT. THIS IS AN IMPORTANT ATTITUDE, HE SAYS, FOR MEN MUST FEEL THAT THEY POSSESS SOMETHING BEFORE THEY WILL FIGHT EFFECTIVELY FOR THEIR COUNTRIES. ADDITIONALLY, ONCE A NATION HAS SUBDUED AN ENEMY, IT MUST BE LIBERAL TOWARD NATURALIZATION, FOR IF A TERRITORY IS MERELY OCCUPIED, IT WILL REMAIN A BURDEN TO THE VICTORS. SPAIN, THOUGH REMISS IN NATURALIZATION, EMPLOYS "ALMOST INDIFFERENTLY ALL NATIONS IN THEIR MILITIA OF ORDINARY SOLDIERS; YEA AND SOMETIMES IN THEIR HIGHEST COMMANDS." IN OTHER WORDS, BACON'S ADVICE IS THAT BY ONE MEANS OR ANOTHER MEN MUST BE CONVINCED THAT THEY HAVE SOMETHING TO GAIN BY LOSING THEIR LIVES, AND THERE IS NOTHING WHICH MEN VALUE MORE THAN THE RIGHT TO CLAIM A REAL IDENTITY IN THE NATIONAL LIFE.

ALTHOUGH BACON HIMSELF COULD HARDLY BE LISTED AMONG THE DEVOTEES OF PHYSICAL PROWESS,[1] HE MAINTAINS THAT THE WARLIKE DISPOSITION IS INTIMATELY CONNECTED WITH THE ACTIVE LIFE: "IT IS CERTAIN, THAT SEDENTARY AND WITHIN-DOOR ARTS, AND DELICATE MANUFACTURES (THAT REQUIRE RATHER THE FINGER THAN THE ARM), HAVE IN THEIR NATURE A CONTRARIETY TO A MILITARY DISPOSITION." IT IS NOT ENOUGH, BACON CONTINUES, TO HAVE AN INTELLECTUAL COMMITMENT TO A STRONG NATIONAL ARMY; A NATION MUST MAKE IT ITS BUSINESS TO CULTIVATE THE MILITARY ARTS, AND, MORE IMPORTANTLY, IT MUST BE READY TO GO TO WAR. IT MUST, IN FACT, BE ALERT TO ANY POSSIBLE PROVOCATIONS:

> FIRST, THEREFORE, LET NATIONS THAT PRETEND TO GREATNESS HAVE THIS; THAT THEY BE SENSIBLE OF WRONGS, EITHER UPON BORDERS, MERCHANTS, OR POLITIC MINISTERS; AND THAT THEY SIT NOT TOO LONG UPON A PROVOCATION. SECONDLY, LET THEM BE PREST AND READY TO GIVE AIDS AND SUCCOURS TO THEIR CONFEDERATES; AS IT EVER WAS WITH THE ROMANS; INSOMUCH, AS IF THE CONFEDERATES HAD LEAGUES DEFENSIVE WITH DIVERS OTHER STATES, AND, UPON INVASION OFFERED, DID IMPLORE THEIR AIDS SEVERALLY, YET THE ROMANS WOULD EVER BE FOREMOST, AND LEAVE IT TO NONE OTHER TO HAVE THE HONOUR.

1. SPEDDING MENTIONS FROM TIME TO TIME THAT BACON SEEMS NEVER TO HAVE CARED MUCH FOR THOSE VIGOROUS SPORTS WHICH EXCITED THE CONTEMPORARY COURTS. HE WAS NOT A HUNTER, NEVER APPEARS TO HAVE CAUGHT A FISH, ETC. IN THE SYLVA SYLVARUM, IN SOME WAYS THE MOST UN-BACONIAN OF THE UN-BACONIAN WORKS, CERTAIN OBSERVATIONS ARE MADE WHICH LEAD ME TO THINK THAT BACON HAD NOT LOOKED CAREFULLY AT THE BEASTS OF THE FIELD. FOR EXAMPLE, HE NOTES THAT THE GESTATION PERIOD OF A COW IS SIX MONTHS, A CALCULATION WHICH ANY FARM BOY KNOWS IS GROSSLY INCORRECT. (SEE WORKS, II, 584.) EVIDENTLY BACON WAS SATISFIED WITH RIGORS OF GARDENING.

FURTHERMORE, HE SAYS, A WAR HAS A TONIC EFFECT ON A NATION, JUST AS EXERCISE DOES ON THE BODY. CIVIL WAR IS A DISEASE, BUT "A FOREIGN WAR [A JUST AND HONORABLE] IS LIKE THE HEAT OF EXERCISE, AND SERVETH TO KEEP THE BODY IN HEALTH."

PROFESSOR DOUGLAS BUSH HAS MADE THE APT COMMENT THAT MORALLY THE ESSAYS ARE "SOMEWHAT OF A JUMBLE,"[2] AND ONE WONDERS IF A JUST AND HONORABLE EXCUSE COULD ALWAYS BE FOUND TO EXERCISE A NATION'S BELLICOSE MUSCLES. PERHAPS BACON'S TWO MAJOR TRACTS ON WAR WILL BRING US CLOSER TO THE FOUNDATION OF HIS CONVICTIONS.

IN SPITE OF THE FACT THAT BACON COMPOSED THE ADVERTISEMENT TOUCHING AN HOLY WAR BEFORE THE CONSIDERATIONS TOUCHING A WAR WITH SPAIN, I WISH TO DISCUSS THE LATTER FIRST, FOR IT REPRESENTS A TRUER PICTURE OF BACON'S REAL ATTITUDE TOWARD SPAIN AND CATHOLICISM. THE ADVERTISEMENT CONCERNS THE POSSIBILITY OF ENGLAND AND SPAIN JOINING HANDS TO WAR AGAINST THE INFIDELS, AN AMORPHOUS UNION WHICH I AM CONVINCED BACON THOUGHT VIRTUALLY FANTASTIC.

THE EVENTS WHICH LED UP TO THE PRODUCTION OF THE CONSIDERATIONS TOUCHING A WAR WITH SPAIN CAN BE STATED BRIEFLY. KING JAMES, WHOM TREVELYAN CALLS "THE MOST THOROUGH-GOING PACIFICIST WHO EVER BORE RULE IN ENGLAND,"[3] HAD BEEN

2. ENGLISH LITERATURE IN THE EARLIER SEVENTEENTH CENTURY (OXFORD UNIV. PRESS, 1945; 1949), P. 186.

3. HISTORY OF ENGLAND, II, 159.

CONSISTENTLY OPPOSED TO OPEN HOSTILITIES WITH SPAIN. AT THE OPENING OF THE THIRTY-YEARS' WAR (1618-48), BOHEMIA AND THE RHENISH PALATINATE HAD BEEN OVERRUN BY AUSTRIAN FORCES (AND LATER BY SPANIARDS FROM THE LOWLANDS). THE DISPOSSESSED PRINCE OF THESE COUNTRIES WAS FREDERICK COUNT PALATINE, JAMES' SON-IN-LAW. IN SPITE OF THE APPARENT WILLINGNESS OF THE ENGLISH TO WAGE A WAR FOR THE RECOVERY OF THESE DOMINIONS, JAMES, IN TREVELYAN'S WORDS, "VAINLY THOUGHT TO EFFECT THEIR RESTORATION BY INGRATIATING HIMSELF YET MORE WITH THEIR [THE PRINCE'S AND HIS FAMILY'S] ENEMIES BY SUBJECTING ENGLISH POLICY MORE THAN EVER TO GONDOMAR THE SPANISH AMBASSADOR, AND FINALLY BY PROPOSING TO MARRY HIS SURVIVING SON CHARLES TO THE SPANISH INFANTS."[4] IN 1623, AS I MENTIONED EARLIER, PRINCE CHARLES AND GEORGE VILLIERS RETURNED FROM SPAIN TO ANNOUNCE THAT THE SPANISH MATCH WOULD NOT BE MADE. PARLIAMENT IMMEDIATELY WENT TO WORK TO DECIDE IF IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE TO LAUNCH A FULL-SCALE WAR AGAINST SPAIN. AT THIS TIME, BACON, NOW BANISHED FROM COURT BUT STILL HOPEFUL OF REGAINING SOME OF HIS LOST FAVOR, COMPOSED A LONG AND HIGHLY FORMAL LETTER TO PRINCE CHARLES IN WHICH HE DISCUSSED THE GENERAL MORALITY OF WAR, THE SPECIFIC REASONS ENGLAND HAD TO ATTACK SPAIN, AND SOME OF THE MEANS WHEREBY A VICTORY MIGHT BE ACHIEVED. IDEAS WHICH HE HAD TO SUPPRESS AS LONG AS JAMES FOLLOWED A PEACEABLE COURSE

4. IBID., P. 163.

FOUND THEIR WAY INTO THIS REMARKABLE ESSAY, BACON'S LAST CONTRIBUTION TO THE POLITICAL AFFAIRS OF HIS DAY.[5]

AFTER DISCARDING "AMBITIOUS PREDATORY WARS" AS UNFITTING TO THE DEMANDS OF HIS PROJECT, BACON DIVIDES WARFARE INTO TWO CATEGORIES--OFFENSIVE AND DEFENSIVE, OR WARS OF "PLAINT" AND WARS OF DEFENSE. IN THE CASE OF WAR AGAINST SPAIN, ONE PLAINT OBTAINS (RECOVERY OF THE PALATINATE), AND THERE ARE TWO JUST GROUNDS OF DEFENSE: "A . . . FEAR OF THE SUBVERSION OF OUR CIVIL ESTATE" AND A "FEAR OF THE SUBVERSION OF OUR RELIGION." IN ELABORATELY LEGALISTIC TERMINOLOGY BACON COMES TO THE CONCLUSION THAT THE PALATINATE, LOST TO THE HANDS OF AN AGGRESSOR, MAY BE JUSTLY RECOVERED; BUT THE MORALITY OF A DEFENSIVE WAR (THAT IS, "AGGRESSIVE DEFENSIVE") IS MUCH MORE DIFFICULT TO ASCERTAIN. ONE MUST, BACON SAYS, BE GUIDED BY THE PRINCIPLE THAT A JUST FEAR INVOLVES IMMINENT DANGER. SUCH THINGS AS "UMBRAGES, LIGHT JEALOUSIES," AND "APPREHENSIONS AFAR OFF" DO NOT CONSTITUTE ADEQUATE GROUNDS FOR A DEFENSIVE WAR.[6]

5. THE MELANCHOLY TONE OF MANY OF BACON'S OCCASIONAL TRACTS COMPOSED AFTER HIS FALL IS FREQUENTLY VERY TOUCHING. I QUOTE FROM A PASSAGE IN THIS WORK: "ALTHOUGH THEREFORE I HAD WHOLLY SEQUESTERED MY THOUGHTS FROM CIVIL AFFAIRS, YET BECAUSE IT IS A NEW CASE AND CONCERNETH MY COUNTRY INFINITELY, I OBTAINED OF MYSELF TO SET DOWN (OUT OF LONG-CONTINUED EXPERIENCE IN BUSINESS OF ESTATE, AND MUCH CONVERSATION IN BOOKS OF POLICY AND HISTORY) WHAT I THOUGHT PERTINENT TO THIS BUSINESS; . . ." (WORKS, XIV, 469.)

6. WORKS, XIV, 475.

THERE ARE, HE CONTINUES, CERTAIN KNOWN ENEMIES OF CHRISTIAN STATES AGAINST WHOM A PRECEDENT FOR WAR ALWAYS EXISTS. THE TURKS, FOR EXAMPLE, POSSESS A FUNDAMENTAL LAW OF EMPIRE "THAT THEY MAY (WITHOUT ANY OTHER PROVOCATION) MAKE WAR UPON CHRISTENDOM FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THEIR LAW; SO THAT THERE LIETH UPON THE CHRISTIANS A PERPETUAL FEAR OF A WAR (HANGING OVER THEIR HEADS) FROM THEM; AND THEREFORE THEY MAY AT ALL TIMES (AS THEY THINK GOOD) BE UPON THE PREVENTION."[7] FURTHERMORE, EVERY NATION HAS THE RIGHT TO ASSUME THAT ITS NEIGHBORS ARE POTENTIAL ENEMIES, THOUGH BACON REJECTS THE NOTION THAT ALL NATIONS ARE POISED READY TO BOUND UPON EACH OTHER. HE IS LIKEWISE OPPOSED TO THE OPINIONS OF "SOME SCHOOLMEN" THAT ALL WARS MUST BE WARS OF REVENGE:

> TO CONCLUDE, THEREFORE; HOWSOEVER SOME SCHOOLMEN (OTHERWISE REVEREND MEN, YET FITTER TO GUIDE PENKNIVES THAN SWORDS) SEEM PRECISELY TO STAND UPON IT, THAT EVERY OFFENSIVE WAR MUST BE ULTIO; A REVENGE, THAT PRESUPPOSETH A PRECEDENT ASSAULT OR INJURY; YET NEITHER DO THEY DESCEND TO THIS POINT (WHICH WE NOW HANDLE) OF A JUST FEAR; NEITHER ARE THEY OF AUTHORITY TO JUDGE THIS QUESTION AGAINST ALL PRECEDENTS OF TIME. FOR CERTAINLY, AS LONG AS MEN ARE MEN (THE SONS, AS THE POETS ALLUDE, OF PROMETHEUS, AND NOT OF EPIMETHEUS) AND AS LONG AS REASON IS REASON, A JUST FEAR WILL BE A JUST CAUSE OF A PREVENTIVE WAR. . . .[8]

7. IBID., PP. 476-77.

8. IBID., P. 477. CF. ST. AUGUSTINE: "I KNOW THE OBJECTION THAT A GOOD RULER WILL WAGE WARS ONLY, IF THEY ARE JUST. BUT, SURELY, IF HE WILL ONLY REMEMBER THAT HE IS A MAN, HE WILL BEGIN BY BEWAILING THE NECESSITY HE IS UNDER OF WAGING EVEN JUST WARS. A GOOD MAN WOULD BE UNDER COMPULSION TO WAGE NO WARS AT ALL, IF THERE WERE NOT SUCH

AGAIN BACON HAS ACCUSED "MONKS AND CLOSET PENMEN" OF DEALING IN MATTERS OUTSIDE THE SPHERE OF THEIR EXPERIENCE, BUT A FEW LINES LATER HE APPLAUDS AQUINAS FOR "DEFINING. . . THE JUST CAUSES OF WAR. . . UPON VERY GENERAL TERMS." AT ANY RATE, HIS OWN OPINION IS THAT "A JUST FEAR IS A JUST CAUSE OF A WAR."[9] HE HAS NO DIFFICULTY, ONCE THIS PREMISE IS ESTABLISHED, IN DEMONSTRATING THAT SPAIN IS INDEED A GENUINE THREAT TO THE ENGLISH NATION: HE SIMPLY REVIEWS SUCH EVENTS AS THE "CONQUEST OF '88."

ONCE THE PROPOSITION HAS BEEN ESTABLISHED THAT SPAIN IS A CIVIL THREAT, IT IS A FORGONE CONCLUSION THAT THERE IS A JUST FEAR THAT THE CHURCH AND RELIGION OF ENGLAND MAY BE OVERTHROWN. THIS IS A FEAR, BACON SAYS, WHICH "NEEDETH LITTLE SPEECH." HE DOES, HOWEVER, TOUCH BRIEFLY ON THE MORALITY OF AGGRESSIVE WARS CONDUCTED FOR RELIGIOUS ENDS:

> OF AN OFFENSIVE WAR THERE IS MORE DISPUTE. AND YET IN THAT INSTANCE OF THE WAR FOR THE HOLY LAND AND SEPULCHRE, I DO WONDER SOMETIMES THAT THE SCHOOLMEN WANT WORDS TO DEFEND THAT, WHICH S. BERNARD WANTED WORDS TO COMMEND. BUT I, THAT IN THIS LITTLE EXTRACT OF A TREATISE DO OMIT THINGS NECESSARY, AM NOT TO HANDLE THINGS UNNECESSARY.[10]

THINGS AS JUST WARS. A JUST WAR, MOREOVER, IS JUSTIFIED ONLY BY THE INJUSTICE OF AN AGGRESSOR; AND THAT INJUSTICE OUGHT TO BE A SOURCE OF GRIEF TO ANY GOOD MAN, BECAUSE IT IS HUMAN INJUSTICE. IT WOULD BE DEPLORABLE IN ITSELF, APART FROM BEING A SOURCE OF CONFLICT." CITY OF GOD, XIX, 7. (FROM THE TRANSLATION BY WALSH, ZEMA, MONAHAN, AND HONAN; PUB. BY THE FATHERS OF THE CHURCH INC., NEW YORK, 1950, 3 VOLS.)

9. WORKS, XIV, P. 478.

10. IBID., PP. 481-82.

ONE MORE NECESSARY THING REMAINS TO BE SAID ABOUT THE SPANISH CATHOLICS, HE CONCLUDES, THE FACT THAT THEY, UNLIKE OTHER CATHOLIC STATES, TAKE IT UPON THEMSELVES "TO INTERMEDDLE WITH FOREIGN STATES, AND TO DECLARE THEMSELVES PROTECTORS GENERAL OF THE PARTY OF CATHOLICS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD."

FOLLOWING THESE COMMENTS, SEVERAL PAGES OF THE TRACT ARE DEVOTED TO A GENERAL ANALYSIS OF THE RELATIVE MIGHT OF THE ENGLISH AND SPANISH NATIONS, AN EXPOSITION WHICH NEED NOT CONCERN US. HOWEVER IT IS INTERESTING TO OBSERVE THAT BACON--AS USUAL--ANNOUNCES THAT HE WILL NOT ATTEMPT TO ADJUDGE WHAT ROLE GOD MIGHT PLAY IN THE BALANCE OF POWER: "I SAID, SPAIN WAS NO SUCH GIANT; AND YET IF HE WERE A GIANT, IT WILL BE BUT AS IT WAS BETWEEN DAVID AND GOLIAH; FOR GOD IS ON OUR SIDE. BUT TO LEAVE ALL ARGUMENTS THAT ARE SUPERNATURAL. . . ."[11] NOR WILL HE GIVE DAME FORTUNE ANY CREDIT FOR THE MANY VICTORIES WHICH HIS COUNTRYMEN HAVE WON OVER THE SPANISH: "IT IS NOT FORTUNE SURE; SHE IS NOT SO CONSTANT."[12]

IN THE LAST DIVISION OF THE ESSAY BACON PRESENTS A BRIEF LIST OF THE MEANS WHICH MIGHT BE EMPLOYED TO DEFEAT SPAIN, TO KNOCK DOWN THE FOUR PILLARS OF HER GREATNESS, WHICH ARE A "VETERAN ARMY," A "PROFESSION OF CATHOLICS IN

11. IBID., P. 482. 12. IBID., P. 483.

ALL PARTS," THE "TREASURE OF THE INDIES," AND THE "STRAIGHT ALLIANCE OF THE HOUSE OF AUSTRIA, WHICH IS POSSESSED OF THE EMPIRE."[13] TO KNOCK DOWN THE PILLAR OF CATHOLICISM, BACON PROPOSES "FOUR EXPEDIENTS." IN THE FIRST PLACE HE COUNSELS THAT MEANS BE FOUND TO PUBLISH THE HYPOCRISY OF SPAIN TO THE REST OF THE CATHOLIC AND PROTESTANT WORLD. IN PARTICULAR, IT IS TO BE ANNOUNCED THAT SPAIN SAILS "THE POINT OF THE COMPASS OF AMBITION AND NOT OF RELIGION"; IT IS TO BE ANNOUNCED THAT THE SPANISH EMPEROR CHARLES V "IMPRISONED THE PERSON OF THE POPE[14] MOST ODIOUSLY BY THE SPACE OF THIRTEEN MONTHS"; IT IS TO BE ANNOUNCED THAT "OF LATE THE KING OF SPAIN GAVE MONIES TO THE PROTESTANTS OF FRANCE"; AND FOR GOOD MEASURE "OTHER PROCEEDINGS OF SPAIN AS MAY BE COLLECTED" ARE TO BE ADVERTIZED.

IN THE SECOND "EXPEDIENT" BACON SUGGESTS THAT ORDERS BE ENCOURAGED AND ESTABLISHED WHICH MAY COUNTERACT THE PROGRAMS OF THE JESUITS. HE PROPOSES THAT A NEW ORDER BE ESTABLISHED IN FRANCE "LIKE UNTO THAT OF THE JESUITS," BUT THIS ORDER OR ANY OTHER LIKE IT MUST BE GRANTED THE LIBERTIES AND TOOLS POSSESSED BY THE JESUITS. MEMBERS OF THE ORDER MUST NOT BE CLOISTERED MEN; THEY MUST BE AFIELD "FOR THE WINNING OF SOULS"; THEY MUST BE PERMITTED TO EDUCATE

13. IBID., P. 502.

14. CLEMENT VII (MEDICI); HE WAS IMPRISONED IN 1527.

YOUTH AND TO ACT AS CONFESSORS TO THE SICK. THEY MUST ALSO "LISTEN TO MATTERS OF STATE, AND SOME OF THEM LIVE IN THE COURTS OF PRINCES, AND THE LIKE."

THE THIRD EXPEDIENT ALSO CONCERNS THE JESUITS, FOR WHOSE EFFECTIVENESS BACON OBVIOUSLY HAD A GREAT RESPECT. HIS SUGGESTION IS THAT THE POPE BE ENCOURAGED TO "MAKE SOME REGLEMENT OF THE ORDER OF JESUITS." ANY ATTEMPT TO SUPPRESS THE ORDER WOULD MEET WITH "INFINITE DANGER," BUT THE POPE MIGHT REQUIRE THAT "THE LETTERS SENT BY [THE JESUITS] FROM ALL PARTS TO THEIR GENERAL EVER RESIDING AT ROME" BE DELIVERED INTO HIS HANDS "ONCE A MONTH OR OFTENER." REALIZING THAT THE JESUITS ARE HIGHLY ORGANIZED AND LARGELY IDENTIFIED WITH SPAIN, THE POPE MIGHT CONSIDER THE POSSIBILITY THAT THEY CONSTITUTE A THREAT TO THE PAPACY ITSELF.

THE FOURTH EXPEDIENT IS THAT "THE KING OF FRANCE ENDEAVOUR HIMSELF BY ALL GOOD MEANS TO INTEREST HIMSELF IN THE FRIENDSHIP OF THE POPES, AND TO HAVE A STRONG PARTY IN THE COLLEGE OF THE CARDINALS."[15]

IT IS TEMPTING TO WONDER HOW MUCH FAITH BACON HAD IN THESE DEVICES, BUT HE REALIZED THAT A PLAN TO SUBDUE SPAIN COULD NOT BE COMPLETE--OR PERHAPS EVEN MEANINGFUL AT ALL--UNLESS MEANS WERE FOUND TO DISSIPATE THE ENERGY OF SPANISH CATHOLICISM. HE KNEW FROM PERSONAL EXPERIENCE WITH THE

15. THE EXPEDIENTS ARE DISCUSSED PP. 503-505.

JESUITS THAT THEY WOULD NOT BE CONTENT TO HUDDLE IN SOME CORNER OF SPAIN WHILE THEIR HOMELAND WAS BEING GRADUALLY CONVERTED TO PROTESTANTISM, NOR WOULD THEY BE CONTENT TO ACCEPT CATHOLICISM ON PROTESTANT TERMS. IN THE WISDOM OF THE ANCIENTS BACON HAD ALREADY DISCUSSED THE PERPLEXING PROBLEM OF SUPPRESSING A RELIGIOUS SECT WITH VIOLENCE BY RECOUNTING THE FABLE OF DIOMEDES. DIOMEDES, A GREEK WARRIOR, WAS INCITED BY PALLAS NOT TO SPARE VENUS IF HE SHOULD ENCOUNTER HER IN BATTLE, AND IT FOLLOWED THAT HE DID WOUND THE GODDESS IN THE HAND, AN ACT FOR WHICH HE GAINED GREAT FAME. BUT WHILE DIOMEDES WAS BEING ENTERTAINED BY KING DAUNUS, A DISASTER BEFELL THE KING'S DOMAIN, AND THE INFERENCE WAS IMMEDIATELY MADE THAT THE TRAVAILS RESULTED FROM THE KING'S HARBORING ONE WHO HAD INJURED A GODDESS. CONSEQUENTLY DIOMEDES WAS SLAIN, AND HIS COMRADES, WHO BEWAILED HIS DEATH, WERE TURNED INTO SWANS. BACON HAD SAID THAT THE FABLE SIGNIFIED THE "FORTUNES OF A MAN WHO MAKES IT HIS DECLARED OBJECT TO PERSECUTE AND OVERTHROW BY VIOLENCE AND THE SWORD SOME RELIGIOUS WORSHIP OR SECT, THOUGH A VAIN AND LIGHT ONE." IN SPITE OF THE FACT THAT THE ANCIENTS DID NOT HAVE RELIGIOUS WARS, BY "REFLEXION AND IMAGINATION" THEY HAD ANTICIPATED THE PROBLEMS OF SUCH EVENTS. THEY REALIZED THAT ANYONE WHO ATTEMPTED TO "CUT OUT AND EXTERMINATE" A RELIGIOUS SECT BY VIOLENCE, THOUGH HE MIGHT TRIUMPH TEMPORARILY, WOULD EVENTUALLY FEEL THE

WRATH OF THE SUPPRESSED SECT, WHOSE MEMBERS WOULD STAND EVER READY TO JOIN IN ANY CAUSE TO DESTROY HIM.[16] SINCE THE JESUITS WERE BY NO MEANS A "VAIN AND LIGHT" ORDER, BACON APPARENTLY FELT THAT THE ONLY HOPE FOR THEIR SUPPRESSION LAY IN THE POSSIBILITY THAT THEY MIGHT BE CONTAINED WITHIN THE LARGER DISCIPLINE OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH ITSELF. HIS "COUNTER-JESUIT MOVEMENT" SEEMS LARGELY VISIONARY TO ME, AND IT MAY BE THAT HE SIMPLY DID NOT KNOW WHAT TO DO ABOUT THE JESUITS. AS IT TURNED OUT, THE GRAND WAR TOOK THE FORM OF SEVERAL RASH EXPEDITIONS IN WHICH BUCKINGHAM (VILLIERS) "CAST HIMSELF FOR THE PART OF THE PROTESTANT HERO ABROAD."[17]

THERE IS SUFFICIENT EVIDENCE IN THE CONSIDERATIONS TOUCHING A WAR WITH SPAIN TO SUGGEST THAT BACON FELT A FULL-SCALE WAR AGAINST THE SPANISH COULD BE A COMPLETE MILITARY SUCCESS, BUT HE IS MUCH MORE CAUTIOUS ABOUT THE POSSIBILITIES OF A WORKABLE OCCUPATION. THE MORALITY OF SUCH A WAR IS TESTED SOLELY ON THE CIVIL GROUNDS OF A "JUST FEAR" OF AGGRESSION. IN THE ADVERTISEMENT TOUCHING AN HOLY WAR, WRITTEN TWO YEARS EARLIER (1622), WHEN IT APPEARED THAT THE SPANISH MATCH WOULD BE MADE, BACON HAD PROBED THE MORALITY OF RELIGIOUS WARS IN AN ATTEMPT TO FIND SOME COMMON

16. WORKS, VI, 732-34.

17. TREVELYAN, II, 164.

END TOWARD WHICH ENGLAND AND SPAIN MIGHT WORK. APPARENTLY HE FELT THAT THE SPANISH MATCH WOULD BE A FIASCO UNLESS TWO CONFIRMED ENEMIES FOUND A COMMON FOE AGAINST WHOM THEY COULD VENT THEIR CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS FURY. THE HEROIC DIMENSIONS OF SUCH A TASK MAY EXPLAIN WHY BACON CHOSE TO PRESENT HIS ARGUMENT IN THE FORM OF A DIALOGUE (THE ONLY TIME HE USED THE DEVICE).

IT WILL BE NECESSARY, BEFORE PROCEEDING TO THE ARGUMENTS OF THE TRACT, TO INTRODUCE THE DRAMATIS PERSONAE AND TO DESCRIBE WHAT IT IS THEY ARE ATTEMPTING TO DO. THERE ARE SIX CHARACTERS: EUSEBIUS, A "MODERATE DIVINE"; GAMALIEL, A "PROTESTANT ZELANT"; ZEBEDAEUS, A "ROMISH CATHOLIC ZELANT"; MARTIUS, A "MILITAR MAN"; EUPOLIS, A "POLITIQUE"; AND POLLIO, A COURTIER. THEY ARE MET IN PARIS AT THE HOUSE OF EUPOLIS, THE STATESMAN, TO CONSIDER THE LAWFULNESS OF A WAR FOR THE PROPAGATION OF RELIGION, IN PARTICULAR A WAR AGAINST THE TURK. EACH IN HIS OWN TURN IS TO GIVE A POINT OF VIEW ON QUESTIONS PARTICULARLY SUITED TO HIS SKILLS. WITH THE EXCEPTION OF THE PROTESTANT ZEALOT, GAMALIEL, ALL ARE ROMAN CATHOLICS. THE DIALOGUE IS, UNFORTUNATELY, INCOMPLETE, ENDING AFTER A LENGTHY SPEECH BY ZEBEDAEUS, THE CATHOLIC ZEALOT.[18]

18. SPEDDING CONJECTURES THAT BACON CONCLUDED THE TRACT WHEN IT APPEARED THAT THE SPANISH MATCH WOULD NOT BE CONTRACTED. IT WAS FIRST PUBLISHED BY RAWLEY IN 1629. AS IT STANDS, THE TEXT IS A LITTLE OVER NINETEEN PAGES IN LENGTH. IT IS DIFFICULT TO SAY HOW

AS THE SCENE OPENS, ONE IS REMINDED OF THE ATMOSPHERE OF GOOD FELLOWSHIP AT THE TABARD INN, WHERE ALL "WEREN ESED ATTE BESTE." POLLIO, THE COURTIER (AND COMIC RELIEF), ARRIVES LATE AND, IN HIS "WITTY AND PLEASANT MANNER" GREETS THE OTHERS IN THE FANCIFUL LANGUAGE OF THE COURT:

> HERE BE FOUR OF YOU, I THINK WERE ABLE TO MAKE A GOOD WORLD; FOR YOU ARE DIFFERING AS THE FOUR ELEMENTS, AND YET YOU ARE FRIENDS. AS FOR EUPOLIS, BECAUSE HE IS TEMPERATE AND WITHOUT PASSION, HE MAY BE THE FIFTH ESSENCE.

EUPOLIS, WHO HAS ALSO DABBLED WITH THE MUSE, HAS A READY ANSWER FOR THIS:

> IF WE FIVE (POLLIO) MAKE THE GREAT WORLD, YOU ALONE MAY MAKE THE LITTLE; BECAUSE YOU PROFESS AND PRACTICE BOTH, TO REFER ALL THINGS TO YOURSELF.

AFTER ANOTHER BRIEF EXCHANGE, EUPOLIS INVITES POLLIO TO TAKE A SEAT AND PARTICIPATE IN A DISCUSSION--ALREADY UNDER WAY--ABOUT "THE AFFAIRS OF CHRISTENDOM AT THIS DAY." POLLIO AGREES, BUT WARNS THAT SINCE HE HAS "JOURNEYED THIS MORNING, AND IT IS NOW THE HEAT OF DAY," HE IS APT TO FALL ASLEEP UNLESS THE CONVERSATION IS LIVELY.

EUPOLIS SUSPECTS THAT THE CONVERSATION WILL KEEP THE COURTIER AWAKE, FOR TO THIS POINT IT HAS BEEN LED BY MARTIUS (WHO REMINDS EUPOLIS OF A DIVINE IN ARMOR), WHOSE SPEECH SEEMS TO BE THE "TRUMPET OF A WAR." MARTIUS, A KIND OF SUBDUED HOTSPUR, HAS BEEN LAMENTING THE FACT THAT FOR SEVERAL

LONG THE COMPLETED MANUSCRIPT WOULD HAVE BEEN, BUT I SHOULD THINK THAT IT WOULD HAVE EXCEEDED FIFTY PAGES. THE TEXT AND DISCUSSION ARE IN VOL. VII, 1-37.

DECADES CHRISTENDOM HAS BEEN WAGING ONLY THE SHABBIEST OF WARS. THE WARS HAVE BEEN "WITH SUBJECTS; LIKE AN ANGRY SUIT FOR A MAN'S OWN, THAT MOUGHT BE BETTER ENDED BY ACCORD. SOME PETTY ACQUESTS OF A TOWN, OR A SPOT OF TERRITORY; LIKE A FARMER'S PURCHASE OF A CLOSE OR NOOK OF GROUND THAT LAY FIT FOR HIM." MARTIUS REFLECTS ON THE GOOD OLD DAYS WHEN RELIGIOUS WARS WERE MAGNIFICENT, AND HE BEMOANS THE FACT THAT CHRISTIAN WARRING HAS NOT KEPT PACE WITH THE REST OF SOCIETY. MERCHANTS, FOR EXAMPLE, HAVE MADE "A GREAT PATH IN THE SEAS UNTO THE ENDS OF THE WORLD"; STONES, SPICES, AND PEARLS HAVE BEEN GATHERED FROM THE FAR REACHES OF THE GLOBE, BUT FOR "THE STONES OF THE HEAVENLY HIERUSALEM, OR THE SPICES OF THE SPOUSE'S GARDEN, NOT A MAST HATH BEEN SET UP." USING A VARIATION OF BACON'S WARS OF "PLAINT AND DEFENSE," MARTIUS SAYS THAT IN THE LAST FIFTY YEARS CHRISTENDOM HAS CONDUCTED A MERE THREE PIOUS WARS AGAINST THE INFIDELS. HE WILL NOT CONSIDER DEFENSIVE WARS, FOR "WHERE IT IS UPON THE DEFENSIVE, I RECKON IT A WAR OF NATURE, AND NOT OF PIETY."

WHILE RESERVING THE RIGHT TO CLAIM THAT HIS MAJOR GOAL IN PROPOSING A WAR AGAINST THE INFIDELS IS TO PROPAGATE THE TRUE FAITH, MARTIUS GOES ON TO SAY THAT FORMER WARS AGAINST NON-CHRISTIANS HAVE PROVED EXCEEDINGLY LUCRATIVE. THE KINGDOM OF GOD HAS BEEN PLANTED (ADMITTEDLY FOR THE WRONG MOTIVES AT TIMES) IN DISTANT AND VIRGIN LANDS,

AND WEALTH HAS FLOWED IN FROM THEM: "SO AS TO CONCLUDE, WE MAY SEE THAT IN THESE ACTIONS UPON GENTILES OR INFIDELS, ONLY OR CHIEFLY, BOTH THE SPIRITUAL AND TEMPORAL HONOR AND GOOD HAVE BEEN IN ONE PURSUIT AND PURCHASE CONJOINED."

POLLIO (WHO HAS MANAGED TO STAY AWAKE) WONDERS IF A DISTINCTION SHOULD NOT BE MADE BETWEEN SUBDUING "WILD AND SAVAGE PEOPLE," WHO NATURALLY PASS INTO THE POSSESSION OF THE CONQUEROR, AND SUBDUING CIVILIZED PEOPLES. MARTIUS BELIEVES THAT IT IS MOST DIFFICULT TO DETERMINE THE TRUE LINE BETWEEN SAVAGERY AND CIVILITY, BUT THE GENERAL RULE HOLDS THAT ANYTHING DONE "TO THE GREATEST AND MOST GENERAL GOOD OF THE PEOPLE" IS JUSTIFIABLE. ACTUALLY, HE CONTINUES, THE NATIVES OF PERU AND MEXICO POSSESS SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS CUSTOMS FAR SUPERIOR TO THOSE OF THE TURKS:

> SO THAT IF THINGS BE RIGHTLY WEIGHED, THE EMPIRE OF THE TURKS MAY BE TRULY AFFIRMED TO BE MORE BARBAROUS THAN ANY OF THESE. A CRUEL TYRANNY BATHED IN THE BLOOD OF THEIR EMPERORS UPON EVERY SUCCESSION; A HEAP OF VASSALS AND SLAVES; NO NOBLES, NO GENTLEMEN, NO FREEMEN, NO INHERITANCE OF LAND, NO STIRP OF ANCIENT FAMILIES; A PEOPLE THAT IS WITHOUT NATURAL AFFECTION, AND, AS THE SCRIPTURE SAITH, THAT REGARDETH NOT THE DESIRES OF WOMEN: AND WITHOUT PIETY OR CARE TOWARDS THEIR CHILDREN: A NATION WITHOUT MORALITY, WITHOUT LETTERS, ARTS, OR SCIENCES; THAT CAN SCARCE MEASURE AN ACRE OF LAND, OR AN HOUR OF THE DAY; BASE AND SLUTTISH IN BUILDINGS, DIETS, AND THE LIKE; AND IN A WORD, A VERY REPROACH TO HUMAN SOCIETY.

POLLIO THINKS HE HAS SPOTTED A FLAW IN MARTIUS'S ARGUMENT. IS IT NOT TRUE, HE ASKS, THAT IN THIS STRING OF INVECTIVE MARTIUS HAS OVERLOOKED THE FACT THAT THE TURKS ARE BY NO MEANS IDOLATERS; AFTER ALL, THEY DO WORSHIP A CREATOR?

BUT ZEBEDAEUS (THE CATHOLIC ZEALOT), WHO HAS HAD LITTLE TO SAY TO THIS POINT, REPLIES TO THIS MADNESS "WITH A COUNTENANCE OF GREAT REPREHENSION AND SEVERITY," REMINDING POLLIO NOT TO FALL "UNAWARES INTO THE HERESY OF MANUEL COMNENUS, EMPEROR OF GRAECIE [1143-80], WHO AFFIRMED THAT MAHOMET'S GOD WAS THE TRUE GOD," AN OPINION CONDEMNED BY THE CHURCH. MARTIUS CONCLUDES HIS ARGUMENT BY SAYING THAT HE IS CONVINCED A WAR AGAINST THE TURK WOULD BE WORTHIER THAN ONE AGAINST "ANY OTHER GENTILES, INFIDELS, OR SAVAGES, THAT EITHER HAVE BEEN OR NOW ARE, BOTH IN POINT OF RELIGION AND IN POINT OF HONOR. . . ." BUT HE ADMITS THAT HE MAY BE SWAYED BY PERSONAL PREJUDICE AND THEREFORE SUBMITS HIMSELF TO THE JUDGMENT OF THE OTHER MEMBERS OF THE AUGUST BODY.

BEFORE THE FIRST MEETING ADJOURNS, EUPOLIS THINKS IT WILL BE WISE TO DISTRIBUTE SUBJECTS TO BE COVERED TO THOSE BEST QUALIFIED TO HANDLE THEM. ZEBEDAEUS IS GIVEN A QUESTION DEALING DIRECTLY WITH THE MORAL PROBLEMS OF RELIGIOUS WARS. HE IS TO RENDER AN OPINION ON THE JUSTICE OF THE "PROPAGATION OF THE CHRISTIAN FAITH, WITHOUT OTHER CAUSE OF HOSTILITY." GAMALIEL (THE PROTESTANT ZEALOT) IS TO COMMENT ON THE POSSIBILITY THAT CHRISTIANS ARE OBLIGED TO PROPAGATE THE FAITH. EUSEBIUS (THE MODERATE DIVINE) WILL GIVE HIS OPINIONS ON THE MERIT OF THE POSITION THAT CHRISTENDOM MIGHT BETTER CHANNEL ITS ENERGY INTO SETTING ITS OWN HOUSE IN ORDER; POLLIO, WHO WILL NO DOUBT THINK ALL SUGGESTIONS

"IMPOSSIBILITIES AND EAGLES IN THE CLOUDS," CAN STAND READY TO CRUSH ALL ARGUMENTS. THE STATESMAN EUPOLIS WILL BALANCE POLLIO'S SKEPTICISM BY PROVING "THE ENTERPRISE POSSIBLE" (HE REPRESENTS BACON, I THINK, AND IT WILL BE NOTED THAT HE CLAIRVOYANTLY BEGS THE QUESTION); AND MARTIUS WILL ACT AS COUNSEL ON MEANS AND PREPARATIONS. THE DISTRIBUTION COMPLETED, POLLIO MAKES A FEW FACETIOUS REMARKS ABOUT HOLY WARS AND THE PAPACY, AFTER WHICH THE MEETING CLOSES AS EUPOLIS TELLS HIM TO BE "A LITTLE MORE SERIOUS IN THIS CONFERENCE."

ON THE NEXT DAY, HOWEVER, WE LEARN THAT POLLIO IS UNREFORMED: DURING THE NIGHT, HE SAYS, HE HAS BEEN DREAMING THAT THE WAR HAS ALREADY BEGUN--DREAMING OF "NOTHING BUT JANIZARIES AND TARTARS AND SULTANS ALL THE NIGHT LONG." MARTIUS, WHO EARLIER PROMISED TO DEFER HIS JUDGMENT, IS THE FIRST TO GET BACK TO THE BUSINESS AT HAND. HE HAS SPOTTED A FLAW IN EUPOLIS'S DISTRIBUTION OF QUESTIONS. HOW IS IT POSSIBLE, HE ASKS, TO DEBATE THE ADVISABILITY OF THE WAR (QUESTIONS ASSIGNED TO POLLIO AND EUPOLIS) UNTIL IT HAS BEEN DETERMINED THAT THE MEANS ARE AVAILABLE? ALL AGREE THAT HE HAS A POINT, BUT EUPOLIS WANTS TO GET ON WITH THE PROBLEM OF <u>OUGHT</u> AND THEREFORE TELLS ZEBEDAEUS TO PROCEED WITH HIS ARGUMENT.

IT WILL BE REMEMBERED THAT ZEBEDAEUS HAD BEEN GIVEN THE PROBLEM OF THE JUSTICE OF PROPAGATING THE FAITH "WITHOUT OTHER CAUSE OF HOSTILITY." EUPOLIS NOW THINKS THAT THE DIVINE MIGHT EXPAND THIS QUESTION TO INCLUDE OTHER RELEVANT

MATTERS, BUT ZEBEDAEUS HAS ANTICIPATED THIS SUGGESTION AND HAS, IN THE BEST BACONIAN FASHION, DIVIDED HIS DISCOURSE INTO SIX INTERRELATED TOPICS. THEIR RANGE WILL SUGGEST HOW LENGTHY THIS TRACT MIGHT HAVE BEEN IF BACON HAD COMPLETED IT. AFTER REPEATING THE QUESTION ORIGINALLY ASSIGNED TO HIM, ZEBEDAEUS CONTINUES:

> SECONDLY, WHETHER, IT BEING MADE PART OF THE CASE THAT THE COUNTRIES WERE ONCE CHRISTIAN AND MEMBERS OF THE CHURCH AND WHERE THE GOLDEN CANDLESTICKS DID STAND, THOUGH NOW THEY BE UTTERLY ALIENATED AND NO CHRISTIAN LEFT, IT BE NOT LAWFUL TO MAKE A WAR TO RESTORE THEM TO THE CHURCH, AS AN ANCIENT PATRIMONY OF CHRIST: THIRDLY, IF IT BE MADE A FURTHER PART OF THE CASE, THAT THERE ARE YET REMAINING IN THE COUNTRIES MULTITUDES OF CHRISTIANS, WHETHER IT BE NOT LAWFUL TO MAKE A WAR TO FREE THEM AND DELIVER THEM FROM THE SERVITUDE OF THE INFIDELS? FOURTHLY, WHETHER IT BE NOT LAWFUL TO MAKE A WAR FOR PURGING AND RECOVERY OF CONSECRATE PLACES, BEING NOW POLLUTED AND PROFANED; AS THE HOLY CITY AND SEPULCHRE, AND SUCH OTHER PLACES OF PRINCIPAL ADORATION AND DEVOTION? FIFTHLY, WHETHER IT BE NOT LAWFUL TO MAKE A WAR FOR THE REVENGE OR VINDICATION OF BLASPHEMIES AND REPROACHES AGAINST THE DEITY AND OUR BLESSED SAVIOUR; OR FOR THE EFFUSION OF CHRISTIAN BLOOD, AND CRUELTIES AGAINST CHRISTIANS, THOUGH ANCIENT AND LONG SINCE PAST; CONSIDERING THAT GOD'S VISITS ARE WITHOUT LIMITATION OF TIME, AND MANY TIMES DO BUT EXPECT THE FULNESS OF THE SIN? SIXTHLY, IT IS TO BE CONSIDERED (AS EUPOLIS NOW LAST WELL REMEMBERED) WHETHER A HOLY WAR (WHICH, AS IN THE WORTHINESS OF THE QUARREL, SO IN THE JUSTNESS OF THE PROSECUTION, OUGHT TO EXCEED ALL TEMPORAL WARS) MAY BE PURSUED EITHER TO THE EXPULSION OF PEOPLE OR THE ENFORCEMENT OF CONSCIENCES OR THE LIKE EXTREMITIES; OR HOW TO BE MODERATED AND LIMITED; LEST WHILST WE REMEMBER WE ARE

CHRISTIANS, WE FORGET THAT OTHERS ARE MEN?[19]

BUT BEFORE HE BEGINS HIS DISCOURSE, ZEBEDAEUS HAS SOMETHING ELSE TO SAY. HE HAS BEEN THINKING ABOUT MARTIUS'S SHORT VIEW OF THE TURKISH EMPIRE, AND THE MORE HE THINKS, THE MORE CONVINCED HE BECOMES THAT A JUST WAR COULD BE WAGED AGAINST THE ABOMINABLE TURKS (WHO ARE FULLY AS CORRUPT AND DISGUSTING AS MARTIUS SAID THEY WERE) IF THE RELIGIOUS QUESTION WERE NOT EVEN CONSIDERED. AFTER ALL, HE SAYS, "WHERE THERE IS A HEAP OF PEOPLE (THOUGH WE TERM IT A KINGDOM OR STATE) THAT IS ALTOGETHER UNABLE OR INDIGN TO GOVERN, THERE IS A JUST CAUSE OF WAR FOR ANOTHER NATION, THAT IS CIVIL OR POLLICED, TO SUBDUE THEM: AND THIS THOUGH IT WERE DONE BY A CYRUS OR A CAESAR, THAT WERE NO CHRISTIAN." AFTER SAYING THIS, ZEBEDAEUS PAUSES TO AWAIT RECRIMINATIONS. BUT ALL ARE SILENT AND ATTENTIVE. IN OTHER WORDS, THE FATE OF THE TURKS HAS BEEN DECIDED BEFORE THE ARGUMENT HAS REALLY BEGUN.

THE COMPLETED SECTION OF ZEBEDAEUS' SPEECH (EIGHT PAGES) IS LARGELY CONCERNED WITH DESCRIBING THOSE CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH MEN MAY LAWFULLY IMPOSE THEIR WILLS UPON OTHERS; ZEBEDAEUS HIMSELF IS A RARE MIXTURE OF ARISTOTLE, AUGUSTINE, AQUINAS, AND BACON. THE KEYSTONE

19. CF. "OF UNITY IN RELIGION": "FOR THIS IS BUT TO DASH THE FIRST TABLE AGAINST THE SECOND; AND SO TO CONSIDER MEN AS CHRISTIANS, AS WE FORGET THAT THEY ARE MEN."

OF HIS ARGUMENT IS THE PROPOSITION THAT SINCE ALL MEN ARE DESCENDANTS OF ADAM, "NO NATIONS ARE WHOLLY ALIENS AND STRANGERS THE ONE TO THE OTHER." THIS "INDISSOLUBLE CONSANGUINITY"--ORDAINED BY GOD--IS THE PHENOMENON WHICH, UNDER THE PROPER CIRCUMSTANCES, JUSTIFIES WARS OF AGGRESSION; FOR IF A NATION HAS DEMONSTRATED ITS INCAPACITY TO LIVE UNDER THE LAWS OF NATURE, NATIONS, AND GOD, IT SURRENDERS ITS RIGHT TO EXIST AND MAY BE JUSTLY INVADED.

BUT, SAYS ZEBEDAEUS, THIS IS A PRINCIPLE WHICH MUST NOT BE USED TO MAKE "A MOLOCH OR AN HEATHEN IDOL OF OUR BLESSED SAVIOUR, IN SACRIFICING THE BLOOD OF MEN TO HIM BY AN UNJUST WAR." MEN, AS ARISTOTLE SAID, ARE SOCIAL BEINGS--SOME FITTED TO RULE, SOME FITTED TO BE RULED--BUT ZEBEDAEUS WILL HAVE NOTHING TO DO WITH THE NOTION THAT SOME NATIONS ARE BETTER FITTED TO RULE THAN OTHERS BECAUSE OF THEIR SUPERIOR POWER OR VIRTUE. THIS IS AN IDLE QUESTION ABOUT WHICH MEN WILL NEVER AGREE. IT IS, IN FACT, ENTIRELY POSSIBLE THAT A NATION OF IDOLATERS MAY HAVE A RIGHT TO GOVERN THEMSELVES. THEIR LAW IS IMPERFECT, BUT IF THEY LIVE MODERATELY SENSIBLE LIVES (FOLLOWING THE LAWS OF REASON AND NATIONS, IF NOT OF GOD) THEY CANNOT BE JUSTLY SUPPRESSED ON PURELY MORAL GROUNDS.

THERE ARE, HOWEVER, PARTICULAR KINDS OF MEN AND SOCIETIES WHICH CLEARLY PERVERT ALL FORMS OF LAW. FOR EXAMPLE, ALL MEN CAN AGREE THAT PIRATES ARE THE COMMON

ENEMIES OF MANKIND, SCAVANGERS WHOM ALL NATIONS ARE BOUND TO DESTROY. SIMILARLY, A RELIGIOUS SECT MAY EMBRACE PRINCIPLES TOTALLY CONTRADICTORY TO THE LAWS OF SOCIETY AND GOD, THE ANABAPTISTS BEING A CASE IN POINT:

> I SAY THE LIKE OF THE ANABAPTISTS OF MUNSTER; AND THIS, ALTHOUGH THEY HAD NOT BEEN REBELS TO THE EMPIRE: AND PUT CASE LIKEWISE THAT THEY HAD DONE NO MISCHIEF AT ALL ACTUALLY; YET IF THERE SHALL BE A CONGREGATION AND CONSENT OF PEOPLE THAT SHALL HOLD ALL THINGS TO BE LAWFUL, NOT ACCORDING TO ANY CERTAIN LAWS OR RULES, BUT ACCORDING TO THE SECRET AND VARIABLE MOTIONS AND INSTINCTS OF THE SPIRIT; THIS IS INDEED NO NATION, NO PEOPLE, NO SIGNORY, THAT GOD DOTH KNOW; ANY NATION THAT IS CIVIL AND POLLICED MAY (IF THEY WILL NOT BE REDUCED) CUT THEM OFF FROM THE FACE OF THE EARTH.

SINCE ZEBEDAEUS HAS ALREADY ACCEPTED MARTIUS'S EVALUATION OF THE TURKS, IT FOLLOWS THAT THESE INFIDELS MAY BE SUPPRESSED UNDER THE LAWS OF NATIONS, NATURE, AND GOD.

IT IS AT THIS POINT THAT THE TRACT IS CONCLUDED. PERHAPS IT IS ADVENTURESOME TO GUESS WHAT WOULD HAVE HAPPENED AS THE DIALOGUE PROCEEDED, BUT I THINK A FEW RELIABLE CONCLUSIONS CAN BE DRAWN. ZEBEDAEUS HAS HARDLY PROVED HIMSELF TO BE A CATHOLIC ZEALOT, BUT HE HAS NOT YET DISCUSSED THOSE ISSUES WHICH ARE PARTICULARLY SUITED TO UNCOVER THE DEPTHS OF HIS CONTEMPT FOR THE INFIDELS. THE FIFTH QUESTION LOOKS ESPECIALLY AMENABLE TO ZEAL:

> FIFTHLY, WHETHER IT BE NOT LAWFUL TO MAKE WAR FOR THE REVENGE OR VINDICATION OF BLASPHEMIES AND REPROACHES AGAINST THE DEITY AND OUR BLESSED SAVIOUR; OR FOR THE EFFUSION OF CHRISTIAN BLOOD, AND CRUELTIES AGAINST CHRISTIANS, THOUGH ANCIENT AND LONG SINCE PAST; ETC.

ASSUMING THAT BACON HAD A REASON TO CALL ZEBEDAEUS A ZEALOT, IT IS LIKELY THAT THE DIVINE WOULD HAVE EXPRESSED SOME DESIRE TO SEE PAST ABUSES AGAINST THE SAVIOR RECTIFIED. EUSEBIUS, THE MODERATE DIVINE, MIGHT THEN (TO BUILD ONE HYPOTHESIS UPON ANOTHER) HAVE AGREED WITH ZEBEDAEUS ON THE JUSTICE OF SUBDUING THE TURK (WHICH HE HAD ALREADY DONE ANYWAY), BUT HE WOULD NOT CONCUR WITH A PLAN TO SEEK REVENGE FOR PAST ATROCITIES AGAINST CHRISTIANITY. POLLIO, TOO HAIRBRAINED TO MATTER MUCH ONE WAY OR ANOTHER, WOULD CONTINUE IN THE ROLE OF THE BUFFOON, BUT, SINCE HE IS A RATHER LIKEABLE CHAP (AND HE DID NOT HAVE TO ATTEND THE MEETINGS ANYWAY), IN THE END HE WOULD BEGIN TO ASSUME A MORE SOBER ATTITUDE TOWARD LIFE. MARTIUS HAS SAID ALL HE HAS TO SAY UNTIL THE WAR IS AGREED UPON.

GAMALIEL, THE PROTESTANT ZEALOT, WAS ORIGINALLY ASSIGNED THE QUESTION OF A CHRISTIAN'S OBLIGATION TO SPREAD THE TRUE FAITH. IN ALL PROBABILITY HE WOULD BYPASS THE LAWS OF REASON AND NATIONS AND GO DIRECTLY TO THE NEED TO ESTABLISH GOD'S DIVINE LAW IN ALL CORNERS OF THE UNIVERSE, A LAW DEFINED FULLY AND IN INEFFABLE CLARITY IN THE SCRIPTURES. HE MIGHT ALSO SUGGEST, I SHOULD THINK, THAT BEFORE CHRISTIANS DECIDE TO IMPOSE THEIR WILLS UPON THE INFIDELS, THEY MIGHT DECIDE WHAT CHRISTIANITY REALLY IS.

EUPOLIS, THE STATESMAN, A SANE AND "INDIFFERENT" MAN, WOULD SELECT FROM ALL ARGUMENTS THOSE DEALING DIRECTLY WITH

THE TURKISH QUESTION. HE WOULD LAUD ZEBEDAEUS' SCHOLARLY AND PERCEPTIVE ANALYSIS OF SOCIETY, BUT HE WOULD ACKNOWLEDGE THE SAGACITY OF EUSEBIUS'S MODERATE VIEWS. SINCE THE TRACT IS APPARENTLY DESIGNED LARGELY TO MOLLIFY THE SPANISH CATHOLICS (OTHERWISE IT IS DIFFICULT TO ACCOUNT FOR THE HEAVILY CATHOLIC CAST), EUPOLIS WOULD PROBABLY NOT PAY MUCH ATTENTION TO THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE PROTESTANT ZEALOT.

SPEDDING, WHOSE WISDOM IS UNMATCHED IN PREDICTING WHAT BACON MIGHT HAVE DONE, SAYS SIMPLY: "I AM INCLINED TO THINK THAT EUPOLIS [REPRESENTING BACON]. . . WOULD HAVE LIMITED HIS APPROVAL TO A WAR AGAINST THE TURKS; AND THAT NOT SIMPLY AS INFIDELS, BUT AS DANGEROUS NEIGHBOURS TO ALL CHRISTENDOM."[20]

WE MAY CONCLUDE FROM THESE WORKS THAT BACON HAD LITTLE OF THE CRUSADING SPIRIT. HIS RECOGNITION OF THE INESTIMABLE POWER OF RELIGIOUS CONVICTIONS LED HIM TO FEAR THE CONSEQUENCES OF RELIGIOUS WARS, BUT EVEN WITHOUT THIS FEAR HE DISPLAYS NO DESIRE TO SEE ENGLAND ENGAGED IN EXTENSIVE MISSIONARY ACTIVITIES. WE COULD BE ASSURED OF THIS FACT IF HE HAD LEFT NO OTHER OBSERVATIONS THAN THOSE ABOVE, BUT A SEGMENT FROM ONE ADDITIONAL TRACT WILL MAKE OUR POSITION IRREFUTABLE. IT CONTAINS A NUMBER OF REFLECTIONS WHICH I

20. Works, VII, 6.

THINK TELL US MORE ABOUT BACON'S FAITH THAN DOES ANY OTHER SINGLE PIECE IN HIS CANON.

AMONG ELIZABETH'S MANY PROBLEMS OF EMPIRE WAS THE "IRISH QUESTION," WHOSE ANSWER WAS TO BE DELAYED FOR MORE THAN THREE-HUNDRED YEARS. THE FAILURE IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY OF THE ENGLISH TO CONCEIVE AND EXECUTE A PLAN FOR THE EFFECTIVE GOVERNMENT OF THE CIVIL AND SPIRITUAL LIFE OF IRELAND ENCOURAGED THE SPANISH TO ASSIST THE IRISH NATIVES IN THEIR RESISTANCE TO THE ENGLISH OCCUPATION. TREVELYAN MAINTAINS THAT DURING THE LAST THIRTY YEARS OF ELIZABETH'S REIGN ENGLISH INEFFECTIVENESS AND INJUSTICE, COUPLED WITH JESUIT ZEAL AND SPANISH ARMS, CONVERTED THE IRISH TO ROMAN CATHOLICISM. THE NATIVE POPULATION, UNTIL THEN LARGELY UNIDENTIFIED WITH CATHOLICISM, "CONCEIVED A NOVEL ENTHUSIASM FOR THE ROMAN RELIGION, WHICH THEY IDENTIFIED WITH A PASSIONATE HATRED OF THE ENGLISH."[21] ELIZABETH HAD OF COURSE REALIZED THE DANGERS OF THE SPANISH ACTIVITIES IN IRELAND, BUT IN 1599 DECISIVE DEFEATS OF HER FORCES BY THE REBEL LEADER TYRONE (AIDED BY SPANISH TROOPS) CONVINCED HER AND HER COUNCIL THAT IRELAND HAD TO BE BROUGHT TO ITS KNEES. THE EARL OF ESSEX (BACON'S LONG-TIME PATRON) SATISFIED THE QUEEN THAT HE WAS SUITED TO LEAD A LARGE ARMY AGAINST THE IRISH FORCES. HIS FAILURE TO DEFEAT TYRONE, AND

21. <u>HISTORY OF ENGLAND</u>, II, 129.

HIS DISOBEDIENCE OF THE QUEEN'S ORDERS, LED TO HIS DISMISSAL,[22] BUT LATE IN 1601, THE ENGLISH ARMY, NOW UNDER THE COMMAND OF LORD MONTJOY, WON A DECISIVE VICTORY OVER THE REBEL AND SPANISH FORCES. IN THE TERMS OF THE CAPITULATION, THE SPANIARDS WERE REQUIRED TO SURRENDER ALL OF THEIR IRISH POSSESSIONS AND TO LEAVE THE ISLAND.[23] AT THIS JUNCTURE THE ENGLISH GOVERNMENT BEGAN TO PONDER THE QUESTION OF ESTABLISHING A RULE IN IRELAND WHICH WOULD INSURE A LASTING PEACE. IN THE SUMMER OF 1602 BACON WROTE A LETTER OF ADVICE ON THE MATTER TO SIR ROBERT CECIL, NOW A LEADING MEMBER OF ELIZABETH'S COUNCIL.

BACON'S EVALUATION OF THE IRISH RACE REMINDS ONE OF MARTIUS'S CHARACTERIZATION OF THE TURKS. HE SPEAKS OF THEIR BARBAROUS LAWS AND "HABITS OF APPAREL," OF THEIR "POETS AND HERALDS THAT ENCHANT THEM IN SAVAGE MANNER, AND SUNDRY OTHER SUCH DREGS OF BARBARISM AND REBELLION," AND OF OTHER CUSTOMS WHICH MAKE THEM EXCEEDINGLY DIFFICULT TO GOVERN. HE WARNS CECIL THAT THESE UNCIVILIZED PEOPLE WILL NOT BE BROUGHT WITHIN THE BOUNDS OF SOCIETY UNLESS A GRAND

22. ESSEX' SUBSEQUENT ATTEMPT TO OVERPOWER THE QUEEN LED TO HIS CONVICTION FOR TREASON. BACON'S INVOLVEMENT IN ESSEX' CONVICTION HAS BEEN THE POINT OF DEPARTURE FOR MANY ATTACKS ON HIS CHARACTER. SPEDDING'S DEFENSE OF BACON IS CONTAINED IN VOLUMES IX AND X OF THE _WORKS_. BACON ALSO WROTE HIS OWN APOLOGY: _SIR FRANCIS BACON HIS APOLOGIE, IN CERTAIN IMPUTATIONS CONCERNING THE LATE EARLE OF ESSEX_, PUBLISHED IN 1604. SEE _WORKS_, X, 139-60.

23. SPEDDING, _WORKS_, X, 44.

EFFORT IS MADE TO "RECOVER THEIR HEARTS." THEY MUST BE GIVEN VISIBLE PROOF OF ENGLISH GOOD WILL ON THOSE LEVELS WHICH THEY CAN UNDERSTAND. FOR EXAMPLE, IF THEY ARE TO APPRECIATE THE FRUITS OF JUSTICE, THEY MUST HAVE DIRECT CONTACT WITH AUTHORITY.

> FOR JUSTICE, THE BARBARISM AND DESOLATION OF THE COUNTRY CONSIDERED, IT IS NOT POSSIBLE THEY SHOULD FIND ANY SWEETNESS AT ALL OF JUSTICE, IF IT SHALL BE (WHICH HATH BEEN THE ERROR OF TIMES PAST) FORMAL, AND FETCHED FAR OFF FROM THE STATE; BECAUSE IT WILL REQUIRE RUNNING UP AND DOWN FOR PROCESS, AND GIVE OCCASION FOR POLLING AND EXACTIONS BY FEES, AND MANY OTHER DELAYS AND CHARGES.[24]

FURTHERMORE, BACON THINKS IT WILL BE WISE TO KEEP THE "PRINCIPAL IRISH PERSONS IN TERMS OF CONTENTMENT," FOR THIS MEASURE WILL SERVE TO CONVINCE THE OTHERS THAT THE ENGLISH LABOR IN GOOD FAITH. IT MAY ALSO BE POSSIBLE TO STRIKE A TREATY WITH SPAIN--EITHER REAL OR FEIGNED, FOR THE IRISH ARE NOT TOO BRIGHT ANYWAY: "AND TO THE SAME PURPOSE NOTHING CAN BE MORE FIT THAN A TREATY OR A SHADOW OF A TREATY OF A PEACE WITH SPAIN, WHICH ME THINKS SHOULD BE IN OUR POWER TO FASTEN AT LEAST <u>RUMORE TENUS</u>, TO THE DELUDING OF AS WISE PEOPLE AS THE IRISH."[25]

BUT THE MOST INTERESTING ADVICE CONCERNS RELIGION, AND I QUOTE IT IN FULL:

> FOR RELIGION (TO SPEAK FIRST OF PIETY, AND THEN OF POLICY), ALL DIVINES DO AGREE, THAT IF

24. <u>WORKS</u>, X, 49-50. 25. IBID., P. 47.

CONSCIENCES BE TO BE ENFORCED AT ALL (WHEREIN THEY DIFFER), YET TWO THINGS MUST PRECEDE THEIR ENFORCEMENT; THE ONE, MEANS OF INSTRUCTION; THE OTHER, TIME OF OPERATION; NEITHER OF WHICH THEY HAVE YET HAD. BESIDES, TILL THEY BE MORE LIKE REASONABLE MEN THAN THEY YET ARE, THEIR SOCIETY WERE RATHER SCANDALOUS TO THE TRUE RELIGION THAN OTHERWISE, AS PEARLS CAST BEFORE THE SWINE: FOR TILL THEY BE CLEANSED FROM THEIR BLOOD, INCONTINENCY, AND THEFT (WHICH ARE NOW NOT THE LAPSES OF PARTICULAR PERSONS, BUT THE VERY LAWS OF THE NATION) THEY ARE INCOMPATIBLE WITH RELIGION REFORMED. FOR POLICY, THERE IS NO DOUBT BUT TO WRASTLE WITH THEM NOW IS DIRECTLY OPPOSITE TO THEIR RECLAIM, AND CANNOT BUT CONTINUE THEIR ALIENATION OF MIND FROM THIS GOVERNMENT. BESIDES, ONE OF THE PRINCIPAL PRETENCES WHEREBY THE HEADS OF THE REBELLION HAVE PREVAILED BOTH WITH THE PEOPLE AND WITH THE FOREIGNER, HATH BEEN THE DEFENCE OF THE CATHOLIC RELIGION; AND IT IS THIS THAT LIKEWISE HATH MADE THE FOREIGNER RECIPROCALLY MORE PLAUSIBLE WITH THE REBEL. THEREFORE A TOLERATION OF RELIGION (FOR A TIME NOT DEFINITE) EXCEPT IT BE IN SOME PRINCIPAL TOWNS AND PRECINCTS, AFTER THE MANNER OF SOME FRENCH EDICTS, SEEMETH TO ME A MATTER WARRANTABLE BY RELIGION AND IN POLICY OF ABSOLUTE NECESSITY. AND THE HESITATION IN THIS POINT I THINK HATH BEEN A GREAT CASTING BACK OF THE AFFAIRS THERE. NEITHER IF ANY ENGLISH PAPIST OR RECUSANT SHALL, FOR LIBERTY OF HIS CONSCIENCE, TRANSFER HIS PERSON AND FAMILY AND FORTUNES THITHER, DO I HOLD IT A MATTER OF DANGER, BUT EXPEDIENT TO DRAW ON THE UNDERTAKING, AND TO FURTHER POPULATION. NEITHER IF ROME WILL COZEN ITSELF, BY CONCEIVING IF MAY BE SOME DEGREE TO THE LIKE TOLERATION IN ENGLAND, DO I HOLD IT A MATTER OF MOMENT, BUT RATHER A GOOD MEAN TO TAKE OFF THE FIERCENESS AND EAGERNESS OF THE HUMOUR OF ROME, AND TO STAY FURTHER EXCOMMUNICATIONS OR INTERDICTIONS FOR IRELAND. BUT THERE WOULD GO HAND IN HAND WITH THIS, SOME COURSE OF ADVANCING RELIGION INDEED, WHERE THE PEOPLE IS CAPABLE THEREOF; AS THE SENDING OVER SOME GOOD PREACHERS, ESPECIALLY OF THAT SORT WHICH ARE VEHEMENT AND ZEALOUS PERSUADERS, AND NOT SCHOLASTICAL, TO BE RESIDENT IN PRINCIPAL TOWNS; ENDOWING THEM WITH SOME STIPENDS OUT OF HER MAJESTY'S REVENUES,

> AS HER MAJESTY HATH MOST RELIGIOUSLY AND GRACIOUSLY DONE IN LANCASHIRE: AND THE RECONTINUING AND REPLENTISHING OF THE COLLEGE BEGUN AT DUBLIN; THE PLACING OF GOOD MEN TO BE BISHOPS IN THE SEES THERE; AND THE TAKING CARE OF THE VERSIONS OF BIBLES, CATECHISMS, AND OTHER BOOKS OF INSTRUCTION, INTO THE IRISH LANGUAGE; AND THE LIKE RELIGIOUS COURSES; BOTH FOR THE HONOUR OF GOD, AND FOR THE AVOIDING OF SCANDAL AND INSATISFACTION HERE BY THE SHOW OF A TOLERATION OF RELIGION IN SOME PARTS THERE.[26]

I VENTURE TO SAY THIS IS NOT THE SAME SPIRIT WHICH FILLED AUGUSTINE WHEN HE STOOD ON THE SHORES OF ALBION IN 597, NOR IS IT EVEN THE SPIRIT WHICH FILLED CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH WHEN HE SCANNED THE VIRGIN LANDS OF THE NEW WORLD AND THANKED THE ALMIGHTY FOR THE OPPORTUNITY TO CONVERT THE "POOR SALVAGES" TO THE FAITH OF CHRIST. BACON HAD NO CHRISTIAN ROMANCE IN HIS SOUL. THE SALVAGE MAN WAS A CREATURE NOT YET READY FOR THE REFORMED FAITH, A CREATURE WHO WOULD HAVE TO STRUGGLE ON WITH CATHOLICISM UNTIL HE HAD BEEN TAUGHT THE GROUND RULES OF A CIVILIZED SOCIETY. THERE WOULD BE TIME TO WORRY ABOUT FAITH, PLENTY OF TIME FOR THAT, WHEN THE TEMPORAL PILLARS OF GOVERNMENT HAD BEEN DRIVEN DEEPLY INTO THE HOSTILE SOIL OF A BARBAROUS LAND. I SHUDDER TO THINK WHAT LADY BACON, TO WHOM THE ONLY GOOD CATHOLIC WAS A DAMNED AND DEAD ONE, WOULD HAVE THOUGHT OF HER ILLUSTRIOUS SON HAD SHE ENCOUNTERED THIS LITTLE TRACT HOT FROM ONE OF HER SÉANCES WITH THE WORD.

26. IBID., PP. 48-49.

I THINK IT IS NECESSARY TO SAY THAT BACON HAD ALMOST NO FAITH IN THE ABILITY OF THE ENGLISH CHURCH TO SURVIVE ON THE OPEN MARKET OF WORLD RELIGIONS. BUT, ON THE OTHER HAND, THERE IS NO INDICATION THAT HE THOUGHT IT SHOULD. THE ESTABLISHMENT WAS ADAPTED TO THE NEEDS OF A PARTICULAR STATE EXISTING AT A PARTICULAR TIME, AND A HOSTILE NATION COULD NOT BE EXPECTED TO PERCEIVE THE RATIONALITY OF ITS STRUCTURE. NOR COULD A LARGE NUMBER OF ENGLISHMEN FOR THAT MATTER. CONSEQUENTLY BACON BELIEVED THAT THE FIRST ORDER OF BUSINESS WHENEVER ENGLAND TOOK POSSESSION OF AN ALIEN TERRITORY WAS TO CONVINCE ITS INHABITANTS OF THE REASON AND JUSTICE OF THE ENGLISH WAY OF LIFE. RELIGIOUS MATTERS COULD BE SETTLED LATER, AT A TIME "NOT DEFINITE."

BACON'S RELUCTANCE TO FORCE CONSCIENCES, EITHER AT HOME OR ABROAD, IS A NATURAL PRODUCT OF HIS EMPIRICAL EVALUATION OF RELIGIOUS ZEAL, BUT I THINK IT ALSO PROCEEDS FROM A FUNDAMENTAL INDIFFERENCE TO HOW OTHER MEN MAKE THEIR PEACE WITH GOD, OR IF THEY MAKE IT AT ALL. THIS IS A POSITION WHICH WE CAN FIND MANY REASONS TO PRAISE, FOR IT IS AN ATTITUDE WHICH MEN HAD TO EMBRACE BEFORE RELIGIOUS TOLERATION COULD BECOME A FACT. BUT IT IS ALSO AN ATTITUDE WHICH MAY LIE AT THE ROOT OF THE GRADUAL DEPLETION OF THE SPIRITUAL LIFE OF CHRISTIANITY. IF BACON'S PATIENT CHURCH WAITS GRANDLY FOR MEN TO COME TO IT AFTER THEY HAVE CLEANSED THEMSELVES OF BARBARITY, DOES IT NOT BEG TO BE CHARGED WITH

IMPOTENCE? AND DOES IT NOT DESERVE TO BE IGNORED? "IN POLICY OF ABSOLUTE NECESSITY" PRESSES VERY HEAVILY UPON "WARRANTABLE BY RELIGION," AND SOMEWHERE BETWEEN THE DEMANDS OF THESE TWO PHRASES LIES THE PARADOX OF BACON'S FAITH. HE TAKES GREAT CARE TO SAY THAT GOD'S WILL MUST BE DONE, BUT WE SEE HERE THAT HE LEAVES THE MEANS SWINGING SOMEWHERE BETWEEN DIVINE AND CIVIL NECESSITY. FAITH, I AM CONVINCED, HAD AN AUXILIARY FUNCTION IN BACON'S PERSONAL CONCEPTION OF SOCIETY, A FUNCTION ALWAYS SUBJECT TO THE NEEDS OF THE CIVIL STATE. WE MAY, THEN, WONDER WHAT THE ROLE OF ORGANIZED FAITH WAS TO BE IN HIS PROJECTED VIEW OF THE KINGDOM OF MAN, AND PERHAPS THE NEW ATLANTIS, WHOSE DISCUSSION WILL TERMINATE THIS STUDY, WILL PROVIDE US WITH A FEW HELPFUL CLUES.

CHAPTER VIII

THE NEW ATLANTIS: CONCLUSION

THIS CENTURY HAS TAUGHT US THAT IT IS POSSIBLE TO LEARN A GREAT DEAL FROM A MAN'S DREAMS, BUT EVEN WITHOUT THIS LATTER-DAY ASSURANCE I SHOULD NOT HESITATE TO RELY UPON THE NEW ATLANTIS FOR TRUSTWORTHY INFORMATION ABOUT BACON'S FAITH. THOUGH INCOMPLETE, THE WORK RADIATES LINES WHICH TRAVEL TO EVERY CORNER OF ITS AUTHOR'S MIND, AND WHAT IS MORE IMPORTANT IS THE FACT THAT THE IMAGINATIVE MEDIUM OF THE PIECE BRINGS US CLOSER TO BACON HIMSELF THAN WE EVER GET IN HIS OTHER MAJOR WORKS.

THE NEW ATLANTIS WAS FIRST PUBLISHED IN 1627 (A YEAR AFTER BACON'S DEATH) AT THE END OF THE SYLVA SYLVARUM, A PLACE FOR WHICH IT HAD BEEN DESIGNED BY BACON. THE SYLVA SYLVARUM WAS THE LAST OF BACON'S "PHILOSOPHICAL" WORKS, THOUGH AS I HAVE SUGGESTED FROM TIME TO TIME IT IS RATHER DIFFICULT TO CLASSIFY. IT BELONGS PROPERLY TO THE GENRE OF NATURAL-MAGIC BOOKS AND CONTAINS MANY PREPOSTEROUS CONCLUSIONS ABOUT NATURAL PHENOMENA WHOSE INACCURACIES DEMONSTRATE HOW LITTLE WAS KNOWN OF THE PHYSICAL UNIVERSE IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY. BACON'S DESIGN, HOWEVER, WAS NOT SO MUCH TO ANSWER QUESTIONS AS IT WAS TO SUGGEST TO KINDRED

SPIRITS WHAT FIELDS OF INQUIRY WERE IMMEDIATELY OPEN TO INVESTIGATION--EVEN IF NO SPONSOR FOR THE NEW PHILOSOPHY COULD BE FOUND. IN OTHER WORDS, HE WANTED TO ALERT MEN TO THE MANY PROBLEMS UNDER FOOT WHICH COULD BE SOLVED IF SOMEONE WOULD SIMPLY GET TO WORK ON THEM. THE NEW ATLANTIS, THEN, IS A PROJECTED VIEW OF THE POSSIBLE RESULTS OF A GRASS-ROOTS EFFORT TO "BECOME OBEDIENT TO NATURE."

BECAUSE THE COMPLETED SEGMENT OF THE NEW ATLANTIS IS DESIGNED BASICALLY TO ADVERTIZE THE FRUITS OF INVESTIGATION, ITS COMMENTS ON RELIGION, CIVIL GOVERNMENT, AND INDIVIDUAL CONDUCT ARE FRAGMENTARY, BUT THE FRAGMENTS ARE FRAUGHT WITH IMPORTANT IMPLICATIONS. I THINK, HOWEVER, THAT THEY WILL BE SEEN IN BETTER RELIEF PLACES AGAINST THE BACKGROUND OF RELEVANT SECTIONS FROM CAMPANELLA'S CITY OF THE SUN (1623) AND MORE'S UTOPIA (1516).[1]

CAMPANELLA (1568-1639) WAS BACON'S CONTEMPORARY AND SHARED MANY OF THE LATTER'S CONVICTIONS ABOUT THE ALPHABETIZING OF NATURE. A ROMAN CATHOLIC AND A NATURAL PHILOSOPHER,[2] CAMPANELLA GAVE THE INHABITANTS OF THE CITY OF THE SUN A CURIOUS RELIGION CONCOCTED OF METAPHYSICS, NATURAL PHILOSOPHY, AND ROMAN CATHOLICISM. THE INHABITANTS ARE

1. MY REFERENCES TO THE CITY OF THE SUN AND THE UTOPIA ARE FROM IDEAL COMMONWEALTHS, EDITED BY HENRY MORLEY (LONDON, GEORGE ROUTLEDGE & SONS, 1886). THE TRANSLATION OF THE CITY OF THE SUN IS BY THOMAS HALLIDAY.

2. IBID., PP. 7-8.

MONOTHEISTS WHO, LARGELY BY MEANS OF OBSERVING GOD'S VISIBLE UNIVERSE (THOUGH AIDED BY A GOD-CONSCIOUSNESS INHERENT IN ALL MEN), HAVE ARRIVED AT A FAITH WHOSE FORMULA IS MODELLED ALONG THE GENERAL LINES OF THE ROMAN CHURCH. THEIR CHIEF PRIEST IS HOH (METAPHYSIC), WHO IS ALSO THE CHIEF CIVIL MAGISTRATE, A MAN LEARNED IN ALL MENTAL DISCIPLINES AND INTIMATELY ACQUAINTED WITH THE MATERIAL ASPECTS OF LIFE. BY MEANS OF A GENERAL CONFESSION, HOH AND HIS LEADING MAGISTRATES KEEP A CLOSE WATCH ON THE MORAL LIFE OF THE NATION. IT IS THE DUTY OF THE SUPERIOR MAGISTRATES TO HEAR PERSONAL CONFESSIONS AND TO PARDON SINS, AND THEY THEMSELVES CONFESS TO HOH, WHO THEN CONFESSES THE SINS OF THE COMMUNITY TO GOD AND OFFERS PRAYERS AND SACRIFICES (PURELY DEVOTIONAL) TO HIM. PRIESTS WHO HAVE DEMONSTRATED THEIR INDEFATIGABLE SERVICE TO GOD OFFER PERPETUAL PRAYERS TO THEIR MAKER AND INTERPRET SIGNS FROM THE HEAVENS (SUCH AS THE PROPER TIME FOR BREEDING AND PLANTING) REVEALED AS EVIDENCE OF GOD'S CONSTANT PARTICIPATION IN THE AFFAIRS OF MAN.

THE RELIGIO-ETHICAL LIFE OF THE CITY IS FURTHER SUPERVISED BY A NUMBER OF MAGISTRATES WHO HAVE PROVED THEIR SPECIAL WORTH IN ONE OF THE CARDINAL VIRTUES. EACH OF THESE MODELS OF MORAL RECTITUDE IS GIVEN A NAME APPROPRIATE TO HIS FORTE: MAGNANIMITY, FORTITUDE, CHASTITY, ETC. BUT THE INCOMPARABLE VIRTUE OF THE CITY IS A PRODUCT OF ITS COMMUNISTIC LIFE. NATURAL INCLINATIONS TO VICE (PARTICULARLY

TO PRIDE) ARE DIVERTED BY MEANS OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC LEVELLING: "THEY ARE RICH BECAUSE THEY WANT NOTHING, POOR BECAUSE THEY POSSESS NOTHING; AND CONSEQUENTLY THEY ARE NOT SLAVES TO CIRCUMSTANCES, BUT CIRCUMSTANCES SERVE THEM."[3] FAMILY TIES, BECAUSE THEY ARE THOUGHT TO BE A CONSTANT SOURCE OF PRIDE AND OTHER FORMS OF SELF-INTEREST, ARE VERY TENUOUS. MEN AND WOMEN IDENTIFY THEMSELVES WITH THE STATE RATHER THAN WITH THEIR BLOOD-RELATIVES.

ALTHOUGH THE MAGISTRATES PARTICIPATE IN THE "COMMUNITY OF WIVES," THE REST OF THE INHABITANTS ARE MONOGAMISTS. PROBLEMS OF CONCUPISCENCE RESULTING FROM A MAN'S BEING CONFINED TO ONE WIFE ARE PRACTICALLY NON-EXISTENT, FOR FEMALE BEAUTY HAS BEEN STANDARDIZED: ALL WOMEN ARE TRIM AND MUSCULAR, AND ALL ATTEMPTS AT CUSTOMIZING THE FACE OR OTHER PARTS OF THE ANATOMY ARE STRICTLY FORBIDDEN. IF A MAN, IN SPITE OF THIS HAPPY SYSTEM, SHOULD CONCEIVE AN UNMANAGEABLE LUST FOR A WOMAN, HE IS GRACIOUSLY PERMITTED TO MEET WITH HER, AND "THE TWO ARE ALLOWED TO CONVERSE AND JOKE TOGETHER, AND TO GIVE ONE ANOTHER GARLANDS OF FLOWERS AND LEAVES, AND TO MAKE VERSES."[4]

THE INHABITANTS DEMONSTRATE A WARM RESPECT FOR CHRISTIANITY, PARTICULARLY FOR ITS EMPHASIS ON SELF-DENIAL. THE LIVES OF CHRIST AND THE APOSTLES ARE DISPLAYED ON THE WALLS

3. IBID., P. 238.

4. IBID., P. 237.

OF THEIR HALLS OF LEARNING, AND THE SIMPLICITY OF THE APOSTOLIC LIFE IS EVERYWHERE COMMENDED. IT MIGHT BE SAID, I THINK, THAT BY MEANS OF TRIAL AND ERROR (SUPPLEMENTED BY ADDITIONAL SIGNS FROM GOD) THE CITY OF THE SUN WILL EVENTUALLY COME AROUND TO THE TRUE FAITH, THOUGH THE ONE POSSESSED OBVIOUSLY HAS CONSIDERABLE CHRISTIAN MERIT. PEOPLE AS MORAL, RATIONAL, AND OTHER-WORLDLY AS CAMPANELLA'S INHABITANTS COULD HARDLY BE EXPECTED TO REMAIN INFIDELS FOREVER.

THE ETHICAL AND RELIGIOUS FRAMEWORK OF MORE'S UTOPIA IS SOMEWHAT MORE COMPLEX AND FLEXIBLE THAN THAT OF CAMPANELLA'S WORK. WHEN UTOPUS, THE FOUNDER OF THE NATION, FORMED HIS FIRST CONSTITUTION, HE MADE IT A LAW THAT EACH MAN COULD CHOOSE HIS OWN RELIGION AND COULD ATTEMPT TO DRAW OTHERS TO HIS PERSUASION, PROVIDED THAT HE USE NEITHER REPROACH NOR VIOLENCE IN HIS PROSELYTIZING. ANYONE USING THESE UNLAWFUL MEANS WOULD BE EITHER BANISHED OR PLACED IN SLAVERY.[5] ALTHOUGH THE UTOPIANS WORSHIP IN MANY WAYS, THEY ALL BELIEVE IN ONE SUPREME BEING CALLED MITHRAS, WHO FOR ALL PURPOSES IS THE CHRISTIAN GOD: MAKER OF ALL THINGS, OMNISCIENT, OMNIPOTENT, ETC. ALTHOUGH INDIVIDUAL UTOPIANS MAY WORSHIP SUCH THINGS AS THE SUN, THE MOON, OR ONE OF THE PLANETS, ALL

5. IBID., P. 151. MORE'S IDEA OF SLAVERY IS MOST CHARITABLE. A CONVICTED CRIMINAL, THOUGH CHAINED, DRESSED IN PRISON GARB, AND EARMARKED, IS GIVEN THE OPPORTUNITY TO BECOME A "SLAVE." AS A SLAVE, HE WILL BE PUT TO WORK IN THE USEFUL TASKS OF THE COMMUNITY, THOUGH HE WILL BE REQUIRED TO WORK HARDER THAN THE OTHER INHABITANTS AND WILL BE REQUIRED TO DO THE MORE UNSAVORY JOBS.

ARRIVE IN SOME WAY AT THE IDEA OF MITHRAS. THEY BELIEVE IN THE IMMORTALITY OF THE SOUL, IN THE CONSTANT WORKINGS OF PROVIDENCE, AND IN REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS AFTER DEATH. THEIR RITES AND CEREMONIES DIFFER ACCORDING TO PERSONAL DESIRES, BUT MOST PARTICIPATE IN A SIMPLE AND PLEASANT COMMON PRAYER CONDUCTED BY A PRIEST. EACH CITY HAS THIRTEEN PRIESTS (ELECTED BY THE PEOPLE), WHO ARE NOTED FOR THEIR PIETY AND WISDOM. THEY HAVE FUNCTIONS IN THE COMMUNITY, SUCH AS EDUCATING CHILDREN AND LOOKING INTO THE MANNERS OF THE INHABITANTS--MUCH AS A MODERN SOCIAL WORKER MIGHT DO. THE PRIESTS DO NOT, HOWEVER, HAVE PUNITIVE CAPACITIES BEYOND THE AUTHORITY TO EXCLUDE MORAL OFFENDERS FROM PUBLIC WORSHIP (A RESTRICTION, HOWEVER, WHICH IS THOUGHT VERY HARSH BY MOST). THE PRIESTS ARE HIGHLY RESPECTED MEMBERS OF THE COMMUNITY, RECEIVING, IN FACT, IMMUNITY FROM CIVIL LAWS. SINCE MOST OF THEM ARE VERY VIRTUOUS MEN AND SINCE THEIR NUMBERS ARE SMALL ANYWAY, THIS PROVISION NEVER CONSTITUTES A THREAT TO THE STABILITY OF THE COMMUNITY. (THE PRIESTS MAY ALSO MARRY.)

THE WORSHIPERS OF MITHRAS DO NOT MAINTAIN THAT THEIR FAITH IS INFALLIBLE; RATHER THEY PRAY FOR CONSTANT LIGHT THAT THEY MIGHT WORSHIP THE TRUE GOD IN THE BEST MANNER POSSIBLE. WHEN RAPHAEL HYTHLODAY (THE NARRATOR-EXPLORER WHEN MORE IS SILENT) AND HIS COMPANIONS TELL THE UTOPIANS

OF THE FAITH OF CHRIST, OF CHRIST'S MIRACLES, AND OF THE "WONDERFUL CONSTANCY OF SO MANY MARTYRS," IT IS A MARVEL HOW MANY ARE IMMEDIATELY INCLINED TO ACCEPT CHRISTIANITY AS THE TRUE FAITH. RAPHAEL CANNOT BE SURE IF THEIR ENTHUSIASM COMES FROM "ANY SECRET INSPIRATION OF GOD" OR FROM THE PATTERN OF CHRIST'S LIFE, BUT AT ANY RATE MANY EVENTUALLY COME TO BE BAPTIZED. UNFORTUNATELY THERE IS NO PRIEST AMONG THE ADVENTURERS, SO THE OTHER SACRAMENTS CANNOT BE ADMINISTERED. BUT THERE IS SOME TALK OF CHOOSING A QUALIFIED PRIEST FROM THE UTOPIANS' OWN MEMBERS.[6]

THOSE WHO COME TO CHRIST ARE FULLY ACCEPTED BY THE OTHER MEMBERS OF THE COMMUNITY; HOWEVER, ONE ZEALOT DOES BREAK THE CARDINAL LAW OF THE COUNTRY'S RELIGION AND SUFFERS THE CONSEQUENCES OF HIS RASHNESS:

> HE BEING NEWLY BAPTIZED, DID, NOTWITHSTANDING ALL THAT WE COULD SAY TO THE CONTRARY, DISPUTE PUBLICLY CONCERNING THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION WITH MORE ZEAL THAN DISCRETION; AND WITH SO MUCH HEAT, THAT HE NOT ONLY PREFERRED OUR WORSHIP TO THEIRS, BUT CONDEMNED ALL THEIR RITES AS PROFANE; AND CRIED OUT AGAINST ALL THAT ADHERED TO THEM AS IMPIOUS AND SACRILEGIOUS PERSONS, THAT WERE TO BE DAMNED TO EVERLASTING BURNINGS. UPON HIS HAVING FREQUENTLY PREACHED IN THIS MANNER, HE WAS SEIZED, AND AFTER TRIAL WAS CONDEMNED TO BANISHMENT. . . .[7]

WE LEARN, HOWEVER, THAT THE ZEALOT WAS NOT PUNISHED FOR CONSCIENCE' SAKE BUT FOR STIRRING UP SEDITION.[8]

6. IBID., PP. 149-50. 7. IBID., P. 150. 8. IBID.

AS I SAID, IN CAMPANELLA'S CITY OF THE SUN VIRTUE IS CONNECTED WITH THE RELIGIOUS RITUAL--ALL RECORDS OF MORAL CONDUCT BEING RELAYED TO MITHRAS. THIS IS NOT THE CASE IN THE UTOPIA; IN FACT, MORE DISCUSSES VIRTUE PER SE APART FROM THE COUNTRY'S RELIGION. THE SUGGESTION SEEMS TO BE THAT VIRTUE IS ANTECEDENT TO ANY KIND OF FORMAL WORSHIP.[9] THE UTOPIANS DEFINE VIRTUE AS THE PROCESS OF LIVING A LIFE ACCORDING TO THE DICTATES OF NATURE. THE FIRST DICTATE IS THAT ALL MEN OWE THEIR OBEDIENCE AND REVERENCE TO ONE GOD, MITHRAS, BUT IN OTHER RESPECTS THE NATURAL (AND VIRTUOUS) LIFE IS ARRIVED AT EMPIRICALLY. THE UTOPIANS, THAT IS, DERIVE THEIR RULES OF CONDUCT LARGELY FROM THE COMMON-SENSE PRESCRIPTIONS OF THE GOLDEN RULE AND FROM A CLOSE ANALYSIS OF PLEASURE AND SATIETY. SINCE PHYSICAL WELL-BEING IS THOUGHT TO BE THE HIGHEST TEMPORAL GOOD, THE UTOPIANS AVOID ALL EXCESSES WHICH MIGHT LEAD TO BODILY DETERIORATION. AS IN THE CITY OF THE SUN, A COMMUNISTIC LIFE TAKES AWAY MOST OF THE TEMPTATIONS OF PRIDE AND THE OTHER DANGERS OF SELF-ABSORPTION. UNLIKE CAMPANELLA, HOWEVER, MORE PLACES CONDUCT PRIMARILY IN THE HANDS OF THE FAMILY. THE CIVIL GOVERNMENT[10] STANDS READY TO AID THE PATRIARCH, BUT IN MOST CASES

9. SEE IN PARTICULAR PP. 116-125.

10. THERE IS AN ELECTIVE PRINCE AIDED BY ELECTIVE MAGISTRATES. THE GOVERNORS ALL WORK TOGETHER, AND EVEN THE PRINCE MAY BE REPLACED IF HE IS UNJUST. THE GOVERNORS ARE VERY PATERNAL MEN, AND THERE IS NO POMP AND CIRCUMSTANCE ASSOCIATED WITH THEIR OFFICES.

ITS AUTHORITY IS NOT NEEDED. THE MARRIAGE KNOT IS TIED VERY TIGHTLY (DIVORCE BEING POSSIBLE IN CASES OF ADULTERY AND GROSS INCOMPATIBILITY), BUT BOTH THE BRIDE AND BRIDEGROOM HAVE THE STIRLING OPPORTUNITY (UNDER CLOSE SUPERVISION) OF VIEWING EACH OTHER NAKED BEFORE THE MARRIAGE CONTRACT IS SEALED. IF ONE IS GOING TO BE RATIONAL ABOUT PLEASURE, HE MAY AS WELL GO ALL THE WAY!"[11]

COMMON SENSE, ORDER, GOOD FELLOWSHIP, MODERATION, REVERENCE, MAGNANIMITY, AND CHASTITY CHARACTERIZE THE ETHICAL FRAMEWORKS OF BOTH THE CITY OF THE SUN AND THE UTOPIA. ONE WONDERS, HOWEVER, IF ANYBODY HAD MUCH FUN. NOW BACON, WHO WOULD NEVER MAKE A CHAMBER-POT OUT OF GOLD, WAS ON THE ONE HAND MORE MODERN AND SUMPTUOUS THAN EITHER MORE OR CAMPANELLA BUT ON THE OTHER MORE STRICTLY CONSERVATIVE. THOUGH HIS BENSALEMITES BY NO MEANS LEAD A LIFE OF WANTON LUXURY, THEY HAVE A HEALTHY RESPECT FOR THE FINER THINGS IN LIFE--BEAUTIFUL FABRICS, DELICATELY SHADED GARMENTS, FINE WINES, DELICIOUS FOODS, PRECIOUS JEWELS. WHEN ONE OF THE FATHERS OF THE COLLEGE OF SIX DAYS' WORK CONDESCENDS TO CHAT WITH THE STRANGERS, HE ARRIVES IN A CARRIAGE FITTED FOR THE BEST TUDOR:

> HE WAS CARRIED IN A RICH CHARIOT WITHOUT WHEELS, LITTER-WISE; WITH TWO HORSES AT EITHER END, RICHLY TRAPPED IN BLUE VELVET EMBROIDERED; AND TWO FOOTMEN ON EACH SIDE IN THE LIKE ATTIRE.

11. IBID., P. 131.

> THE CHARIOT WAS ALL OF CEDAR, GILT, AND ADORNED WITH CRYSTAL; SAVE THAT THE FORE-END HAD PANELS OF SAPPHIRES, SET IN BORDERS OF GOLD, AND THE HINDER-END THE LIKE OF EMARALDS OF THE PERU COLOUR. THERE WAS ALSO A SUN OF GOLD, RADIANT, UPON THE TOP, IN THE MIDST; AND ON THE TOP BEFORE, A SMALL CHERUB OF GOLD, WITH WINGS DISPLAYED. THE CHARIOT WAS COVERED WITH A CLOTH OF GOLD TISSUED UPON BLUE. HE HAD BEFORE HIM FIFTY ATTENDANTS, YOUNG MEN ALL, IN WHITE SATTIN LOOSE COATS TO THE MID-LEG; AND STOCKINGS OF WHITE SILK; AND SHOES OF BLUE VELVET; AND HATS OF BLUE VELVET; WITH FINE PLUMES OF DIVERSE COLOURS. . . .[12]

THIS MAN IS NOT, LET US REMEMBER, SOME TRIFLING POLLIO, BUT THE HIGHEST ORDER OF HUMAN BEING, A MAN WHO KNOWS MORE ABOUT GOD, AND NATURE, AND MEN THAN ALL THE GREEKS COMBINED. BACON HIMSELF LOVED THE TOUCH OF FINE METALS AND JEWELS, LOVED TO RECEIVE THEM AND LOVED TO GIVE THEM AWAY. WHEN HE TRAVELLED, AS HE COULD IN HIS GLORY, HE LIKED TO RAISE A DUST WITH HIS RETINUE. THAT WAS THE WAY FOR A GREAT MAN TO MOVE FROM PLACE TO PLACE. A LONELY CARRIAGE TROTTING FROM THE COURT TO THE SWEET AIR OF GORHAMBURY WAS NOT LORD BACON'S IDEA OF ESTHETIC LOCOMOTION. THE FATHER OF THE COLLEGE IS OF A KINDRED SPIRIT.

NONETHELESS, THE MORAL ATMOSPHERE OF THE _NEW ATLANTIS_ MAKES THAT OF EITHER THE _CITY OF THE SUN_ OR THE _UTOPIA_ APPEAR DECIDEDLY PROMISCUOUS BY COMPARISON. MEN--BY WHAT MEANS BACON DOES NOT SAY--HAVE BEEN REDUCED TO SUCH A DEGREE OF CIVILITY THAT THEIR WILDEST GREETING TO THE STRANGERS (AND

12. _WORKS_, III, 155.

THEY ARE THE FIRST TO ARRIVE IN THIRTY-SEVEN YEARS!) IS THE MOTION OF PUTTING "THEIR ARMS A LITTLE ABROAD"--LIKE DRUGGED PENGUINS. MAGISTRATES GIVE THEIR COMMANDS BY ELEVATING THEIR CANES A BIT, AND ALMOST ALL PROBLEMS OF CONDUCT ARE HANDLED WITHIN THE STRONG FAMILY UNIT.[13] A CIRCUMCISED JEW (I PRESUME SOMEONE ASKED HIM) IS CHARGED WITH DESCRIBING THE MORAL CONDUCT OF THE ISLAND TO THE STRANGERS. HE PERFORMS THIS TASK WITH GREAT RELISH, SOUNDING VERY LIKE A TOWN CRIER: "BUT HEAR ME NOW, AND I WILL TELL YOU WHAT I KNOW. YOU SHALL UNDERSTAND THAT THERE IS NOT UNDER THE HEAVENS SO CHASTE A NATION AS THIS OF BENSALEM; NOR SO FREE FROM ALL POLLUTION OR FOULNESS. IT IS THE VIRGIN OF THE WORLD."[14]

THE JEW, A FULL PROFESSOR OF COMPARATIVE LECHERY, FINDS EUROPEAN SEXUAL PROMISCUITY SIMPLY INCOMPREHENSIBLE. IN BENSALEM, HE SAYS, WHERE ONE COULD FIND THE "SPIRIT OF CHASTITY," THERE ARE "NO STEWS, NO DISSOLUTE HOUSES, NO COURTESANS, NOR ANYTHING OF THAT KIND." EUROPEANS, HE CONTINUES, HAVE KNOCKED THE PROPS FROM BENEATH MARRIAGE BY PERMITTING MEN TO CAVORT WITH PROSTITUTES, WHO IN THEIR SHAMEFULLY ARTFUL WAYS MAKE THE MARRIAGE BED IRREMEDIABLY DRAB.

13. RAWLEY INFORMS US THAT BACON PLANNED TO WRITE A SECTION ON THE LAWS OF THE NEW ATLANTIS, SO THE FORM OF GOVERNMENT IS LARGELY UNDEFINED. (WORKS, III, 127.) THE SOCIETY IS, HOWEVER, CLEARLY STRATIFIED.

14. IBID., P. 152.

MEN, FALLEN TO THEIR CARNAL WEAKNESSES, SPEND THEIR YOUTHS IN SINFUL WASTE AND MARRY ONLY AFTER THEIR VIGOR AND STRENGTH HAVE DIMINISHED. IT IS NO WONDER THEY CANNOT ESTEEM THEIR CHILDREN. NOR, SAYS THE JEW, WILL HIS COUNTRYMEN ACCEPT THE EUROPEAN RATIONALIZATION THAT PROFESSIONALIZED VENERY PREVENTS THE "GREATER EVILS" OF ADULTERY, OF "DEFLOWERING OF VIRGINS, UNNATURAL LUST AND THE LIKE," FOR THE WAY TO PUT OUT A FLAME, HE SAYS, IS TO PUT IT OUT ALTOGETHER.[15] HOMOSEXUALITY? GOOD GRIEF NO.

THE JEW HAS GREAT RESPECT FOR THE MARRIAGE CUSTOMS OF BENSALEM. POLYGAMY IS NOT ALLOWED, AND NONE ARE ALLOWED TO "INTERMARRY OR CONTRACT UNTIL A MONTH BE PASSED FROM THEIR FIRST INTERVIEW." IF A COUPLE SHOULD MARRY WITHOUT THEIR PARENTS' CONSENT, THE MARRIAGE IS NOT MADE VOID, BUT THE CHILDREN OF SUCH A UNION MAY NOT INHERIT MORE THAN A THIRD OF THEIR PARENTS' ESTATE. THE JEW HAS READ MORE'S UTOPIA AND SAYS THAT HIS COUNTRYMEN FIND THE NAKED-CLAUSE IN THE MARRIAGE CONTRACT OF THAT "FEIGNED COMMONWEALTH" GROSSLY INDELICATE. IT IS A "SCORN TO GIVE REFUSAL AFTER SO FAMILIAR KNOWLEDGE. . . ." NONETHELESS, REALIZING THAT BODIES DO INDEED HAVE IMPERFECTIONS, HIS COUNTRYMEN HAVE A MODIFIED VERSION OF THE UTOPIAN PRE-VIEW. EACH TOWN HAS A COUPLE OF "ADAM AND EVE'S POOLS" IN WHICH SELECT FRIENDS OF THE LOVERS VIEW THEIR FRIENDS' PROSPECTIVE MATES AND REPORT THEIR

15. IBID., PP. 152-53.

FINDINGS. THAT IS THE WAY CIVILIZED PEOPLE DO THINGS.[16]

THE RELIGION OF BENSALEM DIFFERS CONSIDERABLY FROM THAT OF EITHER THE CITY OF THE SUN OR UTOPIA. THE INHABITANTS OF THESE KINGDOMS ARE, AS I SAID, WORSHIPING GOD WITH THE TEXT OF NATURE; BUT BACON, IN THE BEST PROTESTANT FASHION, HAS PROVIDED HIS INHABITANTS WITH AN UNCORRUPTED MANUSCRIPT OF THE WORD ITSELF. BENSALEM'S HISTORY REACHES FAR INTO THE PRE-CHRISTIAN PAST, BACK INTO THE DAYS OF THE GREAT NAVIES, WHEN SHIPS FROM MANY LANDS VISITED HER SHORES. BUT WITH THE DECLINE OF THE NAVIES AND THE INUNDATION OF THE GREAT ATLANTIS (AMERICA), BENSALEM WAS PLACED IN VIRTUAL ISOLATION--BEFORE THE ADVENT OF JESUS. HOWEVER, BY THE MIRACULOUS INTERVENTION OF GOD, THE ISLAND WAS SAVED FROM INFIDELITY. TWENTY OR SO YEARS AFTER THE ASCENSION OF JESUS, OFF THE COAST OF RENFUSA (AN EASTERN CITY OF THE ISLAND) A PILLAR OF LIGHT APPEARED. AT THE TOP OF THE COLUMN, SHINING MORE RESPLENDANTLY THAN THE BODY OF THE PILLAR, WAS A "LARGE CROSS OF LIGHT." THE CITIZENS OF RENFUSA, UNDERSTANDABLY AMAZED BY THIS STARTLING PHENOMENON, PUT OUT TO SEA IN THEIR SMALL CRAFTS TO INVESTIGATE THE COLUMN. BUT WHEN THEY CAME WITHIN SIXTY YARDS OF IT, THEY WERE UNABLE TO PROCEED FURTHER. TRANSFIXED, "AS IN A THEATRE," THE ONLOOKERS VIEWED THE LIGHT "AS A HEAVENLY SIGN."[17]

16. SEE WORKS, III, 154, FOR THE DISCUSSION OF MARRIAGE. I AM NOT INCLINED TO THINK THAT BACON'S TREATMENT OF THE "POOLS" IS IRONIC.

17. IBID., P. 137.

FORTUNATELY ONE OF THE BOATS CONTAINED A WISE MAN FROM THE SOCIETY OF SALOMON'S HOUSE (ANOTHER NAME FOR THE COLLEGE OF SIX DAYS' WORK, ALREADY ESTABLISHED), WHO, AFTER PERUSING THE PILLAR AND CROSS "ATTENTIVELY AND DEVOUTLY," BECAME CONVINCED THAT HE WAS INDEED WITNESSING A GENUINE MIRACLE, FELL UPON HIS FACE, RAISED HIMSELF UPON HIS KNEES, LIFTED HIS HANDS TO HEAVEN, AND OFFERED A PRAYER WHICH GOD MUST HAVE THOUGHT THOROUGHLY BACONIAN:

> LORD GOD OF HEAVEN AND EARTH, THOU HAST VOUCHSAFED OF THE GRACE TO THOSE OF OUR ORDER, TO KNOW THY WORKS OF CREATION, AND THE SECRETS OF THEM; AND TO DISCERN (AS FAR AS APPERTAINETH TO THE GENERATIONS OF MEN) BETWEEN DIVINE MIRACLES, WORKS OF NATURE, WORKS OF ART, AND IMPOSTURES AND ILLUSIONS OF ALL SORTS. I DO HERE ACKNOWLEDGE BEFORE THIS PEOPLE, THAT THE THING WHICH WE NOW SEE BEFORE OUR EYES IS THY FINGER AND A TRUE MIRACLE; AND FORASMUCH AS WE LEARN IN OUR BOOKS THAT THOU NEVER WORKEST MIRACLES BUT TO A DIVINE AND EXCELLENT END, (FOR THE LAWS OF NATURE ARE THINE OWN LAWS, AND THOU EXCEEDEST THEM NOT BUT UPON GREAT CAUSE,) WE MOST HUMBLY BESEECH THEE 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.[18]

THE WISE MAN, IT WILL BE NOTED, SOUNDS MORE LIKE A PIOUS NOTARY PUBLIC THAN A MAN WHO HAS JUST WITNESSED A MIRACLE. ALL THE MYSTERY, CHARM, AND BEAUTY OF THE SUPERNATURAL DISAPPEAR AS THE SCIENTIST STAMPS THIS MIRACLE APPROVED.

AFTER OFFERING HIS PRAYER, THE WISE MAN FOUND THAT HIS BOAT WAS UNBOUND AND THEREFORE BEGAN ROWING TOWARD THE PILLAR;

18. IBID., PP. 137-48.

BUT AS HE APPROACHED, IT BURST INTO FRAGMENTS OF LIGHT AND DISAPPEARED. LEFT IN ITS PLACE WAS A SMALL CEDAR CHEST, OR ARK. AFTER THE WISE MAN HAD TAKEN IT REVERENTLY INTO HIS BOAT, THE CHEST OPENED ITSELF

> AND THERE WERE FOUND IN IT A BOOK AND A LETTER; BOTH WRITTEN IN FINE PARCHMENT, AND WRAPPED IN SINDONS OF LINEN. THE BOOK CONTAINED ALL THE CANONICAL BOOKS OF THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENT, ACCORDING AS YOU [THE STRANGERS] HAVE THEM, (FOR WE KNOW WELL WHAT THE CHURCHES WITH YOU RECEIVE); AND THE APOCALYPSE ITSELF, AND SOME OTHER BOOKS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT WHICH WERE NOT AT THAT TIME WRITTEN WERE NONETHELESS IN THE BOOK.[19]

THE LETTER WAS AN AFFIDAVIT FROM THE APOSTLE BARTHOLOMEW, WHO IN A "VISION OF GLORY" WAS INSTRUCTED TO COMMIT THE ARK TO THE WAVES; AND HE TESTIFIES AND DECLARES "UNTO THE PEOPLE WHERE GOD SHALL ORDAIN THIS ARK TO COME TO LAND, THAT IN THE SAME DAY IS COME UNTO THEM SALVATION AND PEACE AND GOOD-WILL, FROM THE FATHER, AND FROM THE LORD JESUS."[20] TO EXPEDITE READING OF THE SCRIPTURES AND THE LETTER, GOD WROUGHT ANOTHER MIRACLE, ENABLING EACH INHABITANT OF THE ISLAND TO READ THESE WORKS IN HIS NATIVE TONGUE. IN THIS MANNER WAS BENSALEM SAVED FROM INFIDELITY. NOT UNTIL THE DAYS OF JOSEPH SMITH WAS CHRISTENDOM TO RECEIVE AGAIN SUCH A GRACIOUS FAVOR FROM THE ALMIGHTY.

IT IS NOT POSSIBLE TO DETERMINE WHAT SORT OF RELIGIOUS CEREMONIES ARE CONDUCTED IN BENSALEM. EVERY IMPORTANT MAN

19. IBID., P. 138. 20. IBID.

WE ENCOUNTER IS FIERCELY HOMILETIC. THE GOVERNOR OF THE HOUSE OF STRANGERS, A PROTOTYPE OF THE Y.M.C.A., IS BY VOCATION A CHRISTIAN PRIEST. THE TIRSAN, OR "FATHER OF THE FAMILY," BLESSES HIS SON AS IF HE WERE IN FULL ORDERS; THE JEWS--OF WHOM THERE ARE A FEW "STIRPS" LEFT--CONCEDE TO THE SAVIOR "MANY HIGH ATTRIBUTES"; AND THE FATHER OF SOLOMON'S HOUSE (THE ONE WHO TALKS TO THE STRANGERS) CLEARLY CONCEIVES OF HIMSELF AS A MICROCOSM OF CHRISTIAN VIRTUES. RELIGIOUS FACTION IS APPARENTLY UNKNOWN. THE JEWS ARE LEFT TO THEMSELVES, BUT UNLIKE THE JEWS OF "OTHER PARTS," THEY HAVE NO ILL-WILL FOR THE CHRISTIANS. THE JEW WE MET EARLIER ACKNOWLEDGES THE FACT THAT CHRIST WAS BORN OF A VIRGIN AND ADMITS THAT HE WAS "MORE THAN A MAN." HOWEVER, THE JEW STILL POSSESSES A FEW IDLE DREAMS ABOUT DIVINITY.

ALTHOUGH THE DETAILS OF THE STRUCTURE OF THE CHURCH OF CHRIST IN BENSALEM ARE NOT REVEALED, WE CAN ONLY IMAGINE, I BELIEVE, THAT THE FATHERS OF THE COLLEGE OF SIX DAYS' WORK ARE STILL BEING CONSULTED ON MATTERS OF THE HIGHEST SPIRITUAL CONCERN. CERTAINLY THEY ARE THOUGHT TO BE (BY THEMSELVES AS WELL AS THEIR COUNTRYMEN) THE MOST VENERABLE CITIZENS OF THE COMMUNITY. LIKE A CHARITABLE PRIEST, THE FATHER WHOM WE MEET CALLS EVERYONE "MY SON," AND EVEN WHEN HE IS ENMESHED IN BACON'S MOST AWKWARDLY MECHANICAL PARAGRAPH, HE MANAGES TO EXUDE SPIRITUAL MAJESTY:

> GOD BLESS THEE, MY SON; I WILL GIVE THEE THE GREATEST JEWEL I HAVE. FOR I WILL IMPART

> UNTO THEE, FOR THE LOVE OF GOD AND MEN, A RELATION OF THE TRUE STATE OF SALOMON'S HOUSE. I WILL KEEP THIS ORDER. FIRST, I WILL SET FORTH UNTO YOU THE END OF OUR FOUNDATION. SECONDLY, THE PREPARATIONS AND INSTRUMENTS WE HAVE FOR OUR WORKS. THIRDLY, THE SEVERAL EMPLOYMENTS AND FUNCTIONS WHEREUNTO OUR FELLOWS ARE ASSIGNED. AND FOURTHLY THE ORDINANCES AND RITES WHICH WE OBSERVE.[21]

THIS FATHER, WHO IS NO DOUBT TYPICAL OF HIS CLASS, IS ABLY DESCRIBED BY EDWIN ABBOTT:

> NO READER OF THE NEW ATLANTIS CAN FAIL TO BE STRUCK BY THE RELIGIOUS LIGHT IN WHICH THE VENERABLE FATHER OF SALOMON'S HOUSE IS REGARDED. HE IS NO MERE STUDENT OR SPECIALIST; HE IS A BENEFACTOR OF THE HUMAN RACE, A FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY, A MEDIATOR BETWEEN MAN AND THE LAWS OF GOD, 'HAVING AN ASPECT AS ONE THAT PITIES MEN'; NOT A RHETORICIAN OR PREACHING PRELATE, BUT A PRIEST OF SCIENCE BLESSING THE PEOPLE WITH OUTSTRETCHED HAND 'IN SILENCE' AMIDST THE SPONTANEOUS VENERATION OF HIS COUNTRYMEN.[22]

A MEMBER OF THE ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION WOULD PROBABLY SEE NOTHING IRONIC ABOUT THE FATHER'S MULTIPURPOSE COMMUNITY ROLE, BUT A HUMBLE PRIEST--IN WHATEVER AGE--MIGHT ASK IF THE FATHER DID NOT PROFESS TOO MUCH.

WHAT I WISH TO DEMONSTRATE MORE THAN ANYTHING ELSE IN THIS DISCUSSION OF THE NEW ATLANTIS IS THAT FORMALIZED RELIGION HAS A SUBORDINATE ROLE IN THE TOTAL LIFE OF THE STATE. THE LAWS OF BENSALEM, THE COLLEGE ITSELF, THE END OF BENSALEM'S CULTURE WERE ALL ESTABLISHED BEFORE THE MIRACULOUS DELIVERY OF THE SCRIPTURES. IT MIGHT BE SAID, IN FACT,

21. IBID., P. 156.

22. FRANCIS BACON, P. 425.

THAT CHRISTIANITY WAS A WINDFALL TO THE BENSALEMITES. IT DID NOT ALTER THE COURSE OF THEIR SOCIETY AND MOST CERTAINLY DID NOT DETHRONE THE SCIENTISTS OF THE COLLEGE. RATHER, AS ABBOTT SAYS, THESE MEN HAVE BECOME THE TRUE MEDIATORS BETWEEN THE TWO KINGDOMS. THE FATHER'S PEARL OF GREAT PRICE, THE "GREATEST JEWEL" HE HAS, IN HIS KNOWLEDGE OF THE PHYSICAL UNIVERSE. A FEW DECADES LATER, BUNYAN'S FAITH ENCOUNTERED SUCH A MAN AND CHOSE TO CALL HIM SHAME, A MAN WHO HAD NEVER, IN SPITE OF GOOD INTENTIONS, GOTTEN FAR ALONG THE ROAD TO THE CELESTIAL CITY.

WHEN BACON ESTABLISHED THE GROUND-RULES FOR THE NEW PHILOSOPHY, HE ASSURED SENSITIVE PATRONS OF OTHERWORLDLINESS THAT THE NEW PHILOSOPHERS COULD BE LIKENED TO ADAM BEFORE THE FALL. THEY, LIKE ADAM, WERE MORALLY FREE TO GO ABOUT THE GARDEN OF THE PHYSICAL WORLD GIVING SUBTITLES TO THE PICTURES FOUND IN GOD'S FIRST BOOK--THE BOOK OF NATURE. THEY WOULD WALK HUMBLY THROUGH THE GARDEN, AND IF THEY SHOULD CHANCE UPON THE FORBIDDEN TREE, THEY WOULD SWERVE ABRUPTLY TO THE RIGHT OR THE LEFT, REMEMBERING WELL WHAT EVE HAD TAUGHT THEM ABOUT TRESPASSING ON THE PRIVATE GROUNDS OF GOD. YET, I THINK IT IS NOT UNFAIR TO BACON TO SAY THAT HIS FATHER, THOUGH HE MAY NOT HAVE PLUCKED THE FORBIDDEN FRUIT, HAS BEGUN TO LINGER BY THE TREE. WHEN MEN ARE SCHOOLED TO LEARN THE HABIT OF DOUBT, AND WHEN THEY HAVE MANAGED TO MAKE THE KINGDOM OF MAN THOROUGHLY

RATIONAL, THEY BEGIN TO REDUCE FAITH ITSELF TO THE DEMANDS OF THE EMPIRICAL MIND. THAT IS WHY THE FATHER IS A PRIEST OF SCIENCE RATHER THAN A PRIEST OF GOD WHO IS ALSO A SCIENTIST.

THE RELIGIOUS DILEMMA OF BACON'S APOLOGY FOR LEARNING IS SIGNIFICANTLY INVOLVED IN THE FACT THAT IN THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES REFORM DIRECTED AT ONE SEGMENT OF SOCIETY IMMEDIATELY DREW THE ATTENTION OF OTHER SEGMENTS AND FREQUENTLY NEEDED THEIR SUPPORT. BACON, BECAUSE HE WAS NOT A "CLOSET PENMAN," REALIZED THAT HE HAD BEFORE HIM THE TASK OF PREPARING TWO RATHER DIFFERENT BUT HOPELESSLY ENTANGLED ENVIRONMENTS FOR THE NEW PHILOSOPHY. THE FIRST ENVIRONMENT CONCERNED THE MIND OF MAN ITSELF, A CHAMBER FILLED WITH THE DEBRIS OF THE AGES AND CONSTANTLY DISARRANGED BY THE RECURRING ABERRATIONS AND TREMBLINGS OF ITS OWN WALLS. IT WAS A CHAMBER WHICH NEEDED TO BE SWEPT CLEAN SO THAT THE NEW SCIENTISTS COULD ENTER ITS GLOOMY INTERIOR, LIGHT ITS CORNERS, AND PLUMB AND BRACE ITS WALLS. IF THIS WORK COULD BE DONE, THE BUILDERS OF THE KINGDOM OF MAN COULD BEGIN TO ERECT THEIR STRUCTURES. THIS WAS ONE PROBLEM, BUT IT WAS ALSO NECESSARY TO PROVIDE A PROPER SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT FOR THE NEW PHILOSOPHER, AN ENVIRONMENT IN WHICH THE NATION'S ENERGY COULD BE FULLY UTILIZED IN THE ADVANCEMENT OF LEARNING. SCIENTIFIC PROJECTS NEEDED "PHILOSOPHICAL" SUPPORT, BUT THEY ALSO NEEDED PATRONS WITH MONEY; THEY NEEDED THE ATTENTION OF THE CLASSES OF PEOPLE WHO HAD THE MEANS TO BUILD

SOLOMON'S HOUSE. WHO WOULD STAND IN THE WAY? THE IDEA OF SOCIAL WASTE, OF THE INCESSANT DISSIPATION OF HUMAN ENERGY, IS FUNDAMENTAL TO BACON'S CONCEPT OF LEARNING; AND TIME AND TIME AGAIN WHEN HE LOOKED CRITICALLY AT SOCIAL FORCES, WHEN HE SAW LINES OF ENERGY FOLLOWING UNFRUITFUL COURSES, HE PLACED A DAMNING FINGER ON THE RELIGIOUS SENSIBILITY. IT SEEMED, HE SAID TO TOBY MATTHEW, THAT RELIGIOUS CONTROVERSIES COULD CHECK THE ADVANCEMENT OF LEARNING--AS THEY HAD DONE FOR CENTURIES--AND ANY MAN COULD SEE THAT THE LONG DEBATE BETWEEN THE ANGLICANS AND PURITANS HAD HAMSTRUNG THE STATE. JAMES COULD NOT EVEN RUN HIS OWN HOUSEHOLD, MUCH LESS SPONSOR LEARNING. WHEREVER BACON TURNED, AND WHEREVER HE HAD TURNED SINCE HIS ENTRY INTO THE NATIONAL LIFE, HE SAW THAT THE MAN WHO WAS MORE INTERESTED IN HIS SOUL THAN IN HIS STATE HAD STOOD WITH BARED TEETH TO TURN BACK THE NEW PHILOSOPHY. I THINK IT IS ACCURATE TO SAY THAT BACON BELIEVED THE VOCIFEROUS SPOKESMEN OF RELIGION HAD BEEN GIVEN AN AMPLE OPPORTUNITY TO DEMONSTRATE THEIR WORTH TO MAN. THEY HAD DONE MUCH TO EXALT HIM ABOVE THE BEAST; THEY HAD GIVEN HIM A SENSE OF DESTINY AND HAD TAUGHT HIM THE NECESSARY DIALOGUE OF HUMILITY. BUT THEY HAD NOT TAUGHT HIM HOW TO DISCOVER AND ENJOY THE BLESSINGS OF THIS WORLD. THEY HAD TOLD HIM NOTHING SENSIBLE ABOUT REFRIGERATION, COSMOLOGY, GRAFTING, CROSS-BREEDING, MEDICINE, MINING, OR CHEMISTRY. AND FROM ALL APPEARANCES, IT SEEMED APPARENT THAT THEY NEVER WOULD.

THERE WAS ALSO ABUNDANT EVIDENCE IN BACON'S FILES TO SUPPORT THE CONCLUSION THAT RELIGION HAD HAD ITS CHANCE TO TEACH MEN TO BE CIVIL--AND THAT IT HAD FAILED. AS A NOTED ANTHROPOLOGIST HAS RECENTLY SAID,[23] BACON WAS FULLY CONSCIOUS OF THE FACT THAT HE LIVED IN A BARBARIC AGE IN WHICH MAN'S PREDATORY INSTINCTS WERE STILL HIGHLY DEVELOPED. HE WAS THE FIRST SCIENTIFIC SCHOLAR, SAYS EISELEY, "TO APPROACH THE INCIPIENT INSTITUTION OF SCIENCE FROM THE VIEWPOINT OF A PRACTICAL STATESMAN."[24] AND I THINK WE HAVE SEEN THAT AS A PRACTICAL STATESMAN BACON HAD COME TO BELIEVE THAT BARBARISM, "BLOODY THOUGHTS AND BLOODY DEEDS," WAS ALL TO FREQUENTLY SYNONYMOUS WITH RELIGIOUS ZEAL. UNTIL MEN COULD LEARN TO BE MORE REASONABLE ABOUT THEIR FAITHS, THEY COULD NOT BE EXPECTED TO CONTRIBUTE MUCH TOWARD THE PROGRESS OF LEARNING.

FORTY YEARS AFTER FRANCIS BACON'S DEATH, JOHN MILTON, NO STRANGER BY THAT TIME TO THE PROBLEMS OF CHURCH AND STATE, EVOKED THE HEAV'NLY MUSE TO AID HIM IN HIS SOARING ATTEMPT TO "JUSTIFY THE WAYS OF GOD TO MEN." IT HAD SEEMED TO HIM THAT ALL THE GREAT MUTATIONS OF FAITH HAD NOT BEEN WORKED, THAT THERE WAS STILL NEED FOR RAPHAEL TO SIT UPON THE GREEN BANKS OF EDEN AND CHAT AMICABLY ABOUT THE KNOTTY PROBLEMS OF

23. LOREN EISELEY, FRANCIS BACON AND THE MODERN DILEMMA (UNIVERSITY OF NEBRASKA PRESS, 1962), P. 55.

24. IBID., P. 22.

SALVATION AND ANGELIC DIGESTION. IN RELIGIOUS TURMOIL MILTON HAD FOUND THE INSPIRATION TO ATTEMPT ONCE MORE TO ANSWER THE CRIES OF THE CHRISTIAN SOUL, FOR EVEN THOUGH THEY WERE ZEALOUS CRIES, THE CRIES OF MEN WHO HAD MADE CONSCIENCE A MATTER OF FACTION, THEY WERE NONETHELESS THE VOICES OF HUMANITY. BACON WAS NOT, OF COURSE, DEAF TO THE SPIRITUAL AGONIES OF MANKIND, BUT, UNLIKE THE GREAT SPIRITUAL LEADERS OF HIS ERA, MEN WHO CUSTOMARILY DISCUSSED SPIRITUAL MALAISE IN TERMS OF THE FALL, HE LOOKED FOR THE ROOTS OF RELIGIOUS DISCONTENTS AND FRUSTRATIONS IN THE COMPREHENSIVE CATEGORIES OF THE IDOLS. OR, TO STATE THE PROPOSITION MORE PRECISELY, HE LOOKED THERE FIRST. IN APHORISM XXIII OF THE NOVUM ORGANUM HE SAID

> THERE IS A GREAT DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE IDOLS OF THE HUMAN MIND AND THE IDEAS OF THE DIVINE. THAT IS TO SAY, BETWEEN CERTAIN EMPTY DOGMAS, AND THE TRUE SIGNATURES AND MARKS SET UPON THE WORKS OF CREATION AS THEY ARE FOUND IN NATURE.

IT WAS CUSTOMARY IN HIS AGE, AS IT HAD BEEN FOR CENTURIES, TO RESOLVE THIS "GREAT DIFFERENCE" WITH EXEGESES OF THE WORD, A PROCESS WHICH IN BACON'S MIND HAD BEEN SINGULARLY UNFRUITFUL IN THE AREA OF FAITH AND DISTINCTLY HARMFUL TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF A RATIONAL TEMPORAL LIFE IN BOTH CATHOLIC AND PROTESTANT STATES. IF THERE WERE NOT TO BE AN ENDLESS MULTIPLICATION OF "EMPTY DOGMAS," AN ENDLESS WASTE OF MIND AND MATTER, THE IDOLS OF THE HUMAN MIND WOULD HAVE TO BE CORRECTED WITH A NEW FORCE WHICH COULD TRANSCEND THE

DEMONSTRABLE LIMITATIONS OF THE DEVOUTLY RELIGIOUS SENSIBILITY.

AS I SAID IN THE LAST CHAPTER, THE PARADOX OF BACON'S FAITH LIES SOMEWHERE ON THAT HAZARDOUS GROUND BETWEEN "WARRANTABLE BY RELIGION" AND "IN POLICY OF ABSOLUTE NECESSITY." BACON AT THAT POINT WAS SPEAKING OF CIVIL GOVERNMENT, BUT THERE IS EVERYWHERE IN HIS PHILOSOPHICAL WORKS THE EQUALLY DEMANDING THESIS THAT THE ADVANCEMENT OF LEARNING HAS ALSO ITS ABSOLUTE NECESSITIES. BACON IS, OF COURSE, A GOOD DEAL MORE CAUTIOUS IN THESE WORKS ABOUT DEFINING THE BOUNDARIES OF NECESSITY, BUT THEY ARE THERE NONETHELESS. THE MIND IS NOT SOMETHING WHICH CAN BE EXTRACTED FROM THE MAN AND EDUCATED IN BLISSFUL SOLITUDE WHILE THE BODY AND SOUL HAGGLE UNNOTICED IN THE BACKGROUND. QUITE TO THE CONTRARY, IT COMES TO THE ENVIRONS OF THE NEW PHILOSOPHY IN ITS COMPOSITE FORM, SAGGING WITH THE BURDENS OF RELIGIOUS PREJUDICE AND SUPERSTITION; AND IT WOULD BE A MISTAKE OF THE FIRST ORDER TO SUPPOSE THAT BACON, THINKING OF HIMSELF AS THE GREAT DEAN OF ADMISSIONS, WAS NOT MORE THAN A LITTLE SADDENED AT THE RELIGIOUS BACKGROUND OF HIS STUDENTS.

IT HAS BEEN BY NO MEANS UNCOMMON FOR STUDENTS OF WESTERN THOUGHT TO SUSPECT THAT BACON'S APOLOGY FOR LEARNING, THOUGH EMINENTLY GENEROUS TO THE RELIGIOUS COMMUNITY, CLOAKED A GENUINE RELIGIOUS SKEPTICISM. IN AN ADMITTEDLY CIRCUITOUS FASHION, I HOPE WE ARE NOW IN A BETTER POSITION TO EVALUATE

THIS HIGHLY IMPORTANT PREMISE. I BELIEVE THAT THE RELIGIO-POLITICAL TRACTS IN NO WAY SUGGEST THAT BACON WAS NOT A FIRM BELIEVER IN THE PRESENCE OF THE CHRISTIAN GOD, A BEING WHOSE WILL WAS SUFFICIENTLY REVEALED IN THE SCRIPTURES. BUT IF WE LOOK IN THESE WORKS FOR AN INSTRUMENT WHEREBY THIS WILL MIGHT BE INTERPRETED AND WHEREBY IT MIGHT BE CONTINUALLY DELIVERED TO ALL MEN, WE SHALL NOT FIND IT. BACON'S CHURCH OF CHRIST IS AN ELUSIVE BODY, AN ERRING AND DELINQUENT YOUTH SORELY IN NEED OF GUIDANCE AND COUNSEL. IT HAS NO DYNAMIC OF ITS OWN, NO INHERENT QUALITIES CAPABLE OF BEING CALLED UPON TO PURIFY ITS FORMS AND CONTAIN ITS UNCIVIL PASSIONS. CHURCHMEN THEMSELVES, EVER SUBJECT TO THE IDOLS OF THE CAVE, ARE EITHER TOO RIGIDLY CONSERVATIVE OR TOO FANATICALLY REVOLUTIONARY TO SOLVE THEIR OWN PROBLEMS. THE PEOPLE, THE BEAST WITH MANY HEADS, ARE ADRIFT SOMEWHERE IN THE LIMBO BETWEEN INFLEXIBLE FUNDAMENTALISM AND HYPNOTIC REVIVALISM. GOD CANNOT HELP THEM, CHURCHES CANNOT HELP THEM, AND THEY CANNOT HELP THEMSELVES. THIS, THEN, IF THE FORM WHICH BACON'S RELIGIOUS SKEPTICISM TAKES. IN ONE SENSE WE MAY SAY THAT IT IS NOT A RELIGIOUS SKEPTICISM AT ALL, THAT IT IS RATHER A DENUNCIATION OF MAN'S UNMITIGATED BUNGLING OF THE WORD OF GOD, THAT IT IS THE VOICE OF REASON CALLING FOR A HALT TO THE WASTE OF RELIGIOUS ENERGY. CERTAINLY ANYONE WHO HAS SAT FACE TO FACE FOR FIVE MINUTES WITH A RELIGIOUS BIGOT OR FANATIC UNDERSTANDS THE MERIT OF BACON'S CONVICTIONS,

AND CERTAINLY MANY OF HIS CONTEMPORARIES UNDERSTOOD WELL THE FRUITS OF RELIGIOUS PREJUDICE. BUT AS I SUGGESTED EARLIER, WE MUST NOT UNDERESTIMATE WHAT BACON'S EVALUATION OF THE RELIGIOUS TEMPERAMENT MEANT TO CHRISTIANITY OR IMAGINE THAT BACON HIMSELF WAS UNAWARE OF THE IMPLICATIONS OF HIS THEORIES. HE KNEW AS WELL AS ANYONE IN HIS DAY THAT DEVOTED CHURCHMEN, NOT BENEVOLENT STATES, TRANSMITTED FAITH; AND HE KNEW THAT NO AMOUNT OF POLITICAL STABILITY IN ITSELF COULD MAKE GOOD CHRISTIANS OUT OF GOOD CITIZENS. BUT HIS BOOK OF REVELATIONS FORETOLD A KINGDOM OF MAN WHOSE INCOMPARABLE BENEFITS TO THE MIND AND BODY TENDED TO WARRANT ANY POTENTIAL RISKS TO THE SOUL. PERHAPS HE FELT THAT IN A PERIOD "NOT DEFINITE," AFTER THE MIND HAD BECOME A CLEAN AND WELL-LIGHTED PLACE AND THE COLLEGE OF SIX DAYS' WORK HAD BEEN BUILT, THERE WOULD BE TIME FOR A RACE OF TRULY INDIFFERENT MEN TO FIND THE ONE GOD BEHIND THE ENCHANTED GLASS.

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