7

‘Books will speak plain’? Colonialism, Jewishness and politics in Bacon’s *New Atlantis*

CLAIRE JOWITT

Francis Bacon’s *Of Counsel* (1625) asserts that ‘Books will speak plain when counsellors blanch.’¹ In other words, a counsellor – even one like Bacon, languishing on the margins of political favour – will find it easier to offer advice to his prince through the medium of the written word. A counsellor can give better advice away from the intimidating presence of his monarch.

Bacon’s statement in *Of Counsel* provides a useful way of reading some of the complexities of the *New Atlantis*. It suggests that this scientific utopia might be seen as advice literature directed towards the Stuart monarchy. Bacon’s earlier works promoting England’s scientific future, such as *The Advancement of Learning* (1605) and *Novum Organum* (1620), had, superficially at least, been approved by James I. For example, while Bacon’s dedication to James in *The Advancement of Learning* modestly states ‘that though I cannot positively or affirmatively advise your Majesty’, it nevertheless asserts that ‘I may excite your princely cogitations ... to extract particulars for this purpose [the advancement of learning] agreeable to your magnanimity and wisdom’.² Even though James may have ignored Bacon’s scientific schemes, he certainly promoted him within governmental hierarchies. Consequently, it appears that the *New Atlantis* could ‘speak plain’ since it was merely an imaginative continuation of the scientific programme Bacon had previously outlined in theory.

However, given Bacon's precarious position after his impeachment, his ability to 'speak plain' should be seen as more equivocal and complex than reading the *New Atlantis* simply as advice to princes would imply. Bacon's praise of New Atlantis's system – particularly King Solamona's role within it – is read here as covertly criticising James and his rule. On one level, then, the *New Atlantis* is an advice book that criticises James I in a deliberate, if coded, way. In other words, the *New Atlantis* does offer advice that might make a counsellor 'blanch', but it certainly does not 'speak plain'.

Such an analysis suggests that Bacon's fictional world can be read as a means of discussing England's policies. This interpretation will be tested in this essay by focusing on two contentious contemporary issues. Specifically, I explore whether Bacon argues in the *New Atlantis* for England's continued imperial growth and whether he advocates a policy of Christian toleration of Jews. In *Of Plantations* Bacon describes colonies as 'heroical works'.³ Bacon's attitude to colonial expansion in the *New Atlantis* is rather more complex. In this utopian world colonial endeavour is redundant. The scientocracy described in the *New Atlantis* is able to care for all the population's needs without territorial expansion or foreign trade. However, for the Spanish sailors in particular, and for Europe in general, colonial endeavour remains important. The *New Atlantis*, then, displays different attitudes to colonialism according to the relative civilisation and scientific sophistication of the home nation. The *New Atlantis* shows both the present inadequacies of James' England and offers a model for the nation's future.

The *New Atlantis*'s figurative representation of England is also explored by focusing on Bacon's representation of Jewishness. Early modern culture represented Jewishness in contradictory ways. Bacon's intervention in this discourse can be seen as similarly ambivalent. This essay shows that Bacon reproduces ideologically mediated inconsistencies endemic to English culture of the period. My reading of the *New Atlantis* shows the difficulties of 'speak[ing] plain' in two ways: first, Bacon's hostility to James could not be explicitly articulated as 'plain speaking' was a luxury that politically he could not afford; second, the fact that the *New Atlantis* reproduces the social contradictions and tensions

of the time means that Bacon was unable to formulate unequivocal policies concerning Christian toleration of Jews and colonial endeavour. In these discourses, 'plain speech' was a cultural impossibility.

Colonialism and travel in the early seventeenth century

By 1627, when Francis Bacon's *New Atlantis* was published, England had established overseas colonies and trade networks in both the Old and New Worlds.⁴ Since the publication of Hakluyt's ambitious *Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation* in 1589 – when England's empire was only embryonic – significant increases in both territory and trade had occurred.⁵ East Indies trade started to generate large profits; until 1615 the Russia Company was successful in its whaling voyages; in 1618 trade to Africa, controlled by the Africa Company, was re-established; while in 1606, James I issued the First Virginia Charters.⁶ In the years preceding the *New Atlantis*'s appearance, then, various attempts were made to expand England's territory in the New World.⁷ Promoters of English settlement in North America argued that these activities would either yield precious metals or establish new routes to the East, via the West. Finally, and most potently, since precious metals had not been found strewn lavishly around colonial landscapes, promoters argued for the benefits of permanent self-supporting colonies comprising a population that was, for one reason or another, superfluous in England. There was also a vast body of writings concerning the New World, offering a bewildering array of interpretations of the life there. Some commentators argued that America was an ideal world, others represented it as dissolute.⁸ It could either regenerate or contaminate the Old World. What was needed was a strategy to manage this dangerous ambivalence. The formulation of such a strategy was, I argue, Francis Bacon's chief goal in the *New Atlantis*.

As previous commentators have noted, Bacon's ideal society was similar to the civilisations described in Thomas More's *Utopia* (1516), Johann Valentin Andreae's *Christianopolis* (1619), and Tommaso Campanella's *Civitas Solis* (1625).⁹ All of these imagined societies were organised around particular structuring

principles – religion, state control, or science. The parallels between More's text and the *New Atlantis* are particularly striking since both take the discovery of America as the imaginative opening from which to generate a fantasy society.¹⁰ For Thomas More, writing at the beginning of the sixteenth century, the recognition of America as a New World rather than part of the Old World, the Indies, was a highly topical issue. More's American setting provided both the text *Utopia* and imaginary place Utopia with a context against which Hythlodæus' discovery narrative appeared authentic, since it anticipated detailed geographic and chorographic information concerning regions whose status was still in dispute. Though writing over one hundred years later, Bacon also connected his imaginary civilisation with the new continent. In the text itself, Bacon refers to 'Atlantis', the island – named after Atlas and, supposedly, inhabited by his descendants – described by Plato in *Timæus* and *Critias*.¹¹ In 1552, Francisco Lopez de Gomara in *Historia de la conquista de Mexico* had equated Plato's Atlantis with the continent of America. More correctly, the existing American landmass and people were all that remained of Atlantis because, after an earthquake, the sea had inundated the original continent.¹² Bacon refers to this legend since Great Atlantis (America) had been depopulated by flood in the past.

Bacon's location of New Atlantis in the little-known regions beyond the New World, between Great Atlantis and the Orient, increased both the authenticity and credibility of his narrative. In the 1620s Europeans still did not know the scope of America. French and English colonial outposts were dotted in a piecemeal fashion along North America's eastern coastline, and the Portuguese and Spanish in particular had established sizeable settlements in South America.¹³ Indeed, the occasion for the *New Atlantis* is its accidental discovery by Spanish tars attempting to sail from Peru to China and Japan. However, America's Western coastline and, in particular, the continent's interior, had only been sketchily mapped.¹⁴ Most of what we now know as North and South America still had to be surveyed and it was thought highly possible that further discoveries of new lands would be made specifically in these areas. Furthermore, this geographical position had an ideological significance. The East had long been

associated with fantastic and marvellous peoples, landscapes, and civilisations.¹⁵ The people imagined to be living in these regions were regularly described as, for example, two-headed, hermaphroditic, prodigious, or monstrous.¹⁶ Consequently, even though in the 1620s America had become incorporated into Western perceptions of the known world since several European states had settlements and subjects there, its nethermost regions could still yield fantastic peoples and civilisations. America and the regions potentially beyond it were simultaneously part of the known world, since reports of the life to be experienced there were in circulation, but could also be represented imaginatively on maps and in literature since their scope was not yet known. By placing New Atlantis in the interstice between America and the Orient, Bacon's text focuses on continuing European assimilative problems (conceptual and practical) with regard to geographically remote regions.

But what was Bacon's attitude to colonialism by the mid-1620s? In his earlier works, such as *The Advancement of Learning* and *The Great Instauration*, he had appeared concerned that England should rival Spanish imperium. On the frontispiece of the latter text, for example, Bacon placed an image of the Pillars of Hercules – the traditional limits of knowledge – with a galleon sailing beyond them.¹⁷ Furthermore, he appropriated the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V's expansionist and heroic motto *plus ultra* (further yet) and applied it to his scientific schemes.¹⁸ Such images were used to argue that future English discoveries – including navigational voyages – would restore Man's lost dominion over Nature. But to discover whether Bacon's confident representation of the benefits of scientific colonialism continues in his later work we need to look at the ways in which Bacon represented science, travel, and colonialism in the *New Atlantis*.

The society described in the *New Atlantis* is an authoritarian one: the state of Bensalem is controlled by an autonomous scientocracy that focuses on the institution of Salomon's House, the centre for empirical research. Contact between the scientists and the larger society is limited; one of the Fathers of Salomon's House visits the capitol in the course of the narrator's stay but this is the only contact in twelve years. Indeed, though this society clearly privileges science, the narrator and reader only

hear about the achievements and advances made by Salomon's House through the Father's descriptions. Apart from antiseptic oranges and 'small grey or whitish pills' – which cure the illnesses of the narrator's compatriots on arrival – no descriptions of scientific achievements and inventions are provided (461). In this text, then, both narrator and reader wait to be allowed to see the social and political benefits of scientocratic rule first-hand. From the very beginning the narrator is aware that Salomon's House is the politically dominant institution in the state. The Governor of the Strangers' House – the place where the narrator and his compatriots are accommodated on arrival – calls Salomon's House 'the very eye of this kingdom' (464). This metaphor – with its empirical, ocular resonance – emphasises the all-powerful nature of the institution. The accolade is given during the description of New Atlantis' conversion to Christianity. Indeed, out of all that saw the 'great pillar of light ... rising from the sea a great way up towards heaven', only the scientist from Salomon's House understood its significance as a message from God (464). Because of the New Atlantans' concern about identifying the religion of the strangers on arrival, and the importance that the culture accords to the conversion of New Atlantis to Christianity, scientific perception, as well as that of the individual scientist, is applauded. However, since Salomon's House and the larger society of Bensalem are kept apart, the *New Atlantis* repeatedly digresses from its ostensible aim of making explicit the benefits of co-operation between science and society. Indeed, as J. C. Davis argues, the *New Atlantis* can be seen as a quest narrative since the text never delivers a full account of the benefits of a society governed by science.¹⁹ Similar to other quest stories, strangers – mariners and readers alike – have a series of tests they must pass before being allowed to see the epicentre of the *New Atlantis*. The close association between the reader and the narrator is designed to coerce the reader into supporting the ideology of the world s/he is entering. Just as the mariners must assert their Christianity before being allowed to land, the text also attempts to persuade its readers to embrace the normative values of this society. Furthermore, the mariners' position as strangers or outsiders to this society also forces readers to support New Atlantan doctrine. Since Bacon appropriates travel

literature's standard narrative technique – an explorer arrives in a strange world and, in the course of his or her stay, observes, with increasing familiarity, the workings of the alien society – the progress of the narrative charts the strangers' gradual assimilation into this foreign environment. Such strategies attempt to disarm opposition to alien cultures. To serve this end, the trial of strangers continues throughout the story. For example, strangers have to show they are prepared to obey the smaller rules of the society, such as agreeing not to go further than a 'karan ... from the walls of the city, without especial leave,' before they are allowed to proceed to the next stage of their quest (462).

Though it mimics the formal characteristics and style of the kind of voyage narrative to be found in Hakluyt's collection, the *New Atlantis* is – paradoxically – distinctly uneasy in its representation of the benefits of travel. This unease is revealed in other contemporary texts, where travel is represented as a potentially subversive activity that needs strict controls placed upon it. For example, Jerome Turler's *The Traveiller* (1575) was sceptical of travel when seeking to define the 'preceptes of traveyling'.²⁰ Turler argues that a traveller must always remember his homeland and not assume the manners of the people among whom he is living. Thomas More's *Utopia* anticipated these beliefs. More appeared wary of the potential of travel and the contact with strangers which might, he believed, result in social and political discontent in the traveller's home society. The inhabitants of Utopia who wished to travel were allowed to do so by the state only under strict passport controls that defined the limit of their journey.²¹ In Bacon's later text, there was a small but vital change to this cautious attitude towards travel. King Solamona also feared the negative consequences of contact with strangers and other cultures. Yet, though he forbade all citizens to travel outside the boundaries of their national waters, he nonetheless authorised two ships to be sent forth every twelve years. Manned by a staff of three 'research fellows', their mission was to acquire knowledge of 'the sciences, arts, manufacturers and inventions of all the world' (471). The blanket ban imposed upon travel outside the state boundaries in More's ideal society is transformed into a selective and controlled policy of reconnaissance in Bacon's text. In the *New Atlantis* independent travel is

not permitted, but the scientocracy authorises travel missions that support the aims of the state. Useful discoveries made on these government-defined voyages are, the narrator is informed (though we see scant direct evidence), then disseminated by the state. Contact with other cultures and the potential exchange of values are thus strictly limited. Indeed, New Atlantan policy insists that contact with other cultures be a one-way process. In the host country the visiting scientists remain incognito, 'colour[ing] themselves under the names of other nations' (472). This disguise, or camouflage, of their true identity, and the secrecy which characterises the Governor's tantalising but sketchy description of the practicalities of these missions, illustrates Bacon's desire to control the power of travel to effect change. The whole of the central part of the text deals with the reasons behind Europe's ignorance of the existence of New Atlantis but, since Bacon describes the peaceful, utopian lifestyle such isolation has caused, it is clear that he supports the policy. The scientocracy created a system of espionage that has enabled New Atlantis to learn about other countries without becoming subject to haphazard cultural exchange.

Even more significantly, the state in the *New Atlantis* precludes the possibility of telling travellers' tales. Since the scientists live in isolation and the narrator/reader is given no concrete examples of the results of the scientists' foreign espionage activities, the traveller's tales – which simultaneously describe experiences beyond the traveller's home society and demonstrate a desire to be re-included by the home society – cannot be told.²² Travellers' tales serve no purpose for a scientocracy: with their ambiguous anti-establishment resonances that hint at the benefits of subversive individual experience, travellers' tales have no place in a society governed and censored by an autocratic institution.

How, then, is this cautious and authoritarian attitude to travel accommodated by a text that so explicitly imitates the rhetorical strategies of a voyage narrative? There are two different attitudes towards travel within this text, depending on whether the narrator's society or New Atlantis's society is described. New Atlantis is represented to the narrator as self-sufficient since it no longer needs to forge economic links with

other countries. For example, the Governor of the Strangers' House claims that they 'maintain a trade, not for gold, silver, or jewels; nor for silks; nor for spices; nor any other commodity of matter; but only for God's first creature, which was *Light*: to have *light* (I say) of the growth of all parts of the world' (472). However, he goes on to recount a past history of commercial links. Previously, New Atlantans traded with all the great civilisations including the Phoenicians, the Tyrians, the Carthaginians, the Egyptians, the Palestinians, the Chinese, and the Great Atlantans. These earlier trade networks are no longer valued. The fertility of the land and Salomon's House, which seeks 'the true nature of things' in order to give 'the more fruit in the use of them', provide all the materials necessary for the population to enjoy a life of comfort 'without any aid at all of the foreigner' (472). Furthermore, this history of past contacts is figured as a time of national rivalry and war:

The said country of Atlantis, as well as that of Peru, then called Coya, as that of Mexico, then named Tyrambel, were mighty and proud kingdoms in arms, shipping, and riches: so mighty; as at one time (or at least within the space of ten years) they both made two great expeditions; they of Tyramble through the Atlantic to the Mediterranean Sea; and they of Coya through the South Sea upon this our island. (467–8)

The Governor is tantalisingly vague about the outcome of this first expedition into Europe. All he is certain about is that 'there never came back either ship nor man from that voyage' (468). He also describes the way a subsequent hostile expedition by these nations against New Atlantis was speedily and peacefully dealt with. This history has important implications for understanding Bacon's views of colonialism. First, Europe was conquered by the warlike and proud states of Tyrambel and Coya; second, 'Great Atlantis' was punished by 'Divine Revenge' for its ambition with a 'particular deluge or inundation' (468). Consequently, inhabitants of Europe are constructed as descendants of these warlike peoples, and native Americans – who were dispersed and isolated afterwards so that they are effectively a thousand years younger than other peoples – are represented as simple and child-like.²³ Only New Atlantis escaped the negative consequences of these colonial expeditions as the country was strong enough to repulse

hostile marauders and restrained enough not to trounce them unmercifully. It is in the wake of this history that King Solamona, 'doubting novelties, and commixture of manners', establishes an isolationist policy for his country (470). This would seem to mean that New Atlantis was putting forward an anti-colonial argument in attempting to foster a policy against aggressive empire-building.²⁴

However, the text's attitude towards expansion and exploration by European countries is strikingly different from its support of the New Atlantan isolationist policy. The narrator's/reader's contact with this utopian society is designed to be didactic. Though the narrator and his fellows speak Spanish, they function as representatives of Europe as a whole. Neither their Catholicism nor their particular national identity appears important. Rather, these characters are the products of a history of past aggressive colonisation that has affected Europe as a whole. Such a history makes them inferior to their hosts, whose former judiciousness has resulted in a peaceful and advanced civilisation. The appropriation of the rhetorical strategies of a voyage narrative clearly signals that this text was designed to be a learning tool for the reader/narrator. Contact with New Atlantan culture and value systems would enable the voyagers from Europe to observe the workings of a society that would inspire them to implement changes in their homelands on their return to Europe. Indeed, the Father from Salomon's House, at the very end of this fragmentary text, after blessing the narrator (thus showing their shared Christianity), explicitly gives the narrator permission to 'publish it for the good of other nations' (488). The successes of New Atlantis (signalled by its description here as 'God's bosom') need to be promulgated throughout Europe in order to effect the reorganisation of society according to scientific principles.

Bacon's text, then, simultaneously exhibits contrasting attitudes concerning the benefits of colonialism and empire-building. The benefits of government by scientocracy are such that further contact with the outside world is neither necessary nor desirable. New Atlantis is self-sufficient, no longer needing to forge trading links with other areas in the world. Furthermore, the scientocracy is concerned that interaction with less-advanced societies would prove culturally destabilising. However, for the European

visitors in New Atlantis, contact with such a sophisticated society can only be beneficial. Until scientocracies dominate Europe, trade, colonialism and empire-building are not only inevitable, but to be encouraged. If Europe – personified by the Spanish-speaking sailors in this text – had not started to expand its horizons by voyages of exploration and the attendant empire-building, then the valuable association with New Atlantis Bacon describes here could not have been established.

The wisdom of Solomon: the *New Atlantis* and monarchy

Thus far, I have argued that the *New Atlantis* is not a text that explicitly or obviously attacks the Spanish imperium. Rather, Bacon's text refigures the established European hierarchical theory of social development from barbarism to civility.²⁵ Acosta's *Naturall and Morall Historie of the East and West Indies*, translated into English in 1604, was one of Bacon's sources.²⁶ Acosta's text shows a progression in human civilisation from pre-Inca barbarity to natural law and civilisation under the Incas, and, ultimately, to the achievement of Christian culture under Spanish colonialism. In Bacon's text, though, New Atlantans have replaced Europeans as the most civilised nation and, importantly, Europe in general is castigated. However, there are some aspects of the *New Atlantis* that are specifically aimed at English domestic and foreign policies. In particular, Bacon uses the *New Atlantis* as a vehicle to address some of the inadequacies of James I's rule.

Indeed, in the *New Atlantis* King Solamona can be seen as the personification and encapsulation of all the values and policies that Bacon wished James I had followed. Similar to King Solomon of the Hebrews, King Solamona was wise and revered. Bacon explicitly appropriates Scriptural quotation associated with Solomon (1 Kings 4:29) when he describes Solamona's 'large heart' (469). But the New Atlantan monarch's lasting achievement in the *New Atlantis* was his policy to institutionalise science. This strategy has, according to the text, brought about prosperity and stability. By 1623–24 James I, the monarch whom Bacon so hopefully praised in the opening pages of *The Advancement of Learning*, had failed to make any significant financial commitment to projects for the institutionalisation of science in England.

Similar to James I, King Solamona supported a pacific foreign policy; but there were crucial differences between the relative situations of the two kings. The New Atlantan monarch's strategy was based on the essential strength of his nation. As Bacon makes clear, Solamona's kingdom is capable of self-sufficiency and, therefore, he instituted a policy of isolation to protect New Atlantis from foreign interference. James's foreign policy was based on the essential weakness of England's position as he sought to construct England as a diplomatic buffer between warring Catholic and Protestant nations in Europe. By maintaining cordial relations with each of these states or monarchies, whose interests were opposed to each other, England could, James believed, fashion a decisive role for itself.²⁷

One effect of King Solamona's isolationist policy was New Atlantis's concentration upon the organisation of its own internal workings at an optimum level as the society promoted and institutionalised science. James' policies produced no such utopia: rather, the monarch Bacon served experienced a turbulent reign domestically and did not increase England's influence in Europe. Since James had failed to support Bacon's empirical project, little progress had been achieved in the 'arts or manufactures' that could make England self-sufficient. Furthermore, between 1621 and 1624, England suffered an economic crisis during which the balance of payments was extremely unfavourable.²⁸ One of the root causes of this economic crisis had been Alderman Cockayne's project for English cloth merchants to start finishing their cloth products as well as exporting 'in the white' cloth, a policy which received royal support and sponsorship in 1614.²⁹ Though designed to provide employment for English workers, increase profits, and create revenue for the Crown, Cockayne's project was a financial disaster. By 1617 the policy was revoked, but the wool industry had entered recession. As markets shrank, wool prices fell and bankruptcies and unemployment were widespread. The blame for this economic crisis was persistently levelled at James' support of Cockayne's project.³⁰

The failure of James' economic and foreign policies for England is contrasted with the success of those favoured by King Solamona in the *New Atlantis*. Facing financial ruin and banished from the court following his impeachment – for James had failed

to protect his Chancellor against charges of corruption – Bacon signalled his criticisms of James I by identifying similarities between King Solomon of the Hebrews and King Solamona in the *New Atlantis*, which now pointedly excluded his own monarch.³¹ In *The Advancement of Learning* Bacon praised the personal qualities of James I in glowing terms referring to ‘the propriety and excellence of your individual person’ (120). He also linked him with Solomon by appropriating the Scriptural description about the Hebrew king ‘That his heart was as the sands of the sea’ (1 Kings: 4: 29) and complimented James’ perspicacity (120). In other texts written and published prior to his impeachment Bacon clearly associated Solomon’s wisdom with James. For example, when addressing the House of Lords immediately after the king opened the 1618 parliamentary session, Bacon used Solomon’s saying, ‘The words of the wise are as nails and pins driven in and fastened by the masters of assemblies.’ Bacon then advised parliament to heed the King’s wishes, ‘The King is the master of this assembly, and though his words in regards of the sweetness of them do not prick, yet in regard of the weight and wisdom of them, I know they pierce through and through.’³² However, by the time Bacon wrote the *New Atlantis*, James – previously represented as the ‘English Solomon’ by Bacon – was no longer mentioned. Indeed, in the *History of the Reign of King Henry VII* (1622) – the first text he published after his impeachment – Bacon explicitly identified the first Tudor monarch as the ‘English Solomon’. Furthermore, he dedicated this text to Prince Charles rather than King James.³³

In the *New Atlantis* the representation of a model king, who possessed all the positive resemblances of the Hebrew Solomon, served to highlight James’s failure to execute the policies Bacon favoured. James was no longer associated with the king whose wisdom Bacon revered. However, even after his impeachment and the king’s failure to sign his pardon despite repeated requests, Bacon still did not directly attack his monarch. His critique of James was necessarily subtle: as long as there was even a slim chance of pardon, and with his financial affairs in disarray, an explicit attack would have been foolhardy. Consequently, in the *New Atlantis* Bacon’s disillusion with James I – a monarch from whom he had in 1605 confidently expected so much – was

translated into an idealised depiction of King Solamona who had, in the fantasy society of Bensalem, enacted all of Bacon's favoured policies. By 1623–24, Bacon's hopes for England's domestic and foreign expansion and growth were directed towards Prince Charles. In the *New Atlantis* Bacon implied that King James I, by refusing to support the furtherance of empirical knowledge, had failed to shape a decisive role for England against foreign competitors.

The *New Atlantis* does not, therefore, criticise the institution of monarchy since the example of Solamona shows the benefits a good king can bring to a nation. The strategy Bacon employs here – criticising his own monarch through the praise of another – is one which is also used in the text's discussion of the relative merits of the Spanish and English empires. Ostensibly, this text does not appear to attack the Spanish imperium since the civilisation of New Atlantis is used to castigate Europe as a whole. However, in the same way that King Solamona both served to highlight the inadequacies of King James and shape the behaviour of future English monarchs, in the *New Atlantis* the Spanish-speaking sailors' presence is designed to act as a spur to English colonial endeavour even as it shows that James's lacklustre policies have allowed foreign rivals to seize the initiative. The fact that the benefit of first contact with Bacon's utopia falls to Spanish speakers does not signal support for the Iberians. Rather, it shows James' failure to invest in the kind of scientific, navigational and colonial enterprises that might have allowed the English to enjoy such spoils. In the *New Atlantis* Columbus, the man who 'discovered the West Indies' for Spain, is venerated by the Fathers of Salomon's House with a 'statua' (487). Yet, importantly, the Portuguese explorer is just one among a long list of inventors who are all either legendary or cannot be identified. Columbus's inclusion within such an uncertain list and the fact that his discovery was only new knowledge to Europe, not to New Atlantan civilisation, casts a shadow over his achievement. Such circumspection about the rights of Spain to sole dominion in certain New World territories is also revealed in other texts. In *The History of King Henry VII*, Bacon caustically comments that Columbus's sponsor, but for a mishap at sea, would have been England's king.³⁴ The Spanish-speaking sailors' discovery of

New Atlantis works in a similar way: they were fortuitously blown off course from their intended destination of China or Japan. More importantly, though, their discovery of New Atlantis implies that the English are badly governed since James I had not learnt from Henry VII's mistakes. Significant monarchic investment in discovery and new knowledge would have allowed the English to get there first. Not only, then, does Bacon praise Solamona in order to criticise James I, he implies that the Spanish have discovered New Atlantis in order to reveal the lack of emphasis England's monarch places on his country's future international prosperity. The direct expression of such sentiments would indeed make a 'counsellor blanch'.

Joabin, Jewishness and social contradiction in the *New Atlantis*

We have seen the carefully coded manner in which Bacon attacks James I in the *New Atlantis* as he observes the disparity between England's monarch and the New Atlantan king. Bacon's criticisms of James are also signalled by the fact that it is Spanish speakers, not English speakers, who enjoy first contact with New Atlantis. Given the implied criticism of these remarks, it is not surprising that the *New Atlantis* deliberately chooses not to 'speak plain' concerning such matters. It is a text that debates the merits and success of English colonial and monarchic policies camouflaged as a discussion about the government of a foreign and remote civilisation. The last section of this essay also focuses on the ways the *New Atlantis* refuses to 'speak plain' through an examination of Bacon's contradictory representations of Jewishness. The portrayal of Jewishness in the *New Atlantis* has received little scholarly attention yet, since so much of the narrator's understanding of New Atlantan society (particularly non-scientific aspects) is derived from the Jewish character Joabin, it is an area that calls for further exploration.³⁵ Furthermore, because Bacon's text invites readers to see New Atlantis as a metaphor for England, we need to examine the representation of Jewishness in the *New Atlantis* in the light of this identification.

Early seventeenth-century English representations of Jewishness are complex. Officially at least, there was no native Jewish

population – though some Jewish families were present under licence others were disguised as Conversos, or New Christians.³⁶ In addition, there was a strong tradition of anti-Semitic depictions of Jews in circulation that imagined them as treasonous, sexually monstrous, foul smelling, and guilty of the ritual murder of Christians.³⁷ In contrast to these antipathetic depictions, many theologians highlighted the role Christians believed Jews would play in ushering in the millennium. These latter representations were less explicitly hostile, but nevertheless still rendered Jewishness through the filter of Christianity since Jews were only seen positively because they were imminently expected to convert.³⁸

Bacon's representation of the character of Joabin appears to be a conflation of these divergent depictions of Jewishness. Superficially Joabin is described in positive ways: he is depicted as 'a wise man, and learned, and of great policy, and excellently seen in the laws and customs of that nation' (476). Furthermore, and more importantly, the Father of Salomon's House appears to be staying with Joabin whilst he is visiting the city. Such an honour would at first sight suggest that Bacon supports the toleration of Jews which Bensalem encourages and wishes to foster it in Europe, and indeed England. Yet, though the character and status of Joabin seem to show the possibility of Jewish-Christian harmony, this interpretation cannot be sustained. Joabin appears to be named after the Old Testament Joab (which means 'Yahweh is father' in Hebrew). Joab was the untrustworthy nephew of King David who treasonably tried to prevent Solomon from becoming king after David had named him as his successor. Furthermore, Joab was a violent and cruel murderer whose 'house' and 'seed' were cursed by both King David and King Solomon.³⁹ Indeed, Joab is represented in the Bible as a particularly wily individual who is capable of appearing loyal while in fact pursuing his own agenda. Given Bacon's familiarity with Old Testament Scripture and his reverence of Solomon, the choice of 'Joabin', a name resonant with treason, signals unease at the very least.

Bacon's distrust of Jewishness is revealed in other texts. In his 1594 account of the attempt on Elizabeth I's life, *A True Account of the Detestable Treason, Intended by Dr Roderigo Lopez*, the Queen's physician is described as 'a person wholly of a

corrupt and mercenary nature'.⁴⁰ Indeed Bacon writes, though 'here he [Lopez] conformed himself to the rites of the Christian religion,' nevertheless he was 'suspected to be in sect secretly a Jew'.⁴¹ Bacon's version of the Lopez affair is interesting because the Portuguese Jew's treason is represented as part of Phillip II's plot to oust Elizabeth. Thus Lopez's case is used to maintain English hostility to Spain in the wake of the Armada crisis.⁴² Lopez, according to Bacon, is doubly perfidious since for financial gain he treasonously acts against his adoptive homeland, England, and his native land, Portugal. Because of 'pleasing and applicable behaviour' Lopez was 'favoured in court' since his real political allegiances, just like his true religion, were practised secretly.⁴³ Consequently, Lopez, similar to Joabin in the *New Atlantis*, who is allowed privileged access to the Father of Salomon's House, was not suspected of harbouring malicious intent and was permitted frequent and privy contact with Queen Elizabeth.⁴⁴ Lopez' treason and his Jewishness are thus yoked together by Bacon since they both remained a secret and were not discovered until it was almost too late ('by God's marvellous goodness her Majesty hath been preserved').⁴⁵

The difficulty Christians experienced in distinguishing a Jew from a Christian is also revealed in Bacon's *History of the Reign of King Henry VII*. As previously described, Henry VII, not James, is represented as the 'English Solomon' and this text is dedicated to the heir to the throne, not the reigning monarch. Furthermore, Bacon describes Perkin Warbeck, the man who pretended to be Richard Duke of York, as Jewish in origin since he is the son of 'John Osbeck (a converted Jew)' and, 'being known in court, the King either out of religious nobleness, because he was a convert, or upon some private acquaintance, did him the honour as to be godfather to his child.'⁴⁶ Bacon's account confuses John Osbeck, Perkin Warbeck's father, with Sir Edward Brompton, alias Duarte Brandão, an Anglo-Portuguese Jewish merchant, who was the godson of Edward IV. Bacon's misidentification is perhaps understandable since Warbeck did have a connection with the Bromptons, having travelled to Portugal with Lady Brompton in 1487.⁴⁷ Since King Edward stood as godfather for the young Perkin – a position monarchs often accepted to give some sort of status to their illegitimate offspring – Bacon hints that Warbeck's

family might have intimate connections with the Plantagenet king 'upon some private acquaintance'.⁴⁸

Perkin, like Joabin in the *New Atlantis*, who is prone to 'Jewish dreams' concerning Judaism's role in the state of Bensalem, fantasises about his origins (476). However, Warbeck was not Edward's son '(though that were not)'; he was the son of a converted Jew.⁴⁹ Yet there remains the problem of his appearance and manner so closely resembling those of a Plantagenet, 'inso-much as it was generally believed, as well amongst great persons, as amongst the vulgar, that he was indeed Duke Richard'.⁵⁰ It seems, then, that the son of a converted Jew can imitate an English king so well, both in appearance and deportment, that nobody – noble and vulgar alike – can tell the difference. Bacon's *History of the Reign of King Henry VII* shows the consequences of this inability to distinguish converted Jew – a 'wanderer' and a 'land-loper' (a vagabond) – from rightful monarch since Henry VII was forced, over a period of several years, to defend his right to rule against Warbeck and his English and foreign supporters.⁵¹ In this text Bacon highlights the difficulties of telling Jew from Christian, or loyal subject from traitor.

Bacon's representations of Jewishness in his account of the Lopez case and in his *History of the Reign of King Henry VII* signal unease about Christian policies of Jewish toleration. Both Lopez, a Converso, and Warbeck, the son of a Jewish convert, were either allowed to become close to English monarchs, or benefited from connections with them, and yet they were treasonable. The presence and status of Joabin, who is not merely tolerated in Bensalem but is also allowed privileged access to the elusive Father of Salomon's House, appears, in the light of Bacon's other hostile portrayals of Jewishness, to represent a potential threat to the continued peacefulness of the New Atlantan state.

In Bacon's *History of the Reign of King Henry VII* Warbeck's influence on those around him is described in supernatural, even quasi-messianic, terms. Similar to Christ, there are portents of Warbeck's 'birth'; he is referred to as a 'blazing star' and 'a meteor' who is to appear upon 'the horizon of Ireland'.⁵² Furthermore, he is so persuasive 'both to move pity, and to induce belief' that he exerts 'a kind of fascination and enchantment to those that saw him or heard him' and converts them to his cause.⁵³

Finally, his nativity is miraculous, but unnatural, since he made the post-menopausal Margaret, Duchess of Burgundy, fertile and, 'whereas other natural mothers bring forth children weak ... she bringeth forth tall striplings, able soon after their coming into the world to bid battle to mighty kings'.⁵⁴ Such descriptions signal that Warbeck is a false messiah. He is embraced by all those who are either gullible or treasonable in the same way that Christians represent Jews who, since they refuse to acknowledge Jesus, still wait for the true Messiah.

Joabin's 'Jewish dreams' in the *New Atlantis* work in the same way. Joabin believed 'by tradition among the Jews ... that the people thereof were of the generations of Abraham, by another son, whom they call Nachoran' (476). Abraham's brother Nahor (or Nachor) was, similar to their father Terah, known for idolatry (Gn. 31:53 and Jos. 24:2). In other words, though Abraham became the father of Israel and was revered by both Jews and Christians, Nahor enjoyed no such exalted status. Consequently, since Joabin venerates an idolatrous figure within Judaism, Bacon shows the weaknesses of the Bensalem Jews' beliefs. Furthermore, though Joabin 'would ever acknowledge that Christ was born of a Virgin, and that he was more than a man', he was still waiting for the time 'when the Messiah should come' (476). It seems, then, that the Christian narrator's initial assertion that Joabin 'was of a far differing disposition from the Jews in other parts' who 'hate the name of Christ, and have a secret rancour against the people amongst whom they live', is over-optimistic (476). Joabin may not be, in fact, as Christianised as this description implies. He is circumcised and he does not recognise Christ as the Messiah. Such marks of difference signal that, like Joab and like Dr Lopez, Joabin, too, may have a 'secret rancour' against Christians which has not yet been revealed.

What Bacon attempts to represent in his depiction of Joabin's Jewishness in the *New Atlantis* is a strategy that controls difference. The differences signalled by his Jewishness are, at one level, reduced, since Joabin ostensibly reveres Bensalem and is loyal to the state. Indeed, Bacon's depiction of Joabin is similar to his representation of travel in this text. As long as a strategy was in place to manage the changes that travel brought in outlook and experience, then it was something to be encouraged. Joabin

is a merchant. Consequently, since Bacon claims in the 1625 edition of both *Of Empire* and *Of Usury* that merchants are the 'vena porta', that is, the gate vein to the liver, Joabin is essential for the maintenance of the health of the body politic.⁵⁵ Indeed, in *Of Usury* it is not usurers' Jewishness that Bacon attacks but rather the non-regulation of usury which 'in process of time breeds a public poverty'.⁵⁶ In this essay Bacon proposes just such a strategy to regulate usury, so that 'the tooth be grinded, that it bite not too much.' In fact he writes, 'to speak of the abolishing of usury is idle: all states have ever had it, in one kind or rate or other. So as that opinion must be sent to Utopia.'⁵⁷ Bacon refers here to More's *Utopia* where, since there was no private property, there could be no usury. Such a reference is ironic; in the *New Atlantis* the figure of the Jewish merchant Joabin can be seen as Bacon's attempt to show the benefits of a regulated usury system in practice. Bensalem is a Christian society despite the presence of Joabin and contemporary fears that the tolerance of usury will result in a society becoming 'judaize[d]'.⁵⁸

However, though it seems that the explicit aim of the character of Joabin is to show the harmony and profit Christian toleration of Jews can engender, as we have seen, the text is unable to maintain this positive representation. Bacon attempts to represent Joabin as Christianised but marks of his Jewishness still persist. For example, Joabin's description of Bensalem's chastity, which he contrasts with European sexual voracity, can be read in the light of his Jewishness. Ostensibly, Bensalem's emphasis upon chastity and the 'natural concupiscence' of marriage, which Joabin uses to condemn the 'meretricious embracements', 'stews' and 'dissolute houses' common in Europe, seems to be undiluted praise of the New Atlantan state (477). However, in *Of Marriage and Single Life* Bacon's support of marriage is rather more equivocal. He writes, 'He that hath wife and children hath given hostages to fortune, for they are impediments to great enterprises, either of virtue or mischief.'⁵⁹ It becomes clear that marriage is a form of social control more suited to some social groups than others. Marriage is represented as a corrective for the lower orders since 'wife and children are a kind of discipline of humanity', but it is not a panacea as 'the best works, and of greatest merit for the public, have proceeded from the unmarried

or childless men.⁶⁰ The advocacy of marriage as social control for the masses, but not necessarily the elite, revealed here can also be seen in the *New Atlantis*. Joabin is circumcised; in other words, his sexual desires have been curbed by trimming his foreskin because, as the gloss to Genesis 17.11 in the Geneva Bible outlines, the 'privy part is circumcised to show that all that is begotten of man is corrupt and must be mortified'.⁶¹ In his New Year's Day sermon about the Feast of Circumcision (1624) John Donne also ruminates on the connection between circumcision and sexual desire. Donne argues that 'this rebellious part is the root of all sin,' and that the privy member 'need[s] this stigmatical mark of circumcision to be imprinted upon it' to prevent Abraham's descendants from 'degenerat[ing] from the nobility of their race'.⁶² Joabin's circumcision thus acts as an impediment to sexual desire – specifically Jewish sexual desire – in the same way that marriage is intended to control the lower social orders. Joabin's Jewishness and his descriptions of Bensalemite marriage practices amongst the general population are both representations of groups in need of social control. In other words, elite Christians – for example, the Fathers of Salomon's House and members of the English Protestant nobility like Bacon – do not need to be controlled in the same way since they are the performers of 'great enterprises'.⁶³ According to Bacon, these groups should remain unmarried in order to promote the interests of their respective governments more effectively. Consequently, though it initially seems that New Atlantan concupiscence is unequivocally recommended as an example to be learnt from by Europe, in fact it is selective in its application. Lower-class Christians can be sexually and socially controlled by marriage in the same way that Joabin's circumcision – though it marks him as indelibly alien – curbs Jewish sexual desire. Jews, then, need two restraints placed upon them. They need to be 'disciplined' by marriage in the same way as non-elite Christians, yet the regulated sexual outlet of marriage is not enough to control Jewish appetites. To control Joabin effectively, circumcision as well as marriage is needed.

It is clear, then, that Bacon has evolved a hierarchical theory of social control which is revealed here through descriptions of marriage and sexual practice. It is no surprise that elite Christians

– men like Bacon – occupy pole position. However, it is noteworthy that, though this text ostensibly aims to lessen the differences between Jews and Christians through its representation of the Christianised-Jew Joabin, the *New Atlantis* confirms racial difference. The fact that Bacon's Jew needs marriage and circumcision to 'discipline' him means that circumcision is simultaneously an essential tool to ensure harmony in a Christian state and a mark of an alien culture. In effect the Jew can never fully turn Christian.

In the *New Atlantis* Joabin is not treasonable, but the threat of such treachery is present. The lessons Bacon believed needed to be learnt from the histories of Lopez and Warbeck are thus visited upon Joabin. In order to ensure that Joabin does not – like Lopez and, to an extent, Warbeck – become treasonable through the failure of state monitoring policies, in the *New Atlantis* the circumcision of Jews is practised to maintain social control and segregation. The alien nature the sign of circumcision represents to a Christian culture prevents Joabin's complete assimilation into New Atlantan society. Just as Bacon evolves a dual attitude to colonial expansion in this text depending upon whether such activities are European or New Atlantan in origin, his representation of Jewishness is similarly double-voiced. On the one hand, the character Joabin shows the benefits of policies of Jewish-Christian toleration and assimilation which might in the future be achieved in England. On the other, the differences signalled by Joabin's Jewishness need to be maintained because, once they are eroded (as in the cases of Lopez and Warbeck), it becomes much harder for any government to distinguish Jew from Christian, or malcontent from faithful subject.

This essay has attempted to show the practical and ideological difficulties of 'speak[ing] plain' that Bacon encountered in the *New Atlantis*. We have identified the covert criticism Bacon levelled at James I. Indeed, the fact that Bacon's dissatisfaction was articulated obliquely should come as no surprise since for a counsellor not to make his advice palatable by sugaring the pill was political, often literal, suicide. Given the uncertainty of the patronage system and the powerlessness, or worse, of those that failed to please their patron, in the *New Atlantis* the monarch was unlikely to be the target of direct criticism.

We have also noted the social, political, and cultural contradictions of early seventeenth-century England reflected in the *New Atlantis*. Though this text recommends travel for the increase in knowledge it will engender, it is also riven by a fear that new knowledge will have a culturally destabilising effect. Consequently, we see a scientocracy in operation that insists on sole control over the filtering of new knowledge into the wider society. The *New Atlantis* is just as inconsistent in its representation of Jewishness. In the fictive world of the *New Atlantis*, Bacon attempts to show the value of Christian toleration and assimilation of Jews, but keeps returning to stereotypical Christian assumptions about Jewishness which maintain difference. Indeed, as my analysis of Bacon's representations of colonialism and Jewishness in the *New Atlantis* has revealed, it was quite possible for Bacon simultaneously to represent issues of colonialism and issues of Jewishness positively and negatively. Hence the *New Atlantis* does not 'speak plain' about these issues because the culture of Bacon's time was itself so divided concerning the benefits and drawbacks of policies of colonial endeavour and Jewish toleration. Bacon's opinions concerning England's monarch are deliberately, indeed pragmatically, obfuscated by the text. However, the text's representations of colonialism and Jewishness fail to 'speak plain' in another way. Due to the social inconsistencies inherent to Bacon's time, any kind of unequivocal statement about such subjects was impossible. Like Salomon's House, the *New Atlantis* does not, indeed cannot, easily divulge its secrets.

Notes

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- 1 Brian Vickers (ed.), *Francis Bacon: A Critical Edition of the Major Works* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1996), pp. 457–89 (p. 382). All subsequent references to Bacon's *The Advancement of Learning*, *Essays*, and *New Atlantis* are to this edition. Page references to *New Atlantis* will follow quotation in brackets.
- 2 *The Advancement of Learning*, p. 122.
- 3 *Essays*, p. 407.
- 4 On the dating of this text see Lisa Jardine and Alan Stewart, *Hostage to*

- Fortune: The Troubled Life of Francis Bacon* (London, Victor Gollancz, 1998), p. 476.
- 5 Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigation, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation*, 12 vols. (London, J. M. Dent, 1927–1928). On Hakluyt's text, see Richard Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood: The Elizabethan Writing of England* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1992), pp. 107–47.
 - 6 For further details see Carole Shammas, 'English commercial development and American colonisation', in K. R. Andrews, N. P. Canny and P. E. H. Hair (eds), *The Westward Enterprise: English Activities in Ireland, the Atlantic and America, 1480–1650* (Liverpool, Liverpool University Press, 1978), pp. 151–74; Brian Dietz, 'England's overseas trade in the reign of James I', in Alan G. R. Smith (ed.), *The Reign of James VI and I* (London, Macmillan, 1973), pp. 106–22.
 - 7 See Louis B. Wright, 'Colonial developments in the reign of James I', in *The Reign of James I and VI*, pp. 123–39 (pp. 128–35); A. D. Innes, *The Maritime and Colonial Expansion of England under the Stuarts, 1603–1714* (London, Sampson Low, 1931), pp. 81–124; William Robert Scott, *The Constitution and Finance of English, Scottish and Irish Joint-Stock Companies to 1720*, 3 vols (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1910–12), vol. I, pp. 130–1.
 - 8 See Michael Zuckerman, 'Identity in British America: unease in Eden', in Nicholas Canny and Anthony Pagden (eds), *Colonial Identity in the Atlantic World, 1500–1800*, (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1987), pp. 115–59; and Nicholas Canny, 'The permissive frontier: the problem of social control in English settlements in Ireland and Virginia 1550–1650', in *The Westward Enterprise*, pp. 17–45. For a discussion of particular examples of ideal and degenerate representations of America see Claire Jowitt, 'Old worlds and new worlds: renaissance voyages of discovery', unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Southampton, 1996, pp. 159–73.
 - 9 Thomas More, *Utopia*, trans. Paul Turner (Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1965); Johann Valentin Andreae, *Christianopolis*, ed. Felix Held (New York, Oxford University Press, 1916); Tommaso Campanella, *Civitas Solis*, trans. William J. Gilstrap, in G. Negley and J. Max Patrick (eds), *The Quest for Utopia: An Anthology of Imaginary Societies*, 2nd edn (College Park, Maryland, McGrath Publishing, 1971), pp. 181–207. On utopianism see J. C. Davis, *Utopia and the Ideal Society* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1981); Mary Baine Campbell, *The Witness and the Other World: Exotic European Travel Writing, 400–1600* (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1988); Amy Boesky, *Founding Fictions: Utopias in Early Modern England* (Athens and London, University of Georgia Press, 1996).
 - 10 See Edward Surtz and J. H. Hexter (eds), *Utopia* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1965), pp. i–xxxii.
 - 11 On Plato's geography see J. A. Stewart, *The Myths of Plato* (London, Macmillan & Co, 1905), pp. 457–69.

- 12 On de Gomara's text see William Brandon, *New Worlds for Old: Reports from the New World and their Effect on the Development of Social Thought in Europe, 1500–1800* (Athens, Ohio, Ohio University Press, 1986), pp. 40–3.
- 13 See John Bakeless, *America as Seen by its First Explorers* (New York, Dover Publications, 1989), pp. 9–225.
- 14 See Leo Bagrow and R. A. Skelton, *History of Cartography*, 2nd edn (London, C. A. Watts, 1964), p. 193; Simon Berthon and Andrew Robinson, *The Shape of the World* (London, George Philip, 1991), pp. 81–100; John Goss, *The Mapping of North America: Three Centuries of Map-Making 1500–1860* (Secaucus, New Jersey, Wellfleet Press, 1990).
- 15 See Jerry Brotton, *Trading Territories: Mapping the Early Modern World* (London, Reaktion Books, 1997).
- 16 See Ruddolf Wittkower, 'Marvels of the East: a study in the history of monsters', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 5 (1942), 159–97; Campbell, *The Witness and the Other World*, pp. 47–86; Robert Ralston Cawley, *Unpathed Waters: Studies in the Influence of the Voyages on Elizabethan Literature* (London, Frank Cass & Co. Ltd, 1967), p. 104.
- 17 Bacon, *Instauratio Magna* (London, 1620), frontispiece.
- 18 See John Steadman, 'Beyond Hercules: Francis Bacon and the scientist as hero', in *Studies in the Literary Imagination*, 4 (1971), 3–47; Claire Jowitt, 'Old worlds and new worlds', pp. 87–106.
- 19 Davis, *Utopia and the Ideal Society*, pp. 47–8.
- 20 Jerome Turler, *The Traveiller*, ed. D. E. Baughan (Gainseville, Florida, Scholars Fascimiles and Reprints, 1951), sig A3v.
- 21 More, *Utopia*, p. 84. For a similar reading, see Mary W. Helms, *Ulysses' Sail: An Ethnographic Odyssey of Power, Knowledge and Geographical Distance* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1988), p. 66.
- 22 See Wayne Franklin, *Discoverers, Explorers, Settlers? The Diligent Writers of Early America* (Chicago, Chicago University Press, 1979), p. 12.
- 23 See Anthony Pagden (ed.), *The Languages of Political Theory in Early Modern Europe*, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1987), pp. 79–98.
- 24 See Jeffrey Knapp, *An Empire Nowhere: England, America, and Literature from Utopia to The Tempest* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1992); Andrew Hadfield, *Literature, Travel and Colonial Writing in the English Renaissance* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1999), pp. 69–133.
- 25 See J. H. Elliot, *The Old World and the New 1492–1650* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 30–1, 58–62.
- 26 Vickers (ed.), *Francis Bacon*, p. 786.
- 27 See Smith, *The Reign of James VI and I*, pp. 15–8; Simon L. Adams, 'The Protestant cause: religious alliance with the European Calvinist communities as a political issue in England, 1585–1630', unpublished D. Phil, Oxford, 1972.
- 28 See Dietz, 'England's overseas trade', p. 118.

- 29 *Ibid.*, p. 111.
- 30 See Astrid Friis, *Alderman Cockayne's Project and the Cloth Trade* (Copenhagen, Levin & Munksgaard, 1927), p. 145.
- 31 See Jardine and Stewart, *Hostage to Fortune*, pp. 444–72.
- 32 Cited by Jardine and Stewart, *Hostage to Fortune*, p. 448. Other writers of the time also connected James I with Solomon: see, for example, John Carpenter, *Schelomoncham or King Solomon His Solace* (London, John Windes, 1606), sigs A6r, B3v.
- 33 See Howard B. White, *Peace Among the Willows: The Political Philosophy of Francis Bacon* (The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff, 1968), pp. 45–57.
- 34 Bacon, *History of the Reign of King Henry VII*, ed. Brian Vickers (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 156–8.
- 35 See Lewis Feuer, 'Francis Bacon and the Jews', *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England*, 29 (1982–6), 1–25.
- 36 See David Katz, *The Jews in the History of England, 1485–1850* (Oxford, Clarendon, 1996), pp. 1–106.
- 37 For further details see James Shapiro, *Shakespeare and the Jews* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1996).
- 38 See Christopher Hill, 'Till the conversion of the Jews', *Collected Essays*, 2 vols. (Amherst, University of Massachusetts Press, 1965), vol. II, pp. 269–300.
- 39 2 Samuel 3: 29; 1 Kings 2: 33.
- 40 *The Works of Francis Bacon*, ed. J. Spedding, R. L. Heath and Douglas Denon Ellis, 14 vols. (London, Longman, 1857–74), vol. VIII, p. 278.
- 41 Bacon, *Works*, vol. VIII, p. 278.
- 42 On Lopez see Katz, *The Jews*, pp. 49–106.
- 43 Bacon, *Works*, vol. VIII, p. 278.
- 44 See Katz, *The Jews*, p. 91.
- 45 Bacon, *Works*, vol. VIII, pp. 286–7.
- 46 Bacon, *History of the Reign*, p. 97.
- 47 See Ian Arthurson, *The Perkin Warbeck Conspiracy 1491–1499* (Stroud, Alan Sutton, 1994), pp. 25–42.
- 48 Bacon, *History of the Reign*, p. 97.
- 49 *Ibid.*, p. 97.
- 50 *Ibid.*, p. 102.
- 51 *Ibid.*, p. 96. See also Galit Hasan-Rokem and Alan Dundes, *The Wandering Jew: Essays in the Interpretation of a Christian Legend* (Bloomington, University of Indiana Press, 1986).
- 52 Bacon, *History of the Reign*, p. 99.
- 53 *Ibid.*, p. 96.

- 54 *Ibid.*, p. 108.
- 55 Bacon, *Essays*, pp. 379, 422.
- 56 *Ibid.*, p. 422.
- 57 *Ibid.*, pp. 422–3.
- 58 *Ibid.*, p. 421. See also Thomas Pie, *Usuries Spright Conjured* (London, Melchisech Bradwood, 1604), sig D2r; and see Shapiro, *Shakespeare and the Jews*, p. 98–100.
- 59 Bacon, *Essays*, p. 353.
- 60 *Ibid.*, p. 353.
- 61 See James Shapiro, *Shakespeare and the Jews*, pp. 117–21; Daniel Boyarin, *A Radical Jew: Paul and the Politics of Identity* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1994), pp. 1–38.
- 62 John Donne, ‘A Sermon Preached at Saint Dunstan’s Upon New-Year’s Day, 1624’, *Sermons*, eds George R. Potter and Evelyn M. Simpson, 10 vols. (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1953–1962), vol. VI, pp. 190–2.
- 63 Bacon, *Essays*, p. 353.