

## ***A DESCRIPTION OF THE FAMOUS KINGDOME OF MACARIA: A NEW INTERPRETATION***

### ***O DESCRIERE A FAIMOSULUI REGAT AL MACARIEI: O NOUĂ INTERPRETARE<sup>1</sup>***

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#### **Abstract**

*This paper attempts to describe and interpret one of the frequently quoted but rarely read seventeenth-century manifestoes. ‘A Description of the Famous Kingdome of Macaria’ is an expression of the utopian movement and an important manifesto of the Puritan movement in England. ‘Macaria’ originated inside the Hartlib circle, was anonymously published and for a long time was considered a work by Samuel Hartlib. Even if brief in terms of dimensions and less valuable from a literary point of view than other seventeenth-century utopias, Macaria and its author made an interesting contribution to the utopian literature, developing important moral and political ideas, promoting the value of ‘eternal peace’ and popularizing some of the Baconian ideals. In my paper I will interpret this text in the wider context of the historical moment of the year 1641, the Baconianism of mid-seventeenth-century England and the subsequent millenarism of the ‘Puritan revolution’.*

**Key words:** *Hartlib circle, Puritan revolution, millenarism, ecclesiastical peace, the advancement of learning, social distribution.*

**Cuvinte cheie:** *Cercul lui Hartlib, Revoluția puritană, pace religioasă, progresul cunoașterii, distribuție socială.*

#### **Introduction**

An expression of utopian reflection, *Macaria* was first published anonymously in 1641. It is a merely 15 page-long quarto tract. The text has a prefatory address to the Parliament, dated 25 October 1641, showing that the tract belongs to a wider category of manifestoes, intended to be distributed among the members of the Long Parliament, which opened its second session on 20 October 1641.

*Macaria* is not an isolated work but belongs to a type of reformation literature produced at the outset of the Puritan Revolution. *Macaria* joined the ranks of the large number of petitions and letters, both printed and in manuscript form, which were designed to direct the energies of the Long Parliament. Consequently, *Macaria* has been classified as a product of the “Puritan revolution”, together with a large number of similar tracts, petitions, letters, pamphlets, designed to influence the Long Parliament’s attitudes and decisions. Unlike the other tracts of the Puritan revolution, however, *Macaria* is organized – at least on the face of it – as a utopia. Its form sets the stage for a paradox: one wonders whether we have a manifesto disguised as a utopia, or a utopian tract rewritten as a manifesto in disguise? Charles Webster has already pointed out this paradox, emphasizing the two major characteristics of this allegedly utopian tract: unlike a classical utopia, it provides practical advice for the transformation of England into a well-governed commonwealth.

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Also, unlike classical utopias, it is not really literature or, at least, it is not well-written. However, as Charles Webster has put it: “The utopian medium, although no longer strictly necessary, was found to be ideally suited to the needs of the more ambitious reformers.”[1]

Although a part of an important body of literature, so far *Macaria* has not received the amount of attention and thorough study it deserves. Apart from Charles Webster who dedicated to *Macaria* a number of studies, I could only find passing references and rather short discussions of this text in the larger context of the seventeenth-century utopian movement [2] or in more general studies of seventeenth-century English politics and literature [3]. This is a pity, because a thorough investigation of *Macaria* in the appropriate context can reveal many interesting and still only partially understood things about the context and content of the Puritan revolution and of the ‘Baconianism’ of the 1640s. One such interesting feature is that, unlike other writings of the Puritan revolution, *Macaria* is organized as a utopia, more precisely, as a Baconian utopia. My paper will provide however just a first step on such an interpretative road. More thorough work is to be done on the subject and it is for this purpose that I have added, as an appendix, the text of *Macaria*, with a minimal amount of notes explaining the context and content of the text.

*Macaria* had a troubled fate. During the inter-regnum, the book was lost from sight and it re-emerged and became generally accessible through inclusion in the first volume of the Harleian Miscellany, in 1744. First editions are extremely rare. [4] There are no modern editions of *Macaria*, except Webster’s edition of 1970 (Webster, C., ed., *Samuel Hartlib and the Advancement of Learning*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1970).

### **The historical context of the early 1640s.**

*Macaria* was directly addressed to the “High and Honourable Court of Parliament”. In the early 1640s, the position and the role of the Parliament became more important than ever before in England. Therefore we are told in *Macaria* that the Long Parliament was “generally bent to make a good reformation”. This kind of statement is easier to understand if we take into account the importance and impact of millenarian ideas in the 1640s: in this intellectual context, the Parliament was seen as the embodiment of an entire generation of Puritans believing that England was the chosen place for God’s Kingdom on Earth. According to the Puritan doctrine, God is in every human being and every human being has a particular role in the New Kingdom of God, being also a means and an end of God’s plan. [5] The status of the Parliament, which began to be considered as representative for the whole nation (thus replacing the King), was therefore embedded in the Puritan version of providential history. Such hopes found support in the particular political context: in 1640 the relation between king and Parliament reached a new stage. Due to the fact that Charles I ruled as an absolute monarch and following the disastrous outcome of the Bishops’ War, the Parliament gained political strength and it seemed to be the only governmental institution acting like a magnet of social dreams. [6] The Parliament was considered to be not only the governmental institution representing the nation, but also the substitute of the nation.

Thus, when Charles I convened the Long Parliament in November 1640, there was a shift of authority from the king to the Parliament and the Parliament was called to represent, rather than the king, the people’s safety. It was the first step in the process of elaborating the Triennial Act (15 February 1641), an act which freed the Parliament from its dependency on the king. The Triennial Act formalizes the sittings of the Parliament on fundamental law and it claims its authority from the principle of *salus populi*. [7] The rhetoric of texts addressed to the Parliament, in sermons and other kind of discourses, had changed as well. A large majority of such texts were considering the Parliament as an agent for the future reformation and transformation of the society. It seemed that in this the new capacity, the Parliament made itself open to external influences and, for individuals and groups of individuals, the new situation offered a real opportunity to influence changes in policy, doctrine and law. Even if it had been possible before for the English people to address the authorities, the relation with the Parliament had never been so direct and the Parliament had never

been so willing to attempt fundamental changes. And, most of all, it seemed that the Parliament was willing to act on behalf of the people, a position never before expressed in such an articulate manner. The Parliament was not only held to act on behalf of the represented but it had to act in its own name as a body which can substitute itself to the represented. Discourses and words gained an unprecedented power because it was expected for them to have a direct impact and to influence the Parliament's position toward certain issues in English society. This was the spirit of Puritan meliorism, a spirit which created an atmosphere of direct participation to the transformation of the world.

Considering the new position of the Parliament, a large number of petitions, sermons and letters were addressed to it, intending to influence its position as a representative of the nation. God was calling and they had to voluntarily participate in the process of reforming His Kingdom. The Parliament was seen as a mediator, like a representative body of the English people, being able to accomplish God's objective through political means. In this 'instrument of mediation', the Puritans saw a way of direct implication and participation in the accomplishment of the reformation of the world. The idea of the reformation was connected with the idea of the millennium and the arrival of a crucial historical moment, when everything ends and begins afresh. The millenarian idea of the end and new beginning of history often was merged with the paradigms of amelioration, redemption and apocalyptic judgment. [8] The Puritans considered that the moment had come and Christ would reign on earth and that day was not too far in the future. John Archer, another member of the Hartlib circle, spoke about a blessed community on earth, governed by the saints, and the author of *A Glimpse of Sion's Glory*, possibly Thomas Goodwin, promised an abundance of blessing to arrive. [9] The most important consequence of this kind of the attitude is a spirit of direct participation in the historical moment, the attitude of responsibility for making it happen.

### **The Spirit of Direct Participation in the Transformation of the World**

The moment the Long Parliament was convened in 1640 was a moment associated with a new perception about the people's implication in the wider process of transforming the world. In the context of millenarian expectations, England was considered by the Puritans to be the place where the kingdom of God would start its accomplishment. [10] God's will was that English people reform themselves and Puritan men and women understood it like a call to contribute to the accomplishment of that will. [11] It was a unique moment of history, a providential moment, when people were called by God to be part of His work. But the most important aspect is the fact that people were not only instruments in this process, they were also in charge with shaping the rules and norms which were to be followed in order to create the effects of providential history. Subjects became objects, the means became the ends or, as Applebaum has put it, *subjective idealism was matched by an objective idealism*, [12] in the sense that people started to consider themselves not only as instruments of the providential history, but also started to reconsider providential history as the providential opportunity to normatively shape and design the reformation.

The Parliament was seen as an institution which could achieve godly ends by political means. Again, people considered that they can influence the process of transforming the world and could be an active part in this process by the means of the Parliament. The Parliament was the representative institution for their interest and so, in those days, it seemed possible to influence by means of words the fundamental changes expected to come. People expected that their words could have an impact on the Parliament and, through it, on the nation as well.

This is the reason why so many utopian texts of the 1640s were addressed directly to the Parliament. There was a tacit assumption about the willingness of the Parliament to proceed to a general reformation of the commonwealth. As a result, tracts dedicated to the Parliament used a special language: the language of the amelioration of the nation.

## Samuel Hartlib's Circle

Hartlib's circle was a complex network of intellectuals, sending letters and developing laborious projects of intellectual, religious, political and economic reformation. It was also the place of origin for a number of interesting and novel ideas. *Macaria* and other works by Gabriel Plattes had their origin in this circle. Inspired by Francis Bacon's ideas about the organization of knowledge, the main aim of the circle was to put to work the major Baconian idea of the advancement of learning. However, the members of the Hartlib circle had their own understanding of what 'the advancement of learning' meant. They understood it as strongly connected with a program of social reform. They also understood it as being essentially connected with a program of communicating knowledge and finding mechanisms of intellectual, social, religious and political *collaboration*.

In fact, Hartlib's general claim seems to have been that the only reason of our misfortunes is the lack of knowledge and the "narrowness of men's spirit". [13] Hartlib settled the foundations of several Christian societies in order to advance knowledge. Hartlib, following the Baconian idea of re-organizing knowledge, aimed to reform universities by founding special colleges where the new science should be taught (the project of the Chelsea College). As Puritanism gained power, Hartlib and the members of his circle became more and more convinced that their projects were possible and would be put into practice. [14]

Hartlib and his circle inherited some important ideas from Bacon and they re-wrote them using the millenarist language of the moment. The perfectibility of human nature, the privileged time, the active role of knowledge in the new millennium and the importance of coordinating efforts in order to make both religious and intellectual reformations succeed, are only some of these ideas.

The biographical information about Hartlib is scarce, and most of it comes from a letter to John Worthington, 3 August 1660 (BL Additional Manuscripts, no 6269 ff. 29-30 published by Turnbull 110-111). He was born in Elbing (53 km from Danzing) but the date is uncertain. At the time Samuel Hartlib first came to England, he came to Cambridge, which was the center of English Puritanism. At Cambridge, [15] his involvement with the 'Spiritual Brotherhood' brought him in contact with John Preston (master of Emmanuel College 1622-1628), with the millenarian movement and with Joseph Mede (fellow at Christ's College 1613-1628). [16] This circle of Puritan scholars influenced Hartlib. It might have been the origin of the millenarian belief according to which London was the place with a very unique position in providential history: the place from where the divine and the human knowledge would spread through the whole world.

Hartlib's circle was not a society *per se*, but an international brotherhood that involved members from all over Europe. Its aim was mainly devoted to two major projects: ecclesiastical peace and the advancement of learning. [17] The ecclesiastical peace was an ideal regarding the reconciliation of the Protestant churches, especially the Lutheran and the Calvinist. The Baconian "advancement of learning" was mainly read and interpreted as having to do with organizing, administering and transmitting knowledge. Members of the group were supposed to gather materials and to compile catalogues, exchange data and results and put together topical data-bases as general sources (and resources) of information on all possible subjects. The 'advancement of learning' would have been also helpful in the process of understanding the differences that separated the various confessions. This society was open to men and women of all classes across the Protestant world. Members of the Hartlib circle saw themselves as agents of an ideal polity. In the context of millenarian expectations, the intellectuals of the Hartlib circle became the voices of 'subjective idealism'. They had to design and shape the foundations of the new world. By gathering materials, they tried to find practical solutions to the problems facing the English society of the time, problems regarding divine and human knowledge. They were the people who directly participated in the transformation of the world and their words had the power of influencing changes to come.

Samuel Hartlib devoted considerable effort to the utopian movement. Dickson considers that we can credit Hartlib with the introduction of continental utopianism to England.[18] However this may be, it is certain that Hartlib's utopianism involved him in a large number of projects, from the social and spiritual amelioration of the society, to the more practical projects regarding methods for a better cultivation of the land. *Macaria* was such a project.

### **A Description of the Famous Kingdome of Macaria**

*Macaria* is a very short text, merely 15 pages in-quarto. It was for a long time considered to be a work by Samuel Hartlib, on the basis of its clear connection with Hartlib's circle and because Hartlib was the one who brought it out and addressed the Parliament. Another important fact that should not be overlooked is that *Macaria* was published in the context of Comenius' visit to England. Hartlib's plans were to promote in the Parliament a project for a true Baconian College and *Macaria* seemed to be the perfect manner to draw attention to the project. Comenius, a famous religious reformer and a Baconian, seemed to have been another key element in Hartlib's project.

On the other hand, Comenius wrote *Via Lucis* in 1641 (he visited England on Hartlib's invitation after the Long Parliament had convened, being convinced that the time for reformation had come) and finished it in April 1642, so there was a clear connection between the two events. The connection is due to the fact that Puritan meliorism was, at that time, at its peak. The Parliament seemed so open to ideas of reformation and, as has been pointed out before, words gained increasing power in the context of a change in the political language of and in dialogue with the Parliament. The projects of reforming the society were concerned with topics such as universal education (*Via Lucis* proposed a universal college, universal books, universal schools and a universal language; Comenius made clear that *pansophia* was a plan to spread the light of knowledge to all people), husbandry, the improvement of lands, general wealth – topics very much discussed within the Hartlib circle. And, like other writings of the Hartlib circle, *Macaria* presents a solution which is at hand and not so difficult to put in practice. It only depended on the Parliament to start and to enhance the reformation. When the Long Parliament opened its sessions on the 25<sup>th</sup> of October 1641, Hartlib, in an attempt to influence the Parliament's attitude and decision, brought out the practical utopian work *Macaria*.

In fact, as Charles Webster has demonstrated [19], *Macaria* was not written by Hartlib but by another member of Hartlib's circle, Gabriel Plattes. Webster has drawn attention to the fact that while Hartlib never claimed to have written the text, Plattes actually claimed authorship in a later essay, published 10 months before his death, and entitled 'A Caveat for Alchymists', an essay signed G.P. and dated Westminster 10 March 1643/4. Its publication was delayed until 1655 when it was included in Hartlib's *Chymical, Medicinal and Chyrurgical addresses*. [20] Three hundred years later, Webster successfully argued that the work's author was Gabriel Plattes. [21]

Very little is known about Gabriel Plattes; he was probably born at the beginning of the century. All his works seem to have husbandry and mining as main topics. In 1638 his first work was published and in 1639 he published *A Discoverie of Infinite Treasure, hidden since the World's Beginning. Whereunto all men, of what degree soever, are friendly invited to be sharers with the Discoverer*. This work was very popular, frequently read and quoted. In this book, Plattes presents schemes of intensive husbandry, but says little which can be considered a revolution in husbandry. The book also deals with alchemical experiments, transmutation experiments and new inventions which should help the economic advance of the country. Plattes' ideal is simple: making England the most beautiful country on earth, meaning that England could be made the richest, the most peaceful and the happiest country in the world.

Another book regarding mining and metallurgy also published in 1639, *A Discovery of Subterraneall Treasure, viz., of all manner of mines and minerals ... and also the art of melting, refining, and assaying of them*, which contains more practical advice. The important thing about Plattes is that, in all his works, besides giving practical advice for mining and alchemy, he

developed an interesting and elaborate concept of the public good based on social distribution. Plattes seems to be one of the first authors speaking about a project of public works, such as bridges and highways accomplished by individual contributions. From an economic point of view, his ideas were visionary. Considering agriculture as the firm basis for a strong and well developed economy, he advocated a system of progressive taxation for those who failed to improve their lands. He also considered that emphasizing agriculture is the most suitable manner to provide employment and to fulfill the wider task of enriching the nation.

He also was well aware of the fact that if reformation was to be successful, people should be the means and the ends of this project, subjects and also objects of the reformation. Enriching the nation as an ideal, could only have been achieved if people became themselves involved and followed the economic principles. He proposed peace as an alternative to warfare and colonialism, based on economic arguments. When he talked about regular planting and better manure provisions, he planned to solve a social problem. So, his first task was to convince his audience to become aware of the importance of this goal, to become actively involved in the social distribution plan and to put his recommendations into practice. In describing the way a good society should work, Plattes used the metaphor of the hive. The image of industrious bees working together, an image also used by Bacon in the *Advancement of Learning*, is the image of people working together for the public good, without having a guardian (the king) supervising them. People shouldn't work only for the sake of their private interests, but they should work, like the bees, for the community's sake, for the public good. This is the "infinite treasure" discovered by Plattes, humanity itself, which is able to work and live happily together enriching itself through rationalized cooperative behavior. [22]

*Macaria* is an emendation of the utopian project so that it looks more like a project of social and political reformation than like a Morean utopia *per se*. [23] The text emphasizes the practical dimension of the utopia, its real aim is to reform the society. This is the reason why *Macaria* was so reduced in size, since the author wanted to insist on the reformation aspect and to relate his work to other works in circulation at the time. The text belongs, therefore, to the large group of Puritan tracts and manifestoes, and not to the early modern utopias properly speaking. More precisely, *Macaria* belongs with the group of writings also containing John Stoughton's *Felicitas Ultimi Saeculi* (1640), Lord Brooke's *Nature of truth* (1641), Comenius's *Via lucis* (1641) and *A Glimpse of Sions Glory*. [24]

*Macaria* does not have a 'story' properly speaking. It is written as a dialogue between a "Schollar" and a "Traveler", a philosophical dialogue reminding one of Campanella's *Civitas Solis* (1605). In terms of language, Plattes does not use the direct method of providing advice in the dialogue, but the indirect method of providing images, a kind of "moving picture" as Appelbaum says. [25] The moving picture reminds us of theatrical performance and may well be a method used by Plattes, as well as by Bacon in *New Atlantis*, for emphasizing the theatrical character of the story. The mystery created in a theatrical play is an important ingredient in the process of telling and revealing the story. Dana Jalobeanu has discussed the relevance of this theatrical character of *New Atlantis*. Jalobeanu argues that Bacon used similar methods in *New Atlantis*, exploiting powerful images but also hinting to the importance of creating illusions. [26] Donna Coffey also argued that *New Atlantis* has a number of important elements characteristic for the 'masks' in the seventeenth century, i.e. elaborated shows containing elements of the theatre (characters, speeches), dance and costume-balls, music etc. Coffey discusses one of the central episodes of *New Atlantis*, the miraculous Christianization of Bensalem \ as one such episode of a 'mask'. The miracle appears as a show to most of the Bensalemians; they watch the miracle 'as in a theatre'. [27]

Unlike Bacon's *New Atlantis*, Plattes' *Macaria* depicts a kind of societal model that seems to be within the reach of the reformers. Emphasizing the central reform proposals and trying to relate his work to other reformation tracts in circulation at the time, the author made *Macaria* as brief as possible, and literary embellishments were reduced to a minimum. Plattes' dialogue speaks about an ideal organization which seems more than possible and even relatively easy to achieve. In Plattes' commonwealth there are no fundamental changes, but a better administration of the

government. Plattes emphasizes the importance of economic specialization in governance, and of a new way of disseminating knowledge. The author called for five councils to improve the administration of government: one for husbandry, one for fishing, one for internal trade, one for foreign trade, and one for new colonies. He emphasized the development of agriculture and of trade, because agriculture was the basis for food production and for providing employment. In order to stimulate agricultural production, a system of progressive taxation is advocated for those who failed in improving their lands. [28] The king is restricted just like any citizen to derive his normal income from the improvement of his legitimate estates. Plattes imagines a pattern of systematic happiness [29], pattern which can guarantee prosperity for all sections of the community.

Apart from his economic solutions, Plattes is also an advocate of universal peace. Plattes is, in fact, one of the first authors who argued for the uselessness of war and the importance of rational husbandry and of a social distribution model as methods for combating poverty and encouraging welfare. [30] In fact, he is one of the first authors claiming that war is not a proper instrument for enriching a country. War can only waste money and other resources, it cannot produce wealth. Even if you win the war and conquer foreign territories, they would be very hard to administer and control. If a country wants to be rich, their governors should concentrate on agriculture and trade as the strong basis for a prosperous economy.

From a political point of view, *Macaria* is governed by an elite, the “Great Council”, like the Parliament in England. Except for matters of warfare, where the king still has an important role to play, the king’s responsibilities are reduced. The Great Council has, in fact, control over government in *Macaria* and over the five sub-councils which are in charge with the prosperity of the kingdom. Plattes imagined a parliamentary regime in *Macaria* because he wanted to highlight the idea that the nation should be governed by those who are legitimate, responsible and representative for the whole nation and not by an absolute monarch. He also proposed permanent parliamentary committees, in what is probably the first project of this kind. Being an intellectual advocating the ideas of the Puritan Revolution, Plattes saw in Parliament the embodiment of the nation, not only the legitimate body representing the nation, but the substitute for the nation.

Considering knowledge as the first condition for prosperity and wealth, Plattes imagined a “College of Experience”, a research institution, reminiscent of Solomon’s House in *New Atlantis* and the experimental laboratories in *Chritianopolis*. Advocating the two major projects of the Hartlib circle, ecclesiastical peace and the advancement of learning, Plattes proposed a college whose major tasks were to gather material for knowledge and to adopt practical solutions. Thus, the College of Experience’s first task is to oversee the dissemination of learning and knowledge in the kingdom. The advancement of learning and the development of science have to be parts of an elaborate policy. Science and technology are so important for the progress that government has to elaborate political strategies regarding these matters. Bacon also advocated the project of *Instauratio Magna* as state policy, the King being advised to take Solomon, the wise king of the Jews, as a model. [31]

“The College” also supervises the training of parsons who are medical doctors, too, looking after the sanity of both body and spirit, *cura animarum et cura corporum*. This is a very original interpretation of the Baconian project of Solomon’s House. The main function of Solomon’s House is to relate the natural and the divine knowledge, and this function is rediscovered inside the “College of Experience”. The members of the “College of Experience” make experiments with new medicines and new treatments and apply them to the inhabitants of *Macaria*, but also cure their souls.

The citizens of *Macaria* apply the new science and technology for the improvement of the wealth of the nation, under the supervision of the College. Plattes, like Bacon, imagined an establishment with a double function: first, as an institution of the state and second, as an institution of experimental investigation. “The College of Experience was probably conceived as a counterpart to the Universal College which Comenius hoped to establish according to a plan outlined in *Via Lucis*, a work composed shortly after his arrival in England in the autumn of 1641. Whereas Plattes’ college was basically to be concerned with science, technology, medicine, agriculture, and

economic affairs, the Universal College of Comenius was designed to superintend the work of ecclesiastical negotiation, universal peace, the reform of education and universal knowledge, the purification of language, and the compilation of a pansophic system of knowledge.” [32]

## Conclusion

The happiness of *Macaria* depends on four conditions. [33] The first condition is the meliorism provided by Providential history and the possibility of imagining an articulated political organization ruled by a representative and educated elite. The second is the Baconian legacy of a college assembling and disseminating the organized knowledge, namely the “College of Experience”. Another is the Comenian pansophic system of universal knowledge and the doctrine of ecclesiastical peace, a doctrine of salvation and religious-political solidarity and prosperity. The pedagogical aspect of knowledge in *Macaria* involves a new type of learning and a new type of science which can connect natural philosophy and divine revelation. And the fourth is the Puritan idea of the great sense of immediacy, meaning that the reformation is in everyone and it is up to everyone to make it happen with very little effort.

## Appendix

A DESCRIPTION [34] OF THE FAMOUS  
KINGDOME OF MACARIA; [35]  
SHEWING ITS EXCELLENT GOVERNMENT:  
WHEREIN

The Inhabitants live in great  
Prosperity, Health, and Happinesse; the  
King obeyed, the Nobles honoured; and  
all good men respected, Vice punished,  
and vertue rewarded.

An Example to other Nations.

In a Dialogue between a Schollar and a Traveller.

LONDON,  
Printed for Francis Constable, [36] Anno 1641.

TO THE HIGH AND HONOURABLE  
COURT OF PARLIAMENT. [37]

Whereas I am confident, that this Honourable Court will lay the Corner Stone of the worlds happinesse [38] before the final recess thereof, I have adventured to cast in my widowes mite into the Treasurie, not as an Instructor, or Counsellour, to this Honourable Assembly, but have delivered my conceptions in a Fiction, as a more mannerly way, having for my pattern Sir Thomas Moore, and Sir Francis Bacon once Lord Chancellour of England; and humbly desire that this honourable Assembly will be pleased to make use of any thing therein contained, if it may stand with their pleasures, and to laugh at the rest, as a solace to my minde, being enclined to doe good to the publick. [39] So humbly craving leave, that I may take my leave, I rest this 25. October 1641. [40]

A DESCRIPTION OF THE FAMOUS  
KINGDOME OF MACARIA.  
SHEWING  
ITS EXCELLENT GOVERNMENT

*Traveller.*

Well met sir, your habit professes Scholarship, are you a Graduate?

*Schollar.*

Yes sir, I am a Master of Arts.

*Trav.* But what doe you heare in the Exchange; [41] I conceive you trade in knowledge, [42] and here is no place to traffick for it; neither in the book of rates is there any imposition upon such commodities: so that you have no great businesse either here or at the Custome-house. Come let us goe into the fields, I am a Traveller, and can tell you strange newes, [43] and much knowledge, and I have brought it over the sea without paying any Custome, though it bee worth all the merchandize in the kingdome. [44]

*Schol.* We Scholars love to heare news, and to learne knowledge, I will wait upon you, goe whither you will.

*Trav.* Well, we will goe into Moore fields, and take a turne or two, there we shall be out of this noise, and throng of people. [45]

*Sch.* Agreed, but as we goe, what good newes doe you heare of the Parliament? [46]

*Trav.* I heare that they are generally bent to make good reformation, [47] but that they have some stops and hinderances, [48] so that they cannot make such quick dispatch as they would; and if any experience which I have learned in my long travels, may stand them in stead, I would willingly impart it for the publick good. [49]

*Sch.* I like that well, I pray you declare some good experience, that I may say that I have gained some thing by the company of Travellers. [50]

*Trav.* In a Kingdome called *Macaria*, the King and the Governours doe live in great honour and riches, and the people doe live in great plenty, prosperitie, health, peace, and happinesse, and have not halfe so much trouble as they have in these European Countreyes. [51]

*Sch.* That seemeth to me impossible: [52] you Travellers must take heed of two things principally in your relations; first, that you say nothing that is generally deemed impossible. Secondly, that your relation hath no contradiction in it, or else all men will think that you make use of the Travellers priviledge, to wit, to lie by authority.

*Trav.* If I could change all the minds in England as easily as I suppose I shall change yours, this Kingdome would be presently like to it: when you heare the manner of their government, you will deeme it to be very possible, and withal very easie.

*Sch.* I pray you sir declare the manner of their government, for I think long till I heare it.

*Trav.* As for my brevity in discourse, I shall answer your desire. They have a Great Councell like to the Parliament in England, but it sitteth once a yeer for a short space, [53] and they heare no complaints against any but Ministers of State, [54] Judges, and Officers; those they trounce soundly, if there be cause: Besides, they have five under Councels; to wit, [55]

A Councell of Husbandry. [56]

A Councell of Fishing.

A Councell of Trade by Land.

A Councell of Trade by Sea.

A Councell for new Plantations. [57]

These sit once a yeere for a very short space, and have power to heare and determine, and to punish Malefactors severely, and to reward Benefactors honourable, and to make new lawes, not repugnant to the lawes of the Great Councell; for the whole Kingdome, like as Court Leets, and Corporations have within their owne Precincts and Liberties in England.

*Sch.* I pray you sir declare some of the principall Lawes made by those under Councels.

*Trav.* The Councell of Husbandry hath ordered, that the twentieth part of every mans goods that dieth shall be employed about the improving of lands, and making of High-wayes faire, bridges over Rivers; by which meanes the whole Kingdome is become like to a fruitfull Garden, the Highways are paved, and as faire as the streets of a Citie; and as for Bridges over Rivers, they are so high, that none are ever drowned in their travels. [58]

Also they have established a law, that if any man holdeth more land than he is able to improve to the utmost, he shall be admonished, first, of the great hinderance which it doth to the Common-wealth. Secondly, of the prejudice to himselfe; and if hee doe not amend his Husbandry within a yeares space, there is a penalty set upon him, which is yeerely doubled, till his lands be forfeited, and he banished out of the Kingdome, as an enemy to the common-wealth. [59]

In the Councell of Fishing there are lawes established, whereby immense riches are yearly drawne out of the Ocean.

In the Councell of trade by Land there are established Lawes, so that there are not too many Tradesmen, nor too few, by enjoyning longer or shorter times of Apprentiships.

In the Councell of Trade by Sea there is established a law, that Traffick is lawfull which may enrich the Kingdome.

In the Councell for new Plantations there is established a law, that every yeere a certaine number shall be sent out, strongly fortified, and provided for at the publike charge, till such times as they may subsist by their owne endeavours: and this number is set downe by the said Councell, wherein they take diligent notice of the surplusage of people that may be spared. [60]

*Sch.* But you spoke of peace to be permanent in that Kingdome, how can that be? [61]

*Trav.* Very easily; for they have a law, that if any Prince shall attempt any invasion, his kingdome shall be lawfull prize: and the Inhabitants of this happy Countrey are so numerous, strong, and rich, that they have destroyed some without any considerable resistance; and the rest take warning. [62]

*Sch.* But you spoke of health, how can that be procured by a better way than wee have here in England?

*Trav.* Yes very easily; for they have an house, or College of experience, [63] where they deliver out yeerly such medicines as they find out by experience; and all such as shall be able to demonstrate any experiment for the health or wealth of men, are honourably rewarded at the publike charge, by which their skill in Husbandry, Physick, and Surgerie, is most excellent.

*Sch.* But this is against Physicians. [64]

*Trav.* In *Macaria* the Parson of every Parish is a good Physician, and doth execute both functions, to wit, *cura animarum, & cura corporum*; [65] and they think it as absurd for a Divine to be without the skill of Physick, as it is to put new wine into old bottles; and the Physicians being true Naturalists, may as well become good Divines, as the Divines doe become good Physicians.

*Sch.* But you spoke of grat facilitie that these men have in their functions, how can that be?

*Trav.* Very easily: for the Divines, by reason that the Societie of Experimenters is liable to an action, if they shall deliver out any false receipt, [66] are not troubled to trie conclusions, or experiments, but onely to consider of the deversitie of natures, complexions and constitutions, which they are to know, for the cure of soules, as well as for bodies. [67]

*Sch.* I know divers Divines in England that are Physicians, and therefore I hold well with this report, and I would that all were such, for they have great estimation with the people, and can rule them at their pleasure?

*Sch.* But how cometh the facilitie of becoming good Diviners?

*Trav.* They are all of approved abilitie in human learning, before they take in hand that function, and then they have such rules, that they need no considerable studie to accomplish all knowledge fit for Divines, by reason that there are no diversitie of opinions amongst them. [68]

*Sch.* How can that be?

*Trav.* Very easily; for they have a law, that if any Divine shall publish a new opinion to the Common people, he shall be accounted a disturber of the publick peace, and shall suffer death for it. [69]

*Sch.* But that is the way to keep them in error perpetually, if they be once in it.

*Trav.* You are deceived; for if any one hath conceived a new opinion, he is allowed everie yeere freely to dispute it before the Great Councell; [70] if he overcome his Adversaries, or such as are appointed to be Opponents, then it is generally received for truth, if he be overcome, then it is declared to be false.

*Sch.* It seemeth that they are Christians by your relation to the Parochiall Ministers, but whether are they Protestants or Papists? [71]

*Trav.* Their Religion consists not in taking notice of severall opinions and sects but is made up of infallible tenets, which may be proved by invincible arguments, and such as will abide the grand test of extreme dispute; [72] by which meanes none have power to stirre up Schismes and Heresies; neither are any of their opinions ridiculous to those who are of contrarie minds.

*Sch.* But you spoke of great honour which the Governours have in the Kingdome of *Macaria*.

*Trav.* They must needs receive great honour of the people, by reason that there is no injustice done, or very seldome, perhaps once in an age.

*Sch.* But how come they by their great riches which you speak of?

*Trav.* It is holden a principall policie in State to allow to the ministers of State, Judges, and cheife Officers, great revenues; for that, in case they doe not their dutie, in looking to the Kingdomes safety, for conscience sake, yet they may doe it for feare of loosing their own great Estates.

*Sch.* But how can the King of *Macaria* be so rich as you speak of?

*Trav.* He taketh a strict course that all his Crown lands be improved to the utmost, as Forrests, Parkes, Chases,&c. by which meanes his revenues are so great, that hee seldome needeth to put impositions upon his Subjects, by reason hee hath seldome any warres; and if there bee cause, the Subjects are as ready to give, as hee to demand: for they hold it to bee a principall policie in State, to keep the Kings Coffers full, and so full, that it is an astonishment to all Invaders. [73]

*Sch.* But how cometh the King great honour which you speak of?

*Trav.* Who can but love and honour such a Prince, which in his tender and parentall care of the publick good of his loving Subjects, useth no pretences for realities, like to some Princes, in their Acts of State, Edicts, and Proclamations.

*Sch.* But you Travellers must take heed of contradictions in your relations; you have affirmed, that the Governours in *Macaria* have not halfe so much trouble, as they have in these European Kingdomes, and yet by your report they have a Great Councell, like to our Parliament in England, which sit once a yeare: besides that, they have five Under Councels, which sit once a yeare, then how commeth this facility in government?

*Trav.* The Great Councell heareth no complaints, but against Ministers of State, Judges, and cheife Officers; these, being sure to bee trounced once a yeare, doe never, or very seldome offend: So that their meeting is rather a festivity, than a trouble. And as for the Judges and cheife Officers, there is no hope that any man can prevaile in his suit by bribery, favour, or corrupt dealing; so that they have few causes to be troubled withal.

*Sch.* I have read over Sr. *Thomas Mores Utopia*, and my Lord *Bacons New Atlantis*, which hee called so in imitation of *Plato's* old one, but none of them giveth me satisfaction, how the Kingdome of England may be happy, [74] so much as this discourse, which is briefe and pithy, and easie to be effected, if all men be willing. [75]

*Trav.* You Divines have the sway of mens minds, you may as easily perswade them to good as to bad, to truth as well as to falshood. [76]

*Sch.* Well, in my next Sermon I will make it manifest, that those that are against this honourable designe, are first, enimies to God and goodnesse; secondly, enimies to the Common wealth; thirdly, enimies to themselves, and their posterity.

*Trav.* And you may put in, that they are enemies to the King, and to his posterity, and so consequently, traitors: for hee that would not have the Kings honour, and riches to be advanced, and his Kingdome to bee permanent to him, and to his heires, is a traitor, or else I know not what treason meaneth.

*Sch.* Well, I see that the cause is not in God, but in mens fooleries, that the people live in misery in this world, when they may so easily bee relieved: I will joyne my forces with you, and wee will try a conclusion, to make our selves and posterity to bee happy.

*Trav.* Well, what will you doe towards the worke?

*Sch.* I have told you before, I will publish it in my next Sermon, and I will use meanes that in all Visitations and meetings of Divines, they may bee exhorted to doe the like. [77]

*Trav.* This would doe the feat, but that the Divines in England, having not the skill of Physick, are not so highly esteemed, nor beare so great a sway as they doe in *Macaria*.

*Sch.* Well, what will you doe toward the worke?

*Trav.* I will propound a book of Husbandry to the high Court of Parliament, whereby the Kingdome may maintaine double the number of people, which it doth now, and in more plenty and prosperity, than now they enjoy.

*Sch.* That is excellent: I cannot conceive, but that if a Kingdome may be improved to maintaine twice as many people as it did before, it is as good as the conquest of another Kingdome, as great, if not better.

*Trav.* Nay, it is certainly better, for when the Townes are thin, and farre distant, and the people scarce and poore, the King cannot raise men and money upon any sudden occasion, without great difficulty. [78]

*Sch.* Have you a cobby of that booke of Husbandry about you, which is to bee propounded to the Parliament?

*Trav.* Yes, here is a cobby, peruse it, whilst I goe about a little businesse, and I will presently returne to you. Well, have you perused my book?

*Sch.* Yes Sir: and finde that you shew the transmutation of sublunary bodies, in such manner, that any man may be rich that will be industrious; [79] you shew also, how great cities, which formerly devoured the fatnesse of the Kingdome, may yearely make a considerable retribution without any mans prejudice, and yours demonstrations are infallible; this booke will certainly be highly accepted by the high Court of Parliament.

*Trav.* Yes, I doubt it not; for I have shewed it to divers Parliament men, who have all promised mee faire, so soone as the seasonable time commeth for such occasions. [80]

*Sch.* Were I a Parliament man, I would labour to have this book to bee dispatched, the next thing that is done; for with all my seven Liberall Arts I cannot discover, how any businesse can bee of more weight than this, wherein the publike good is so greatly furthered; which to further, we are all bound by the law of God, and Nature.

*Trav.* It this conference bee seriously considered of, it is no laughing matter, for you heare of the combustions in France, Spaine, Germanie, and other Christian Countreys; you know that a house divided against it selfe cannot stand: This may give the Turke an advantage, so that England may feare to have him a nearer neighbour than they desire. Why should not all the inhabitants of England joyne with one consent, to make this contrey to bee like to *Macaria*, that is numerous in people, rich in treasure and munition, that so they may bee invincible?

*Sch.* None but fooles or mad men will be against it: you have changed my minde, according to your former prediction, and I will change as many minds as I can, by the waies formerly mentioned, and I pray you, that for a further means, this Conference may be printed.

*Trav.* Well, it shall be done forth with.

*Sch.* But one thing troubleth me, that many Diviners are of opinion, that no such Reformation as we would have, shall come before the day of judgement. [81]

*Trav.* Indeed there are many Diviners of that opinion, but I can shew an hundred Texts of Scripture, which doe plainly prove, that such a Reformation shall come before the day of judgement.

*Sch.* Yes, I have read many plaine Texts of Scipture to that purpose, but when I searched the Expositors, I found that they did generally expound them mystically. [82]

*Trav.* That is true; but worthy St. *Hierome*, [83] considering that those places of Scripture would not beare an Allegorical exposition, said thus, *Rossymus ficut&multi alii omnia hec spiritualiter exponere, sed vereor, ne hujusmodi expositionem, prudentes lectores, nequaquam recipiant.* [84]

*Sch.* I am of St. *Hierom*'s minde, and therefore with alacrity let us pursue our good intentions, and bee good instruments in this worke of Reformation. [85]

*Trav.* There be naturall cause also to further it; for the Art of Printing will so spread knowledge, that the common people, knowing their own rights and liberties, will not be governed by way of oppression; and so, by little and little, all Kingdomes will be like to *Macaria*. [86]

*Sch.* That will bee a good change, when as well superiors as inferiors shall bee more happy: Well, I am imparadised in my minde, in thinking that England may bee made happy, with such expedition and facility. [87]

*Trav.* Well, doe you know any man that hath any secrets, or good experiments? I will give him gold for them, or others as good in exchange; that is all the trade I have driven a long time, those riches are free from Customes and Impositions, and I have travelled through many Kingdomes, and paid neither freight nor Custome for my wards, though I valued them above all the riches in the Kingdome.

*Sch.* I know a Gentleman that is greatly addicted to try experiments, but how hee hath prospered I am not certaine; I will bring you acquainted with him, perhaps you may doe one another good. [88]

*Trav.* Well, I have appointed a meeting at two of the clock this day; I love to discourse with Scholars, yet wee must part; if you meet mee here the next Munday at the Exchange, I will declare to you some more of the Lawes, Customes, and manners of the inhabitants of *Macaria*.

*Sch.* I will not faile to meet you for any worldly respect; and if I should bee sicke, I would come in a Sedan: I never received such satisfaction and contentment by any discourse in my life: I doubt not but wee shall obtaine our desires, to make England to bee like to *Macaria*; for which our posterity which are yet unborne, will fare the better: and though our neighbour Countreys are pleased to call the English a dull Nation, yet the major part are sensible of their owne good, and the good of their posterity, and those will sway the rest; so wee and our posterity shall bee all happie.

FINIS

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3. Appelbaum, R., *Literature and Utopian Politics in Seventeen Century England*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, U.K., 2004.
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7. Appelbaum, R., *Literature and Utopian Politics in Seventeen Century England*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, U.K., 2004, p. 113.
8. See Webster, C., *The Intellectual Revolution of the Seventeenth Century*, Routledge, London, 1974.
9. Appelbaum, R., *Literature and Utopian Politics in Seventeen Century England*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, U.K., 2004, p. 105.

10. Dickson, D.R., *The Tessera of Antilia: Utopian Brotherhood and Secret Societies in the Early Seventeen Century*, Brill, 1998, p. 145.
11. "God was calling, and Providential history was moving into a new stage. But the godly also were free agents: they had been chosen to gather themselves, as ministers often put it, and voluntarily build up the New Jerusalem." Appelbaum, R., *Literature and Utopian Politics in Seventeen Century England*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, U.K., 2004, p.104.
12. Appelbaum, R., *Literature and Utopian Politics in Seventeen Century England*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, U.K., 2004, p.105.
- 13."I must conclude, that it is nothing but the narrowness of all mens spirits that makes their miseries to ly heavy upon them: for there are infinite Meanes of reliefe and comfort, for all sorts of calamities to be found in nature, and well ordered societies, if men were not enviously or covetously, or peevishly...." Hartlib, S., *An essay for the advancement of husbandry-learning for the erecting of a college of husbandry*, London, 1651, Epistle to the reader
14. Trevor Rope, H., 'Three Foreigners,' *Religion, the Reformation and Social Change; and Other Essays*, revised third edition, Secker&Warburg, London, 1984.
15. Antonella Cagnolati palces Hartlib in Cambridge during 1624-1625. Cagnolati, A., *Il circolo di Hartlib: riforme educative e diffusione del sapere, (1630-1660)*, CLUEB, Bologna, 2001.
16. John Coffey: "The ecumenist Scotsman John Dury, the German scientist Samuel Hartlib, and the Czech educationalist Comenius had each been profoundly influenced by the millenarianism of Alsted and Mede, and seem to have seriously entertained the idea that London was the centre from which human knowledge and divine rule would spread." John Coffey, *The impact of Apocalypticism during the Puritan Revolutions*, p. 126, in *Perichoresis*, 4.2 (2006), [http://www.emanuel.ro/ro.research.perichoresis\\_42\\_1](http://www.emanuel.ro/ro.research.perichoresis_42_1), 25 sept. 2010.
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21. Webster, C., *Utopian Planning and the Puritan Revolution: Gabriel Plattes, Samuel Hartlib and Macaria*, Oxford, 1979 (Welcome Unit for the History of Medicine; Research publications no II), p.5.
22. Appelbaum, R., *Literature and Utopian Politics in Seventeen Century England*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, U.K., 2004, p.119.
23. "Thus Macaria was not an unrealistic fantasy, but a thinly veiled statement of the social and economic policies of experts advising the parliamentary party. Indeed, the fictional element was almost completely abandoned in the final pages of the tract." Webster, C., *Utopian Planning and the Puritan Revolution: Gabriel Plattes, Samuel Hartlib and Macaria*, Oxford, 1979 (Welcome Unit for the History of Medicine; Research publications no II), p.24.
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25. Appelbaum, R., *Literature and Utopian Politics in Seventeen Century England*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, U.K., 2004, p.123.
26. Jalobeanu D., Introductory study to Bacon, F., *Noua Atlantida*, trans. Jalobeanu, D., Nemira, Bucuresti, 2007, p. 13.
27. Coffey, D., 'As in a theatre: scientific spectacle in Bacon's *New Atlantis*', *Science as Culture*, 13 (2004), pp. 259-290.

28. Dickson, D.R., *The Tessera of Antilia: Utopian Brotherhood and Secret Societies in the Early Seventeen Century*, Brill, 1998, p. 168.
29. Appelbaum, R., *Literature and Utopian Politics in Seventeen Century England*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, U.K., 2004, p.124.
30. More also argued in *Utopia* that, from an economic point of view, war is not a good instrument and that maintaining an active army wastes money. See More, Th., *Utopia*, ed. by Logan, G. M., Adams, R.M., Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2003 (1989; 2002), pp. 16-17.
31. Jalobeanu, D., Introductory study to Bacon, F., *Noua Atlantida*, trans. Jalobeanu, D., Nemira, Bucuresti, 2007, p. 43.
32. Webster, C., *Utopian Planning and the Puritan Revolution: Gabriel Plattes, Samuel Hartlib and Macaria*, Oxford, 1979 (Welcome Unit for the History of Medicine; Research publications no II), pp. 31-32.
33. See Appelbaum, R., *Literature and Utopian Politics in Seventeen Century England*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, U.K., 2004, p.124.
34. The title is inspired by the former utopias of More, *De optimo respublicae statu deque nova insula Utopia* (1518), Andreae, *Respublicae Christianopolitanae Descriptio* (Strasbourg 1619), George Abott, *A brief description of the whole workld*, (London 1599) etc.
35. In Greek μαχαρία, perhaps the Blessed Isles of Greek myth. More also talks about *macarians*, a people who, in spite of the *achorians*, lives near the *utopians* and lives in peace and happiness due to their wise form of governance. See More, Th., *Utopia*, ed. by Logan, G. M., Adams, R.M., Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2003 (1989; 2002), p. 34.
36. One of the printers registered that time in London. The book was first printed anonymously and was long considered a work by Samuel Hartlib probably also because it was a tract circulating within the Hartlib circle and because it was published in the context of Comenius' visit to England and of Hartlib's plans to promote a project for a true Baconian College in the Parliament. *Macaria* was published in October 1641 to draw attention to the project. Charles Webster argued successfully that the work belonged to Gabriel Plattes, another member of the Hartlib circle. For more details, see Webster, C., *Utopian Planning and the Puritan Revolution: Gabriel Plattes, Samuel Hartlib and Macaria*, Oxford, 1979 (Welcome Unit for the History of Medicine; Research publications no II). Dickson considers that "Hartlib probably gave the work its patina of traditional literary utopianism, while the practical ideas are very similar to Plattes' other writings. When Plattes died in 1643, Hartlib lost his main expert on technology and, consequently, the hopes for a utopian "College of Experience" were dashed". See Dickson, D.R., *The Tessera of Antilia: Utopian Brotherhood and Secret Societies in the Early Seventeen Century*, Brill, 1998, p. 168.
37. The Long Parliament convened in October 1641 (Charles I had to re-convene the parliament in the context of the Irish Rebellion after an episode when his party was defeated). There was general hope that the Parliament was willing to reform things in England. Samuel Hartlib, by directly addressing *Macaria* to the Parliament, was aiming, in fact, to bring into attention other reform projects regarding politics and religion, projects developed within a group of numerous intellectuals. Among other names associated with that group, John Dury, Jan Amos Comenius can be recalled, but also inventors like Gabriel Plattes. See Webster, C., *Utopian Planning and the Puritan Revolution: Gabriel Plattes, Samuel Hartlib and Macaria*, Oxford, 1979 (Welcome Unit for the History of Medicine; Research publications no II); Dickson, D.R., *The Tessera of Antilia: Utopian Brotherhood and Secret Societies in the Early Seventeen Century*, Brill, 1998; Trevor Rope, H., 'Three Foreigners,' *Religion, the Reformation and Social Change; and Other Essays*, revised third edition, Secker & Warburg, London, 1984.
38. The utopian ethos, to show others the meaning and the purposes of a happy life and also to make them understand how such a life can be achieved. See Appelbaum, R., *Literature and Utopian Politics in Seventeen Century England*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, U.K., 2004, p.120.
39. The acknowledgment means that Plattes is aware of the privileged position of the Parliament as a direct agent in the process of the reformation of the world. Also, Plattes considers that *one cannot*

simply tell Parliament what to do, but had to provide a model, a kind of moving picture. See Appelbaum, R., *Literature and Utopian Politics in Seventeenth Century England*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, U.K., 2004, p.123.

40. The date is important because it is exactly the same date when the Parliament was re-convened, which is to say that *Macaria* was either written or published in a certain political context, with the expectation that it would receive a specific answer (as was the case with other tracts and reforming projects written in the Hartlib circle).

41. The Royal Exchange was an important meeting place for diverse figures. It was a place for making business and also for learning interesting news.

42. The Traveler is a merchant of light, his business is 'light' or knowledge. The merchants of lights are characters in Bacon's *New Atlantis*, but contrary to the Baconian knowledge trade, this trade is made here for free, pointing to the open nature of the transmission of knowledge.

43. "The new science" is very interested in curious and strange things. In *Sylva Sylvarum* Bacon puts together various experiments, among which alchemical and transmutation experiments. Plattes himself in *Discoverie of Infinite Treasure* seems to be concerned with curious experiments.

44. The importance of knowledge which seems to deserve all the treasures in the kingdom. The fact that the merchants of lights do not have to pay any tax "upon such a commodities", and "the book of rates" does not contain any "imposition", can also point to the importance of the reformation of knowledge as political policy.

45. The process of transmitting knowledge can be successfully pursued in open spaces. E.g. the Akademos garden, the space outside the city of Athens in Plato's *Republic*. Moorefields place symbolizes nature's silence and peace in contrast to the Royal Exchange agglomeration and noise.

46. During 1641, a series of reforms were carried out to abolish the courts of the Star Chamber and High Commission and other institutions that had allowed King Charles to circumvent the common law and to rule without calling a Parliament. The Triennial Act was passed in January 1641 to ensure that Parliament would be called at least once every three years.

47. Again, the author suggests the importance of the Parliament as a direct agent of the reformation. The Parliament was intent to make a good reformation under the sign of Puritanism, a prelude to the Judgment Day and to the new kingdom of God.

48. "The Grand Remonstrance" art. 181, „the Bishops and recusant lords are so numerous and prevalent that they are able to cross and interrupt our best endeavours for reformation”, quoted by Webster, C., in Webster, C., *Utopian Planning and the Puritan Revolution: Gabriel Plattes, Samuel Hartlib and Macaria*, Oxford, 1979 (Welcome Unit for the History of Medicine; Research publications no II), note 2.17.

49. The notion of the 'public good' was in need of a clear definition. The idea that Parliament was the embodiment of the nation and the agent of reformation gave it authority to produce and initiate fundamental changes. Also, according to Puritan meliorism, even if the Parliament had a privileged position, every man and woman had an important and active part in the reformation of the world. People could expect that their words could have an impact on Parliament and throughout the nation as well. *Macaria* was written to present to the Parliament a basis of a rationalized model of a good society.

50. The traveler is associated with other merchants of light.

51. The model proposed by Plattes, which can be so easily achieved in England, too. The language used is, deliberately, brief and axiomatic because it wants to insist on the author's seriousness of purpose. What could be related in hundreds of pages, is argued as a theorem: there can be a kingdom where people can live in peace, prosperity, health and happiness. In other words, it is possible for a kingdom of that kind to exist. Plattes proposes a model of moderate reforms, easy to be accomplished.

52. The process of wondering has a specific significance. After *curiosity*, *wonder* is the second level in the process of discovering nature. For more details see Jalobeanu, D. Introductory study to Bacon, F., *Noua Atlantida*, trans. Jalobeanu, D., Nemira, Bucuresti, 2007, p. 59.

53. In December 1640, the Parliament decided to enact legislation depriving Charles I of the powers that he had assumed since his accession. The reforms were designed to negate the possibility of Charles ruling absolutely again. The Triennial Act of 1641, also known as the Dissolution Act, was passed, requiring that no more than three years should elapse between sessions of Parliament. Also, the Parliament had to assemble every year. See Webster, C., *Utopian Planning and the Puritan Revolution: Gabriel Plattes, Samuel Hartlib and Macaria*, Oxford, 1979 (Welcome Unit for the History of Medicine; Research publications no II), note 3.17.

54. Plattes points to the case of Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford. He was a leading advisor to the king, attempting to strengthen the royal position against Parliament. When Parliament condemned him to death, in May 1641, Charles signed the death warrant and Wentworth was executed.

55. This seems to be the first project regarding permanent parliamentary committees.

56. The subject includes both agriculture and the relations of landlord and tenant. Plattes was very concerned about this subject. Other works written by Plattes about husbandry: *Treatise of Husbandry* 1638; *Observations and Improvements in Husbandry, with twenty Experiments*, London, 1639; *Recreatio Agriculturae*, London, 1640, 1646.

57. The topic here is about a method of efficient exploitation of the colonies. The English Parliament would establish such a council for new plantations in colonies. See Webster, C., *Utopian Planning and the Puritan Revolution: Gabriel Plattes, Samuel Hartlib and Macaria*, Oxford, 1979 (Welcome Unit for the History of Medicine; Research publications no II). Plattes also recommended emigration of the surplus of the population to the new colonies. See Dickson, D.R., *The Tessera of Antilia: Utopian Brotherhood and Secret Societies in the Early Seventeen Century*, Brill, 1998, p. 169.

58. Plattes seems to be the first author speaking about this kind of taxation. See Webster, C., *Utopian Planning and the Puritan Revolution: Gabriel Plattes, Samuel Hartlib and Macaria*, Oxford, 1979 (Welcome Unit for the History of Medicine; Research publications no II) and Dickson, D.R., *The Tessera of Antilia: Utopian Brotherhood and Secret Societies in the Early Seventeen Century*, Brill, 1998, p. 168.

59. For Plattes, Hartlib and their group of Puritan reformers, agriculture is the prime source of welfare. From this point of view, the cultivation of the land is one of the governance's first priorities, and inefficiency in agriculture is the reason why a citizen can be considered an enemy of the state. There were other similar projects of transforming agriculture into a governance priority, that time. E.g. Walter Blight, *The English Improver Improved*, London, 1652.

60. "The Councill for New Plantations" has not only economic qualities but also military qualities. Plattes considers that new colonies are perfect destinations for the excess of the population (England was already facing serious problems regarding overpopulation). The idea had already been developed by authors like Newton, A. P., *The Colonising Activities of the English Puritans*, New Haven, Connecticut, 1914, vol.IV.

61. During 1641, Europe was a place of warfare, in England, the Civil War was about to break out, so the question is completely legitimate; that time, peace seemed an impossible dream.

62. Plattes, like More, is convinced about the inutility of war. War can only diminish the budget and an active army can only reduce, not increase the state income. More shares the same opinion in *Utopia*. From his point of view, war is an unnecessary instrument. Only peace and good methods of husbandry can increase welfare. See More, Th., *Utopia*, ed. by Logan, G. M., Adams, R.M., Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2003 (1989; 2002), pp. 16-25

63. "The College of Experience" oversees the discoveries and the dissemination of knowledge in the kingdom. Plattes's College is very similar to Bacon's Solomon's House and Andreae's experimental laboratories. Plattes and Hartlib also advocated the founding of an agricultural college.

64. The medical profession is established in seventeenth-century England with heavy restrictions. Only doctors registered in the College of Physicians (latter called the Royal College of Physicians)

have the right to practice medicine. The idea of certificating and using any kind of medicine and cure “for the health” is, in this context, new and very bold. See Clark, G., *A History of the Royal College of Physicians*, Clarendon Press, London, 1966.

65. The cure of the body and soul. Plattes points to the ancient Galenic and Platonic ideal of a person being both a physician and a philosopher, an ideal developed also by the utopian literature. More, for instance, considers that physicians are responsible also for the cure of the soul, as well as for the body, and Medicine to be a part of Philosophy. The Baconian Governor of the Strangers’ House is equally responsible for his people’s bodies and souls. A number of works were devoted in early modern England to this topic and there existed a number of well known parsons with medical degrees (or vice-versa). See Burton, R., the *Anatomy of Melancholy*, 1621; Gowland, A., *The Worlds of Renaissance Melancholy: Robert Burton in context*, Cambridge University Press, 2006, pp.246-266. .

66. “The Society of Experimenters” is responsible for new medicines and new cures, not individual practitioners. The Society is a professional association and also a state institution controlling licenses (the Society registers, verifies and allows new inventions). Individual practitioners must know all these new tested and approved inventions. This is a very good example of the collective organization of knowledge inspired by the Baconian Solomon’s House.

67. The medical example is the Galenic model: health is directly related with the balance of the four body humors and ambient factors or the particular disposition of the patient. The Physician/ divine must know in detail the patient’s disposition of body and soul in order to select a proper cure. The Divines are not called to invent new medicine, but to apply to particular cases what they have already learned.

68. The divergence of opinions in religious matters is considered by the Puritans to be the essence of all bad things in the world. The Puritans’ claim is for one single religion with no factions and the text points to this kind of situation. Comenius’ pansophic project also advocates ecclesiastical peace and a universal religion. The “Colledge of Experience”, under the supervision of the “Great Councell”, oversees the development and dissemination of religious doctrine.

69. Plattes and Hartlib are not so different from their contemporaneous but they go further than More and Bacon. Even if modern utopias encourage and call for uniformity in opinions, in More’s, Bacon’s and Campanella’s works we can find the possibility of a variety of religions in a state, under the strict condition of a common doctrinaire spirit embraced by everybody. The best example is the case of the Jew Joabin in *New Atlantis*. He is not a Christian and he is not forced to Christianize himself but he respects some of the Christian principles.

70. The Puritan theologians give a great deal of importance to the use of logical analysis in theological disputes regarding the interpretation of the Bible. See Miller, P., *The New England Minde*, the Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, Cambridge Mass, 1939; Webster, C., *Utopian Planning and the Puritan Revolution: Gabriel Plattes, Samuel Hartlib and Macaria*, Oxford, 1979 (Welcome Unit for the History of Medicine; Research publications no II).

71. The reformation does not include the Catholics. Anti-Catholic attitude was the motive for the radicalization of the English society, from leaders of the Parliament such as Pym to common people, and forced the Parliament to adopt increasingly radical policies. See Manning, B., *The English People and the English Revolution*, Heinemann, London, 1976.

72. Webster suggests that here we can see a Cartesian influence: a religion founded upon articulated and distinct principles. Webster, C., *Utopian Planning and the Puritan Revolution: Gabriel Plattes, Samuel Hartlib and Macaria*, Oxford, 1979 (Welcome Unit for the History of Medicine; Research publications no II). Descartes’ works were well known inside Hartlib’s circle. John Dury is one of the first theologians debating with Descartes on the matter of articulated and distinct truth and of certitude. On the other hand, the ideal of a rational religion, founded upon infallible principles, was in place before Cartesianism. It was associated with the German mystics, with the efforts for reforming the Lutheranism of the early seventeenth century, with utopian writers such as J.C. Andreae and with Hartlib’s friend and collaborator, Jan Amos Comenius.

73. One of the reasons causing the break of the Civil War in England was the King's taxation policy and impositions upon lands. Plattes suggests an economic policy of improving the lands and efficient husbandry. The king is restricted like any other citizen in deriving his normal income from the improvement of his legitimate estates. Interesting here is also the emphasis on the idea that war cannot be a reason for increasing taxes. This idea is related to the idea that war is not an instrument for increasing the state income.

74. In order to give clarity to the reforms proposed in *Macaria*, the author made it as brief as possible, reducing its literary value, in contrast to *Utopia* and *New Atlantis*. *Macaria* is an emendation of the utopian project so that it looks more like a project of social and political reformation than a literary work.

75. This is the Puritan idea of reformation. As the Kingdom of God is within you, so the reformation that belongs to it is an inward Reformation. When the heart is reformed, everything is reformed. So, the subject of reformation is also the object of reformation, the means are also the ends of reformation. They have an influence in shaping the ends toward which the effects of providential opportunity might be directed. Thus, the solution is in our hands and it is easy to put in practice, as long as the solution is already in our hands. See Appelbaum, R., *Literature and Utopian Politics in Seventeen Century England*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, U.K., 2004, p.115, 124.

76. This points to Comenius' doctrine of ecclesiastical peace, a doctrine of salvation and religious-political solidarity and prosperity, which, in this context, seems to be possible.

77. The process of learning described by Plattes is inspired by Bacon's model of learning: 'seducing' somebody's mind by spreading new opinions using writing and teaching/sermons. The Traveler answers pointing out the limitations of such a Baconian project: scholars do not have enough authority on the human mind because they are not also Physicians (they cannot cure the body and soul at the same time). This is the reason why a Baconian project of learning based on seduction has less success than an administrative project implementing a policy from top to bottom.

78. Again, Plattes argues against warfare insisting on economic arguments regarding the impossibility of enhancing public incomes by imposing taxes on distant territories.

79. In 1639 Plattes published *A Discovery of Infinite Treasure* and *A Discovery of Subterranean Treasure* (on agriculture and mining), a pretty popular book, frequently read and quoted (included by Mersenne), also approaching alchemical experiments and transmutation experiments.

80. Such an occasion never showed up. The Parliament, so willing to implement reformation, had to confront the Irish Rebellion and the Civil War.

81. The discussion is influenced by the millenarian context of the time. Puritans were expecting the Judgment Day and the New Kingdom of God on earth. Hence the idea that another reform is neither desirable nor possible before the Judgment Day, simply because such a reformation is not included in the Divine Plan.

82. Puritans used to interpret the Scriptures literally. Mystic interpretation is unsuitable and excluded. See Harrison, P., *The Bible, Protestantism and the Rise of Science*, CUP, Cambridge, 2001.

83. Sophronius Eusebius Hieronymus, known as St. Jerome, produced a number of commentaries on Scripture, often explaining his translation choices. His patristic commentaries are closely aligned with the Jewish tradition, and he indulges in allegorical and mystical subtleties after the manner of Philo and the Alexandrian school. He showed more zeal and interest in the ascetic ideal than in abstract speculation. It was this strict asceticism that made Martin Luther judge him so severely. In fact, Protestant readers are not generally inclined to accept his writings as authoritative. The tendency to recognize a superior comes out in his correspondence with Augustine. For more details, see Williams, M.H., *The Monk and the Book: Jerome and the making of Christian Scholarship*, Chicago, 2006.

84. "Rossimus, like many others, interprets all these in a mystic way but I am afraid that the knowledgeable persons do not admit such an interpretation at all." (my translation).

85. Plattes points to the Puritan idea that people are instruments of reformation and they have to work for the reformation.
86. The Puritan reformation project crossed the English border. According to the millenarian idea, England was the proper place to start the Work of God and to spread it all over the world.
87. The reformation is already in our hands and it only depends on us to make it happen and to make things work.
88. The practice of exchanging secrets and experimental philosophical findings were very important subjects in Hartlib's circle. The topic of the 'merchant of light', approached at the end of the text, is not incidental. What Plattes tries to highlight here is the fact that the Traveler as well as the Scholar belong to a special brotherhood of natural researchers interested in the reformation of knowledge. They are not simply individuals, philosophers or writers, but members of the Baconian brotherhood of light, engaged in 'trading knowledge'.

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