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Seminar: War and Peace in the Political Thought of Francis Bacon (1561-1626)

POLIS, Michaelmas 2021, Weeks 1-7

The philosopher Francis Bacon sat in Parliament from 1581 until 1621 and held high offices of state as Queen's Council Extraordinary, Solicitor General, Attorney General, Lord Keeper, and Lord Chancellor, in which he participated and helped to shape in the jurisprudence, internal and external politics (including colonial and imperial policy, ambassadorial reports, and recommendations for wars and military policy) of England and, later, Britain.

This seminar has as its object a confrontation with and an examination of the political philosophy of Francis Bacon in relation to his positions on foreign policy, his concepts of war and peace, and his thoughts, plans, notes, policy papers, speeches, essays, and aphorisms on English colonies and the British empire. Themes of the seminar will include the relation between civil war and empire, population, confessional wars and religious wars, the relation between science and politics, and the possibility of relating oneself critically to an absolute sovereign within the frame of philosophic discourse and political speech.

Sources for the Set Texts:

King James VI and I, *Political Writings*, ed. Sommerville (Cambridge Texts in the History of Political Thought)

Spedding, J. *The Letters and the Life of Francis Bacon Including all his Occasional Works*, 7 Vols. London: Longman, 1861–1874. [Cited as LL].

Spedding, J., R. L. Ellis, and D. D. Heath, eds. *The Works of Francis Bacon*, 7 Vols. London: Longman and Co., 1857–1859. [Cited as SEH].

Week One: Armada Wars

Set Texts:

Francis Bacon, *Letter of Advice to the Queen*, in LL, vol. 1.

Francis Bacon, "Speech in Praise of His Sovereign," in LL, vol. 1.

Francis Bacon, *Certain Observations upon a Libel*, in LL, vol. 1.

Francis Bacon, Speeches in Parliament on the Subsidy Bills of 1593 and 1597, in LL, vols. 1 and 2.

Week Two: The Treaty of London, 1604

King James VI and I, *Basilikon Doron* in *Political Writings*, ed. Sommerville

Text of the 1604 Treaty of London

Francis Bacon, "Styx sive Foedera," in *De sapientia veterum*, in *Works*, vol. 6.

Week Three: “Empire”

Set Texts:

Francis Bacon, “Of Empire” and “Of Plantations,” in *Oxford Francis Bacon*, vol. 15; in *Works*, vol. 6.

Francis Bacon, “Considerations Touching the Queen’s Service in Ireland (1602)” in *LL*, vol. 3; “Considerations Touching the Plantation in Ireland” (1606-8), in *LL*, vol. 4.

Week Four: “Greatness”

Set Text:

Francis Bacon, “Of the true Greatness of Britain,” pp. 37-64 in *Works*, vol. 7.

Francis Bacon, “Of the true Greatness of Kingdoms and Estates,” in the *Oxford Francis Bacon*, vol. XV and in *Works*, vol. 6.

Week Five: Religious Warfare

Set Text

Francis Bacon, *An Advertisement Touching an Holy War*, pp. 1-36 in *Works*, vol. 7.

Week Six: Francis Bacon and the Thirty Years’ War

Set Texts:

Francis Bacon, “A Short View to be Taken of Great Britain and Spain” in *Works*, vol. 14 (*LL*, vol. 7).

Francis Bacon, *Considerations Touching a War with Spain*, pp. 469-504 in *Works*, vol. 14 (*LL*, volume 7).

Week Seven

Set Text:

Francis Bacon, *Apophthegms, New and Old*, pp. 111-186 in *Works*, vol. 7.

Some Literature related to Bacon’s Political Thought

Alford, Stephen. *The Watchers: A Secret History of the Reign of Elizabeth I*. London: Penguin, 2013 [2012]. Armitage, David. *Civil Wars: A History in Ideas*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017. Bacon, Francis. ‘Advice to the King, touching Sutton’s Estate,’ (1611/12), in *LL* IV. Bacon, Francis. ‘A remembrance additional to the instructions of Sir John Digby,’ in *LL* VI, pp.

158–9. Bacon, Francis. Certaine obseruations vpon a libell, in OFB vol. I. Bacon, Francis. 'Charge against the Countess of Shrewsbury,' in LL IV, pp. 297–300. Bacon, Francis. Considerations touching a War with Spain, in LL VII, pp. 469–505. Bacon, Francis. De Augustis Scientiarum, in SEH I. Bacon, Francis. De Sapientia Veterum in SEH VI. Bacon, Francis. Essayes, in OFB XV. Bacon, Francis. Speech in the House of Commons, 17 February 1606/7, 'A Speech used by Sir Francis Bacon, in the Lower House of Parliament, concerning the Article of Naturalization,' pp. 307–25 in LL III. Bacon, Francis. 'Speech on Motion for a Grant of Three Subsidies Payable in Four Years,' in LL I. Bacon, Francis. Sylva Sylvarum, in SEH II. Bacon, Francis. The Advancement of Learning, in OFB IV. Bacon, Francis. 'The charge of Owen, indicted of High Treason, in the King's Bench, by Sir Francis Bacon, his Majesty's Attorney-General', in LL V, pp. 154–9. 186 S. G. ZEITLIN Bacon, Francis. The Charge of Sir Francis Bacon, Knight, his Majesty's Attorney-General, touching Duels; upon an Information in the Star-Chamber against Priest and Wright, in LL IV, pp. 399–416. Bacon, Francis. A True Report of the Detestable Treason, Intended by Dr. Roderigo Lopez, in LL I. Bacon, Francis. Essais. Religious Meditations. Places of perswasion and disswasion. Seene and allowed. London: Printed for Humphrey Hooper, 1597. Bacon, Francis. De Sapientia Veterum. London: Robert Barker, 1609. Bacon, Francis. Certain Miscellany Works of the Right Honourable Francis Lo. Verulam. London: I. Hauland for Humphrey Robinson, 1629. Bacon, Francis. Operum moralium et civilium tomus. London: Edward Griffin, 1638. Bacon, Francis. The Major Works, ed. Brian Vickers. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996, 2002. Bacon, Francis. La Sagesse des Anciens, tr. Jean-Pierre Cavallé. Paris: Vrin, 1997. Bodin, Jean. Les six livres de la république. Paris: Fayard, 1986 [1576]. Botero, Giovanni. Della Ragione di Stato, Libri Dieci. Venice: I Gioliti, 1598. Brett, Annabel. 'Roman Law and Roman Ideology in Alberico Gentili.' *Huntington Library Quarterly* 83, no. 3 (2020): 499–517. Clarke, Michelle Tolman. 'Uprooting Nebuchadnezzar's Tree: Francis Bacon's Criticism of Machiavellian Imperialism.' *Political Research Quarterly* 61, no. 3 (September 2008): 367–78. Corneanu, Sorana. *Regimens of the Mind*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012. de Moffan, Nicholas. *Soltani Solymanni Turcarum Imperatoris horrendum facinus, sceleratus in proprium filium natu maximum, Soltanum Mustapham, parricidio, Anno Domini 1553 patratum*. Basel: Ioannem Oporinum [Johann Oporinus], 1556. de Montaigne, Michel. *Les Essais*. Paris: Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, 2007. Erasmus, Desiderius. *De bello turcico*. Erkoç, Seda. 'Dealing with Tyranny: Fulke Greville's Mustapha in the Context of His Other Writings and His View on Anglo-Ottoman Relations.' *The Journal of Ottoman Studies* XLVII (2016): 265–90. Fattori, Marta. 'Francis Bacon et la culture française (1576–1625).' In *Bacon et Descartes, Genèses de la modernité philosophique*, edited by Élodie Cassan, 25–47. Lyon: ENS Éditions, 2014. Faulkner, Robert K. *Francis Bacon and the Project of Progress*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 1993. Forset, Edward. *A Comparative Discourse of the Bodies Natural and Politique. Wherein out of the Principles of Nature, is set Forth the True Forme of a Commonweale, with the Dutie of Subjects, and the Right of the Soueraigne: Together with Many Good Points of Politicall Learning, Mentioned in a Briefe After the Preface*. London: John Bill, 1606. Foucault, Michel. *Security, Territory, Population, Lectures at the Collège de France*, ed. Michel Senellart, tr. Graham Burchell. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007. Gajda, Alexandra. *The Earl of Essex and Late Elizabethan Political Culture*. Oxford: OUP, 2012. Gaskell, Philip. 'Books Bought by Whitgift's Pupils in the 1570s.' *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 7 (1979): 284–93. Gaukroger, Stephen. *Francis Bacon and the Transformation of Early-Modern Philosophy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001. Gentili, Alberico. *De iure belli libri tres*, 2 Vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933. Grant, Daragh. 'Francisco de Vitoria and Alberico

Gentili on the Juridical Status of Native American Polities.’ *Renaissance Quarterly* 72, no. 3 (2019): 910–52. Greville, Fulke. *The Tragedy of Mustapha*. London: Printed for Nathaniel Butler, 1609. Hoekstra, Kinch. ‘Thucydides and the Bellicose Beginnings of Modern Political Theory.’ In *Thucydides and the Modern World; Reception, Reinterpretation and Influence from the Renaissance to the Present*, edited by Katherine Harloe, and Neville Morley. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012. Höpfl, Harro. *Jesuit Political Thought: The Society of Jesus and the State, c. 1540–1630*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004. Hume, David. *The History of England*, 6 Vols. Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 1983 [1778]. GLOBAL INTELLECTUAL HISTORY 187 Hurd Hale, Kimberly. *Francis Bacon’s New Atlantis in the Foundation of Modern Political Thought*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2013. Idris, Murad. *War for Peace: Genealogies of a Violent Ideal in Western and Islamic Thought*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019. Irving, Sarah. *Natural Science and the Origins of the British Empire*. London: Pickering & Chatto, 2008. Jalobeanu, Dana. *The Art of Experimental Natural History: Francis Bacon in Context*. Bucharest: Zeta Books, 2015. Jardine, Lisa, and Alan Stewart. *Hostage to Fortune: The Troubled Life of Francis Bacon*. London: Gollancz, 1998. Jardine, Lisa, and Alan Stewart. In *Hostage to Fortune, The Troubled Life of Francis Bacon*, 116–7. New York: Hill and Wang, 1999 [1998]. Kiernan, Michael. ‘Commentary,’ in OFB XV. Kingsbury, Benedict, and Benjamin Straumann, eds. *The Roman Foundations of the Law of Nations: Alberico Gentili and the Justice of Empire*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010. Knolles, Richard. *Generall Historie of the Turkes*. London: Printed by Adam Islip, 1603. Lampert, Laurence. *Nietzsche and Modern Times, A Study of Bacon, Descartes, and Nietzsche*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1993. Lerner, Ralph. *Playing the Fool: Subversive Laughter in Troubled Times*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009. Lerner, Ralph. ‘The Jihād St. Alban.’ *Review of Politics* 64, no. 1 (January 2002): 5–26. Lewis, Rhodri. *Language, Mind and Nature: Artificial Languages in England from Bacon to Locke*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007. L. Jardine, G. Rees, R. W. Serjeantson, A. Stewart, B. Vickers, eds. *Oxford Francis Bacon*, 15 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996–present). [Cited as OFB] Luther, Martin. *Vom Krieg wider den Türken*. Machiavelli, Niccolò. *Discorsi Sopra la Prima Deca di Tito Livio*. Milano: Einaudi Editore, 2000. Malcolm, Noel. *Reason of State, Propaganda, and the Thirty Years’ War: An Unknown Translation by Thomas Hobbes*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007. Malcolm, Noel. ‘Alberico Gentili and the Ottomans.’ In *The Roman Foundation of the Law of Nations: Alberico Gentili and the Justice of Empire*, edited by Benedict Kingsbury and Benjamin Straumann, 127–45. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010. Malcolm, Noel. *Useful Enemies: Islam and the Ottoman Empire in Western Political Thought, 1450–1750*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019. Matthews, Steven. *Theology and Science in the Thought of Francis Bacon*. Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2008. McKnight, Stephen A. *The Religious Foundations of Francis Bacon’s Thought*. Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 2006. Minkov, Svetozar. *Francis Bacon’s “Inquiry Touching Human Nature”: Virtue, Philosophy, and the Relief of Man’s Estate*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2010. Muthu, Sankar. *Enlightenment Against Empire*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003. Parker, Geoffrey. ‘Mutiny and Discontent in the Spanish Army in Flanders 1572–1607.’ *Past and Present* 58, no. 1 (1973): 38–52. Patrick, J. Max. ‘Hawk versus Dove: Francis Bacon’s Advocacy of a Holy War by James I against the Turks.’ *Studies in the Literary Imagination* IV, no. 1 (April, 1971): 159–71. Paul, Joanne. *Counsel and Command in Early Modern English Thought*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020. Peltonen, Markku. ‘Bacon’s Political Philosophy,’ In *The Cambridge Companion to Bacon*, edited by Markku Peltonen, 283–310. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996. Peltonen, Markku. ‘Politics and Science: Francis Bacon and the True Greatness of States.’ *The*

Historical Journal 35, no. 2 (June 1992): 279-305. Sadleir, Michael. 'Trollope and Bacon's Essays.' The Trollopian 1, no. 1 (Summer 1945): 21-34. 188 Santi, Raphaela. 'Edward Forset: Why is the "body politique" called a "commonweale"?' in *The Commonwealth as Political Space in Late Renaissance England*, edited by Santi, et al, 27-53. Padua: Cedam Editore, 2014. Serjeantson, Richard, and Thomas Woolford. 'The Scribal Publication of a Printed Book: Francis Bacon's *Certaine Considerations Touching ... the Church of England (1604)*.' *The Library*, n.s 10, no. 2 (June 2009): 119-56. Spedding, J. *The Letters and the Life of Francis Bacon Including all his Occasional Works*, 7 Vols. London: Longman, 1861-1874. [Cited as LL]. Spedding, J., R. L. Ellis, and D. D. Heath, eds. *The Works of Francis Bacon*, 7 Vols. London: Longman and Co., 1857-1859. [Cited as SEH]. Spedding, James. 'Preface to the Advertisement Touching an Holy War,' in SEH VII: 3-7. Stewart, Alan. 'Introduction,' in OFB I. Stewart, Alan. 'Commentary,' in OFB I. Tadié, Alexis. *Francis Bacon: Le continent du savoir*. Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2014. van Malssen, Tom. *The Political Philosophy of Francis Bacon: On the Unity of Knowledge*. Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 2015. Weinberger, Jerry. 'Introduction,' pp. vii-xxix, in Francis Bacon, *The Great Instauration and New Atlantis*, ed. Jerry Weinberger (Arlington Heights, IL: Harlan Davidson, 1980). Weinberger, Jerry. 'On Bacon's Advertisement Touching a Holy War.' *Interpretation: A Journal of Political Philosophy* 9, no. 2-3 (September 1981): 191-206. White, Howard B. *Peace Among the Willows: The Political Philosophy of Francis Bacon*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1968. Zeitlin, Samuel Garrett. 'Francis Bacon on Peace and the 1604 Treaty of London.' *History of Political Thought* 41, no. 3 (Autumn 2020): 487-504. Zeitlin, Samuel Garrett. 'Francis Bacon on Just Warfare.' *The Political Science Reviewer* 45, no. 1 (2021): 69-106. <https://politicalsciencereviewer.wisc.edu/index.php/psr/article/view/674>. Zeitlin, Samuel Garrett. "'The Heat of a Feaver': Francis Bacon on Civil War, Sedition, and Rebellion.' *History of European Ideas*. Forthcoming. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01916599.2020.1832823>. Zeitlin, Samuel Garrett. 'Francis Bacon on Imperial and Colonial Warfare,' in *The Review of Politics* 83, no. 2 (Spring 2021): 196-218. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0034670520001011>