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CM1 : Samuel Garrett Zeitlin, 'Francis Bacon on Peace and the 1604 Treaty of London', *History of Political Thought* 41, no. 3 (Autumn 2020): 487–503.

CM2 : Samuel Garrett Zeitlin, 'Francis Bacon on Imperial and Colonial Warfare', *The Review of Politics* 83, no. 2 (forthcoming).

CM3 : The title should read: 'The Heat of a Feaver': Francis Bacon on civil war, sedition and rebellion

CM4 : Move Montaigne to the "M" section in the bibliography

CM5 : Noah Dauber, *State and Commonwealth: The Theory of the State in Early Modern England, 1549-1640* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016).

CM6 : Add to the Bibliography: David Lay Williams, *The Greatest of All Plagues: Economic Inequality in Western Political Thought* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, forthcoming).

CM7 : Change this footnote to be footnote 64 and renumber the other footnotes accordingly--move the note to the proper location in the notes below.

CM8 : Charles W. Lemmi, *The Classic Deities in Bacon: A Study in Mythological Symbolism* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1933).

CM9 : Richard Serjeantson, 'Natural Knowledge in the *New Atlantis*', in *Francis Bacon's* New Atlantis*: New Interdisciplinary Essays*, ed. Bronwen Price (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), 82–105

CM10 : Erin A. Dolgoy and Kimberly Hurd Hale, 'Virtue and Vice: Francis Bacon on the Use of Comedic Jest', *The Political Science Reviewer* 44, no. 1 (2020): 121–46.

CM11 : Svetozar Y. Minkov, *Francis Bacon's 'Inquiry Touching Human Nature": Virtue, Philosophy, and the Relief of Man's Estate* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2010)

CM12 : Svetozar Minkov, 'Baconian Science and the Intelligibility of Human Experience: The Case of Love', *The Review of Politics* 71, no. 3 (Summer 2009): 389–410

CM13 : Sarah Irving, "In a Pure Soil": Colonial Anxieties in the Work of Francis Bacon', *History of European Ideas* 32, no. 3 (2006): 249–62. Sarah Irving, *Natural Science and the Origins of the British Empire* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2008), 23–46.

CM14 : James A.T. Lancaster, 'Francis Bacon on the Moral and Political Character of the Universe', in *Francis Bacon on Motion and Power*, eds. Guido Giglioni, James A.T. Lancaster, Sorana Corneanu, and Dana Jalobeanu (Springer, 2016), 231–48

CM15 : John P. McCormick, *Reading Machiavelli* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018).

CM16 : Gabriele Pedullà, *Machiavelli in Tumult: The* Discourses on Livy *and the Origins of Political Conflictualism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018).

CM17 : Yves Winter, *Machiavelli and the Orders of Violence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018).

CM18 : John C. Briggs, *Francis Bacon and the Rhetoric of Nature* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989).

CM19 : change "416" to "409"

CM20 : Add Footnote here: *OFB* XV, 163-165, at 164, l. 39. See also Hobbes, *Leviathan*, ed. Curley, 74-78, at 77.

CM21 : B.H.G. Wormald, *Francis Bacon: History, politics and science 1561–1626* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

CM22 : *Notes on the present state of Christendom* should be italicized in this heading.

CM23 : David Hume, *Essays; Moral, Political, and Literary*, ed. Eugene F. Miller (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 1994 [1777]).

CM24 : Add a period at the end of this bibliographic entry.

'The heat of fever': Francis Bacon on civil war, sedition, and rebellion

HISTORY OF EUROPEAN IDEAS

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ABSTRACT

This article contrasts Francis Bacon's (1561–1626) understanding of civil war, sedition, and rebellion with that of his near contemporaries and predecessors, especially Montaigne, Bodin, Machiavelli, Alberico Gentili and Edward Forset. The article contends that for Bacon, civil war, sedition, and rebellion are the antitheses of good government and that which prudent policy aims to avoid. The article further argues that for Bacon as sedition and its extremities (rebellion and civil war) are caused by poverty and discontentment, and these, in Bacon's view, are the result of overpopulation or 'surcharge of people', Bacon's view for the avoidance of civil war aims at policies of outward expansion in the form of colonies and wars of aggression, both of which aim to reduce the metropole's own population and therewith its propensity to civil war. The article argues that a consideration of Bacon on civil war in particular will shed considerable light on the ideological origins of the British Empire which have often been ignored – where some contemporary political theorists and historians are keen to link ideologies of empire to corresponding positions in political anthropology. A consideration of Bacon's thought on civil war will show, instead, the article contends, that for key ideological originators of imperial justifications, imperial projects have their origin in domestic politics and the avoidance of civil war **[Q2]**.

KEYWORDS

- Francis Bacon
- civil war ~~seditionrebellionEdward Forset~~
- Montaigne
- Bodin
- Machiavelli
- empire**[Q3]**

In recent literature, the historian David Armitage is the scholar who has broached most extensively the theme of civil war. In his 2017 monograph, *Civil Wars: A History in Ideas*, Armitage asserts that civil war (*bellum civile*) is a uniquely Roman invention. The Greeks, even Thucydides, Armitage contends, had no equivalent notion for it.[1] Civil wars, in Armitage's account, emerge in the first century B.C.E., and they emerge in Rome. From this point of disembarkation, Armitage begins a series of millennial leaps –

jumping from one canonical moment of history to the next – from Rome he jumps to the English civil wars; from there to the American war of Independence, from thence to the American civil war and then, following Carl Schmitt, to a consideration of the twentieth century as a global civil war. Like Nietzsche's Zarathustra, *Civil Wars* leaps from peak to peak. What this trans-historical leaping leaves aside is, perhaps unsurprisingly, a great deal – in what is an ostensibly global history, Armitage leaves out much of the non-European world prior to the twentieth century. But even *within* European history and the history of the Americas, Armitage's narrative gives particularly short shrift to the Greeks and to the Renaissance and Early Modernity prior to Thomas Hobbes and his contemporaries. In particular, Armitage ~~he~~ passes over civic strife within Northern Italian cities and the French wars of religion (1562–1598). Armitage thus figures Hobbes as contending with neo-Roman notions of civil war, omitting, for the most part, ~~choosing to omit~~ such sources as the works of Montaigne, Bodin and Bacon, with which Hobbes and later writers were also in conversation.

A reconsideration of these sources occluded from Armitage's narrative, particularly Bacon's writings, sheds light on more than just a gap in the contemporary historiography of civil war.[2] Looking at Bacon on civil war in particular will shed considerable light on the ideological origins of the British Empire which have often been ignored – where some contemporary political theorists and historians are keen to link ideologies of empire to corresponding positions in political anthropology. A consideration of Bacon's thought on civil war will show, instead, that for key ideological originators of imperial justifications, imperial projects have their origin in domestic politics and the avoidance of civil war. Looking to Bacon's works, this article asks, what, for Bacon, was civil war? What did Bacon regard as the causes of civil war? And what did he consider to be its remedies? The article proceeds to answer these questions, outlining Bacon's definition of civil war, his assessment of its causes, and his proposed remedies to it.

The heated fever of civil war

Michel de Montaigne (1533–1592) seemed to think that civil war was something hot. Observing the French civil wars and wars of religion raging in the final third of the sixteenth century, Montaigne referred to civil war as 'a heated passion' – a 'fever' (*nostre fiebre*) in the body politic.[3] For Francis Bacon, civil war was a matter no less heated. Concurring with Montaigne in the central essay of his 1625 *Essayes or Counsels*, *Civill and Morall* Bacon depicted an image of the body politic in which 'A Civill Warre, indeed, is like the Heat of a Feaver'.[4] If civil war, for Bacon, constituted a civil ill, Bacon was unrelenting in the remedy he proposed for civic ills: it was, in his assessment, the princely duty of the sovereign power to stop civic ills in their first beginnings. '[I]t is wisdom in princes,' Bacon wrote in 1612, 'and it is a watch they owe to themselves and to their people, to stop the beginnings of evils, and not to despise them.'[5] Stopping civil war in its very beginnings is not only a princely duty which the sovereign owes ~~not only~~ to her or his subjects, but also a duty to oneself as a sovereign.

Bacon presents and figures other images of civic discord in feverish terms and with the metaphor of fever.[6] In his *Advancement of Learning* of 1605, Bacon describes the stunningly brief reign of Lady Jane Grey in 1553, during which time the forces of Mary Tudor massed and prevailed in a struggle for sovereignty, as an 'ephemeral fever,' a ' *Febris Ephemera*' in which confessionally framed factions contended for control of the English crown.[7] Seventeen years later, in his *Historie of the raigne of King Henry the seventh* of 1622, the image of subjects apt for insurrection was figured as a civic disease with Bacon claiming that 'the same disease' of 'discontented Subiects apte to rise and raise tumulte'[8] afflicted King Henry VII. Later in the narrative of Bacon's *Historie*, the aptitude of Henry VII's subjects to raise insurrection is depicted as 'almost a feauer, that tooke him euery yeare'.[9] Moreover, in arguing for banishments from Court for those who plan duels or send challenges for duelling, Bacon claimed that via duels 'the state by this means shall be like to a distempered and unperfect body, continually subject to inflammations and convulsions.'[10] Such hot inflammations and heated convulsions in the body politic, Bacon warned in Star Chamber upon that occasion, 'may grow from quarrels to banding, and from banding to trooping, and so to tumult and commotion, from particular persons to dissension of families and alliances, yea to national quarrels'.[11]

As we have already seen, for Bacon, as for Montaigne, civil war was a feverish heat upon the body politic. There is an implied naturalness to this comparison – if civil war is like fever, it is not a product of artifice but of natural accident, albeit a natural accident that can be aggravated or, perhaps, induced. If civil war is like the heat of fever, this does not mean that civil war immediately occasions the death of the body politic, which it will for both later and earlier theorists, most notably Montaigne and Thomas Hobbes.[12] Fever, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, surely could prove fatal, but it could also occasion recovery or, perhaps, lead to a stronger comportment following recuperation.

In addition to viewing civil war as a fever, Michel de Montaigne was keen to offer several further characterizations of civil war. Observing the French wars of religion as *guerres civiles*, Montaigne posed the question of whether civil wars could serve as a remedy or pharmaceutical drug for the ills of the body politic. 'Is there any ill in a polity which ought to be combatted with so mortal a drug?'[13] Montaigne answered his question resoundingly in the negative: 'Not even, Favonius said, the usurpation of the tyrannous possession of a republic.'[14] In Montaigne's figuration – civil war is a fatal drug worse than any possible disease to the body politic – civil war presents 'this notable spectacle of our public death'[15] – Civil war equals civic death, and for Montaigne, this is worse even than a tyrant's seizure of possession of a republic. Montaigne, for his part, was keen to assert that civil war was a

fatal disease for *corpora politica*. The evidence is less clear that Bacon regarded civil wars as equivalent to civic death – one may catch a fever, in Bacon's view, and yet recover.

What, ultimately, *is* civil war for Bacon, beyond the metaphor of a disease? It is, of course, in the first instance a kind of war. How one defines or conceptualizes war shapes in large measure a corresponding definition or conceptualization of civil war. For Bacon, war is a trial of arms in which there is no judge (or none present in the courtroom) to determine the outcome.[16] This definition of war is fleshed out in application to civil wars, when we look at what Bacon numbers within the set of civil wars.

In his essay 'Of Honour and Reputation,' Bacon lauds Augustus Caesar, King Henry VII of England, and Henri IV for being such as 'compound the long Miseries of Civill Warres:' Civil war here is figured as a state of misery (as will later be by Hobbes in the infamous discussion of 'The Natural Condition of Mankind' in *Leviathan*). Significantly, Bacon seems to cast the Roman civil wars, the Wars of the Roses and the French wars of religion as his paradigm instances of 'Civill Warres'.[20]

Keeping these paradigm cases of Baconian civil war in mind, let us look more closely at Bacon's assessment of the French Wars of Religion, which Bacon observed first hand in the tumultuous years of 1576–1579 as a young member of the English embassy of Amyas Paulet,[17] precisely in the period when Henri III sided with regal partiality for the cause of the Catholic League.[18]

Civil war and the malignity of sects

In a fragmentary preface to his project for the interpretation of nature, *De interpretatione naturæ proœmium*, dated by Spedding to 1603, scholars have at times thought they saw in Bacon something almost resembling a prophet newly inspired.[19] In a text which Spedding has dated to 1603, but which seems likely to be somewhat later,[20] Bacon writes with regard to his project of human betterment via invention and methodical innovation in human knowledge,

> Nor am I discouraged from it because I see signs in the times of the decline and overthrow of that knowledge and erudition which is now in use. Not that I apprehend any more barbarian invasions [*barbarorum incursiones*] (unless possibly the Spanish empire should recover its strength, and having crushed other nations by arms should itself sink under its own weight): but the civil wars [*ex bellis civilibus*] which may be expected, I think, (judging from certain fashions which have come in of late) to spread through many countries, – together with the malignity of sects [*et ex sectarum malignitate*], and those compendious artifices and devices which have crept into the place of solid erudition – seem to portend for literature and the sciences a tempest not less fatal, and one against which the Printing-office will be no effectual security.[21]

The notion of knowledge being impeded and the progress of the sciences imperilled by civil war is significant for Bacon. This is a notion which recurs in his (and Essex's) *Letters of Advice to the Earl of Rutland*.[22] Beyond the concern with knowledge, the conjunction of civil war and the malignity of sects is also of marked interest for Bacon. Focusing on this gives fuller specification of the potential sectarian or confessional dimensions of Bacon's account of civil war. What does Bacon here mean by the 'malignity of sects' and why does this notion, for Bacon, occur in close conjunction with civil war? What, for Bacon, is a sect? In the 1625 edition of the *Essayes*, the notion of a sect seems to take on conditions of potentially broad scope. Philosophic schools might fitly be likened to sects, as Bacon juxtaposes 'the Sects of Philosophers'[23] to certain contemporary discoursing wits. Epicureanism might be one amongst the 'Sects of Philosophers,' for Bacon Lucretius is 'The Poet, that beautified the Sect' of the Epicureans.[24] Like Epicureans, Aristotelians, too, in Bacon's eyes, seem to form a 'sect,' as, indeed, do scholastics, for Bacon writes in his *Historia Vitæ et Mortis* of 'the sects of peripatetics and schoolmen.'[25] Atheism, too, in Bacon's view, may take on the attributes of a 'Sect,' as 'you shall have *Atheists* strive to get *Disciples*, as it fareth with other Sects'.[26] Certain revealed religions may assume the status of 'Sect' as for instance, in Bacon's eyes, would seem to be the case with Islam.[27] Judaism, too, for Bacon, is a sect, for in his 1594 tract *A True Report of the Detestable Treason, Intended by Dr. Roderigo Lopez,* Bacon remarks that the Queen's former physician is 'suspected to be in sect secretly a Jew'.[28] Not least, Bacon writes that under certain conditions 'the Christian Religion' itself may be a 'Sect' as 'indeed there was never Law, or Sect, or Opinion, did so much magnifie *Goodnesse*, as the Christian Religion doth.'[29] If, in Bacon's view, scientific proficiency and progress face the threat of civil wars (*bella civilia*) accompanied by the malignity of sects, this description, within the frame of Bacon's political vocabulary applies to malignities internal to Christianity itself, with confessional conflict and its attendant martial strife not excluded.

In the 1597 edition of Bacon's *Essayes*, in 'Of Honour and Reputation,' Bacon articulated a hierarchy of 'the degrees of Soueraigne Honour'[30] ranking first '*Conditores*, founders of states' and second '*Legislatores*, Lawgiuers' while hardly less to be esteemed, in the third position of sovereign honour, 'are *Liberatores*, such as compound the long miseries of ciuill warres, or deliuer their Countries from seruitude of strangers or tyrants.'[31] Preserving this hierarchy in all the editions of the *Essayes* which he published during his lifetime, Bacon thought it no less fit to expand upon this third category of sovereign honour in the 1625 edition of the *Essayes*, now adding that 'In the Third Place, are *Liberatores*, or *Salvatores*: Such as compound the long Miseries of Civill Warres'.[32] Those who put an end to civil wars, Bacon added after thirty years of political activity and reflection, were not only to be seen as liberators, but also to be honoured as saviours, as '*Salvatores*.'

Indeed, while preserving his hierarchic ranking 'of the Degrees of *Soveraigne Honour*,' Bacon also expanded this passage in the 1625 edition to enumerate those he considered amongst the ranks of the liberators and saviours, numbering out '*Augustus Cæsar*, *Vespasianus*, *Aurelianus*, *Theodoricus*, K. *Henry* the 7. of *England*, K. *Henry* the 4. of *France*.'[33] Judging from the inclusion of Henry VII and Henri IV in Bacon's list of liberators, both the English Wars of the Roses and the French Wars of Religion would seem, in Bacon's view, to be numbered amongst the 'long Miseries of Civill Warres'.[34] In his *Observations Made Upon a Libel* of 1592, Bacon confirmed this judgment, claiming that in France -during the minority of Charles IX,- Catherine de'Medici as Queen Mother 'with pretence of religion' had 'raised and moved civil wars in that kingdom~~under pretence of religion~~'.[35] In the absence of these 'civil wars,' Bacon claims, 'France ~~had been~~ at this day had been a most flourishing kingdom, which ~~is~~ now is a theatre of misery.'[36] In Bacon's view, civil wars, of which the French troubles were a paradigmatic case, engender 'a theatre of misery.' The inclusion of the French case, in which Bacon had first-hand experience in the embassy of Sir Amias Paulet to France from 1576 to 1579, invites us to further consider Bacon's view of civil war in light of his understanding of the French wars of religion as an instance of civil war.

Wars of religion as civil Wars – Notes on the present state of Christendom (1582)

In a document of 1582, now contained in the Harleian manuscripts, entitled 'Notes on the Present State of Christendom,' the reader is offered a survey of continental European politics in the year 1582, assessing the rulership, nobility, and internal political and military situation in the various European states and principalities. In the text in question, which Robert Stephens and Fattori[37] attribute to Bacon but which Alan Stewart and James Spedding do not,[38] there is a reference to the French Wars of Religion as 'civil wars.'[39] This document, even if not by Bacon, seems to have been in his possession, and it thus may shed light on the formation of Bacon's views as well as his context, and may serve as an important source for the ways in which Bacon's political thought on civil war was situated in relation to other texts of the period.

Describing the rule of 'The French King, Henry III.,' the author of the 'Notes' writes that this King 'Abhorring the wars and all action; yet daily worketh the ruin of those he hateth, as all of the religion and the house of Bourbon.'[40] In the 'Notes on the Present State of Christendom,' France's Henri III is presented as not entirely sovereign, but under the sway and suasion of others, not least Catherine de' Medici, for 'The Queen Mother ruleth him rather by policy and fear he hath of her'[41]; and, in turn, presents Henri III as additionally subservient to the House of Guise, which house, as a result, 'is now the greatest of all France'[42] – explicitly greater than the Valois royal house itself.

To this image of Henri III, the author of the 'Notes' juxtaposes 'Francis, Duke of Anjou and Brabant,' who is 'for his calling and quality greatly to be considered as any prince at this day living'.[43] The 'Notes' proceed to present the 'Duc d'Anjou' as the hope of Christendom on the continent as

> there is to be found no other prince in this part of the world so towards and forward as the Duke, towards whom they in distress may turn their eyes….Besides, the French, desirous to shake off civil wars, must needs attempt somewhat abroad.[44]

Not only, therefore, do the 'Notes on the Present State of Christendom' describe the French wars of religion as 'civil wars' – they also offer a potential palliative for how these civil wars may be remedied. The 'Notes' present the attempting of 'somewhat abroad' as the solution to the civil wars of France at home. Here, external war is presented as the remedy to civil war, a theme to which Bacon also frequently recurs.

Fleshing out Bacon's view of civil war is his portrayal and description of France during the French civil wars. As we have seen, Bacon identified the French Wars of Religion as 'civil wars' and proceeded further to offer his depiction of the state of France during these civil wars in the *Letter of Advice to the Queen*, which both James Spedding and Alan Stewart have ascribed to Bacon as a probable early composition of 1584 or 1585.[45] Here, in the course of surveying '*your* strong factious Subiects, & your forreigne enymies'[46] the author depicts the present state of France under the government of King Henri III, precisely during the time of contested sovereignty. 'Consideringe the present Condition of estate,' the author of this letter to Queen Elizabeth writes of Henri III,

> himself being a Prince, who hath payd very deare assurances to the world, that he loves his ease much better then victories; and a Prince that is not beloved nor feared of his people; & the people themselves being of a very light & inconstant disposition, & besides altogether vnexperienced & vndisciplined how to doe their duties either in warr or peace.[47]

This is an image of a King barely sovereign, lacking the Machiavellian attributes of being either loved or feared. Moreover, the author of the *Letter of Advice* presents France as factiously 'devided and subdivided into sundry heads & seuerall factions not only betweene Huguenettes and Papistes, but betweene the Memoranciers, Guisardes, & Minions; the people opprest by all and hating all.'[48] The image of France given in this text is that of a nation divided, riven with hatred, disunity, and faction and under a monarch quite incapable of exercising sovereignty.

Here we see Bacon's image of how civil war and the malignity of sects collide and coincide. Civil war both fosters and is fostered by factional divisions which multiply the more sovereign power is contested by arms. Civil war, for Bacon, is armed conflict internal to a commonwealth for the control or exercise of sovereignty.

What all of these examples of civil war have in common is alterations of sovereignty – or shifts in the nominal (and factual) holders of sovereign power – in the Wars of the Roses the Houses of Lancaster and York shift back and forth in holding sovereignty, with similar shifts in the fortunes of the Valois monarchs and the House of Navarre in the French wars of religion and shifts in sovereignty throughout the Roman civil wars. In contrast to Armitage's account, in Bacon's view, civil war is not a civilizational marker[49] – it is a state of misery from which one experiences liberation or salvation (in the felicitous situation in which one escapes it).

For Bacon, civil war is a trial of right with no higher jurisdiction where the trial concerns ultimate power over the commonwealth or sovereignty itself. We might contrast Bacon's definition with Hobbes's familiar later definition of war: war is the time within which the will to contend by battle is sufficiently known.[50] For Hobbes, unlike for Bacon, civil war obviates the conditions of the commonwealth (as a domain of peace and order) – civil war, as war, destroys the commonwealth. For Bacon, it is not so clear that civil war amounts to a destruction of the commonwealth. Beyond being figured merely as a state of misery, for Bacon, civil war is an unarbitrated trial of right for the control of sovereignty. Hence we should further ask, what causes it – considering the causes with an ultimate view towards its prevention.

Francis Bacon on the causes of civil war

What then, for Bacon, causes civil war? Having a view of what, in Bacon's view, civil war *is*, we may now turn to the causes of civil war as Bacon perceived them. Bacon's presentation of the causes of civil war bears comparison with the work of Jean Bodin on the same question.

In the fourth of Bodin's *Six Books of the Republic*, Bodin exhorts his reader to uproot and displant the seeds of civil war[51] – which can best be achieved by the avoidance of inequality. 'The primary and principal cause of sedition is inequality,' Bodin writes, while the 'nourishing mother of peace and amity is equality.' This equality, Bodin informs his reader, 'is nothing other than natural equity, distributing the rents, the estates, the honors, and the common things to each of the subjects, as well as may possibly be done.'[52] For Bodin, civil sedition (the root and seed of civil war) is the most dangerous plague to republics. For Bodin, it is inequality, as Bodin understands this, that creates the conditions of civil sedition and equality (understood as equity) that removes them. Inequality, in Bodin's estimation, lies above all in the distribution of perpetual offices to the few without limits of term, which makes for many disaffected persons. Bodin's counsel is for equality or equity and particularly against the concentration of permanent offices in the hands of a few so as to check the ambitions of all those striving for position and place.

In his essay 'Of Seditions and Troubles,' Bacon offers a precisely inverted rhetorical presentation of the causes of civil sedition and the civil wars which it engenders. Indeed, Bacon's account of civil sedition and its causes, at first glance, seems directly opposed to Bodin's account. That is, where Bodin had contended that 'the primary and principal cause of sedition is inequality', Bacon seems to open his essay 'Of Seditions and Troubles' with a diametrically opposed image: 'Tempests in State' Bacon warns, 'are commonly greatest when Things grow to Equality.'[53]

Yet, as one reads on, in Bacon's presentation, his distance from the Bodinian account diminishes. The structure of Essay XV, 'Of Seditions and Troubles' is tripartite: Bacon claims that he will speak of the materials of seditions (material causes), the motives of seditions (efficient causes), and the 'remedies' of seditions (the 'Cures' for the 'Disease'[54] which Bacon holds sedition to be).[55] The material causes of sedition, for Bacon, are principally two: one passionate or affective ('*Much Discontentment*')[56] and one economic or directly material ('*Much Poverty*').[57] Poverty, according to Bacon, is a major problem for state stability and a, if not the, true material cause of sedition. Mass poverty renders the upending of the state potentially appealing to the whole of the impoverished mass. But the relative diminution of estate amongst the nobility makes revolt appealing to the elite, who may direct the impoverished mass to effective rebellion. Where war is profitable to many, many will be found to make seditions and troubles.[58] Widespread poverty, Bacon seems to claim, is a powder-keg awaiting the spark of rebellion.[59] 'And if this *Poverty*, and Broken Estate, in the better Sort, be joyned,' Bacon contends, 'with a Want and Necessity, in the meane People, the danger is imminent, and great. For the Rebellions of the Belly are the worst.'[60] Poverty in the people and the reduction in the estate of the nobility together, for Bacon, breaks the state and brings about 'Civill Warre.'[61]

However, Bacon's presentation of poverty as a material cause of sedition leading to civil war raises a puzzle with regard to the opening passage of the same essay, claiming that equality occasions tempests of state. Bacon seems to claim both that material privation causes civil war and at the same time claims that tempests in state occur when things grow to equality. Is there any way to resolve this seeming paradox? The answer lies in a distinction between equality in a Bodinian sense and equality in a Machiavellian sense which Bacon will appropriate for his own aims.

Bacon's concern to suppress sedition, combined with his claim that tempestuous circumstances for the state coincide with a

growth toward equality, may particularly surprise the reader who, several paragraphs later, finds Bacon lamenting the concentration of wealth 'into few Hands,' a matter, for Bacon, of no minor importance. 'Above all things,' Bacon writes in 'Of Seditions *And* Troubles,'

> good Policie is to be used, that the Treasure and Moneyes, in a State, be not gathered into few Hands. For otherwise, a State may have a great Stock, and yet starve. And Money is like Muck, not good except it be spread.[62]

Hence we shall ask what type of equality Bacon is referring to when he claims that it coincides with '*Tempests* in *State*' and only a few paragraphs later counsels against the excessive concentration of wealth and seems to argue for the goodness of 'spreading' or reapportioning money?

Elsewhere in the 1625 *Essayes*, Bacon seems to speak well of 'Equality,' singling it out as an attribute of praise in his assessment of the regime of the United Provinces. 'The united Provinces of the Low Countries,' Bacon argues, 'in their Government, excell: For where there is an Equality, the Consultations are more indifferent, and the Payments and Tributes more cheerfull.'[63] Here, in praising the government of the United Provinces, Bacon seems to claim that something like political 'Equality' makes for easier public extraction of taxes, in the form of 'Payments and Tributes.'

In Bacon's discussion of sedition, he differs from his discussion of external warfare by explicitly diminishing the question of whether or not seditions are just. Treating seditions, Bacon counsels, 'let no Prince measure the Danger of them, by this; whether they be Just, or Unjust? For that were to imagine People to be too reasonable; who doe often spurne at their owne Good'.[119] The danger of sedition is not, on Bacon's presentation, to be treated as a question of justice – it is to be treated as a matter to be put down or crushed, as Typhon is crushed by Jupiter's Olympian projectile, Mount Aetna, in Bacon's *De Sapientia Veterum*. Rebellions, for Bacon, may amount to war, but the question of rebellion and sedition is not whether it is just or otherwise but how quickly it may be suppressed in the present and how permanently it may be prevented and remedied in the time to come.

Bacon concludes his discussion of sedition with a discussion of

> some Great Person, one, or rather more, of Military Valour neere unto them, for the Repressing of *Seditions*, in their beginnings. For without that, there useth to be more trepidation in Court, upon the first Breaking out of *Troubles*, then were fit.[64]

In discussing sedition, Bacon claims that it is important to preserve and secure the reverence of government and the forms and appearances of state. Bacon writes that 'when Discords, and Quarrells, and Factions, are carried openly, and audaciously; it is a Signe, the Reverence of Government is lost.'[65] To this end, Bacon counsels against regal partiality and the regal fanning of the flames of faction, as we have seen in Bacon's treatment of the case of the French King Henri III. To make this argument, Bacon conjures with authority, writing that 'as *Macciavel* noteth well; when Princes, that ought to be Common Parents, make themselves as a Party, and leane to a side, it is as a Boat that is overthrowen, by uneven weight, on the one Side' by which means 'Kings begin to be put almost out of possession.'[66] As Michael Kiernan and other scholars have noted, Bacon here appears to be drawing on the discussion of faction and division in Machiavelli's *Discorsi*, Book III, section 27. In this part of the *Discorsi*, Machiavelli speaks to the question of how to unite a divided city, expressing his view that the opinion is not true (*non è vera quella opinione*) which holds that to hold a city it is necessary to hold it divided.[67] For Machiavelli, it is 'natural' or 'according to nature' (*dalla natura*) that when a city is divided humans part and side with one of the divisions.[68] The attachment to faction in a divided city, Machiavelli argues, is stronger than the attachment to the city itself – thus if a divided city is attacked externally, its internal divisions make it particularly incapable of a unified and successful defence.[69]

Machiavelli claims that there are three ways to unite a divided city – one can, in his view, execute or massacre the heads of a tumult or rebellion (*ammazzare i capi de' tumulti*); one can also exile or imprison the ringleaders on both sides, removing them from the city (*rimuovergli della città*); or, finally, one can force an internal peace obliging the heads of the factions to be obedient and inoffensive to one another and to the state as a whole. This triad, Machiavelli implies, forms a virtuous hierarchy – the third mode of forcing a peace between warring factions in a city is more dangerous, useless, and least sure (*più dannoso, meno certo e più inutile*),[70] while the mode of imprisonment and exile of the heads of tumults (*capi de' tumulti*) frames a surer peace, and, not least, Machiavelli holds that the first strategy, that of executing the rebels or the various heads of the tumults is 'without doubt' (*sanza*[71] *dubbio*) surer still in bringing unity to a divided state.[72] To hold a city, Machiavelli contends, unity and the swift execution of the leaders of factions is the safest mode.

Summing up in this section, in the passage of the text to which Bacon seems to refer, Machiavelli notes the words of a French ambassador to Florence, 'un monsignor di Lant,'[73] who claims that those in France who assert themselves to be of the King's party are to be chastised, for this implies that there are those who are not of the King's party. Princes and kings, Machiavelli seems to hold, are best served by the swift removal of factions and by not siding with any faction whatsoever, for fear that this may foment rebellion and foster further factionalism. On the basis of these contentions, Machiavelli professes that the view that one must hold subject cities divided is not only lacking in verity (*non è vera*) but also lacking in utility (*inutile*). Following Machiavellian counsels,

one must, therefore, hold cities united.

What is Bacon doing in drawing upon this section of Machiavelli's *Discorsi*? In the first instance, it seems, Bacon's presentation is more muted in its presentation of the violence Machiavelli considers needful in putting down civic strife and division. While Bacon, like his source, Machiavelli, favours 'the Repressing of Seditions, in their beginnings',[74] he does not foreground this conclusion as a matter of presentation, as Machiavelli does in the very beginning of *Discorsi* III. 27. No less significantly, it seems that here Bacon is drawing upon Machiavelli to make a point about class-based faction, which resembles the Machiavellian humours of the *popolo* and the *grandi*.[75] However, where Machiavelli had claimed in *Discorsi* that there are in every republic two diverse humours, the people (*popolo*) and the grandees (*grandi*),[76] Bacon, modifying this dyad for a monarchic, or at least aristocratic context, claims in Essay XV that: 'There is in every State (as we know) two Portions of *Subjects*; The *Noblesse*, and the *Commonaltie*.'[77] When one of these two factions, Bacon holds, 'is *Discontent*, the danger is not great', but the real danger lurks in the moment when both factions are *equally* discontent. Here, one may observe the Baconian components of civil war, when the classes, both impoverished (albeit to differing degrees), combine and go against the monarch or the sovereign, joining together to upend the monarch's state. 'Then is the danger,' Bacon writes, 'when the Greater Sort doe but wait for the Troubling of Waters, amongst the Meaner, that then they may declare themselves.'[78]

The kind of equality with which Bacon is concerned in Essay XV therefore seems to be a kind of factional equality. In a republic or civil state, this is the point at which each major class or faction is equally enraged or discontent at the present state of affairs as well as each other and risks civic peace by open factional warfare. In a monarchic order, with which Bacon (in contradistinction to Machiavelli) was particularly concerned,[79] this is the civic point at which each class or faction, the nobles and the commoners, are equally enraged at the monarchic government and considers their joint forces or means roughly equal to the forces at the disposal of the established order, and *both* factions, nobles and commoners, are willing to risk their fortunes against the established order and the common peace. It is in this sense that '*Tempests* in *State*', in Bacon's understanding, 'are commonly greatest, when Things grow to Equality.'[80]

In addition to poverty as a cause of sedition leading to civil war, opinion, information, and utterance can also cause sedition. For Bacon, there seems to be a question of knowledge or proper information related to swelling sedition and civic trouble. Drawing upon a theme present in his writings since the 1580s, as well as in the *De Sapientia Veterum* of 1609, Bacon lists off the signs of troubles in a sentence augmented in the 1625 edition of the *Essayes*. 'Libels, and licentious Discourses against the State,' Bacon notes, 'when they are frequent and open; And in like sort, false Newes, often running up and downe, to the disadvantage of the State, and hastily embraced; are amongst the Signes of *Troubles*.'[81] Rumours, libels, and fame can foretell the fall of states and empires.

Rumour and ill-fame, Bacon seems to contend, can have a redescriptive or paradiastolic force upon the good actions of a government or state, turning good deeds to ill-repute in the minds of the population. Fame and rumours, Bacon claims, are

> the preludes of *Seditions* to come … Especially, if it come to that, that the best Actions of a State, and the most plausible, and which ought to give greatest Contentment, are taken in ill Sense, and traduced: For that shewes the Envy great, as *Tacitus* saith; *Conflata magna Invidia, seu benè, seu malè, gesta premunt*. [Great envy having been set ablaze, actions, whether good or ill, are assailed].[82]

As we have seen, for Bacon, libel and rumour can be the source of an intractable situation – once loosed, the state cannot be seen to do good, and an excuse is ever at hand for redescribing the actions of the regime in an ill-light. But, Bacon reflects nearly forty years after the arrest of the opponent of the Jesuit Bill on the floor of the House of Commons, rumour that upends the state cannot be so easily repressed with severity, in the manner in which Dr. Parry was arrested on the floor. Seditious rumour, paradoxically, although it may be legitimately suppressed by force, may be best suppressed with contempt. For, Bacon continues in 'Of Seditions and Troubles,' 'Neither doth it follow, that because these *Fames*, are a signe of *Troubles*, that the suppressing of them, with too much Severity, should be a Remedy of *Troubles*. For the Despising of them, many times, checks them best'.[83]

The notion of fame or rumour in relation to rebellion presents a recurrent theme, which Bacon had previously articulated in his *De Sapientia Veterum* of 1609. In this work, in his fable on rebellion, 'Typhon, sive Rebellio',[84] Bacon identifies his Typhon as both 'the Rebel,' or, 'the Rebellious' (*Rebellis*),[85] and as a 'tumour' (*tumour*)[86] – a swelling, an excrescence, a bodily malignity.[87] The tumour, like the rebel, for Bacon, is something which must be treated and, optimally, removed or, if necessary, crushed. Bacon's Typhon is regally crushed by Bacon's allegoric monarch of choice, Jupiter.[88] In Bacon's fable, Jupiter thwarts Typhon by hurling the mass of Mount Etna atop the rebel (~~Ae~~*Ætnam super eum jaculatus*),[89] which hinders the rebel in flight and crushes the tumour under the force of the mountain (*mole montis oppressit*).[90]

Bacon's 'Typhon' is interpreted by its author as a fable on the variant fortune of kings and the rebellions which are customarily made against monarchies (*Fabula de fortuna regum variâ et Rebellionibus, quæae in Monarchijs quandóque evenire consueverunt, conficta est*).[91] Bacon's fable figures rebellion as a mode of war, which for contemporaries like Grotius it was not.[92] Bacon's Typhon, the rebel, moves war against Jupiter without delay upon reaching maturity.[93] As a mode of war, rebellion is presented as

a product of mixed causation – related partly to the ruler and partly to the realm.[94] Rebellion is caused, Bacon offers, in part when monarchs become depraved by habituation to ruling imperially (*imperandi consuetudine*) and kings turn tyrant, drawing all to themselves, disdaining consent of orders and parliaments, and governing arbitrarily.[95] Rebellion is caused, Bacon claims, in part by popular discontent at the monarch's tyrannical behaviour. Popular discontent against the monarch is partially nourished, according to Bacon, by the 'innate depravity and malignant nature of the common people [*plebs*],' which inclines them to revolt.[96]

One of the tactics for quelling rebellion which Bacon draws out of his fable is the tactic of withdrawing the estimation and reputation of the rebels by rumour or report prior to facing them openly in battle. As we have seen, for Bacon, while seditious rumours may not best be quelled with violence, open rebellion may be weakened by counter-rumours of the rebel's weakness disseminated by the state. While in 'Of Seditions *And* Troubles,' Bacon professes that he will discuss the matter, motives, and remedies of seditions in turn,[97] Bacon speaks relatively swiftly of the motives of sedition in a seemingly cursory single-sentence list:

> 'The *Causes* and *Motives of Seditions are; Innovation* in *Religion; Taxes; Alteration of Lawes and Customes; Breaking of Privileges; Generall Oppression; Advancement of unworthy persons; Strangers; Dearths; Disbanded Soldiers; Factions growne desperate;* And whatsoever in offending People, joyneth and knitteth them, in a Common Cause.'[98]

Bacon's stance towards high taxation as potentially a factor contributing to sedition and civic troubles may be observed in his opposition to the 1593 Subsidy Bill, which famously brought him into disfavour with Queen Elizabeth for the ten-years' remainder of the latter's reign. In his Committee Speech on the Bill, Bacon claimed, first, that the subsidy was impossible for gentry, yeomen, and the poor to pay. The poor, Bacon contended, could not pay the subsidy and Bacon further offered the image of farmers and gentle persons selling their kitchenware in order to pay the tax: 'The gentlemen must sell their plate and the farmers their brass pots ere this will be paid.' [99] As 'the general commonality is not able to pay so much upon the present',[100] Bacon held, such a subsidy would amount to skinning the wounds of the realm. Moreover, Bacon argued, the coffers of the crown might better be filled in other ways – a part of the speech which is truncated in the manuscripts and notes from this session of the House of Commons.[101] Most of all, however, Bacon opposed the bill because he considered a trebled subsidy and augmented rate of taxation to be a source of 'Danger and discontentment.'[102] Speaking against the trebled Subsidy Bill, Bacon claimed that the bill placed purse-strings above heart-strings, putting the public coffers above affection for the sovereign. In a case of necessity or 'cause of jeopardy,' Bacon stated to the select committee, it matters more that subjects love their Queen than that the public coffers be full and, as a result, the subsidy risked filling coffers at the expense of love for the crown. Taxes, as Bacon therefore held in both 1593 and 1625, risk breeding discontentment in the people and a people discontented is all the readier to rebel.

Discontentment leading to sedition, Bacon claims, can have a deep affective or passionate dimension, particularly where fear plays a part. Bacon argues that 'they are the most dangerous *Discontentments*, where the Feare is greater than the Feeling.'[103] Quoting Pliny, Bacon continues, *Dolendi Modus*, *Timendi non item* – for the suffering there is a way, for the fearing not so. For Bacon, fear is the 'most dangerous' affective spark to the fuel of rebellion. As we have seen, one of the causes of sedition, in Bacon's view, is regal partiality. Kings and sovereigns should, in Bacon's estimation, stay (and appear to stay) above factional partiality. With respect to faction, rising politicians should take a side, but in a manner least offensive to the opposing side. In a passage in 'Of Great Place' added especially to the 1625 version of the *Essayes*, Bacon writes that for those seeking great place, in a politic situation characterized by factions, 'it is good, to side a Mans selfe whilest hee is in the Rising.'[104] In the 1625 version of his essay 'Of Faction,' Bacon writes that 'beginners' in politics should 'adhere' to a faction but 'adhere so moderately, as hee bee a Man of the one *Faction*, which is most Passable with the other,' which Bacon notes 'commonly giveth best Way.' [105] But things stand differently between those who are rising and those who have risen. Persons at the height of 'Great Place,' and the sovereign most of all, should 'ballance Himselfe, when he is placed.'[106] In a discussion of the French Wars of Religion, Bacon offers the example of Henri III favouring the Catholic League as an errant (and fatal) example of regal partiality. Henri III did not 'balance Himselfe' but sided fully with the Catholic League, which had him subsequently assassinated.[107] Bacon draws a politic lesson from this favouring of faction on the part of Henri III – sovereign partiality may lend weight to the thought that the sovereign is personally dispensable by the faction preferred: 'when the Authority of Princes is made but an Accessary to a Cause; And there be other Bands, that tie faster, then the Band of Sovereignty, Kings begin to be put almost out of Possession.' [108] Sovereign power should balance factions, perhaps best of all by politic reducing of the heft and sway of all factions, rather than side with particular parties or factions which may put them 'almost out of Possession.'

Here, Bacon makes sovereign action in supporting or siding with factions a cause of sedition and civil war. In this aspect of his political thought, Bacon offers a contrast of emphasis from certain of his contemporaries who would position civic diseases as emanating from the people. Bacon's contemporary, Edward Forset (a fellow alumnus of Trinity College, Cambridge) adopts this position in his 1606 tract, *A comparative discourse of the bodies natural and politique*. Analogizing sovereignty to the head of a politic body and the people to the bulk of the body politic itself, Forset purported to follow 'the Phisitions' in asserting that 'most of the diseases of the head are originally arising and caused from the bodie' from which, Forset continues, it may be inferred that

'many the escapes of Soveraignes by omission or commission, may thus far by this excuse be extenuated, as more imputable to the people than to them.'[109] Bacon, by contrast, understands certain civic maladies to be matters of sovereign causation, matters which, *in extremis*, the sovereign may pay for with forfeited life, after the manner of Henri III.

With a view, then, to poverty and discontentment as the material causes of sedition leading to civil war, how does Bacon see the remedies for avoiding and preventing civil war?

In the longer term, Bacon's answer would seem to be in large part economic. Because poverty can play such an important role in stirring rebellion and civil war, when Bacon comes to outlining the remedies to remove or prevent rebellion, he dwells strongly on questions of poor relief, manufacture, and trade. 'The first *Remedy* or prevention,' Bacon writes, 'is to remove by all meanes possible, that *materiall Cause* of Sedition, wherof we spake; which is *Want* and *Poverty* in the *Estate*.' In order to alleviate poverty, and thereby remedy sedition, Bacon advises

> the Opening, and well Ballancing of Trade; The Cherishing of Manufactures; the Banishing of Idlenesse; the Repressing of waste and Excesse by Sumptuary Lawes; the Improvement and Husbanding of the Soyle; the Regulating of Prices of things vendible; the Moderating of Taxes and Tributes; And the like.[110]

All of these economic recommendations occur within Bacon's explicit treatment of sedition, troubles, and rebellion. It is a policy which is open to trade and material betterment that alleviates what Bacon regards as the material cause of sedition – poverty. Furthermore, Bacon's claim that *Poverty* is 'that *materiall Cause* of *Sedition*' has important implications. To the extent that Bacon wishes to 'Cure' the 'Disease' of sedition, he seems to commit himself to removing what he regards as its material cause (poverty), as well as root sources of this cause. As a population excessively large (for its corresponding food supply) or excessively idle (for what it produces and in relation to the labour supply which supports it) may be regarded by Bacon as causes of poverty, Bacon's commitment to curing sedition seems to commit him to removing these ills as well. In 'Of Seditions and Troubles,' Bacon thus devotes himself to an unexpectedly extensive discussion of population and population size, precisely when considering the '*Remedy* or prevention' for sedition.[111]

> 'Generally, it is to be foreseen,' Bacon observes, 'that the Population of a Kingdome, (especially if it be not mowen downe by warrs) doe not exceed, the Stock of the Kingdome, which should maintaine them.'[112] The question of population in relation to war had earlier been raised in Bacon's 1592/3 *Certaine obseruations vppon a libell*, where in answer to the charge that the English people are oppressed by 'consumption of people in warres,' Bacon replies that the realm can easily afford such a loss of population as the wars with Spain in the 1580s and 1590s occasioned. Here, Bacon invokes the Biblical injunction to 'go forth and multiply' (*Crescite et multiplicamini*)[113] and remarks that the realm of England has little difficulty in obeying this commandment to the point that 'the populacion therof maie afforde such losse of men as hath bine sufficient for the making our late warres.' Bacon presses the point further in his *Certaine obseruations*, claiming that far from being oppressed by 'depopulacion' by deaths in warfare, the realm suffers rather from 'surcharge of people.'[114]

What, in Bacon's view, is to be done with this surcharge of people? Two things above all: first, the movement of this surcharge population outwards – in colonies and plantations – both to Ireland and to the newly discovered Americas;[115] and second, the surcharge of people is to be reduced via foreign wars – through wars of attrition to reduce the metropole's *own* population.[116] This is, for Bacon, a matter of policy, for while he had proposed a series of economic remedies for the long-term diminution of poverty, he seemed to regard the population size of the England, and later, of the Britain of his time as excessively large to the point of requiring urgent proposals for expansive colonization as well as numerous proposals for external wars – with Spain, with the Ottoman Empire, with the Vatican and occurring in the Spanish Netherlands, the United Provinces, the Mediterranean and the Caribbean.

However, Bacon's views on the matters of preventing civil war were not wholly out of keeping with his time – one finds similar ideas in the opening sections of the first two books of Machiavelli's *Florentine Histories* and in Book III, section 11 of Alberico Gentili's *De Jure Belli*.[117] Yet Bacon takes the scope of the external expansion requisite to the management of civil war much further than his predecessors and contemporaries – placing the scene of the expansion as nothing less than the world stage – extending from the Pacific Ocean in his *New Atlantis* to the Mediterranean in his *Advertisement Touching an Holy War* to the Iberian peninsula and the Caribbean in his *Brief View* of Britain and Spain.

Conclusion

So how should we summarize Bacon's view of civil war? Civil war, for Bacon, as it was for Montaigne, is a kind of feverish pox on the body politic, a mode of internal warfare within a political body for the sovereign control of that body, a judgeless trial of right for the control of sovereignty. Yet, departing from Montaigne, Bacon does not fully align civil war with the public death of the political body. Civil war is caused by sedition, swelling rebellion, and tumults, which in turn are caused by poverty. Poverty

may reduce the estate of both the grand and the common people, and, when this occurs, poverty renders both desperate to risk their fortunes against the established order and one another. Civil war, for Bacon, is also fomented by factional conflict, either between divisions of class, divisions of party, divisions of religion, or confessional divisions internal to a single religion – as in the case of the French wars of religion which Bacon regarded as civil wars. Bacon's analysis combines what contemporary writers might term social or material considerations (poverty and food supply) with ideal considerations (confessional politics, religious allegiance), integrating both elements. Where Bodin had stressed material inequality as a cause of civil war, Bacon followed him in this. But in contradistinction to Bodin, Bacon stressed that faction *equality* could be no less generative of tempests in state. For Bacon, it is when factions are equally desperate and of roughly equal strength that sedition and civil war is most likely to occur. Importantly, civil war, for Bacon, is conceived as partially a matter of sovereign causation – the sovereign can hinder the growth of the causes of civil war by ameliorating poverty, redistributing wealth, and concerning him- or herself with population size relative to food supply. The sovereign may further hinder the causes of civil war by being equitable and impartial, by the apt deployment of rumour to hinder the forces of rebels or potential rebels, and by refraining from the use of force in the suppression of rumours and ill-fames. In this regard, Bacon's view differs from that of Edward Forset, who had loyally contended that sovereigns are not to be regarded as responsible for maladies that afflict the body politic.

Why, then, does this matter? It matters not only because this idea is substantially absent in Armitage's recent monograph. Armitage cannot account for Bacon's views on civil war simply by recurring to the Romans. This is the case because Armitage has substantially omitted Bacon's modern paradigm cases of civil war – the Wars of the Roses and the French wars of religion from his analysis and in so doing, Armitage occludes as well the Machiavellian and post-Machiavellian analyses of those conflicts. Armitage fails to link the notion of civil war to justifications of empire which emerge from the factional conflicts of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, not least omitting the thought that civil wars may be managed and alleviated through foreign warfare and external expansion.

The contentions of this article thus matter for a much broader and more basic reason. Empire, for Bacon as well as for Gentili, was thus not an extension of their philosophical anthropology (as the dominant accounts of early modern empire in contemporary political theory contend)[118] – rather, empire, in their thought is a key solution to avoiding a yet more pressing concern – Bacon, Gentili, and other members of the Essex circle, advocated empire primarily as the strategy of population management for avoiding a fratricidal war at home.

Footnotes

1. David Armitage, *Civil Wars: A History in Ideas* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017), 25. Throughout, *OFB* refers to the *Oxford Francis Bacon*, L. Jardine, G. Rees, R.W. Serjeantson, A. Stewart, B. Vickers, eds. (Oxford, 1996-present); *LL* refers to J. Spedding, *The Letters and the Life of Francis Bacon Including All His Occasional Works*, 7 vols. (London, 1861–1874); *SEH* refers to J. Spedding, R. L. Ellis, and D.D. Heath, eds., *The Works of Francis Bacon*, 7 vols. (London, 1857–1859).

2. For recent works on Bacon's political thought which do not treat the topic of civil war, see John C. Briggs, *Francis Bacon and the Rhetoric of Nature* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989); Heidi D. Studer, 'Francis Bacon: Philosopher or Ideologue', *The Review of Politics* 59, no. 4 (Fall 1997): 915–26; Richard Serjeantson, 'Natural Knowledge in the *New Atlantis*', in *Francis Bacon's New Atlantis: New Interdisciplinary Essays*, ed. Bronwen Price (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), 82–105; Jerry Weinberger, 'On the Miracles in Bacon's *New Atlantis*', in *ibid.*, 106–28; Heidi D. Studer, ''Strange Fire at the Altar of the Lord': Francis Bacon on Human Nature', *The Review of Politics* 65, no. 2 (Spring 2003): 209–36; Stephen A. McKnight, *The Religious Foundations of Francis Bacon's Thought* (Columbia and London: University of Missouri Press, 2006); Sarah Irving, ''In a Pure Soil'': Colonial Anxieties in the Work of Francis Bacon', *History of European Ideas* 323, no. 32 (2006): 249–62; Sarah Irving, *Natural Science and the Origins of the British Empire* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2008), 23–46; Svetozar Minkov, 'Baconian Science and the Intelligibility of Human Experience: The Case of Love', *The Review of Politics* 71, no. 3 (Summer 2009): 389–410; Tobin L. Craig, 'On the Significance of the Literary Character of Francis Bacon's *New Atlantis* for an Understanding of His Political Thought', *The Review of Politics* 72, no. 2 (Spring 2010): 213–39; Svetozar Y. Minkov, *Francis Bacon's 'Inquiry Touching Human Nature": Virtue, Philosophy, and the Relief of Man's Estate* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2010); Kimberly Hurd Hale, *Francis Bacon's* New Atlantis *in the Foundation of Modern Political Thought* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2013); James A.T. Lancaster, 'Francis Bacon on the Moral and Political Character of the Universe', in *Francis Bacon on Motion and Power*, eds. Guido Giglioni, James A.T. Lancaster, Sorana Corneanu, and Dana Jalobeanu (Springer, 2016), 231–48; Erin A. Dolgoy and Kimberly Hurd Hale, 'Virtue and Vice: Francis Bacon on the Use of Comedic Jest', *The Political Science Reviewer* 44, no. 1 (2020): 121–46. For recent works that make reference to Bacon on civil war, see Markku Peltonen, 'Politics and Science: Francis Bacon and the True Greatness of States', *The Historical Journal* 35, no. 2 (June 1992): 279–305; Jerry Weinberger, *Science, Faith, and Politics: Francis Bacon and the Utopian Roots of the Modern Age* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1985); Laurence Lampert, *Nietzsche and Modern Times: A Study of Bacon, Descartes, and Nietzsche* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993); Tom van Malssen, *The Political Philosophy of Francis Bacon: On the Unity of Knowledge* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2015), 224. For a consideration of Bacon's

views as part of 'what must have wound its way to the civil war' in England in the 1640s, see Noah Dauber, *State and Commonwealth: The Theory of the State in Early Modern England 1549–1640* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016), 187.

3. Michel de Montaigne, 'Des mauvais moyens employez à une bonne fin', in *Essais* II.23; p. 721 in the *Pléiade* edition:

> Il y en a plusieurs en ce temps, qui discourent de pareille façon, souhaitans que ceste esmotion chaleureuse, qui est parmy nous, se peust deriver à quelque guerre voisine, de peur que ces humeurs peccantes, qui dominent pour ceste heure nostre corps, si on ne les escoulle ailleurs, maintiennent nostre fiebvre tousjours en force, et apportent en fin nostre entiere ruine : Et de vray, une guerre estrangere est un mal bien plus doux que la civile : mais je ne croy pas que Dieu favorisast une si injuste entreprise, d'offencer et quereler autruy pour nostre commodité.

Florio translates this passage as follows:

> There are divers now adaies, which will speake thus, wishing this violent and burning emotion we see and feele amongst us, might be derived to some neighbor war, fearing lest those offending humours, which at this instant are predominant in our bodie, if they be not diverted elsewhere, will still maintaine our fever in force, and in the end cause our utter destruction: And in truth *a forraine warre is nothing so dangerous a disease as a civill*: But I will not beleieve that God would favour so unjust an enterprise, to offend and quarrell with others for our commodity.

See 'Of Bad Meanes Emploied to a Good End,' II.23; pp. 409–410 in the Everyman's Library edition of Florio's Montaigne (London, 1910).

4. Francis Bacon, 'Of the True Greatnesse of Kingdomes and *Estates*', in *Essayes, OFB* XV, 89–99, at p. 97, l. 258. The claim is already present in the incorporation of the draft of this version of the essay in the 1623 *De Augmentis Scientiarum*, where Bacon claims that: 'Bellum civile profecto instar caloris febrilis est; at bellum externum instar caloris ex motu, qui valetudini inprimis conducit.' Francis Bacon, *De Augmentis Scientiarum*, Book VIII, in *SEH* I, p. 801. See also Francis Bacon, *Sylva Sylvarum*, Experiment § 99, p. 382 in *SEH* II: 'It is certain ~~evident~~ that of all powers in nature heat is the chief; both in the frame of nature, and in the works of art.'

5. Francis Bacon, 'Charge Against the Countess of Shrewsbury', in *LL* IV, 297–300, at 298.

6. Cf. Kiernan, 'Commentary', 235 in *OFB* XV.

7. Francis Bacon, *The Advancement of Learning, OFB* IV, 68:

> Then followeth the Raigne of a King, whose actions howsoeuer conducted had much intermixture with the affaires of *Europe*: balancing and inclyning them variably, in whose time also beganne that great alteration in the State Ecclesiasticall, an action which seldome commeth vppon the Stage: Then the Raigne of a Minor, then an offer of an vsurpation, (though it was but as *Febris Ephemera*). Then the Raigne of a Queene Matched with a Forreyner.

Cf. Kiernan, 'Commentary', in *OFB* IV, 269–70.

8. Francis Bacon, *The History of the Reign of King Henry the Seventh*, *OFB* VIII, 32, lines 7–9.

9. Francis Bacon, *The History of the Reign of King Henry the Seventh*, *OFB* VIII, 51, lines 1–2; *SEH* VI, 89.

10. Francis Bacon, *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, 399–4091~~6~~, at 400.

11. Francis Bacon, *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, 399–4091~~6~~, at 400.

12. Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan, with selected variants from the Latin edition of 1668*, Edwin Curley ed. (Indianapolis: Hackett, 1994 [1651]), 'The Introduction', 3: '*sedition, sickness*; and *civil war, death*.'

13. Montaigne, *Les Essais,* III.xii, 'De la Physionomie', eds. Jean Balsamo, Michel Magnien, and Catherine Magnien-Simonin (Paris: Gallimard, 2007), 1089: 'Mais est-il quelque mal en une police, qui vaille estre combatu par une~~d~~ drogue si mortelle ?'

14. Montaigne, *Les Essais,* III.xii, 'De la Physionomie', eds. Jean Balsamo, Michel Magnien, and Catherine Magnien-Simonin (Paris: Gallimard, 2007), 1089: 'Non pas disoit Favonius, l'usurpation de la possession tyrannique d'une republique.'

15. Montaigne, Essais III.12 'Of Physiognomy', in *The Complete Works*, tr. Donald M. Frame, 800. Montaigne, *Les Essais,* III.xii, 'De la Physionomie', eds. Jean Balsamo, Michel Magnien, and Catherine Magnien-Simonin (Paris: Gallimard, 2007), 1092: 'ce notable spectacle de nostre mort publique.'

16. Francis Bacon, *Certaine Obseruations vppon a libell* (1592/3), 343, ll. 13–17 in *OFB* I:

> warres are no massacres and confusions, but they are the highest trialles of right, when princes and States that acknowledge no superior vppon earth shall putt themselves vpon the iustice of God for deciding of their controversies by such successe as it shall please him ~~them~~ to give on either

> side.

See also Francis Bacon, *A True Report of the Detestable Treason Intended by Doctor Rodgerigo Lopez* (1594), 449, ll. 443–445 in *OFB* I: 'Warrs, which are the highest Trialls of Right, betweene *Princes*, (that acknowledge no superiour Jurisdiction)'. On Bacon's definitions of war and peace see Samuel Garrett Zeitlin, 'Francis Bacon on Peace and the 1604 Treaty of London', *History of Political Thought* 41, no. 3 (Autumn 2020): 487–5043.

17. Lisa Jardine and Alan Stewart, *Hostage to Fortune: The Troubled Life of Francis Bacon* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1999 [1998]), 40–7.

18. David Hume, *The History of England* (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 1983 [1778]), vol. IV, ch. XL, 168: '[1577.] Henry, in order to divert the force of the league from himself, and even to elude its efforts against the hugonots, declared himself the head of that seditious confederacy, and took the field as leader of the Romanists.'

19. For a late-twentieth century version of the claim that Bacon predicted the English Civil Wars, see B.H.G. Wormald, *Francis Bacon: History, politics and science 1561–1626* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 1:

> Bacon was a victim of a revolution before it took place – a revolution, moreover, which he predicted was likely to occur given the arrival of a certain set of contingencies. Further, because men rejected measures which he urged regarding the implications of the Union of the Crowns of England and Scotland, he was also able to predict the contingencies.

20. *SEH* III, pp. 507–508; *LL* III, pp. 82–84. Might there potentially be grounds for re-dating this text, which Spedding places in the year 1603 in volume III of *The Letters and Life*? The text seems to imply that the new organon has already been constructed [*satis profecisse si machinam ipsam ac fabricam exstruxerim*], but also that Bacon still has his 'hands full of civil business' or that he is still implicated in the thrall of civic matters [*civilibus studiis implicatum*] – perhaps after his appointment as Solicitor General in 1607 and prior to his fall in the Parliament of 1621, and perhaps during his preparation and composition of the *Novum Organum*, published in 1620, but worked out in the 1610s. The author is thankful to Dr. Richard Serjeantson for fruitful suggestions on the dating of this work. Cf. *SEH* III, 520.

21. *LL* III, 854–865; *SEH* III, 519:

> Nec mihi animum minuit, quod ejus quæ nunc in usu est doctrinæ et eruditionis, declinationem quandam et ruinam in temporum statu prospicio. Tametsi enim barbarorum incursiones non metuam (nisi forte, imperium Hispanum se corroboraverit, et alios armis, se onere, oppresserit et debilitarit), tamen ex bellis civilibus (quæ mihi videntur propter mores quosdam non ita pridem introductos multas regiones peragratura), et ex sectarum malignitate, et ex compendiariis istis artificiis et cautelis quæ in eruditionis locum surrepserunt, non minor in literas et scientias procella videbatur impendere. Nec typographorum officina his malis sufficere queat.

22. As Alexandra Gajda notes on the *Letters of Advice to the Earl of Rutland*:

> Rutland is told to nurture his 'active virtue' to 'attain to knowledge, which is not only the excellentest thing in man, but the very excellency of man'. Learning is only fostered in 'flourishing states', and is liable to be ruined in countries plagued by civil war, or luxury and corruption. The study of history is of the greatest use, 'in matter moral, military, and politic', but knowledge is also to be attained through 'study, conference, and observation'.

Alexandra Gajda, *The Earl of Essex and Late Elizabethan Political Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 20.

23. *OFB* XV, 'Of Truth. I', 7, lines 4–10.

24. *OFB* XV, 'Of Truth. I', 8, lines 48–51.

25. *SEH* II, 154; *SEH* V, 263; cf. Kiernan, 'Commentary', 237 in *OFB* XV.

26. *OFB* XV, 'Of Atheisme. XVI', 52, lines 31–32.

27. *OFB* XV, 'Of the tTrue Greatnesse of Kingdomes and *Estates*. XXIX', 96, lines 228–230: 'The *Turke*, hath it at hand, for Cause of Warre, the Propagation of his Law or Sect; A Quarrell that he may alwaieys Command.'

28. *LL* I, *A True Report of the Detestable Treason, Intended by Dr. Roderigo Lopez*, 278.

29. *OFB* XV, 'Of Goodnesse *A*and Goodnesse of Nature. XIII', 39, lines 28–33. Cf. David Hume, *Essays; Moral, Political, and Literary*, ed. Eugene F. Miller (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 1994 [1777]), Part I, Essay X, 'Of Superstition and Enthusiasm', 73–79, at pp. 75; 77; 79.

30. Francis Bacon, *Essayes. Religious Meditations. Places of perswasion and disswasion. Seene and allowed* (London: Printed for Humphrey Hooper, 1597), 10, sig. C2 recto; *SEH* VI, 532.

31. Francis Bacon, *Essayes. Religious Meditations. Places of perswasion and disswasion. Seene and allowed* (London: Printed for Humphrey Hooper, 1597), 10–11, sigs. C2 recto-C3 verso; *SEH* VI, 532.

32. *OFB* XV, 'Of Honour and Reputation. LV', 164, lines 38–39.

33. *OFB* XV, 'Of Honour and Reputation. LV', 164, lines 41–42.

34. *OFB* XV, 'Of Honour and Reputation. LV', 164, line 39.

35. *LL* I, 188; Cf. *LL* I, 133.

36. *LL* I, 189; Cf. *LL* I, 134.

37. Marta Fattori, 'Francis Bacon et la culture française (1576–1625)', in *Bacon et Descartes, Genèses de la modernité philosophique*, ed. Élodie Cassan, (Lyon : ENS Éditions, 2014), 25–47, at 27:

> Encore adolescent mais admirateur à jamais de la France et de la langue et de la culture française, Francis Bacon émit un jugement mûr sur la Cour française. Dans les *Notes on the Present State of Christendom*, probablement écrites en 1582, il couvre de jugements sévères les conditions de la Cour françaises.

38. *LL* I, Spedding's Commentary, 17. Weighing the evidence for attributing this text to Bacon, Spedding writes

> I do not find however that Stephens had left any note of his opinion or the grounds of it concerning the authorship of this particular paper; and, whatever his opinion may have been, it is probable that all the evidence upon which it rested is as accessible to us as it was to him. To me this evidence does not appear strong enough to justify an editor in printing the tract as an undoubted work of Bacon's. The Harleian MS. is a copy in an old hand, probably contemporary, – but not Francis Bacon's. Blank spaces have been left here and there by the transcriber, as if for words which he could not decipher; and these words have been filled in by another hand,--but neither does this hand resemble Francis Bacon's. A few sentences have been inserted afterwards by the same hand, and two by another, which is very like *Anthony* Bacon's; none in Francis's. The blanks have all been filled up, but no words have been corrected, though it is obvious that in some places they stand in need of correction. Certain allusions to events then passing (which will be pointed out in their place) prove that the original paper was written, or at least completed, in the summer of 1582, at which time Francis Bacon was studying law in Gray's Inn, while Anthony was travelling in France in search of political intelligence, and was in close correspondence with Nicholas Faunt, a secretary of Sir Francis Walsingham's, who had spent the previous year in France, Germany, Switzerland, and the north of Italy, on the same errand; and was now living about the English court, studying affairs at home, and collecting and arranging the observations which he had made abroad.

See also Jardine and Stewart, *Hostage to Fortune*, 87.

39. *LL* I, 18–30, at 28.

40. *LL* I, 18–30, at 26.

41. *LL* I, 18–30, at 26.

42. *LL* I, 18–30, at 26.

43. *LL* I, 18–30, at 27.

44. *LL* I, 18–30, at 27–28.

45. *LL* I, 42–48; *OFB* I, '*Letter of Advice to the Queen* (*AdQ*) (1584–1585) – Introduction', 10; Cf. Jardine and Stewart, *Hostage to Fortune*, 98; 539n11.

46. *OFB* I, 22.

47. *OFB* I, 30; Compare Machiavelli, *Il principe*, ch. 18.

48. *OFB* I, 30.

49. David Armitage, *Civil Wars: A History in Ideas* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017), 96: 'Nevertheless, to be civilized was to be capable of – but also fatally susceptible to – civil war.' For an analysis of the relevant passage in Bacon's *Essayes*, see Robert K. Faulkner, *Francis Bacon and the Project of Progress* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 1993), 54.

50. Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan, with Selected Variants from the Latin Edition of 1668*, ed. Edwin Curley (Indianapolis: Hackett, 1994 [1651]), XIII.[8], 76.

51. Jean Bodin, *Les six livres de la république*, IV.iv (pp. 112-–113 in the Fayard edition):

> L'autre poinct que le sage Prince doit avoir devant les yeux, est de trancher les racines, et oster les semences des guerres civiles, pour maintenir les sujects en bonne paix et amitié les uns

> envers les autres. Cela est de tel poids, que plusieurs ont pensé que c'estoit le seul but, auquel doit aspirer le bon legislateur: car combine qu'on ait banni souvent la vertu des Republiques pour vivre en une license desbordee à tous plaisirs: si est-ce que tous sont d'accord, qu'il n'y a pestes plus dangereuses aux Republiques que la sedition civile, d'autant qu'elle tire apres soy la ruïne commune des bons et des mauvais.

[Trans: The other point which the wise prince ought to place before his eyes is to cut the roots and to remove the seeds of civil wars, in order to maintain subjects in good peace and friendship with one another. This is of such significance that many have thought that it was the sole aim to which the good legislator should aspire: because how much has one thrown out the virtue of republics in order to live in an overflowing license of all pleasures: thus it is that all are in accord that there is no plague more dangerous to republics than civil sedition, as it draws after it the common ruin of the good and of the bad.]

52. Jean Bodin, *Les six livres de la république*, IV.iv (p. 113 in the Fayard edition):

> Or est-il que la premiere et principale cause de la sedition est l'inequalité, et au contraire la mere nourrice de paix et amitié est l'equalité : qui n'est autre chose que l'equité naturelle, distribuant les loyers, les estats, les honneurs, et les choses communes a chacun des subjects, au mieux que faire se peut : de laquelle equalité les voleurs mesmes et brigands ne sçauroyent se passer, s'ils veulent vivre ensemble : celui donc qui despart les honneurs et offices à un petit nombre de personnes, comme il est necessaire, quand ils sont donnez à vie : cestuy-là, di-je, allume les flammesches de jalousie des uns envers les autres, et le plus grand feu de sedition qui peut estre en la Republique. Quand il n'y auroit que ces deux poincts là, il semble qu'ils doyvent suffire, pour empescher qu'on face les offices perpetuels, à fin que chacun y ayant quelque part, ait aussi occasion de vivre en paix.

[Trans: Indeed, it's the case that the primary and principal cause of sedition is inequality, and on the contrary, the nourishing mother of peace and amity is equality: which is nothing other than natural equity, distributing the rents, the estates, the honors, and the common things to each of the subjects, as well as may possibly be done: of which equality even thieves and brigands do not know how to do without, if they wish to live together: those therefore who disburse the honors and offices to a small number of persons, as is necessary, when they are given to life: this one, I say, lights the flames of jealousy of some against others, and the greatest fire of sedition which may exist in the republic. When there are only these two points, it seems that it ought to suffice to prevent the creation of perpetual offices, so that each may have his part, having also the occasion to live in peace.]

53. Francis Bacon, 'Of Seditions *and* Troubles. XV', in *Essayes*, *OFB* XV, 43, lines 5–10:

> *Shepherds* of *People*, had need know the *Kalenders* of *Tempests* in *State*; which are commonly greatest, when Things grow to Equality; As Naturall Tempests are greatest about the *Æquinoctia*. And as there are certaine hollow Blasts of Winde, and secret Swellings of Seas, before a Tempest, so are there in States.

54. *OFB* XV, *Essayes*, 'Of Seditions and Troubles. XV', 50, line 240. The terminal word of the essay, its place of punctal emphasis, is 'Disease.'

55. *OFB* XV, *Essayes*, 'Of Seditions and Troubles. XV', 45, lines 73–75: 'let us speake first of the *Materialls* of *Seditions*; Then of the *Motives* of them; And thirdly of the *Remedies*.' See also Noah Dauber, *State and Commonwealth: The Theory of the State in Early Modern England, 1549–1640* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016), 183: 'The 1625 version of 'Of Seditions and Troubles' broke the issue into three parts: the materials of seditions, their motives, and their remedies.'

56. *OFB* XV, *Essayes*, 'Of Seditions and Troubles. XV', 45, lines 80–81. See also *LL* V, 137, 'The Charge given by Sir Francis Bacon, his Majesty's Attorney General, against Mr. I.S., for scandalizing and traducing in the Public Sessions Letters sent from the Lords of the Council touching the Benevolence.'

57. *OFB* XV, *Essayes*, 'Of Seditions and Troubles. XV', 45, lines 80–821: 'The *Matter* of *Seditions* is of two kindes; *Much Poverty,* and *Much Discontentment*.' See also Dauber, *State and Commonwealth*, 183:

> The essay was really concerned with thinking through the two 'materials,' namely, poverty and discontentment, and their remedies. Discontentment, as he explained in his essay 'Of Envy,' was another name for 'public envy.' Bacon had come to believe that there was a disjunction between the actual material arrangements of a society and the way that its people felt about it, their level of contentment.

While aware of this passage in Bacon's essay 'Of Sedition and Troubles,' Markku Peltonen interprets Bacon as nonetheless praising poverty claiming that

> Bacon gave two reasons why poverty was preferable to riches. Hardship and scarceness acted as an incentive to conquests and wars. 'For except there be a spur in the state that shall excite and

> prick them on to wars, they will but keep their own, and seek no further.' Poverty was the most forcible stimulus to a new war. Moreover, while riches corrupted the essential qualities of greatness, poverty maintained the same; whereas private wealth made people effeminate, the people living in poverty had the proper capacities for true greatness.

Peltonen mistakes Bacon's remedy for sedition (external war) with praise for poverty (which leads, ultimately to civil war, if not vented, in Bacon's view, via external war). Bacon views poverty as facilitating war in any event – either civil war at home or foreign war abroad – and Bacon prefers external to internal warfare. Peltonen clefts the essays 'Of Seditions and Troubles' (added to the print version of 1625 *Essayes*, but present in manuscript from 1612 onwards) and 'Of the True Greatness of Kingdoms and Estates' as belonging to different contexts, when in fact Bacon has augmented both essays in the same work – the very much enlarged 1625 *Essayes,* which Bacon claims, when taken as a whole, 'are indeed a New Worke.' *Essayes*, Dedicatory Epistle to Buckingham, p. [5] in *OFB* XV. In this regard, 'Of Seditions and Troubles' and 'Of the True Greatness of Kingdoms and Estates', in the additions with which Bacon augmented his 1625 *Essayes*, form a single argument and are part of the same intervention: an argument for Britain to intervene in the Thirty Years' War on the Protestant side against the Spanish Habsburgs. Peltonen thus misreads Bacon on poverty, in part, because he is insufficiently attuned to the context of Bacon's additions to the 1625 *Essayes*. See Markku Peltonen, 'Politics and Science: Francis Bacon and the True Greatness of States', *The Historical Journal* 35, no. 2 (June 1992): 279–305, at 285–7. Cf. Thomas Hobbes, *De cive,* XIII.10: 'The second factor, we have shown, which disposes men to sedition is the discontent that arises from *poverty*'. Hobbes, *On the Citizen*, Richard Tuck and Michael Silverthorne, eds. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998 [1642]), 147. The author is thankful to Professor David Lay Williams for this cross-reference.

58. *OFB* XV, *Essayes*, 'Of Seditions and Troubles. XV', 45, lines 87–88: 'This same *Multis utile Bellum*, is an assured and infallible Signe, of a State, disposed to *Seditions,* and *Troubles*.'

59. *OFB* XV, *Essayes*, 'Of Seditions and Troubles. XV', 45, lines 79–80: 'For if there be Fuell prepared, it is hard to tell, whence the Spark shall come, that shall set it on Fire.'

60. *OFB* XV, *Essayes*, 'Of Seditions and Troubles. XV', 45, lines 88–9289.

61. *OFB* XV, *Essayes*, 'Of Seditions and Troubles. XV', 45, lines 837–90.

62. *OFB* XV, *Essayes*, 'Of Seditions *and* Troubles. XV', 47, lines 154–158. See also Bacon's 'Advice to the King, touching Sutton's Estate', in *LL* IV, 249–54, at 250. Cf. Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan, with Selected Variants from the Latin Edition of 1668*, ed. Edwin Curley (Indianapolis: Hackett, 1994 [1651]), XXIX.[19], 218: 'Again, there is sometimes in a commonwealth a disease which resembleth the pleurisy; and that is when the treasure of the commonwealth, flowing out of its due course, is gathered together in too much abundance in one or few private men, by monopolies or by farms of the private revenues, in the same manner as the blood in a pleurisy, getting into the membrane of in the breast, breedeth there an inflammation, accompanied with a fever and painful stitches.' On the theme of wealth and inequality in Hobbes more broadly, see David Lay Williams, *The Greatest of All Plagues: Economic Inequality in Western Political Thought* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, forthcoming), chapter 3.

63. *OFB* XV, *Essayes*, 'Of Nobility. XIIII', 41, lines 15–18.

64. *OFB* XV, *Essayes*, 'Of Seditions *and* Troubles. XV', 50, lines 229–234.

65. *OFB* XV, Essay XV, 44, lines 55–57.

66. *OFB* XV, Essay XV, 44, lines 44–54.

67. Niccolò Machiavelli, *Discorsi sopra la prima deca di Tito Livio* (Milano: Einaudi Editore, 2000), III.27, 342: 'Come e' si ha ad unire una città divisa; e come e' non è vera quella opinion, che, a tenere le città, bisogni tenerle divise.'

68. Machiavelli, *Discorsi*, III.27, 343: 'Perché dalla natura è dato agli uomini pigliare parte in qualunque cosa divisa, e piacergli più questa che quella.'

69. Machiavelli, *Discorsi*, III.27, 343: 'Talché, avendo una parte di quella terra male contenta, fa che, la prima Guerra che viene, te la perdi; perché gli è impossibile guardare una città che abbia e' nimici fuori e dentro.'

70. Machiavelli, *Discorsi*, III.27, 342. On Machiavelli on *tumulti* see Gabriele Pedullà, *Machiavelli in Tumult: The* Discourses on Livy *and the Origins of Political Conflictualism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018); John P. McCormick, *Reading Machiavelli: Scandalous Books, Suspect Engagements, and the Virtue of Populist Politics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018), 189–200; Yves Winter, *Machiavelli and the Orders of Violence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 167–91.

71. In Italian in the sixteenth century, 'sanza' was a spelling for 'senza' (*sine*, *sans*, without) and is the spelling used in the edition of the passage cited above.

72. Machiavelli, *Discorsi*, III.27, 343: 'Ma sanza dubbio più sicuro saria stato di primo.'

73. Machiavelli, *Discorsi*, III.27, 344.

74. *OFB* XV, Essay XV, 50, line 231.

75. Machiavelli, *Discorsi*, I.4, 17: 'e che non considerino, come e' sono in ogni repubblica duoi umori diversi, quello del popolo, e quello de' grandi'.

76. Machiavelli, *Discorsi*, I.4, 17: 'e che e' non considerino come e' sono in ogni repubblica due umori diversi, quello del popolo, e quello de' grandi'.

77. *OFB* XV, Essay XV, 48, lines 162–163.

78. *OFB* XV, Essay XV, 48, lines 168–170.

79. 'Until his fall from power in 1621, Bacon had been quite closely identified with royal policy'. Noel Malcolm, *Reason of State, Propaganda, and the Thirty Years' War: An Unknown Translation by Thomas Hobbes* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 82. See also James Spedding's claims at *LL* V, 256.

80. *OFB* XV, Essay XV, 43, lines 6–7. Compare Grotius, *De jure belli ac pacis*, II.xviii.II.3.

81. *OFB* XV, 43, lines 13–17. Charging Oliver St. John with seditious libel before the Star Chamber in his capacity as Attorney General in April of 1615, Bacon would claim that

> the slander is of that nature, that it may seem to interest the people in grief and discontent against the State; whence mought have ensued matter of murmur and sedition. So that it is not a simple slander, but a seditious slander; like to that the poet speaketh of – *Calamosque armare veneno*. A venomous dart that hath both iron and poison.

LL V, ~~137,~~ 'The Charge given by Sir Francis Bacon, his Majesty's Attorney General, against Mr. I.S., for scandalizing and traducing in the Public Sessions Letters sent from the Lords of the Council touching the Benevolence', 136-146, at 137.~~.~~

82. *OFB* XV, 44, lines 23–34.

83. *OFB* XV, 44, lines 23–34.

84. *SEH* VI, 630.

85. *SEH* VI, 630.

86. *SEH* VI, 626: 'cum Metis uxor Jovis plane consilium sonnet; Typhon tumorem; Pan universum; Nemesis vindictam: et similia.'

87. *OED*, 'tumour, tumor, n'.

> 3a. An abnormal or morbid swelling or enlargement in any part of the body of an animal or plant; an excrescence; a tumefaction: 1597 R. Hooker *Of Lawes Eccl. Politie* v. lxxii. 214 To helpe the tumors which alwaies fulnes breedeth.

88. This imagery recurs in 'Of Seditions *and* Troubles', *OFB* XV, 48, lines 170–175:

> The Poets faigne, that the rest of the Gods, would have bound *Jupiter*; which he hearing of, by the Counsell of *Pallas*, sent for *Briareus*, with his hundred Hands, to come in to his Aid. An Embleme, no doubt, to shew, how safe it is for Monarchs, to make sure of the good Will of Common People.

89. *SEH* VI, 630; Francis Bacon, *De Sapientia Veterum* (London: Robert Barker, 1609), 4, sig. B3 verso.

90. *SEH* VI, 630; Bacon 1609, 4, sig. B3 verso.

91. *SEH* VI, 630; Bacon 1609, 4, sig. B3 verso. (The Spedding edition omits the punctuation, accents, and capitalizations from this sentence, which have been restored to the 1609 version above).

92. Grotius, *De jure belli ac pacis*, III.vi.27, note.

93. *SEH* VI, 630: 'Nec mora, postquam adolevisset, quin bellum Jovi moveret.' See also Bacon 1609, 3-4, signature pages B2 recto-B3 verso. In his study of Bacon's mythological symbolism, Charles W. Lemmi claims that with Typhon, 'We now come to the last of Bacon's allegories of war: his interpretation of the myth of Typhon. The gigantic monster Typhon, who breathed fire and was belted with serpents, rebelled against Jupiter, and having captured the king of the gods, cut out his sinews. These, however, Mercury stole from him and returned to Jove who, having recovered from his injuries, finally slew the rebel. Bacon, commenting on this fable, describes the growth of disaffection to an absolute king: the soliciting of nobles for aid and leadership, the increasing turbulence of the people; finally open rebellion'. Charles W. Lemmi, *The Classic Deities in Bacon: A Study in Mythological Symbolism* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1933), 162–3.

94. *SEH* VI, 630: 'Reges enim regnis suis, ut Jupiter Junoni, veluti matrimonii vinculo juncti recte censentur.' See also Bacon 1609, 4, sig. B3 verso.

95. *SEH* VI, 630; Bacon 1609, 4, sig. B3 verso.

> In this manner, the twenty-nine short fables (in total, there are thirty one) in *De sapientia veterum* are explicated. Bacon discovers in each of them either a moral, or a political, or a natural-philosophical truth … Typhon (or, the Rebel) is interpreted along Machiavellian lines and is read as a political allegory: a king who becomes a tyrant will be rebelled against by his nobles, but he can regain power through good laws and the goodwill of his people.

Anna-Maria Hartmann, *English Mythography in its European Context, 1500–1650* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 149.

96. *SEH* VI, 631: 'Atque iste rerum status ab insita plebis pravitate et natura maligna (serpente regibus infestissimo) nutricatur.' Cf. Bacon 1609, 5, sig. B3 recto.

> That civil strife is the ruin of a state was already a dictum in classical times, and the policy which Bacon recommends to a king is as old as monarchy and older. Nevertheless I think it possible that for the formulation, at least, of his doctrines Bacon is to some extent indebted to Machiavelli. The dependence of the multitude on the nobility, the importance to a ruler of standing firm during the first moment of crisis, the power of fair words, the tendency of undisciplined forces to lose heart and disband: all this recalls memorable passages in the *Discorsi*. Had Bacon listened even more attentively to the wise Florentine it might have been the better for the Stuarts and for his own fortunes. Here and elsewhere he betrays a contempt for the plain people which smacks less of Machiavelli than of Guicciardini and, probably, of his own bias.

Lemmi, *The Classic Deities in Bacon: A Study in Mythological Symbolism* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1933), 163–4.

97. *OFB* XV, 45, lines 73–75: 'And let us speake first of the *Materials* of *Seditions*; Then of the *Motives* of them; And thirdly of the *Remedies*.'

98. *OFB* XV, 46, lines 111–116.

99. *LL* I, 'Speech on Motion for a Grant of Three Subsidies Payable in Four Years', 223.

100. *LL* I, 'Speech on Motion for a Grant of Three Subsidies Payable in Four Years', 223.

101. *Ibid.*

102. *LL* I, 'Speech on Motion for a Grant of Three Subsidies Payable in Four Years', 223.

103. *OFB* XV, 46, lines 99–100.

104. *OFB* XV, 'Of Great Place. XI', 36, lines 104–106.

105. *OFB* XV, 'Of Faction. LI', 155, lines 13–16.

106. *OFB* XV, 'Of Great Place. XI', 36, line 106.

107. *OFB* XV, 'Of Seditions *and* Troubles. XV', 44, lines 44–54; 'Of Revenge. IV', 17, lines 40–41.

108. *OFB* XV, 'Of Seditions *and* Troubles. XV', 44, lines 50–54.

109. Edward Forset, *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 Subiects, 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), 28. On Forset, see further Raphaela Santi, 'Edward Forset', in *The Commonwealth as Political Space in Late Renaissance England*, eds. Santi et al. (Padua: Cedam Editore, 2014), 27–54.

110. *OFB* XV, *Essayes*, 'Of Seditions and Troubles. XV', 47, lines 123–129. Dauber, *State and Commonwealth*, 185:

> Within this swirling mass of discontentment, the old concerns of commonwealth were still relevant. Bacon's list of remedies would have been familiar decades earlier … Yet these laws were not to be administered in quite the same way as they had [been] under the Tudors, and this represented in the latest thinking a sense that it was the role of the state to rise to the endlessly changing expectations about the future so as to reign them in.

111. *OFB* XV, *Essayes*, 'Of Seditions and Troubles. XV', 47, lines 121–141. On this point, see the helpful discussion in Michel Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population, Lectures at the Collège de France*, ed. Michel Senellart, tr. Graham Burchell (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 267–72.

112. *OFB* XV, *Essayes*, 'Of Seditions and Troubles. XV', 47, lines 129–131.

113. OFB I, *Certaine obseruations vppon a libell*, 375, line 964; Cf. Genesis 1:28; 9:7. Francis Bacon, *Certain Observations upon a Libel* (1592/3), 174 in *LL* I: 'Touching the oppression of the people, he mentioneth four points.

1. The consumption of people in the wars.

2. The interruption of traffic.

3. The corruption of justice.

4. The multitude of taxations.

Unto all which points there needeth no long speech. For the first, thanks be to God, the benediction of *Crescite et multiplicamini* is not so weak upon this realm of England, but the population thereof may afford such loss of men as were sufficient for the making our late wars, and it were in a perpetuity, without being seen either in city or country.' Cf. David Hume, *Essays, Moral, Political, and Literary*, ed. Eugene F. Miller (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 1994 [1777]), Part II, Essay I, 'Of Commerce', 265–66: 'Lord BACON, accounting for the great advantages obtained by the ENGLISH in their wars with FRANCE, ascribes them chiefly to the superior ease and plenty of the common people amongst the former'.

114. OFB I, *Certaine obseruations vppon a libell*, 375, lines 974–6: 'There be manie tokens in this Realme rather of presse and surcharge of people then of want or depopulacion which were before recited.' In his marginal notes to his copy of the Bacon's *Essays*, in the nineteenth century edition of W. Aldis Wright, Anthony Trollope took empire and outward expansion to be Bacon's 'remedy' for internal strife, sedition, and civil war. Following the essay 'Of Seditions and Troubles,' according to Trollope's biographer Michael Sadleir, Trollope penned the following commentary into his copy of Bacon's *Essays*,

> The Remedy may be well worse than the disease, as is shown by the state of the Roman Empire and by the injuries done by Napoleon. In all his political Essays Bacon is governed by his natural desire to support Kings. His references to sumptuary laws and repression of the population show that he was not so very much before his age.

Michael Sadleir, 'Trollope and Bacon's Essays', *The Trollopian* 1, no. 1 (Summer 1945): 21–34, at 25.

115. Francis Bacon, 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,' 307–25, at 313:

> And lastly (Mr. Speaker) there was never any kingdom in the ages of the world had, I think, so fair and happy a means to issue and discharge the multitude of their people, if it were too great, as this kingdom hath, in regard of that desolate and wasted kingdom of Ireland; which (being a country blessed with almost all the dowries of nature, as rivers, havens, woods, quarries, good soil, and temperate climate, and now at last under his Majesty blessed also with obedience) doth, as it were, continually call unto us for our colonies and plantations.

It is worth noting that imperial and colonial expansion may be, in Baconian terms, conceptually distinguished. For Bacon, not all colonial expansion results in corresponding expansion in *imperium*, understood as command. For example, internal colonization may expand a regime's or sovereign's colonial space without thereby augmenting its *imperium*. No less, for Bacon, not all expansions of *imperium* amount to colonial expansions. Augmenting one's naval power and the ambit of naval operations may expand the scope of one's *imperium* without a corresponding expansion of colonial space or colonies. On Bacon on colonies and empire, see Samuel Garrett Zeitlin, 'Francis Bacon on Imperial and Colonial Warfare', *The Review of Politics* 83, no. 2 (forthcoming).

116. Francis Bacon, 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', 307–25 in *LL* III, at 313:

> The third answer (Mr. Speaker) which I give, is this: I demand what is the worst effect that can follow of surcharge of people? Look into all stories, and you shall find it none other than some honourable war for the enlargement of their borders, which find themselves pent, upon foreign parts; which inconvenience, in a valorous and warlike nation, I know not whether I should term it an inconvenience or no; for the saying is most true, though in another sense, *Omne solum forti patria*. It was spoken indeed of the patience of an exiled man: but it is no less true of the valour of a warlike nation.

On surcharge population and the 'matter of revolution' in Bacon, see also Francis Bacon, 'Advice to the King, Touching Sutton's Estate', (1611/12), 252–3 in *LL* IV:

> That for grammar schools there are already too many, and therefore no providence to add where there is excess. For the great number of schools which are in your Highness realm, doth cause a want and doth cause likewise an overflow, both of them inconvenient, and one of them dangerous. For by means thereof they find want in the country and towns, both of servants and husbandry, and apprentices for trade; and on the other side there being more scholars bred than the state can prefer and employ, and the active part of that life not bearing a proportion to the preparative, it must needs fall out that many persons will be bred unfit for other vocations, and unprofitable for that in which they are brought up; which fills the realm full of indigent, idle, and wanton

people, which are but *materia rerum novarum*.

Here, it might be objected that in his essay 'Of Plantations,' Bacon stresses qualitative considerations of the persons with which to plant in getting the plantation off the ground, but once the plantation has been founded, Bacon then advocates a quantitative transfer: qualitative and quantitative considerations in the founding of a colony, for Bacon, need not be incommensurable. Indeed, Bacon is particularly keen to stress concerns of the quality of persons as crucial to the initial success of institutions. See 'A Letter to the King Advising Him to Call a Parliament', *LL* V, 176–191, at 190.

117. Alberico Gentili, *De jure belli* III.xi, 556 in the 1612 edition: 'Tolle Gallis bellum externum: quod inepto consilio Galliæ hostes eis intulerunt; quodque sapientissime suscepit, & proclamauit Galliæ rex: & mirum nisi cernimus statim ciuilia rursum bella: quæ per externum silent.'

[tr. Take from the French external war: which the enemies of France have borne into it; and which the King of France most wisely received, & proclaimed: & it would be a miracle unless we immediately discern the return of civil wars: which are silenced via the external war.]

118. Sankar Muthu, *Enlightenment Against Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), 7; 11; 23; 30; 67. Muthu argues that there is a correlation in political thought between advocating imperial expansion and viewing peoples other than one's own as something other than autonomous cultural agents. While Bacon, particularly in his essay 'Of Custome and Education,' might be read as offering a confirmation of this thesis, it is the argument of this article that Bacon's imperial advocacy stems primarily from his intense preferences for the avoidance of internal warfare and the external conquest of England, and later, Britain, by Spain. The avoidance of civil war, the prevention of the conquest of one's own country, and the rivalry of power politics, together, for Bacon, generate the logic of empire. For Bacon's views of custom and cultural agency, see Francis Bacon, 'Of Custome and Education. XXXIX', in *Essayes*, *OFB* XV, pp. 120-–122, at ll. 20–39ff.

119. *OFB* XV, *Essayes*, 'Of Seditions *and* Troubles. XV', 46, lines 94-97.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s **[Q4]**).

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