

FURTHER READING

1. *Bibliographies*. For bibliographies of Bacon studies see Brian Vickers, *Francis Bacon and Renaissance Prose* (Cambridge, 1968), 307–12; Paolo Rossi, *Scritti Filosofici di Francesco Bacone* (Turin, 1975, 1986), 49–74 (commendably wide-ranging, but with inaccuracies); J. K. Houck, *Francis Bacon, 1926–1966* (1968: Elizabethan Bibliographies, Supplement); Brian Vickers, *Francis Bacon, Writers and their Works* (London, 1978), 38–46; Wilhelm Totok, *Handbuch der Geschichte der Philosophie*, iii: *Renaissance* (Frankfurt, 1980), 473–83; William A. Sessions, 'Recent Studies in Francis Bacon', *English Literary Renaissance*, 17 (1987), 351–71 (limited to works in English); A. Pérez-Ramos, in G. H. R. Parkinson (ed.), *The Renaissance and Seventeenth-Century Rationalism* (London, 1993), 162–7; Brian Vickers, 'Francis Bacon', in Douglas Sedge (ed.), *The Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature*, 3rd edn., vol. ii: 1500–1700 (forthcoming). The listing of primary works in the latest revision of Donald Wing's *Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England . . . 1641–1700*, ed. J. J. Morrison *et al.*, vol. i (New York, 1994), is still gravely deficient.

2. *Editions*. The standard edition so far has been that by James Spedding, assisted by R. L. Ellis (for Bacon's scientific works) and D. D. Heath (for his legal writings): *The Works of Francis Bacon*, 7 vols. (London, 1857–9). Spedding alone edited *The Letters and Life of Francis Bacon, including all his Occasional Works*, 7 vols. (London, 1861–74). These 14 vols. have been reprinted in reduced format (Stuttgart: Frommann, 1962), and full-size (New York: Garrett, 1968). The 7-vol. *Works* was also issued in America in a confusing 15-vol. format (Boston: McTaggart and Brown, 1860–4). For a concordance enabling comparison of the two editions see Julian Martin, *Francis Bacon, the State and the Reform of Natural Philosophy* (Cambridge, 1992), 176–80. A major new edition (unfortunately excluding the letters) is under way, 'The Oxford Francis Bacon', based on a fresh analysis of the textual tradition, with facing-page translations of the Latin works, and detailed commentary. So far the following volumes have appeared: vi: *Philosophical Studies c. 1611–c. 1619*, ed. Graham Rees, trans. Graham Rees and Michael Edwards (1996); iv: *The Advancement of Learning*, ed. Michael Kiernan (2000); xiii: *The 'Instauratio Magna': Last Writings*, ed. and transl. Graham Rees (2000); xv: *The Essays*, ed. Michael Kiernan (2000). This last volume reprints Kiernan's edition in the Oxford English texts series (1985), which regrettably did not draw on the outstanding modern edition by Mario Melchionda, *Gli 'Essayes' di Francis Bacon. Studio introduttivo, testo critico e commento* (Florence, 1979).

Although antiquated in some respects, Thomas Fowler's edition of *Bacon's Novum Organum* (Oxford, 1878, rev. edn. 1889) offers an immensely helpful detailed commentary. Modern translations of the *Novum Organum* have been produced by P. Urbach and J. Gibson (Chicago, 1994), and by M. Silverthorne

Transformation of Early-Modern Philosophy (Cambridge, 2001), is a wide-ranging study in which the interpretative contexts do not always illuminate Bacon's achievement. Two valuable accounts placing Bacon in a wider context are Norma E. Emerton, *The Scientific Reinterpretation of Form* (Ithaca, NY, 1984), and A. C. Crombie, *Styles of Thinking in the European Tradition*, 3 vols. (London, 1994). Important shorter studies include Mary Hesse, 'Francis Bacon's Philosophy of Science', and Moody E. Prior, 'Bacon's Man of Science', both repr. in Brian Vickers (ed.), *Essential Articles for the Study of Francis Bacon* (Hamden, Conn., 1968; London, 1972), 114–39, 140–63; Mary Horton, 'In Defence of Francis Bacon: A Criticism of the Critics of the Inductive Method', *Studies in the History and Philosophy of Science*, 4 (1973), 241–78; T. S. Kuhn, 'Mathematical Versus Experimental Traditions in the Development of Physical Science', *Journal for Interdisciplinary History*, 7 (1976), 1–31, repr. in id., *The Essential Tension: Selected Studies in Scientific Tradition and Change* (Chicago, 1977), 143–81; L. Jonathan Cohen, 'Some Historical Remarks on the Baconian Conception of Probability', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 41 (1980), 219–31. For corrections of persisting fallacies in Bacon studies, see Brian Vickers, 'Bacon's So-called "Utilitarianism": Sources and Influence', in the Fattori volume (below), 281–313; and 'The Myth of Francis Bacon's "Anti-humanism"', in J. Kraye and M. W. F. Stone (eds.), *Humanism and Early Modern Philosophy* (London, 2000), 135–58. Bacon's attitude towards medicine is discussed by J. Boss, 'The Medical Philosophy of Francis Bacon (1561–1626)', *Medical Hypotheses*, 4 (1978), 208–20. Alan Soble, 'In Defense of Bacon', *Philosophy of the Social Sciences*, 25 (1995), 192–215, refutes attacks on experimental science as the 'rape' of nature.

Useful studies of Bacon's natural philosophy are included in Marta Fattori (ed.), *Francis Bacon: Terminologia e Fortuna nel XVII secolo* (Rome, 1984); M. Malherbe and J. M. Pousseur (eds.), *Francis Bacon: Science et méthode* (Paris, 1985); the special Bacon issues of *Les Études philosophiques* (no. 3, 1983) and *Revue internationale de philosophie* (vol. 40, 1986); William A. Sessions (ed.), *Francis Bacon's Legacy of Texts* (New York, 1990); Markku Peltonen (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Bacon* (Cambridge, 1996).

8. *Political and Historical Works*. No reliable modern study of Bacon's political career exists. Despite its promising title, B. H. G. Wormald, *Francis Bacon: History, Politics and Science, 1561–1626* (Cambridge, 1994) consists of lengthy summaries of Bacon's views, neither subjected to detailed analysis, nor placed within relevant contexts. J. J. Epstein, *Francis Bacon: A Political Biography* (Athens, Ohio, 1977) relates the main events in Bacon's career rather briefly, but fails to register the fluctuating political alliances and pressure-groups around Bacon, and shows little insight into his character. A better picture can be obtained from Menna Prestwich, *Cranfield: Politics and Profits under the English Stuarts* (Oxford, 1966); R. Zaller, *The Parliament of 1621: A Study in Constitutional Conflict* (Berkeley, 1971); Kevin Sharpe (ed.), *Faction and Parliament: Essays on Early Stuart History* (Oxford, 1978); Conrad Russell, *Parliaments and English Politics 1621–1629* (Oxford, 1979); and M. A. Phillips, 'Francis Bacon', in P. W. Hasler (ed.), *The House of Commons 1558–*

1603, 3 vols. (London, 1981), i. 374–9. Julian Martin, *Francis Bacon, the State, and the Reform of Natural Philosophy* (Cambridge, 1992), has some helpful material on Bacon's early legal and parliamentary career, but cynically presents Bacon's efforts to reform natural philosophy as an attempt to ingratiate himself with King James, and claims that Bacon's legal training influenced his natural philosophy—whereas Bacon criticized the verbal basis of extant philosophy, his system moving from words to works. See my review, *Renaissance Quarterly*, 47 (1994), 704–7, and A. Pérez-Ramos, 'A Lawyer at Large: Variations on Old Baconian Themes', *Physis*, 31 (1994), 341–53. Useful shorter studies include T. K. Rabb, 'Francis Bacon and the Reform of Society', in Rabb and J. Seigel (eds.), *Action and Conviction in Modern Europe* (Princeton, 1969), 161–93; Karl R. Wallace, 'Discussion in Parliament and Francis Bacon', repr. in Vickers (ed.), *Essential Articles*, 195–210; Robert C. Johnson, 'Francis Bacon and Lionel Cranfield', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 23 (1960), 301–20, which quotes (from the Saville MSS) some important Bacon letters not included in Spedding; Markku Peltonen, 'Bacon's Political Philosophy', in *Cambridge Companion*, 283–310; and Peltonen, 'Francis Bacon, the Earl of Northampton, and the Jacobean Anti-Duelling Campaign', *Historical Journal*, 44 (2001), 1–28.

For general treatments of Bacon's *History of Henry VII* and his theories of historiography see F. S. Fussner, *The Historical Revolution: English Historical Writing and Thought, 1580–1640* (London, 1962); W. H. Greenleaf, *Order, Empiricism and Politics: Two Traditions of English Political Thought 1500–1700* (London, 1964); F. J. Levy, *Tudor Historical Thought* (San Marino, Calif., 1967); Judith H. Anderson, *Biographical Truth: The Representation of Historical Persons in Tudor–Stuart Writing* (New Haven, 1984). Useful individual studies include L. F. Dean, 'Sir Francis Bacon's Theory of Civil History-Writing', and George H. Nadel, 'History as Psychology in Francis Bacon's Theory of History', both repr. in Vickers (ed.), *Essential Articles*, 211–35, 236–50; Stuart Clark, 'Bacon's *Henry VII*: A Case-Study in the Science of Man', *History and Theory*, 13 (1974), 97–118; D. R. Woolf, 'John Selden, John Borough and Francis Bacon's *History of Henry VII*', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 47 (1984), 47–53.

9. *Legal Works*. The best overall study is Daniel R. Coquillette, *Francis Bacon, Jurists: Profiles in Legal Theory* (Edinburgh, 1992), which discusses Bacon's legal theories and practice in a largely non-technical manner, copiously documented. J. H. Baker, *The Legal Profession and the Common Law* (London, 1986), gives a translation of Bacon's argument in Slade's Case (pp. 396–409). Mark Neustadt, 'The Making of the Instauration: Science, Politics, and Law in the Career of Francis Bacon', Ph.D. diss., Johns Hopkins University, 1987 (*Dissertation Abstracts International*, A48/05 p. 1302) includes the text and translation of the *Aphorismi de Jure gentium maiore, sive de fontibus Justitiae et Juris*, found by Peter Beal in 1980. For another English version see J. C. Hogan and M. D. Schwartz, 'A Translation of Bacon's Maxims of the Common Law', *Law Library Journal*, 77 (1984–5), 707–18, a text which they discussed *ibid.* 76 (1983), 48–77. See also Peter Stein, *Regulae Juris: From*

Juristic Rules to Legal Maxims (Edinburgh, 1966); Louis A. Knafla, *Law and Politics in Jacobean England* (Cambridge, 1977); B. McCabe, 'Francis Bacon and the Natural Law Tradition', *Natural Law Forum*, 9 (1964), 111-21; Paul Kocher, 'Francis Bacon on the Science of Jurisprudence', in Vickers (ed.), *Essential Articles*, 167-94; B. J. Shapiro, 'Sir Francis Bacon and the Mid-Seventeenth Century Movement for Law Reform', *American Journal of Legal History*, 24 (1980), 331-62.

10. *Literary Works*. The pioneering study by Karl R. Wallace, *Francis Bacon on Communication and Rhetoric* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1943) merely summarized Bacon's views, not putting them in their historical context in classical and Renaissance rhetoric. Other studies include M. B. McNamee, 'Literary Decorum in Francis Bacon', *Saint Louis University Studies*, 1 (1950), 1-52; Marc Cogan, 'Rhetoric and Action in Francis Bacon', *Philosophy and Rhetoric*, 14 (1981), 212-33; and Brian Vickers, 'Bacon and Rhetoric', in M. Peltonen (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Bacon* (Cambridge, 1996). Neal W. Gilbert, *Renaissance Concepts of Method* (New York, 1960) gives due credit to Bacon's originality in formulating the principle of experimentation. Lisa Jardine, *Francis Bacon: Discovery and the Art of Discourse* (Cambridge, 1974), usefully discusses sixteenth-century dialectic teaching, but downgrades rhetoric to a purely ornamental role. Her generally negative evaluations of Bacon ('intellectually a provincial', having no conception of 'systematic experimenting', who 'dismisses as secondary and provisional much of what we now regard as science') have not been endorsed by modern research.

Brian Vickers, *Francis Bacon and Renaissance Prose* (Cambridge, 1968) discusses his use of the aphorism, imagery in argument, philosophical image-patterns, syntactical symmetry, and literary revisions, and, like R. M. Adolph, *The Rise of Modern Prose Style* (Cambridge, Mass., 1968), rejects the theories of Morris W. Croll and George Williamson that Bacon had a 'Senecan' or 'anti-Ciceronian' style. On attempts by R. F. Jones and others to identify Bacon with an anti-rhetorical style, supposedly infecting the new science with a fear of metaphor and a distrust of language in general, see Brian Vickers, 'The Royal Society and English Prose Style: A Reassessment', in *Rhetoric and the Pursuit of Truth. Language Change in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Los Angeles, 1985), 3-76. Other studies include three essays in Vickers (ed.), *Essential Articles*: R. S. Crane, 'The Relation of Bacon *Essays* to his Program for the Advancement of Learning' (pp. 272-92), John L. Harrison, 'Bacon's View of Rhetoric, Poetry, and the Imagination' (pp. 253-71), and Anne Richter's incisive and sensitive study, 'Francis Bacon' (pp. 300-21). For specific studies of Bacon's metaphors see Walter R. Davis, 'The Imagery of Bacon's Late Work', *Modern Language Quarterly*, 27 (1966), 162-77; Brian Vickers, 'Bacon's Use of Theatrical Imagery', in W. A. Sessions (ed.), *Francis Bacon's Legacy of Texts* (New York, 1990), 171-213.

On Bacon's *De Sapientia Veterum* see Charles W. Lemmi, *The Classic Deities in Bacon* (Baltimore, 1953), and Barbara C. Garner, 'Francis Bacon, *Natalis Comes*, and the Mythological Tradition', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 33 (1970), 264-91.