Orpheus' Theatre: Civility and Empire before the Civil War

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Introduction

In April 1600, the Dutch vessel 'De Liefde', on whose stern was attached a wooden statue of Erasmus, shipwrecked on the coast of Kyushu Island, Japan. Later, in October 1611, William Adams, an English navigator and survivor, reported that Japan was 'governed in great civility' in a letter addressed to his 'unknown friends and countrymen':

'the people of the lande good nature, courteous out of measure, and valliant in warres; justice is severely executed upon the traunsgressor of the lawe w'thout partiallety; governed in great civillety, I mean not a lande better governed in the

worlde by civil pollecy'.[1]

　Around the same time, James, 'King of Great Britain, France and Ireland', sent royal letters to the 'Emperor of Japan'（Oct 1610, Jan 1611, Jan 1612）. In these letters, he asked for 'friendship and amity' and 'communication' from the emperor who had 'princely and favorable disposition to cherish and entertain all sorts of strangers'. Furthermore, he wrote, 'we have given in charge to our people to demean themselves with all respects and courtesy and friendship towards your people'.[2] The letter, which was delivered to Tokugawa Ieyasu, the sovereign whom Adams served as a foreign advisor, also included the passages below on the 'glory' and 'greatness' of the Prince:

　'Most highe and mightie Prince, as there is nothinge which increaseth more the glorie and dignitie of Sovereigne Princes upon earth then to extend their renowne unto farr discident nations, soe, having understoode ... of the reputation and greatnes of your power & dominion, wee have incourradged our said subjects to undertake a voyadge into your countrey...'.[3]

　Focusing on the languages used in such a scene of 'communication' with 'strangers', or the ideas nourished by a series of actors from Erasmus to King James VI & I, this article attempts to review the history of political thought before the Civil War in terms of 'civility' and 'empire'.

　The Cambridge scholars represented in Quentin Skinner and J. G. A. Pocock

[1]　Anthony Farrington (ed.), *The English Factory in Japan 1613-1623*, vol. 1 (The British Library, 1991), p. 73.
[2]　*Ibid.*, pp. 62-63, 75.
[3]　*Ibid.*, p. 63.

have broadly revisioned the history of early modern British political thought.[4]
In these studies, for example, discourses on civic humanism, republicanism,
and ancient constitution have been vigorously explored. Influenced by them
and Patrick Collinson,[5] recent studies tend to reinterpret the political thought
of the Elizabethans, such as William Cecil and Thomas Smith, in terms of the
'monarchical republic' or the 'pseudo-republicanism'.[6] Regarding on the political
thought before the Civil War, in particular, Markku Peltonen has emphasised the
continuance of republicanism, the centrality of rhetoric, and the importance of
civility.[7]

On the other hand, in the area of historical studies, influenced by the
development of 'British History' (Pocock, Morrill),[8] and European history
(Koenigsberger, Elliott),[9] the framework of the sovereign state and nation
state has been remodelled. As a result, it has become recognised that early
modern Britain was a 'composite state' or 'the Atlantic archipelago' which was
composed of England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland.[10] Moreover, as the works
of David Armitage has demonstrated, studies on the intellectual origins of the
British Empire and the foundations of modern international thought have been
developed.[11]

In contrast to, or rather based on these arguments, this article will describe

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(4) Quentin Skinner, *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought*, 2 vols. (Cambridge University Press, 1978). J. G. A Pocock, *The Machiavellian Moment: Florentine Political Thought and the Atlantic Republican Tradition* (Princeton University Press, 1975).

(5) Patrick Collinson, *Elizabethan Essays* (The Hambledon Press, 1994).

(6) J. F. McDiarmid (ed.), *The Monarchical Republic of Early Modern England: Essays in Response to Patrick Collinson* (Ashgate, 2007).

(7) Markku Peltonen, *Classical Humanism and Republicanism in English Political Thought 1570-1640* (Cambridge University Press, 1995); *The Duel in Early Modern England: Civility, Politeness and Honour* (Cambridge University Press, 2003); *Rhetoric, Politics and Popularity in Pre-Revolutionary England* (Cambridge University Press, 2013).

(8) Pocock, *The Discovery of Islands: Essays in British History* (Cambridge University Press, 2005).

(9) H. G. Koenigsberger, '*Dominium Regale* or *Dominium Politicum et Regale*: Monarchies and Parliaments in Early Modern Europe', in his *Politicians and Virtuosi: Essays in Early Modern History* (The Hambledon Press, 1986), pp. 1-25. J. H. Elliott, 'A Europe of Composite Monarchies', *Past and Present*, no. 137(1992), pp. 48-71.

(10) Cf. Paul Langford (general ed.), *The Short Oxford History of the British Isles* (Oxford University Press, 2000-2008).

(11) David Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire* (Cambridge University Press, 2000); *Foundations of Modern International Political Thought* (Cambridge University Press, 2013).

another story of Renaissance humanism, of which civic and rhetorical aspects have been emphasised.[12] One of the most critical and challenging tasks in early modern Britain was to govern the composite monarchy in the face of the union of England and Scotland, and the conquest and colonisation of Ireland (British problem).[13] As demonstrated below, the contemporary political thoughts of King James, Francis Bacon, and John Davies, as well as Cecil and Smith, are to be understood as a collective practice of the arts of government to tame the Leviathans and Behemothes, and to prevent revolutions and civil wars.[14] 'Civility' and 'empire' would be the primary languages and ideas for integrating the British composite monarchy.

1   Civility and empire in Tudor England

1.1   Civility or 'another utopia'

As Samuel Johnson's *English Dictionary* (1755) has revealed,[15] it was not 'civilization' but 'civility' which had been used as an antonym of barbarity and savagery in early modern England. This civility, originating from the Latin word 'civitas', had multiple meanings which mainly related to (1) citizenship and civil order, and (2) culture and civilized behaviour (*OED*, 3rd ed). As M. J. Braddick and Anna Bryson insist, such 'an ill-defined and nonetheless powerful conception of 'civility'' had served to 'integrate rather than differentiate what we might term the political and the social, the personal and the public within a common framework

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[12]   Peltonen, *Classical Humanism and Republicanism*; *Rhetoric, Politics and Popularity*. Skinner, *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought*, vol. 1; *Reason and Rhetoric in the Philosophy of Hobbes* (Cambridge University Press, 1996).

[13]   S. G. Ellis and Sarah Barber (eds.), *Conquest and Union: Fashioning a British State, 1485-1725* (Longman, 1995). Brendan Bradshaw and John Morrill (eds.), *The British Problem, c. 1534-1707: State Formation in the Atlantic Archipelago* (Macmillan, 1996). Jenny Wormald, 'The Creation of Britain: Multiple Kingdoms or Core and Colonies?', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th series, vol. 2 (1992), pp. 175-194. M. Perceval-Maxwell, 'Ireland and the Monarchy in the Early Stuart Multiple Kingdom', *The Historical Journal*, vol. 34, no. 2 (1991), pp. 279-295.

[14]   A recent example of the History of the British political thought. Armitage (ed.) *British Political Thought in History, Literature and Theory, 1500-1800* (Cambridge University Press, 2006).

[15]   Samuel Johnson, *A Dictionary of the English Language* (London, 1755).

of order'[16]. Furthermore it also contributed 'to compound the authority of local elites' and to settle problems in the composite British Empire[17].

In Renaissance England, 'civilitas' was translated to 'courtesy' and 'civility' （Elyot, 1538: Cooper, 1565）[18]. As Norbert Elias has indicated[19], the influential book of Erasmus, *A Lytell Booke of Good Maners for Chyldren* (*De civilitae morum puerilium*, 1530: English translation, 1532), emphasised the importance of civility as well as piety, liberal arts, and duties[20]. Civility is an art of conversing with others. This idea of civility was widespread among court society and political elites, not only by Erasmian education, but also through Cicero's argument on decency (decorum) in *On Duties*, and courtesy books such as Castiglione's *The Courtier*, Della Casa's *Galateo*, and Guazzo's *Civil Coversation*[21]. Therefore, according to Mary Partridge, Cecil and other councillors were recognised 'as models of Castiglionean civility'[22].

In contrast, civility as politic and civil order was referred to, for example, in Thomas Starkey's *A Dialogue between Pole and Lupset* (written about 1530). He stated that 'the meddling with the causes of the common weal is more necessary... as the principal mean whereby we may attain to the other'. Accordingly, 'all prudence and policy' tend 'to bring the whole country to quietness and civility' and 'by the persuasion of wise men in the beginning men were brought from their rudeness and bestial life to this civility so natural to man'[23]. Also in *The Mirrour of Policie* (translated in 1598), the relationship between policy and civility

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[16]　M. J. Braddick, 'Civility and Authority', in Armitage and Braddick (eds.), *The British Atlantic World, 1500-1800* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2nd ed., 2009), pp. 113-132 (p. 120). Anna Bryson, *From Courtesy to Civility: Changing Codes of Conduct in Early Modern England* (Clarendon Press, 1998), p. 73. Keith Thomas, *In Pursuit of Civility : Manners and Civilization in Early Modern England* (Yale University Press, 2018).

[17]　Braddick, *State Formation in Early Modern England, c. 1550-1700* (Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 340.

[18]　Thomas Elyot, *The Dictionary* (London, 1538). 'curtesie, civility, gentilnesse, humanitie', in Thomas Cooper, *Thesavrvs Lingvae Romanae & Britannicae* (London, 1565).

[19]　Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process*, 2 vols. (tr.), Edmund Jephcott (Blackwell, 1978, 1982); *The Court Society*, (tr.), Edmund Jephcott (Blackwell, 1983).

[20]　Erasmus, *De Civilitate Morvn Pverilium ╱ A Lytell Booke of Good Maners for Chyldren* (London, 1532), A2ᵛ. Erasmus, *On Good Manners for Boys*, (tr.), Brian McGregor, in *Collected Works of Erasmus*, vol. 25 (ed.), J. K. Sowards (University of Toronto Press, 1985), p. 273.

[21]　Bryson, *From Courtesy to Civility*. Peltonen, *The Duel in Early Modern England*.

[22]　Mary Partridge, 'Lord Burghley and *Il Cortegiano*: Civil and Martial Models of Courtliness in Elizabethan England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 19 (2009), pp. 95-116 (p. 98).

was explained as 'Policie is deriued from the Greeke word politeia, which in our tongue we may tearme Ciuilitie'.[24]

Early modern Ireland was one of the critical stages on which such a discourse of civility had been cultivated, although (or because) the Irish history was a series of conquests and colonisations by England.[25] In Giraldus Cambrensis' *The History and Topography of Ireland* (late 12c)[26] and Raphael Holinshed's *Chronicles* (1577), English civility was repeatedly compared with the barbarism and corruption of Ireland. According to John Hooker, an editor of the Irish part of Holinshed's *Chronicles* (2nd ed. 1587), Ireland was 'a countrie, the more barren of good things, the more replenished with actions of bloud, murther, and loathsome outrages'. Accordingly, he stated, 'I found no matter of an historie woorthie to be recorded'.[27] These discourses were used to justify English conquest and colonisation.

At the same time, Elizabethan councillors Cecil and Smith, were both engaged in this government of Ireland. Like 'the empires of the Greeks and the Romans',[28] Smith stated 'among all nations of the world, they that be politic and civil do

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[23] Thomas Starkey, *A Dialogue between Reginald Pole & Thomas Lupset* (ed.), K. M. Burton (Chatto & Windus, 1948), pp. 25-26, 28. Starkey, *A Dialogue between Pole and Lupset* (ed.), T. F. Mayer (Royal Historical Society, 1989), pp. 5, 7.

[24] La Perrière, *The Mirrovr of Policie*, (tr.), Anon (London, 1598), A1^r. '... and that which the Grecians did name Politicke gouernment, the Latines called, the Gouernment of a Commonweale, or Ciuile societie'.

[25] D. B. Quinn, 'Ireland and Sixteenth Century European Expansion', in T. D. Williams (ed.), *Historical Studies I: Papers read before the Second Irish Conference of Historians* (Bowes & Bowes, 1958), pp. 20-32; 'Renaissance Influences in English Colonization', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th series, vol. 26 (1976), pp. 73-93. Nicholas Canny, 'The Ideology of English Colonization: From Ireland to America', *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd series, vol. 30, no. 4 (1973), pp. 575-598; *Making Ireland British, 1580-1650* (Oxford University Press, 2001). Examples of recent studies. J. H. Ohlmeyer, 'A Laboratory for Empire?: Early Modern Ireland and English Imperialism', in Kevin Kenny (ed.), *Ireland ant the British Empire* (Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 26-60. J. P. Montaño, *The Roots of English Colonialism in Ireland* (Cambridge University Press, 2011).

[26] Giraldus Cambrensis, *Toporographia Hibernica*, in his *Opera*, vol. 5 (ed.), J. F. Dimock (London, 1867: Cambridge University Press, 2012). Gerald of Wales, *The History and Topography of Ireland*, (tr.), J. J. O'Meara (Penguin Books, 1982).

[27] Holinshed, *Holinshed's Chronicles: England, Scotland and Ireland*, vol. 6 (intro.), V. F. Snow (1808: AMS Press, 1965), p. 103. On the other hand, 'no realme, no nation, no state, nor common wealth throughout all Europa, can yeeld more nor so manie profitable lawes, directions, rules, examples & discourses, either in matters of religion, or of ciuill gouernment, or of martiall affairs, than doo the histories of this little Isle of Britaine or England' (p. 103). R. A. McCabe, 'Making History: Holinshed's Irish *Chronicles*, 1577 and 1587', in D. J. Baker and Willy Maley (eds.), *British Identities and English Renaissance Literature* (Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 51-67. Colm Lennon, 'Ireland', in Felicity Heal, I. W. Archer, and Paulina Kewes (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Holinshed's Chronicles* (Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 663-678.

[28] Christopher Maginn, *William Cecil, Ireland, and the Tudor State* (Oxford University Press, 2012). Armitage, *Ideological Origins*, pp. 47-51.

master the rest'. [29] Indeed, he published a pamphlet *A Letter sent by I. B.* (1572) and promoted his colonial project in the Ards Peninsula as 'another Eutopia'. [30] In the indenture of 5 October 1571 between the Queen and Smith, it was stated that the purpose of this colonisation was 'to bring the rude and barbarous nation of the wild Irish to more civility of manners'. [31] He also read Livy's *First Decade* with Gabriel Harvey [32] and chose Ancient Rome as the model for his colonial plan. Also, then, he remarked that habitation together engenders 'more civility' as follows:

'the manner of man is, the more they resort together, and have common profit or peril, the more civil and obedient they be; else they will be and grow beastly and savage, which hath been hitherto one cause of the ruin of Ireland'. [33]

1.2   Renaissance of empire

Along with this 'civility', a language and idea used to integrate the composite state was 'empire', which originated from the Latin word 'imperium'. On the Roman Empire, for example, Cicero declared in *On the Commonwealth*, 'whose empire embraces the whole world', [34] and Virgil sang in the sixth book of *Aeneid*, 'you, Roman, be sure to rule the peoples by your empire'. [35] According to Dandelet's

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[29]   Thomas Smith, *A Discourse of the Commonweal of This Realm of England*, (ed.), Mary Dewar (The Folger Shakespeare Library, 1969), p. 25.

[30]   I. B. Gentleman, *A Letter sent by I. B.* (London, 1572), E1ʳ. George Hill, *An Historical Account of the MacDonnells of Antrim* (Belfast, 1873), p. 411. Quinn, 'Sir Thomas Smith (1513-1577) and the Beginnings of English Colonial Theory', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, vol. 89, no. 4 (1945), pp. 543-560. Mary Dewar, *Sir Thomas Smith: A Tudor Intellectual in Office* (The Athlone Press, 1964). Hiram Morgan, 'The Colonial Venture of Sir Thomas Smith in Ulster, 1571-1575', *The Historical Journal*, vol. 28, no. 2 (1985), pp. 261-278.

[31]   John Strype, *The Life of the Learned Sir Thomas Smith, Kᵗ. D. C. L.* (Clarendon Press, 1820), p. 131. Quinn, 'Sir Thomas Smith', p. 551.

[32]   Lisa Jardine and Anthony Grafton, "Studied for Action': How Gabriel Harvey Read His Livy', *Past and Present*, no. 129 (1990), pp. 30-78. Jardine, 'Mastering the Uncouth: Gabriel Harvey, Edmund Spenser and the English Experience in Ireland', in John Henry and Sarah Hutton (eds.), *New Perspectives on Renaissance Thought: Essays in History of Science, Education and Philosophy* (Duckworth, 1990), pp. 68-82; 'Encountering Ireland: Gabriel Harvey, Edmund Spenser, and English Colonial Ventures', in Brendan Bradshaw, Andrew Hadfield, and Wily Maley (eds.), *Representing Ireland: Literature and the Origins of Conflict, 1534-1660* (Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 60-75.

[33]   *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series, of the Reign of Elizabeth*, vol. 17: January-June, 1583 and Addenda, (eds.), A. J. Butler and S. C. Lomas (1913: Kraus Reprint, 1969), p. 491.

[34]   'cuius imperio iam orbis terrae tenetur'. Cicero, *De Re Publica, De Legibus*, (tr.), C. W. Keyes (Harvard University Press, 1928), pp. 204-205 (3:24).

recent study, 'the Renaissance of Empire', modelled on Ancient Rome, was 'far more influential in shaping the political mentalities and programs of European monarchs than the civic humanism and Renaissance republicanism of Northern Italy'.[36]

However, as with 'civility', this 'empire' also had multiple meanings which related to (1) a territory or group of territories, and (2) rule or government (*OED*, 3rd ed). In England, the first official statement of the empire as supremacy was in the Act of Restraint of Appeals (1533) that decreed 'this realm of England is an empire'[37] (although, in Scotland, it was already declared in 1469 that King James III possessed 'ful Jurisdictioune and fre Impire within his realm').[38] Additionally, England became one part of a composite state, as a result of incorporating Wales in 1536 and 1543, and making Ireland a kingdom in 1541. Also in the 1540s, the claim of English superiority to Scotland was laid, and the concept of the 'empire of Great Britain' emerged.[39]

Thomas Elyot's *The Book Named the Governor* (1531), which was another influential book for gentleman education, would be an early example of such an imperial moment. He recommended studying rhetoric and history after

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[35] 'tu regere imperio populous, Romae, memento'. Virgil, *Eclogues, Georgics, Aeneid I-VI*, (tr.) H. R. Fairclough, (rev.), G. P. Goold (Harvard University Press, 1999), pp. 592-593 (6:851). Translation partially modified.

[36] T. J. Dandelet, *The Renaissance of Empire in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge University Press, 2014), p. 7. In addition to Armitage's and Dandelet's works, recent studies on the intellectual history of the empire, for example. Anthony Pagden, *Lords of all the World: Ideologies of Empire in Spain, Britain and France, c. 1500- c. 1800* (Yale University Press, 1995). James Muldoon, *Empire and Order: The Concept of Empire, 800-1800* (Palgrave Macmillan, 1999). Sankar Muthu (ed.), *Empire and Modern Political Thought* (Cambridge University Press, 2012). Especially on the colonisation of America, Andrew Fitzmaurice, *Humanism and America: An Intellectual History of English Colonisation, 1500-1625* (Cambridge University Press, 2003).

[37] G. R. Elton (ed.), *Tudor Constitution: Documents and Commentary* (Cambridge University Press, 2nd ed., 1982), p. 353. 'this Kingdome is an absolute Imperiall Monarchy held nether of Pope, Emperor, nor any but [of] God alone'. Thomas Wilson, 'The State of England, Anno Dom. 1600', (ed.), F. J. Fisher in *Camden Miscellany*, vol. 16 (London, 1936), p. 1.

[38] Armitage, *Ideological Origins*, pp. 35-36. R. A. Mason, *Kingship and the Commonweal: Political Thought in Renaissance and Reformation Scotland* (Tuckwell Press, 1998), ch 4. Humphrey Gilbert pointed out, in his tract on Ireland (1572), that an interest of 'makinge Ireland cyvill' was to maintain the 'Irish empire' against conquests by the Spanish, the French, and other nations. Quinn (ed.), *The Voyages and Colonising Enterprises of Sir Humphrey Gilbert*, vol. 1 (1938: Ashgate, 2010), pp. 125-126.

[39] For example, Nicholas Bodrugan, *An Epitome of the Title that the Kynges Maiestie of Englande, hath to the Soureigntie of Scotlande* (1548), in J. A. H. Murray (ed.), *The Complaynt*

reading Homer and Virgil, and featured Cicero, Livy, and Caesar as rolemodels. According to Elyot, Cicero was 'the one reigning in wonderful eloquence in the public weal of the Romans, who had the empire and dominion of all the world'[40]. By reading Livy's *First Decade*, it may be known 'how the most noble city of Rome, of a small and poor beginning, by prowess and virtue little and little came to the empire and dominion of all the world'. Caesar's *Commentary* provided especially 'necessary instructions concerning the wars against Irishmen or Scots' because they were 'of the same rudeness and wild disposition that the Swiss and Britons were in the time of Caesar'[41].

Among them, Machiavelli is one of the most important figures who contributed to this renaissance of empire[42]. In his *Discourses*, relying on Livy's *First Decade*, he explored the political arts 'in extending the empire' as well as 'in constituting republics, in maintaining states, in governing kingdoms'[43]. Further, comparing the two types of a commonwealth, the Roman for enlargement and the Spartan and Venetian for preservation, he preferred the Roman model for its 'necessity' and 'greatness'[44]. Also in *The Prince*, when he discussed the way of conquest, he focussed on the problem of composite or 'mixed' monarchy (chs. 3-5), referring to the example of France that had incorporated Brittany, Burgundy, Gascony, and Normandy[45].

These humanistic discourses of Ancient Rome and the Machiavellian art of

of Scotlande (London, 1872), pp. 249-250. Mason, 'The Scottish Reformation and the Origins of Anglo-British Imperialism', in Mason (ed.), *Scots and Britons: Scottish Political Thought and the Union of 1603* (Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 161-186. Armitage, *The Ideological Origins*, ch. 2. But in the Elizabethan period, the idea of empire was 'derivative, belated and incoherent'. Armitage, 'The Elizabethan Idea of Empire', *Transactions of Royal Historical Society*, 6th series, vol. 14 (2004), pp. 269-277 (p. 269). And Elizabeth had 'little or no interest' to the British agenda. Mason, 'Scotland, Elizabethan England and the Idea of Britain, *Transactions of Royal Historical Society*, 6th series, vol. 14 (2004), pp. 279-293 (p. 279).

[40]   Sir Thomas Elyot, *The Book named the Governor*, (ed.), S. E. Lehmberg (Everyman's Library, 1962), pp. 34-35.
[41]   Elyot, *The Book named the Governor*, pp. 37-38.
[42]   Mikael Hörnqvist, *Machiavelli and Empire* (Cambridge University Press, 2004); 'Machiavelli's Three Desires: Florentine Republicans on Liberty, Empire, and Justice', in Muthu (ed.), *Empire and Modern Political Thought*, pp. 7-29.
[43]   Machiavelli, *The Discourses*, (ed.) Bernard Crick (Penguin Classics, 1983), p. 98 (The Preface to Book 1).
[44]   Machiavelli, *The Discourses*, pp. 118-124 (1:6).
[45]   Machiavelli, *The Prince*, (eds.), Skinner and Russell Price (Cambridge University Press, 1988).

empire, were practically applied to the arguments on the government of Ireland.[46]
For example, in *Solon His Follie* (1594), Richard Beacon discussed how to reform
'common-weales conquered, declined or corrupted', often referring to Machiavelli
as 'a learned author'. In addition to feigning folly like Solon and Brutus, Beacon
learned from Machiavelli the reason why the Florentines had 'lost the oppotunitie
of confirming their empire and government'.[47] In *Croftus sive Hibernia Liber,*
William Herbert regarded Ireland as the Roman colony of Sicily quoting Cicero's
Against Verres.[48] He also studied the arts of government especially on colonies,
fortresses, custom and magistrates from the 'famous Italian' Machiavelli,[49] as well
as Plato, Aristotle, Livy, and Lipsius.

2 James VI & I and the British Empire

2.1 Britain and civility

The change of dynasty from Tudor to Stuart caused, at the same time, the
enlargement of the composite monarchy. In 1603, James VI of Scotland also

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[46] On Ireland and humanism see Bradshaw, *The Irish Constitutional Revolution of the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge University Press, 1979); 'Sword and Strategy in the Reformation in Ireland', *The Historical Journal*, vol. 21, no. 3 (1978), pp. 475-502; 'Robe and Sword in the Conquest of Ireland', in Claire Cross, David Loades, J. J. Scarisbrick (eds.), *Law and Government under the Tudors: Essays presented to Sir Geoffrey Elton* (Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 139-162. Recent studies. Ian Campbell, *Renaissance Humanism and Ethnicity before Race: The Irish and the English in the Seventeenth Century* (Manchester University Press, 2013). Especially on Ireland and Machiavelli see Clare Carroll, 'The Janus Face of Machiavelli: Adapting *The Prince* and the *Discourses* in Early Modern Ireland', in Carroll, *Circe's Cup: Cultural Transformations in Early Modern Ireland* (University of Notre Dame Press, 2001), pp. 91-103.

[47] Richard Beacon, *Solon His Follie, or, A Politique Discourse touching the Reformation of Common-weales Conquered, Declined or Corrupted,* (eds.), Clare Carroll and Vincent Carey (Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1996), pp. 13-15, 106, 71. Peltonen, *Classical Humanism and Republicanism*, pp. 73-102; 'Classical Republicanism in Tudor England: The Case of Richard Beacon's *Solon His Follie*', *History of Political Thought*, vol. 15, no. 4 (1994), pp. 469-503. Sydney Anglo, 'A Machiavellian Solution to the Irish Problem: Richard Beacon's *Solon His Follie* (1594)', in Edward Chaney and Peter Mack (eds.), *England and the Continental Renaissance: Essays in Honour of J. B. Trapp* (Boydell Press, 1990), pp. 153-164. Carey, 'Richard Beacon's *Solon His Follie* (1594): Classical Sources, Text, and Context in the Conquest of Ireland', *The European Legacy*, vol. 1, no. 1 (1996), pp. 207-213; 'The Irish Face of Machiavelli: Richard Beacon's *Solon His Follie* (1594) and Republican Ideology in the Conquest of Ireland', in Hiram Morgan (ed.), *Political Ideology in Ireland 1541-1641* (Four Courts Press, 1999), pp. 83-109. D. A. Orr, 'Inventing the British Republic: Richard Beacon's *Solon His Follie* (1594) and the Rhetoric of Civilization', *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, vol. 38, no. 4 (2007), pp. 975-994.

[48] Sir William Herbert, *Croftus sive de Hibernia Liber* (eds.), Arthur Keaveney and J. A. Madden (Irish Manuscripts Commission, 1992), pp. 26-29.

[49] Herbert, *Croftus*, pp. 74-75.

enthroned as James I of England and Ireland. He had been criticised as a principal ideologue of the divine right theory connected with absolutism. However, James was a stranger who became the king of foreign kingdoms and had at least three different political bodies. His political thought could thus be understood as the representative case of combatting the inherent problems of the composite monarchy, which were associated with the ideas of civility and empire.[50]

John Locke, who severely criticised the patriarchalism of Robert Filmer, did not reproach King James as a despot to abuse 'an absolute, arbitrary power'. On the contrary, Locke called James a 'learned king', and quoted his speeches to explain the difference between a king and a tyrant.[51] Indeed, in a speech to the 1610 parliament, James behaved like an 'Englishman' and spoke that 'a King gouerning in a setled Kingdome… degenerates into a Tyrant, assoone as he leaues off to rule according to his Lawes'.[52] In contrast to a tyranny, he called such a lawful or 'ciuill' kingdom as one 'setled in ciuilitie and policie'.[53]

Therefore, like Machiavelli's Prince, the actual problems that King James confronted were how to unite England and Scotland, govern Ireland, and settle them in 'civility and policy'.

Basilikon Doron (1599) is a work in which James' ideas on 'the Prince' were written as a royal gift to his son, Prince Henry.[54] In this book, feigning a 'iust and impartiall counsellour', James expounded the duties of a Christian king, and considered the 'trew difference' between a lawful king and a tyrant as well

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[50]   As examples of recent studies on James see Daniel Fischlin and Mark Fortier (eds.) *Royal Subjects: Essays on the Writings of James VI and I* (Wayne State University Press, 2002). Glenn Burgess, Rowland Wymer and Jason Lawrence (eds.), *The Accession of James I: Historical and Cultural Consequences* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2006). Ralph Houlbroooke (ed.), *James VI and I: Ideas, Authority, and Government* (Ashgate, 2006). Jane Rickard, *Authorship and Authority: The Writings of James VI and I* (Manchester University Press, 2007).
[51]   John Locke, *Two Treatises of Government*, (ed.), Peter Laslett (Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 382, 399-400.
[52]   King James VI and I, *Political Writings*, (ed.), J. P. Sommerville (Cambridge University press, 1994), pp. 182-183. Locke, *Two Treatises of Government*, p. 400.
[53]   James VI and I, *Political Writings*, p. 183.
[54]   Aysha Pollnitz, *Princely Education in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge University Press, 2015), ch. 6.

as Plato, Aristotle, and Cicero. Additionally, 'since all Arts and sciences are linked euery one each other', James asked the young prince to know 'all crafts' and to 'containe them all in order' for the king's office and government. For understanding history, in particular, he recommended Caesar's *Commentary* as Elyot had done, and stated that 'yee shall knowe how to behaue your selfe to all Embassadours and strangers; being able to discourse with them vpon the estate of their owne countrey'.

Still, James strongly recognised that kings are 'publike persons' upon the 'publike stage'. Therefore, he emphasised the importance of outward behaviour in the third book of *Basilikon Doron*, as well as Castiglione's *The Courtier*, by claiming that 'a King is as one set on a stage, whose smallest actions and gestures, all the people gazingly doe behold'. According to James, 'the people, who seeth but the outward part, will euer iudge of the substance, by the circumstances'. So, 'if his behauiour bee light or dissolute', the people will conceive 'prae-occupied conceits' which 'breed contempt, the mother of rebellion and disorder'. Hence, like courtesy books, he advised Henry to frame outward behaviour relating to 'food, sleeping, raiment, speaking, writing, and gesture'.

For James, such humanistic learning and civility were necessary for the government of the composite monarchy. For example, he insisted on reforming the Highlands through executions of laws and planting colonies, or 'rooting out or transporting the barbarous and stubborne sort, and planting ciuilitie in their roomes'. He even suggested that the king's 'outward behauiour' and 'daily couersation' among the inhabitants would promote the union of 'two nations' on 'one Ile of *Britaine*,' as below:

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(55)　James VI and I, *Political Writings*, pp. 2-3, 20.
(56)　James VI and I, *Political Writings*, pp. 44, 46.
(57)　James VI and I, *Political Writings*, pp. 4, 49, 184, 248.
(58)　*The Courtier* was included in the book list of James' library. G. F. Warner (ed.), *The Library of James VI., 1573-1583*, in *Miscellany of the Scottish History Society*, vol. 1 (Edinburgh, 1893), pp. lii, lvii.
(59)　James VI and I, *Political Writings*, pp. 49-50.
(60)　James VI and I, *Political Writings*, p. 24.

'And since my trust is, that God hath ordained you for moe Kingdomes then this... preasse by the outward behauiour as well of your owne person, as of your court, in all indifferent things, to allure piece and piece, the rest of your kingdomes, to follow the fashions of that kingdome of yours, that yee finde most ciuill, easiest to be ruled, and most obedient to the Lawes... specially by so mixing through alliance and daily conuersation, the inhabitants of euery kingdom with other, as may with time make them to grow and welde all in one: Which may easily be done betwixt these two nations, being both but one Ile of *Britaine*, and [61] alreadie ioyned in vnitie of Religion and language'. [62]

2.2   Union for empire

James had attempted to promote the union of England and Scotland, and create the 'British Empire' in the first decade of his reign. At the conclusion of *Basilikon Doron*, he quoted a passage from Virgil, 'you, Roman, be sure to rule the peoples by your empire', and asked his son 'to excell' in the Roman art of empire. [63] After his accession, in the proclamation of 20 October 1604, he expressed the name and style of 'King of Great Brittaine, France, and Ireland', which was to be written in the royal letters addressed to 'the Emperor of Japan'. So, he endeavoured for the 'advancement and perfection' of the union of 'two mightie, famous, and ancient kingdomes' under 'one Imperiall Crown'. [64]

　　Also, in English parliaments in 1603-4 and 1606-7, James sought 'to aduance the greatness of your Empire', proposing the change of name and style into Britain, the union of laws, and the general naturalisation. [65] Francis Bacon and Thomas Craig, for example, supported these propositions. Bacon, who later became

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[61]   In the first 1599 edition, not 'betwixt these two nations, being both but one Ile of *Britaine*', but 'in this Ile of Brittane'. James, *Basilikon Doron* (Edinburgh, 1599), p. 154.

[62]   James VI and I, *Political Writings*, p. 59.

[63]   James VI and I, *Political Writings*, pp. 61, 249.

[64]   J. F. Larkin and P. L. Hughes (eds.), *Stuart Royal Proclamations*, vol. 1 (Clarendon Press, 1973), pp. 95, 97. John Cramsie, 'The Philosophy of Imperial Kingship and the Interpretation of James VI and I', in Houlbroooke (ed.), *James VI and I*, pp. 43-60.

[65]   James VI and I, *Political Writings*, p. 177. Bruce Galloway, *The Union of England and Scotland 1603-1608* (John Donald Publishers, 1986).

Solicitor General (1607) and Attorney General (1613), esteemed Machiavelli as 'not to be contemned', and remarked that the reason for the growth of the Roman Empire was that it did 'so easily compound and incorporate with strangers'.[66] Craig, a Scottish jurist and James' advisor, hoped that Britain would be united into 'one society' and 'one politick body', and would become 'one empire', in this age of 'greater humanity and more civiliz'd'.[67]

Such an idea and vision of the 'British Empire' was represented by the Arches of Triumph to celebrate James' first entrance to London,[68] Ortelius's *The Theatre of the World* (full translation 1608),[69] and John Speed's *The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine* (1611).[70] Bacon proposed to compile a new history of Britain in a letter to Lord Chancellor Egerton and *The Advancement of Learning* (1605). In England, the myth of Brutus, which justified English superiority, had been repeated in works from Geoffrey of Monmouth's *History of the Kings of Britain* to Humphrey Llwyd's *The Breviary of Britain* (1573). However, Bacon criticised both the 'unworthiness' of the history of England and the 'partiality and obliquity' of that of Scotland, and proposed to join the histories of 'both nations' as below:

'I conceived it would be honour for his Majesty, and a work very memorable, if this island of Great Britain, as it is now joined in Monarchy for the ages to come, so were joined in History for the times past; and that one just and complete History were compiled of both nations'.[71]

[66]   Francis Bacon, *The Works of Francis Bacon*, 14 vols., (ed.), James Spedding, R. L. Ellis and D. D. Heath (1857-1874: Cambridge University Press, 2011), vol. 10, p. 96.
[67]   Thomas Craig, *The Right of Succession to the Kingdom of England*, (tr.), J[ames] G[athere] (London, 1703), p. 426. Craig, *De Unione Regnorum Britanniae Tractatus*, (ed. and tr.), C. S. Terry (Edinburg, 1909). Anne McLaren, 'Challenging the Monarchical Republic: James I's Articulation of Kingship', in McDiarmid (ed.), *The Monarchial Republic*, pp. 165-180. Craig's writings can be regarded as 'a blue print for James's kingship of Great Britain' (p. 169).
[68]   Stephen Harrison, *The Arch's of Triumph* (London, 1604).
[69]   Abraham Ortelius, *Theatrvm Orbis Terrarvm* (London, 1606 [i.e. 1608?]), p. 10.
[70]   John Speed, *The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine* (London, 1611). Christopher Ivic, 'Mapping British Identities: Speed's *Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine*', in Baker and Maley (eds.), *British Identities*, pp. 135-155.
[71]   Bacon, *The Works of Francis Bacon*, vol. 10, p. 250 ; *The Advancement of Learning*, in Michael Kiernan (ed.), *The Oxford Francis Bacon*, vol. 4 (Clarendon Press, 2000), p. 67.

However, James' policies for the perfect union confronted strong objectors from members of the House of Commons, including Nicholas Fuller and Edwin Sandys. Bacon replied as below, remembering several examples of ancient Rome, Sparta, or modern Aragon and Castile, Florence and Pisa: 'if that union hath not been fortified and bound in with a further union… this hath followed, that at one time or other they have broken again, being upon all occasions apt to revolt and relapse to the former separation'.[72] However, due to the pride in English superiority, anxiety about population overflow and poverty, allegations against the union of laws by the common lawyers, and other issues, the concerns of the Commons were not settled.

As a result, James abandoned his project to unite the 'two-headed monster'[73] and to create the new 'Empire of Great Britain'. Bacon's fear of 'revolt and relapse' was to be realised in the later Civil War. Interestingly, from the same viewpoint, Thomas Hobbes remarked the 'true rules of Politiques' and praised James as 'our most wise King'. In *Leviathan* (1651), against the worries regarding the succession of a foreign king, he mentioned an example of Roman 'rules of Politiques' to incorporate the conquered nations and strangers. According to him, 'this was it our most wise King James, aymed at, in endevouring the Union of his two Realms of England and Scotland'. 'Which if he could have obtained', Hobbes said, 'had in all likelihood prevented the Civill warres, which make both those Kingdomes, at this present, miserable'.[74]

3　'Another Britain'

3.1　Orpheus' theatre

Returning to Ireland, it was incessantly in danger of 'revolt and relapse'. For

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[72]　Bacon, *The Works*, vol. 10, p. 319.
[73]　Craig, *De Unione Regnorum Britanniae Tractatus*, p. 234.
[74]　Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*, (ed.), Richard Tuck (Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 137-138 (ch. 19).

example, Edmund Spenser's *A View of the Present State of Ireland* was written

around 1596, circulated in manuscript, published in 1633,[75] and read by Milton

and others in the 1640's and beyond.[76] In it, as had Beacon and Herbert, Spenser

proposed to introduce 'better government and civility' and 'civil conversation'

to Ireland, and to form 'one people' by 'an union of manners, and conformity of

mindes'.[77] However, in contrast to both Beacon and Herbert who had sought to

reform by rhetoric and persuasion, or humanistic education, Spenser emphasised

the necessity of 'strength of a greater power' and 'violent means'.[78] Moreover,

when he referred to Machiavelli's *Discourses*, he commended 'the manner of the

Romans government', different from Venice and Florence, 'in giving absolute

power to all their Councellors and Governours'.[79]

Although, in Jacobean Ireland, it became practical policy to introduce 'better

government and civility' due to the peace after the victory in the Nine Years

War (1594-1603), James recognised 'how vncertaine my charges are euer there'.

Because, he said, people are 'so easily stirred, partly through their barbaritie, and

want of ciuilitie, and partly through their corruption in Religion to breake foorth

in rebellions'.[80] Moreover, in drafting a proclamation proposed for James' entrance

in 1603, Bacon wrote that it is necessary 'not only to reduce that nation from

their rebellion and revolt, but also to reclaim them from their barbarous manners

[75] Modern text based on 1633 edition. Edmund Spenser, *A View of the State of Ireland*, (eds.), Andrew Hadfield and Willy Maley (Blackwell, 1997). Elizabeth Fowler, 'A View of the Present State of Ireland (1596, 1633)', in R. B. McCabe (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Edmund Spenser* (Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 314-332.
[76] Willy Maley, 'How Milton and Some Contemporaries Read Spenser's *View*', in Bradshaw, Hadfield, and Maley (eds.), *Representing Ireland*, pp. 191-208. Reappeared in Maley, *Salvaging Spenser: Colonialism, Culture and Identity* (Macmillan, 1997), ch. 6.
[77] Spenser, *A View of the State of Ireland*, (eds.), Hadfield and Maley, pp. 11, 151, 144.
[78] Spenser, *A View of the State of Ireland*, (eds.), Hadfield and Maley, pp. 92-93. Canny, 'Edmund Spenser and the Development of an Anglo-Irish Identity', in G. K. Hunter and C. J. Rawson (eds.), *The Yearbook of English Studies*, vol. 13 (1983), pp. 1-19; 'Introduction: Spenser and the Reform of Ireland', in Patricia Coughlan (ed.), *Spenser and Ireland: An Interdisciplinary Perspective* (Cork University Press, 1989), pp. 9-24. Ciaran Brady, 'Spenser's Irish Crisis: Humanism and Experience in the 1590s', *Past & Present*, no. 111 (1986), pp. 17-49; 'The Road to the *View*: On the Decline of Reform Thought in Tudor Ireland', in Coughlan (ed.), *Spenser and Ireland*, pp. 25-45. Recent studies in terms of Britain. Hadfield, *Edmund Spenser's Irish Experience: Wilde Fruit and Salvage Soyl* (Clarendon Press, 1997); *Shakespeare, Spenser and the Matter of Britain* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2004) .
[79] Spenser, *A View of the State of Ireland*, (eds.), Hadfield and Maley, p. 160. Cf. Hadfield, 'Was Spenser a Republican?', *English*, vol. 47 (1998), pp. 169-182.
[80] James VI and I, *Political Writings*, p. 196.

to justice and the fear of God', under 'the imperial crown of these kingdoms'.[81]
Also after being appointed Lord Keeper (1617), in his speech to the new Chief
Justice of Ireland, Bacon provided directions for succeeding in 'the great work' of
reclaiming Ireland from 'savage and barbarous customs to humanity and civility'.[82]

From a geopolitical perspective, the world stage of Bacon, who became
Lord Chancellor (1618) and James' privy councillor, was not New Atlantis, a
utopia on the Pacific Ocean between Peru and Japan, but rather the island of
Britain or the Atlantic archipelago. As Peltonen had already elaborated, Bacon's
political thought was based on classical humanism, and one of his pivotal tracts
is 'Of the True Greatness of Kingdoms and Estates' in his *Essays or Counsels,
Civil and Moral* (3rd ed. 1625).[83] He further explained in the Latin version of
The Advancement of Learning (1623) that the art of empire (artes imperii) has
'three political duties': preservation, prosperity, and extension.[84] Focussing on
the extension of empire, he emphasised the importance of arms 'for empire and
greatness', and repeated that 'all states, that are liberal of naturalisation towards
strangers, are fit for empire'.[85] His geopolitical vision of this great British Empire
was epitomised in his speech to the parliament in 1607 as below :

'For greatness (Mr. Speaker) I think a man may speak it soberly and without
bravery, that this kingdom of England, having Scotland united, Ireland reduced,
the sea provinces of the Low Countries contracted, and shipping maintained, is one
of the greatest monarchies, in forces truly esteemed, that hath been in the world'.[86]

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[81]　Bacon, *The Works*, vol. 10, p. 69.
[82]　Bacon, *The Works*, vol. 13, p. 205. Bacon also claimed to proceed 'with due temperance and equality' in matters of religion, 'lest Ireland civil become more dangerous to us than Ireland savage' (pp. 206-207).
[83]　Peltonen, 'Politics and Science: Francis Bacon and the True Greatness of States', *The Historical Journal*, vol. 35, no. 2 (1992), pp. 279-305; *Classical Humanism and Republicanism*, ch. 4; 'Bacon's Political Philosophy', in Peltonen (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Francis Bacon* (Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 283-310.
[84]　Bacon, *The Works*, vol. 1, p. 792; vol. 5, pp. 78-79.
[85]　Bacon, *The Works*, vol. 1, p. 797; vol. 5, p. 83. Bacon, *The Essayes or Counsels, Civill and Morall*, in Michael Kiernan (ed.), *The Oxford Francis Bacon*, vol. 15 (1985; Clarendon Press, 2000), p. 94.
[86]　Bacon, *The Works*, vol. 10, p. 323.

In a treatise of 'Certain Considerations touching the Plantation in Ireland' (1609), Bacon argued that the 'union' of Scotland and the 'plantation' of Ireland were two works of 'supreme preeminence' in creating the new kingdom.[87] For him, Ireland was 'another Britain', 'the second island of the ocean Atlantic', 'a second brother to the Union', or 'younger sister to Great Britain'.[88] Among his considerations, one of the most impressive rhetoric is his use of the fable of Orpheus' theatre to explain the excellence of the plantation. According to him, such an ancient fable as below was to be interpreted as 'people of barbarous manners' are brought to 'give over and discontinue their customs' and to 'give ear to the wisdom of laws and governments'.

'For the poets feigned that Orpheus, by the virtue and sweetness of his harp, did call and assemble the beasts and birds, of their nature wild and savage, to stand about him, as in a theatre; forgetting their affections of fierceness, of lust, and of prey; and listening to the tunes and harmonies of the harp; and soon after called likewise the stones and the woods to remove, and stand in order about him'.[89]

3.2   Poetry and plantation

In such a theatre, John Davies, with whom Bacon maintained conversation and friendship,[90] played an essential part as Solicitor General (1603-06) and Attorney General (1606-19) for Ireland. Pocock has understood Davies, who published *Le Report* (1615),[91] to be a typical advocate of the theory of common law and ancient constitution like Edward Coke.[92] However, Davies was also a poet and the author

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(87)   Bacon, *The Works*, vol. 11, p. 116. Maley, '"Another Britain"?: Bacon's Certain Consideration Touching the Plantation in Ireland (1609)', *Prose Studies*, vol. 18, no. 1 (1995), pp. 1-18; 'The British Problem in Three Tracts on Ireland by Spenser, Bacon and Milton', in Brendan Bradshaw and Peter Roberts (eds.), *British Consciousness and Identity: The Making of Britain, 1533-1707* (Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 159-184 .

(88)   Bacon, *The Works*, vol. 11, p. 119; vol. 14, p. 175; vol. 11, p. 114; vol. 13, p. 206.

(89)   Bacon, *The Works*, vol. 11, p. 117.

(90)   Bacon, *The Works*, vol. 11, p. 6; vol. 10, p. 65.

(91)   John Davies, *Le Primer Report des Cases & Matters en Ley resolues & adiudges en les Courts del Roy en Ireland* (Dvblin, 1615).

of *Orchestra* (1596)[93]. In his famous study of *The Elizabethan World Picture*, Tillyard estimated this *Orchestra* as 'the perfect epitome of the universe seen as a dance'[94]. In this work, subtitled '*a Poem of Dancing*', the universal idea of 'concord' was defined as below:

'Concords true picture shineth in thys Art / Where divers men and women ranked be / And every one daunce a severall part / Yet all as one, in measure doe agree / Observing perfect uniformitie / All turne together, all together trace / And all together honor and embrace'[95].

According to Aristotle's *Poetics*, in contrast to history that records 'actual events', poetry represents what 'might occur' and 'the universal' (1451a-b, ch. 9)[96]. In this sense, it cannot be missed that, a series of poets, not only Spenser and Davies, but also John Harington, who translated the sixth book of Virgil's *Aeneid*[97], were involved in the Irish government. For example, in Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* (1596) whose purpose was 'to fashion a gentleman' by 'a continued allegory', the subject of the sixth book was 'courtesy'[98]. According to him, it nourishes 'goodly manners', 'ciuill conuersation', and civility to 'demeane, to low, to hie' and 'to friends, to foes'[99]. Additionally in the fifth book on 'justice', the allegorical story of a knight to save Irenaes (Ireland) is told to justify the conquest of Ireland by the 'mightie Emperesse' (Faerie Queen, Elizabeth)[100]. Davies

[92]   Pocock, *The Ancient Constitution and the Feudal Law: A Study of English Historical Thought in the Seventeenth Century*, A Reissue with a Retrospect (1957: Cambridge University Press, 1987), ch. 2, pp. 263-264. Compare. H. S. Pawlisch, *Sir John Davies and the Conquest of Ireland: A Study in Legal Imperialism* (Cambridge University Press, 1985).

[93]   J. R. Brink, 'Sir John Davies: Lawyer and Poet', in Thomas Herron and Michael Potterton (eds.), *Ireland in the Renaissance c. 1540-1660* (Four Courts Press, 2007), pp. 88-104.

[94]   E. M. W. Tillyard, *The Elizabethan World Picture* (1943: Vintage Books, ?), p. 103.

[95]   Davies, *The Poems of Sir John Davies*, (ed.), Robert Krueger (Clarendon Press, 1975), p. 119.

[96]   Aristotle, *Poetics*, (ed. and tr.), Stephen Halliwell in *Aristotle XXIII* (The Loeb Classical Library, 1995), p. 59.

[97]   Sir John Harington, *The Sixth Book of Virgil's Aeneid*, (ed.) Simon Cauchi (Clarendon Press, 1991). Harington mentioned that King James quoted a stanza of *Aeneid* at the conclusion of *Basilikon Doron* (p. 59).

[98]   Edmund Spenser, *The Faerie Queene*, (ed.), A. C. Hamilton (Longman, revised 2nd ed., 2007), pp. 714, 603.

[99]   Spenser, *The Faerie Queene*, pp. 603, 671.

also wrote a commendation poem in the preface of Speed's *The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine*.[101]

　Davies was also interested in history and joined the Society of Antiquaries to which Camden and Cotton belonged. It was in his *A Discovery of the True Causes* (1612) that he researched 'what happend' from the age of Henry II, and analysed the historical causes as to 'why Ireland was never entirely subdued' in terms of war and civil government.'[102]　In contrast, he illustrated the idea of the 'perfect conquest' in which all the people are reduced to subjects 'governed by the ordinary laws and magistrats of the sovereign'.[103]　In it he claimed that a 'perfect union' with Scotland and a 'perfect conquest' of Ireland was realised in the age of James I. Specially, he wrote (perhaps rhetorically) that Ireland was 'reformed and reduced to peace, plenty, and civility, which are the effects of laws and good government' under 'one king, one allegiance, and one law'.[104]

　　For Davies, the plantation of Ulster was the 'masterpiece' that helped to both create Britain and to introduce civility. He had a vision that the people would 'grow up together in one nation', through a 'mixed plantation' of the British (composed of the English and Scottish), and Irish 'transplanted from the woods and mountains into the plains and open countries'.[105]　By appealing to the poetical imagination and using the metaphor of the Irish harp, he represented the idea of harmony and concord, and 'what might occur' in future as below:

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[100]　Spenser, *The Faerie Queene*, p. 510.
[101]　Speed, *The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine*, ¶ 2ʳ. Ivic, 'Mapping British Identities', pp. 144-146.
[102]　Davies, *A Discovery of the True Causes why Ireland was never entirely Subdued*, (ed.), J. P. Myers, Jr. (The Catholic University of America Press, 1988). On Davies and Ireland, see Myers, 'Early English Colonial Experiences in Ireland: Captain Thomas Lee and Sir John Davies', *Éire*, vol. 23 (1988), pp. 8-21. Eugene Flanagan, 'The Anatomy of Jacobean Ireland: Captain Barnaby Rich, Sir John Davies and the Failure of Reform, 1609-22', in Morgan (ed.), *Political Ideology in Ireland*, pp. 158-180. Orr, 'From *View* to a *Discovery*: Edmund Spenser, Sir John Davies, and the Defects of Law in the Realm of Ireland', *Canadian Journal of History*, vol. 38 (2003), pp. 395-408; 'Sir John Davies's Agrarian Law for Ireland', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, vol. 75, no. 1 (2014), pp. 91-112. David Hume's uses of Davies' *A Discovery,* see Hume, *The History of England*, vol. 5 (1778: Liberty Fund, 1983), pp. 47-49.
[103]　Davies, *A Discovery*, p. 71.
[104]　Davies, *A Discovery*, pp. 137-138.
[105]　Davies, *A Discovery*, p. 222. His letter to Salisbury on the plantation of Ulster, see Henry Morley (ed.), *Ireland under Elizabeth and James the First* (London, 1890), pp. 381-390 (pp. 383, 387).

'Briefly, the clock of the civil government is now well set, and all the wheels thereof do move in order. The strings of this Irish harp, which the civil magistrate doth finger, are all in tune... and make a good harmony in this commonweal. So as we may well conceive a hope that Ireland ...will from henceforth prove a land of peace and concord'[106].

Conclusion

The world picture of a stage was repeatedly stated in Britain before the Civil War, not only in Shakespeare's *As You Like It* (written c. 1599), but also in the last page of Harington's *A Short View of the State of Ireland* (1605). In such a 'theatre of the world' or 'theatre of the Empire of Great Britain', the government of the composite monarchy composed of the kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland was one of the greatest problems and heaviest burdens. Hence, contemporary political actors such as James VI & I, Bacon, Davies, and others including Cecil and Smith, all endeavoured to plant civility and to integrate the empire. Being cultivated by Renaissance humanism, they also modelled the empire on Ancient Rome, learned from Machiavellian politics, and often appealed to the poetical imagination.

However, this theatre of Orpheus was dissolved in the Civil War. Before it happened, James wrote a tract subtitled 'A Patterne for a Kings Inavgvration' (1620), and pressed Prince Charles to bear the 'burthen' and 'weight' of kingship, and to be 'an arts-master' of 'the science of gouernment'. However, Charles failed to master the art of government and to practice 'musicall skill' to 'temper and turne all these discords into a sweet harmonie'[107].

In such 'miserable' discords, Hobbes was exiled to the Continent and criticised

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[106]   Davies, *A Discovery*, p. 223. He used the same figures as the music and harp in his speeches as a speaker in the 1614 Irish parliament. Morley (ed.), *Ireland under Elizabeth and James the First*, p. 394. *Calendar of the State Papers, relating to Ireland, of the Reign of James I. 1611-1614*, (ed.), C. W. Russell and J. P. Prendergast (London, 1877), pp. 517-518.

[107]   James VI and I, *A Meditation vpon the 27. 28. 29. Verses of the XXVII. Chapter of Saint Matthew. Or a Paterne for a Kings Inavgvration*, in *Political Writings*, pp. 230-231, 249, 240.

classical learning as one of the causes of Civil War. However, in Britain before the Civil War, another discourse of Renaissance humanism had been cultivated through the languages and ideas of civility and empire. In other words, it had another aspect of the art of politics to govern the composite monarchy and to prevent revolutions and civil wars. However, this story of humanism from Erasmus to James VI & I and Bacon, which made it possible to converse with strangers and others, was not limited to the Atlantic archipelago. It also sailed across the Pacific Ocean and reached to the Empire of Japan, which was 'governed in great civility'.

Afterword

Captain John Saris, who brought a royal letter from James, met William Adams in July 1613. According to Saris, Adams was 'generally thought emongst vs that he is a naturalised Japanner', because he provided 'so admirable and affectionated commendatyons of the Counterye'. When Saris landed at Hakata (Fuccate) in August, his impression of Hakata was one 'as great as London is within the wals', and 'exceedingly peopled, very Ciuill and curteous'. [108] He returned to England and wrote 'The First Voyage of the English to Japan' (1617), one of which manuscripts was dedicated to Lord Keeper Francis Bacon. [109]

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[108]   John Saris, *The Voyage of Captain John Saris to Japan, 1613*, (ed.), Ernest Satow (London, 1900), pp. 109, 121.
[109]   Saris, *The First Voyage of the English to Japan*, (ed.), Takanobu Otsuka (Tokyo, The Toyo Bunko, 1941), p. 2. Another version was included in Samuel Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas his Pilgrimes* (London, 1625), Part 1, Book 4.