

HISTORY PART II PAPER 6

STATES BETWEEN STATES: THE HISTORY OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL THOUGHT FROM THE ROMAN EMPIRE TO THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY

Convener 2015-16: Dr Annabel Brett (asb21@cam.ac.uk)

INTRODUCTION

What is the ‘political’ in the history of political thought? In his *Politics*, the Greek philosopher Aristotle understood *ta politika* – the ‘political things’, politics, of his title – to be those things that concern the *polis*, the city-state that was the central unit of (precisely) political organisation in ancient Greece. This covered everything from the motivation and rationale of the *polis*, its constitutional structure, who qualified for citizenship, the nature of its government, to political safety strategies on the one hand and musical education on the other. At its base it involved a narrative about human beings forming into a political community for ends that cannot otherwise be achieved. This narrative, in multiple permutations, has been central to the tradition of Western political thought, and its focus is primarily on the relationship of citizens to fellow-citizens, and citizens to government, within one political unit, what we call ‘the state’. And yet, even in Aristotle’s *Politics* it is clear that the *polis* does not exist in isolation. The lives of its citizens demand slaves, who need to be ‘hunted’ abroad. Thus the *polis* must stretch out into space beyond itself. And it needs goods, which means merchants living within it who are nevertheless not part of it, not citizens. Thus the outside comes in. These inside/outside relations impact on the very theorisation of the *polis* itself, as Aristotle defines the relationships and laws between citizens against both commercial treaties and military alliances: both of which might look uncomfortably like political relations, but which for Aristotle’s purposes must, crucially, be excluded as such.

The ‘global turn’ in modern political thought, just as in history, has interested itself in both of these dimensions of inside/outside: how the state extends beyond itself into the space of others, and conversely how that extension impacts in turn back on the state itself. From a theoretical point of view, the concept of the ‘political’ itself is stretched and put in question. Both at the level of government and at the level of citizenship, new spaces of politics open up, spaces that we – for a want of vocabulary which is, precisely, part of our intellectual heritage – might call for convenience ‘international’, but which might better be labelled ‘inter-political’ or ‘trans-political’. For the international is merely one, historically specific (and, for some, increasingly passé), way of constructing the space between states: a word with which by now we are familiar and comfortable, but which involves multiple assumptions and disguises dimensions of our political existence which might be less familiar, more exciting, but also less comfortable as well.

In this paper, then, we look historically at the different ways in which this ‘international’ space has been constructed. We begin in ancient Rome, with a word, *Imperium*, that of itself crosses the inside/out divide, being both a word for ‘internal’ rule and a word for the concrete, ‘external’ extension of rule – the ‘empire’; and we end with intellectual challenges to European conceptions and practices of empire in the early nineteenth century. Importantly, however, the intellectual history of the ‘inter-political’ or ‘international’ is not simply the intellectual history of imperial formations. As the paper shows, this dimension of the history of political thought involves all sorts of ‘inter-political’ concepts, ‘states between states’: unions, federations, confederations, composite monarchies, leagues, alliances, friendly states, hostile states; as well as new spaces of ‘inter-political’ citizenship.

As historians of political thought in Cambridge have always insisted, awareness of the historical contingency of our political vocabularies is a fundamental resource in being able to think critically about the concepts of the present and imaginatively about possible concepts of the future. This is why Paper 5 looks both at the history of 20th century political thought and at present-day political thinking:

the two go together. Paper 6 is designed as a paper in the history of political thought, but a paper that intersects with some of the most exciting new developments in current political thinking and indeed in the current practice of history more generally.

TEACHING

This paper has been designed to be available to all third-year students in History, and as an option for third-year students in the 'Politics' stream in POLIS. For History students who have already taken history of political thought options in Part I, or are taking them in Part II, the paper has been designed to provide a further opportunity to explore a dimension of the history of political thought that figures only tangentially in the other papers. There is no substantial overlap and no questions will be 'starred' for those taking Papers 4 or 5 as well. It is also hoped, however, that third-year students who have not previously done any history of political thought may find this an attractive option: the paper does not demand any previous experience of the subject, and, just because of the nature of the 'international' arena, has a concrete, 'practice-textured' feel that students of the history of states and empires more generally may be able fruitfully to connect with their other studies. The paper will be taught through 16 lectures in the Michaelmas term followed by 8 related text classes in Lent term, which will provide training in the reading of texts as well as allowing students to deepen their engagement with the topics. They will also provide a forum in which to discuss issues with each other as well as with their supervisors and lecturers. Supervision will be centrally coordinated by the Convenor of the paper. At present it is envisaged that supervision will be given individually and that there is no cap on numbers taking the paper.

INTRODUCTORY READING

The political structure and geography of the European world

- J.H. Elliott *Spain, Europe and the Wider World 1500-1800* (New Haven and London, 2009), Chs 1-2
- P.W. Schroeder *The transformation of European politics 1763-1848* (Oxford 1994)
- Brendan Simms *Europe. The struggle for supremacy 1453 to the present* (London: Penguin, 2014), Chs. 1-4
- Derek McKay and H.M. Scott *The rise of the great powers 1648-1815* (London, 1983)
- The Short Oxford History of Europe:*
- E. Cameron (ed) *The sixteenth century* (Oxford, 2006), Chs 2 (Greengrass), 6 (Brading)
- J. Bergin (ed) *The seventeenth century* (Oxford, 2001), Chs 3 (Upton), 4 (Parrott), 6 (Pagden)
- T.C.W. Blanning (ed) *The eighteenth century* (Oxford, 2000) Chs 1 (Swann), 5 ((Lynn), 6 (Marshall), Conclusion (Blanning)
- The New Cambridge Modern History Atlas*, ed. H.C. Darby and H. Fullard, (Cambridge, 1970)

European empire in America and Asia

- D.A. Brading *The first America: The Spanish monarchy, Creole patriots and the liberal state, 1492-1867* (Cambridge 1991)

- J. Burbank and F. Cooper *Empires in world history. Power and the politics of difference*
(Princeton 2010)
- J.H. Elliott *Empires of the Atlantic world: Britain and Spain in America 1492-1830*
(New Haven and London, 2006)
- S. Subrahmanyam *The Portuguese empire in Asia, 1500-1700* (London 1993)

International Political Thought

- David Armitage *Foundations of modern international thought* (Cambridge, 2013), Part I
- Jens Bartelson *Visions of world community* (Cambridge 2009)
- Jordan Branch *The cartographic state. Maps, territory and the origins of sovereignty*
(Cambridge 2013)
- Annabel Brett *Changes of state. Nature and the limits of the city in early modern natural
law* (Princeton and Oxford, 2011)
- B. Fassbender and Anne Peters eds., *The Oxford handbook of the history of international law* (Oxford
2012)
- Andrew Fitzmaurice *Sovereignty, Property and Empire 1500-2000* (Cambridge, 2014)
- Sankar Muthu ed. *Empire and modern political thought* (Cambridge 2012)
- Stephen C. Neff *Justice among nations. A History of International Law* (Harvard 2014)
- Anthony Padgen *Lords of all the world. Ideologies of empire in Spain, Britain and France c.
1500 – c. 1800* (Yale, 1995)
- Anthony Pagden *The idea of Europe. From antiquity to the European Union* (Cambridge
2002)
- Anthony Pagden *The burdens of empire, 1539 to the present* (Cambridge 2015)

SCHEDULE OF TOPICS AND READINGS

1 Roman imperium

Roman law and Roman social sensibilities lagged behind Rome's rise to hegemony over Greece, the rest of the Mediterranean and to the north of the Alps. Essentially, the constitutional arrangements of a city-state were applied to an empire. The rights of Roman citizenship were jealously guarded against allies, a conservative outlook which among other things prompted the Social War. The relationship of allied or 'federated' cities to Rome underwent a long degeneration to the disadvantage of the former; the new concept of 'free cities' or *civitates liberae* served Rome's interests better. The questions arising from citizenship and lesser conditions of relative advantage and disadvantage concerned the legal status of individuals and entire communities simultaneously because the two were usually

linked. This week's readings introduce the only full-scale treatment to survive from the late republic on citizenship in the shape of Cicero's oration on behalf of Balbo, his reflections on the cosmopolitan mission of the universal Roman city in *On the Commonwealth* and the implicit plaidoyer for that same inclusive policy by the second-century Greek provincial, Aelius Aristides, from Smyrna.

Texts

Cicero 'In favour of Balbo' (*Pro Balbo*) in *Cicero. Orations. Pro Caelio. De Provinciis Consularibus. Pro Balbo* (Loeb Classical Library vol. 447), trsl. R. Gardiner

On the Commonwealth, in *Cicero. On the Commonwealth and On the Laws*, ed. J.E.G. Zetzel (Cambridge 1999)

Aristides 'To Rome' in Oliver (below), 895-907

Secondary reading

Imperial Politics and Ideology

P. Brunt 'Laus imperii', in P.D.A. Garnsey and C.R. Whittaker eds., *Imperialism in the Ancient World* (Cambridge 1978), also in Brunt, *Roman Imperial Themes* (Oxford 1990)

A. Lintott 'What was the *Imperium Romanorum*?' , *Greece and Rome*, 28 (1981), 53- 67

J.H. Oliver *The Ruling Power: a study of the Roman Empire in the second century after Christ through the Roman oration of Aelius Aristides* (Philadelphia 1953)

J. Richardson 'The meaning of *imperium* in the last century BC and the first AD', in B. Kingsbury and B. Straumann (eds), *The Roman Foundations of the Law of Nations. Alberico Gentili and the Justice of Empire* (Oxford 2010), 21-29

Citizenship

H.F. Jolowicz and B. Nicholas *Historical Introduction to the Study of Roman Law* (3rd ed., Cambridge 1972), ch. 3

A.N. Sherwin-White *The Roman Citizenship* (2nd ed., Oxford 1973), chs 4-7

2 Medieval *imperium*

In the patristic period the concept of empire was not just a geo-political concept: it possessed immense theological significance as well. St Jerome saw in the Roman Empire the fulfilment of the last part of the prophecy of Daniel. The Roman Empire remained central to Western European identity in the early middle ages and entered a new phase of its long life thanks to Charlemagne's coronation on Christmas Day 800 by Pope Leo III. The papal dependence on Carolingian military

might created a tight but tense nexus between this western, Catholic, version of the Roman Empire and the papacy. The forged *Donation of Constantine* is a papal attempt to shape this relationship. Twelfth-century scholars and statesmen in the entourage of Emperor Frederick I ('Barbarossa') sculpted an entire scheme of universal history around the Roman Empire, even as canon lawyers loyal to the papacy began to assert the Church's power to 'translate' or transfer the Roman Empire from race to race and dynasty to dynasty. This story was affirmed and contested by theologians and lawyers for the rest of the middle ages. This week's readings exemplify the historicising, theological and legalistic amalgam which resulted from medieval reflection on the concept of Empire.

Texts

- St Jerome *Commentary on the Book of Daniel*, bk 2 vv. 31-40 (trsl to be provided)
- The Donation of Constantine *The Crisis of Church and State 1050-1300* (Toronto/London 1960), 21-22
- Standard Gloss to Gratian's *Decretum*, D. 96 c. 13 (trsl to be provided)
- Otto of Freising *The Two Cities : a Chronicle of Universal History to the Year 1146 A.D. by Otto, Bishop of Freising* ; trsl. C. C. Mierow (New York 2002), bk V, prologue.
- Innocent III *Decretal Venerabilem* (trsl to be provided)
- Thirteenth-century glosses on *Venerabilem* (trsl to be provided)
- Excerpts from Fourteenth-century Roman-law Commentaries on the Transfer of Empire -Cinus of Pistoia, Johannes Faber, Bartolus of Sassoferrato, Baldus de Ubaldis, Paulus de Castro (trsl to be provided)
- Landolfo Colonna *On the Translation of Empire* (trsl. to be provided)
- William of Ockham *A Short Discourse on Tyrannical Government* (ed. A.S.McGrade, trsl. J. Kilcullen; Cambridge 1992), chaps4-5

Secondary reading

The Early-Medieval Background

- R. Folz *The Concept of Empire in Western Europe from the Fifth to the Fourteenth Century* (London 1969)
- James Muldoon *Empire and Order. The Concept of Empire 800-1800* (Basingstoke, 1999), ch. 5
- B. Tierney *The Crisis of Church of State*, 16-23

Otto of Freising and the Twelfth-Century Empire

- P. Classen 'Res gestae, Universal History, Apocalypse', in R.L. Benson and G.

Constable (eds), *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century* (Harvard/Oxford 1982), 387-417

H.A. Myers 'Kingship in "The Book of Emperors"', *Traditio* 27 (1971), 205-36

Late-Medieval Papal Theory and its Opponents

J.A. Watt 'Spiritual and Temporal Powers', in J.H. Burns (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Medieval Political Thought c.350-c.1450* (Cambridge 1988), ch. 14

- *The Theory of Papal Monarchy in the Thirteenth Century. The contribution of the canonists* (London 1965)

Roman-Law Theory

J.A. Canning *The Political Thought of Baldus de Ubaldis* (Cambridge 1987), cah. 1

M.J. Ryan 'Political Thought', in D. Johnston (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Roman Law* (Cambridge 2014)

3 Spanish empire in America: Ideology, critique and jurisdiction

In 1516 the Habsburg Charles, Duke of Burgundy, succeeded, in however contested a fashion, to the thrones of Aragon and Castile. With his election as Holy Roman Emperor in 1519, Charles V ruled over lands that stretched from east to west of Europe and across the Atlantic to Spanish possessions in America. A circle of Spanish humanists and jurists celebrated their new prince as *Dominus Mundi*, 'lord of all the world', directly reviving Roman imperial ideology and also continuing the medieval tradition. However, this understanding of the position of Charles V did not go unchallenged: theologians and jurists at the University of Salamanca argued the impossibility of anyone being 'lord of all the world', since 'the world' was not a political unit. Rather, if anything, the empire had to be understood for what it in fact was, a union of different kingdoms under one crown. In this week's lecture we look at the theoretical debate before turning to how the contractual understanding of jurisdiction involved in the anti-imperialist arguments was translated to the understanding of Spanish jurisdiction in the New World. Although the topic is centred on the reign of Charles V, by way of a coda we take a brief look forward to the reign of Philip III in the work of Guaman Poma de Ayala.

Texts

Antonio de Guevara *Libro aureo del emperador Marco Aurelio con relox de príncipes* (1529), tr. Thomas North, *The diall of princes* (1557) [EEBO (use 1568 edn.)], Bk I Chh. 32-34; Bk III Chh. 1-5

Pedro Mexía *The imperial historie: Or, the lives of the emperours, from Julius Caesar, the first founder of the Roman Monarchy* (1547), tr. W.T. (London, 1623), Lives of Julius Caesar, Constantine the Great, Charlemagne, Charles V [EEBO]

Miguel de Ulzurrun *De regimine mundi* ('On the government of the world') [excerpts on CamTools]

Francisco de Vitoria *On the American Indians* (1539) in A. Pagden and J. Lawrance eds., *Vitoria: Political writings* (Cambridge: CUP 1992)

- Domingo de Soto Is any man lord of all the world?', from *On justice and right* (1556) [CamTools]
- Alonso de la Vera Cruz *Relectio* on the text 'Render to Caesar...', tr. E.J. Burrus as *Defense of the Indians: Their rights*, in id. ed., *The writings of Alonso de la Vera Cruz*, Vol. II (St. Louis-Rome 1968), Doubt VII (compare Doubt IX on the pope)
- Petition of the Tlaxcalans to Philip II (1562), in R. Jovita Baber, 'Law, land and legal rhetoric in colonial New Spain', in Belmessous ed., *Native claims*, as below (translation on CamTools)
- Bartolomé de las Casas *Doce dudas* (1564) ed. J. P. Lassegue, in *Obras Completas* Vol. 11.2 (Madrid 1992) (excerpts on CamTools)
- Guaman Poma de Ayala *The first new chronicle and good government*, abridged and translated by David Frye (Hackett 2006): Introduction and 'Conclusions'

Secondary reading

Context

- D.A. Brading *The first America: The Spanish monarchy, Creole patriots and the liberal state, 1492-1867* (Cambridge 1991)
- J.H. Elliott 'The mental world of Hernán Cortes', *TRHS* 17 (1967)
- J.H. Elliott 'A Europe of composite monarchies', *Past and Present*, 137 (1992), 48-71; and reprinted in:
- J.H. Elliott *Spain, Europe and the Wider World 1500-1800* (New Haven and London, 2009), Chs 1-2
- J.H. Elliott *Empires of the Atlantic world. Britain and Spain 1482-1830* (Yale 2006), Ch. 3

Revival of empire

- D. Armitage ed. *Theories of empire, 1450-1800* (Ashgate 1998), Chh. 1, 3, 5-7
- T.J. Dandeleit *The renaissance of empire in early modern Europe* (Cambridge 2014)
- J. R. Jones *Antonio de Guevara* (Boston 1975)
- R. Kagan *Clio and the crown: The politics of history in medieval and early modern Spain* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins 2009)
- Anthony Pagden *Lords of all the World: Ideologies of Empire in Spain, Britain and France c. 1500-1800* (New Haven and London, 1995), chs 1-2
- D. Perry 'Catholicum opus imperial regiminis mundi. An early sixteenth-century restatement of empire', *HPT* 2 (1981) (on Ulzurrun)
- J.G.A. Pocock *Barbarism and religion*, vol. III (Cambridge 2003), Ch. 2 (Pedro

Mexía)

M. Tanner *The last descendant of Aeneas. The Habsburgs and the mythic image of the emperor* (New Haven: Yale 1993)

F. Yates *Astraea. The imperial theme in the sixteenth century* (London 1975), I. 'Charles V and the idea of empire'

Scholastic critique and alternative vision of the world

A. Brett *Liberty, right and nature* (Cambridge 1997), Ch. 4

A. Brett 'Scholastic political thought', in A. Brett and J. Tully eds., *Rethinking the foundations of modern political thought* (Cambridge 2006) (second half)

A. Brett *Changes of state. Nature and the limits of the city in early modern natural law* (Princeton 2011), Ch. 1, 3 (second half), 8 (all on law of nations)

D. Luper *Romans in a new world: Classical models in sixteenth-century Spanish America* (Ann Arbor 2003)

A. Pagden *The fall of natural man* (Cambridge 1982)

Jurisdiction and empire in Spanish America

R. Adorno *The polemics of possession in South American narrative* (Yale 2007)

S. Belmessous ed. *Native claims. Indigenous law against empire, 1500-1920* (Oxford 2012), Introduction and Chs. 1-3

L. Benton *Law and colonial cultures. Legal regimes in world history, 1400-1900* (Cambridge 2002)

L. Benton and R. Ross eds., *Legal pluralism and empires, 1500-1850*, Chs. 1 and 5

L. Clayton *Bartolomé de las Casas: A biography* (Cambridge 2012)

M. Koskenniemi 'Empire and international law: the real Spanish contribution', *University of Toronto Law Journal* 61, (2011)

4 Universal Monarchy: the ideal and its critics

Modern historians now understand the political map of early Modern Europe to have been dominated by composite monarchies, not independent nation states. Among these composite states were the Holy Roman Empire, and the Spanish, French and British monarchies. This topic investigates the range of concepts which contemporaries used to understand these monarchies. We shall see that the concept of empire, *imperium*, was not easily adapted for the purpose. Only one European ruler was entitled to call himself Emperor, and while other kingdoms characterised themselves as ‘imperial’, the concept did not denote a particular form of state. Instead, monarchic ambition was characterised by the terms *dominus mundi* and ‘Universal monarchy’. After Charles V, both Phillip II of Spain and Louis XIV of France had moments of opportunity when attainment of ‘universal monarchy’ seemed possible: texts by Botero, Campanella and Bacon address the conditions under which such great monarchies might enlarge and then secure their territories. Critics of universal monarchy are represented by Sully, Lisola and Andrew Fletcher. As the Habsburgs’ publicists emphasised, however, alternative models for peace in Europe, such as Sully’s ‘Grand Design’, could easily be taken for but another form of hegemony.

Texts

- | | |
|--------------------|---|
| Giovanni Botero, | <i>The Reason of State</i> (1589), translated by P.J. and D.P. Whaley (London, 1956): Book I, chs 1 – 8; V chs 1, 7; VIII chs 1 – 8, 13, 14 |
| Tommaso Campanella | <i>A discourse touching the Spanish Monarchy</i> (c. 1600-1), trans. E. Chilmead, (London, 1654, repr. 1660) [UL, EEBO]: Translator to the Reader; Author’s Preface; chs 1 – 10. [pdf on Camtools] |
| Francis Bacon | ‘Of the true Greatnesse of Kingdoms and Estates’, in <i>The Works of Francis Bacon</i> , ed. J. Spedding, R.L. Ellis and D.N. Heath, (London, 1857-74), Vol VI, pp. 444-52; and other editions |
| Duc de Sully | <i>Grand Design of Henry IV, from the memoirs of Maximilien de Béthune, Duc de Sully</i> , ed. D.Ogg (London, 1921): Grotius Society Publications. |
| Franz von Lisola | <i>The buckler of state and justice against the design manifestly discovered of the universal monarchy</i> (London, 1667) [UL, EEBO]: Preface, Articles I, VI [pdf on Camtools] |
| Andrew Fletcher | ‘A Discourse concerning the affairs of Spain’ (1698), in <i>Andrew Fletcher: Political Works</i> , ed. J. Robertson (Cambridge, 1997), 83-117; also contains <i>A Speech upon the state of the nation in April 1701</i> , pp. 118-28. |

Secondary reading

Context

- | | |
|---------------|--|
| J.H. Elliott | <i>Spain, Europe and the Wider World 1500-1800</i> (New Haven and London, 2009), Chs1-2, 5-11 |
| Brendan Simms | <i>Europe. The Struggle for Supremacy 1453 to the Present</i> (London: Penguin, 2014), Chs 1 – 2 |

- Geoffrey Parker 'David or Goliath? Philip II and his world in the 1580s', in R.L. Kagan and G. Parker (eds), *Spain, Europe and the Atlantic World: Essays in honour of J.H. Elliott* (Cambridge, 1995), 245-66
- Frances Yates *Astraea. The Imperial Theme in the Sixteenth Century* (London 1975), Part III: 'The French Monarchy'
- Noel Malcolm *Reason of State, Propaganda, and the Thirty Years' War. An unknown translation by Thomas Hobbes* (Oxford, 2007)
- Peter Burke *The Fabrication of Louis XIV* (New Haven and London, 1992)

The debate

- Franz Bosbach 'The European debate on universal monarchy', in D. Armitage (ed), *Theories of Empire 1450-1800* (Aldershot, 1998), 81-98
- James Muldoon *Empire and Order. The Concept of Empire 800-1800* (Basingstoke, 1999), Ch 6 and Conclusion.
- Anthony Pagden 'Instruments of empire. Tommaso Campanella and the universal monarchy of Spain', in his *Spanish Imperialism and the Political Imagination 1513-1830* (New Haven and London, 1990), 37-63
- John Headley *Tommaso Campanella and the Transformation of the World* (Princeton, 1997), Ch 6
- 'The demise of universal monarchy as a meaningful political idea', in F. Bosbach and H. Hiery (eds), *Imperium, Empire, Reich. Ein Konzept politischer Herrschaft in deutsch-britischen Vergleich*, Prince Albert Studies, 16, (Munich 1999), 41-58
- Noel Malcolm 'The Crescent and the City of the Sun: Islam and the Renaissance Utopia of Tommaso Campanella', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 125 (2004), 41-67
- Richard Tuck *Philosophy and Government 1572-1651* (Cambridge, 1993), pp 65-82: Spain and Spanish Italy, 88-94: France
- Markku Peltonen 'Politics and science: Francis Bacon and the greatness of states', *Historical Journal*, 35 (1992)
- Steven Pincus 'The English debate over universal monarchy', in J. Robertson (ed), *A Union for Empire. Political Thought and the Union of 1707* (Cambridge, 1995), 37-62
- John Robertson *The Case for the Enlightenment. Scotland and Naples 1680-1760* (Cambridge, 2005), esp. pp. 147-51, 161-7 (on Fletcher)

5 Concepts of Union: the example of the Anglo-Scottish Union Debates

The great majority of European states were not only composite, they were also more or less formal unions. Two monarchies which were formally constituted unions were the Polish-Lithuanian

Commonwealth (by the Union of Lublin in 1569), and, after a century of debate and conflict following dynastic union under the Stuarts, Great Britain (in 1707). Both of these were ‘incorporating’ unions. By contrast, the city-states of the northern Netherlands and the Swiss Cantons formed themselves into equal, ‘confederal’ unions, respectively the United Provinces (or ‘States’) of the Netherlands, and the Helvetic League. But the most persistent and thorough-going attempt to explore and test the available concepts of union occurred in Britain in the course of the century between James VI of Scotland’s accession to the English crown in 1603 and the achievement of incorporating parliamentary union in 1707. The reading for this topic includes selections from the most conceptually sophisticated contributions to the ensuing debate, by James I himself, by Francis Bacon and Henry Savile, and by the Scottish jurist Thomas Craig and the independent republican Andrew Fletcher. A feature of this debate was its comparative perspective: it opens a window onto unions throughout Europe.

Texts

- | | |
|-----------------|---|
| James I | ‘Speeches’, 19 March 1604, 31 March 1607, in <i>Political Writings</i> , ed. J.P. Sommerville (Cambridge, 1994), 132-46, 159-78; or in C.H. McIlwain (ed), <i>The Political Works of James I</i> (Harvard, 1918, repr. 1965), 269-80, 290-305 |
| Thomas Craig | <i>A Treatise on the Union of the British Realms</i> , translation of <i>De Unione Regnorum Britanniae Tractatus</i> (1605), ed. C.S. Terry (Edinburgh, Scottish History Society, 1909), Chs 5, 6, 11 |
| Francis Bacon | <i>A Brief Discourse touching the Happy Union of the Kingdoms of England and Scotland</i> (1603), in <i>Works of Francis Bacon</i> , X, 89-99 |
| Anon (Scottish) | ‘A Treatise about the Union of England and Scotland’ |
| Henry Savile | ‘Historicall Collections’

Both in <i>The Jacobean Union. Six Tracts of 1604</i> , ed. B.R. Galloway and B.P. Levack, Scottish History Society, 4 th Series, Vol. 21 (Edinburgh, 1985), pp. 39-74, 185-239 |
| Andrew Fletcher | <i>Speeches by a Member of Parliament</i> (1703), Speeches I - XII; <i>An Account of a Conversation concerning a Right Regulation of Governments for the common Good of Mankind</i> (1703), in <i>Andrew Fletcher: Political Works</i> , ed. Robertson, 129-57, 175-215 |
| William Seton | <i>Scotland’s Great Advantages by an Union with England</i> (1706) [pdf on Camtools] |

Secondary

General

- | | |
|------------------|---|
| Jon Arrieta (ed) | <i>Forms of Union: the British and Spanish Monarchies in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries</i> , Riev (Basque Studies Society, 2009) Pdfs of the following articles on Camtools:

Arrieta: ‘Forms of Union: a comparative analysis’

Robertson: ‘The conceptual framework of Anglo-Scottish Union’ |
|------------------|---|

- Colin Kidd *Union and Unionisms. Political Thought in Scotland 1500-2000* (Cambridge, 2008)
- J.G.A. Pocock *The Discovery of Islands. Essays in British History* (Cambridge, 2005), Parts I – II (Chs 1–10)
- John Robertson ‘Empire and union: two concepts of the early modern European political order’, in Robertson (ed), *A Union for Empire. Political Thought and the Union of 1707* (Cambridge, 1995), 3-36; also in D. Armitage (ed), *Theories of Empire 1450-1800* (Aldershot, 1998), 11-44

The Polish-Lithuanian Union

- H.E. Dembkowski *The Union of Lublin. Polish Federalism in the Golden Age* (Boulder and New York, 1982)
- Robert Frost ‘Union as process: confused sovereignty and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth 1385-1796’, in Mackillop and ÓSiochrú (eds), *Forging the State*, 69-92 [PDF on Camtools]

The Union of the Crowns 1603-1608

- David Armitage *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire* (Cambridge, 2000), chs 1-5
- Bruce Galloway *The Union of England and Scotland 1603-1608* (Edinburgh, 1986)
- Brian Levack *The Formation of the British State. England, Scotland and the Union 1603-1608* (Oxford, 1987)
- Roger Mason (ed) *Scots and Britons. Scottish Political Thought and the Union of 1603* (Cambridge, 1994), esp. Parts I, III, I

Incorporating Union 1707

- William Ferguson ‘Imperial Crowns. A neglected facet of the background to the Treaty of Union’, *Scottish Historical Review* 53, (1974), 22-44
- Clare Jackson ‘Union Historiographies’, in T. Devine and J. Wormald (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Modern Scottish History* (Oxford, 2012)
- Clare Jackson ‘Conceptions of nationhood in the Anglo-Scottish Union debates of 1707’, *Scottish Historical Review*, 87, *Supplement* (2008)
- John Robertson (ed) *A Union for Empire. Political Thought and the Union of 1707* (Cambridge, 1995), Chs. 4, 7, 8, 10
- John Robertson ‘The Union of 1707: the scope for a comparative perspective’, in A. Mackillop and M. ÓSiochrú (eds), *Forging the State. European State Formation and the Anglo-Scottish Union of 1707* (Dundee, 2009), 49-67 [PDF on Camtools]

The politics and economics of the Union

Allan I. Macinnes *Union and Empire. The making of the United Kingdom in 1707*(Cambridge, 2007)

C. Whatley with D.J. Patrick *The Scots and the Union* (Edinburgh, 2006)

6 Free cities, confederation, feudal dependence

The polities of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Europe were so varied in their separate histories and legal structures that alert observers found it difficult to decide which were properly commonwealths and which were not; this confusion could have political consequences and was open to exploitation. Loose confederation could become statehood; citizenship and subjection inevitably became unstable where the existence of an independent polity itself was in question. Jean Bodin, the greatest theorist of sovereignty of the sixteenth century, famously denied that the Swiss cantons constituted a commonwealth. The boundary between internal and external political relations was similarly blurred: when did an alliance become a protectorate? This had been a legal grey zone for centuries and a particularly fertile one for French policies of aggrandizement. Classical Roman models of equal and unequal federation between *prima facie* independent powers provided one touchstone, the feudal relations of the ruler of one territory with the ruler of another as vassal to lord prompted further questions.

Texts

Jean Bodin *Of the lawes and customes of a common-wealth* [etc.], trsl. Richard Knolles (2nd ed., 1606), bk 1, chaps 6-7; available at Early English Books Online, images 30-41 (pages 46-69)

Alberico Gentili *De iure belli libri tres*, trsl. J. Rolfe (2 vols, Oxford 1933), vol. 2, bk II ch. 13; bk III chaps 14-18

Traiano Boccalini *I Ragguagli di Parnaso, or Advertisements from Parnassus, in Two Centuries; with the Politick Touchstone*, translated Henry, earl of Monmouth (London, 1657, also 1669, 1674): Advertisement VI: 'All the monarchies of the world affrighted at the over-great power and successfull proceedings of the German Commonwealths' (pp. 138-146 of the 1674 edition)

The Politick Touchstone: 'The Spanish Monarchy comes to Parnassus, and desires of Apollo to be cured of an issue, but is dismissed by the politick physicians', and

'The Spanish Monarchy goes to the Oracle of Delphos, to know whether she shall ever obtain the Universal Monarchy of the whole world, and receives a negative answer (pp. 256-62 of the 1674 edition)

Secondary reading

Bodin and Gentili

- A.S. Brett *Changes of State. Nature and the Limits of the City in Early Modern Natural Law* (Princeton 2011), ch. 7
- P. Schröder ‘Vitoria, Gentili, Bodin: Sovereignty and the Law of Nations’, in B. Kingsbury and B. Straumann (eds), *The Roman Foundations of the Law of Nations. Alberico Gentili and the Justice of Empire* (Oxford 2010), 163-86
- B. Straumann ‘The *Corpus iuris* as a Source of Law Between Sovereigns in Alberico Gentili’s Thought’, in Kingsbury and Straumann, 101-23
- R. Tuck *Philosophy and government* (Cambridge 1992)
- Boccalini
- R. Tuck *Philosophy and government*, pp. 101-3
- Feudal Allegiance
- W.F. Church *Constitutional Thought in Sixteenth-Century France. A Study in the Evolution of Ideas* (Harvard 1941), 179-94
- K. Davis *Periodization and Sovereignty. How Ideas of Feudalism and Secularization Govern the Politics of Time* (Pennsylvania 2008), ch. 1
- D. Kelley ‘*De origine feudorum*: The Beginnings of an Historical Problem’, *Speculum* vol. 39 no. 2, 1964, 207-28

7 The United Provinces, commercial empire and the high seas as a space of sovereignty

In 1603, the seizure by the Dutch East India Company (VOC) of the Portuguese carrack the *Sta. Catarina* off the coast of Johor (in present-day Malaysia) provoked intense examination of conscience among VOC shareholders. Could the seizure be justified? The young Hugo Grotius was commissioned to write a defence of the actions of the Dutch captain, a task which he chose to fulfil by arguing from first principles of natural law in his *De iure praedae* (*On the law of prize*). Part of that defence was the doctrine of the ‘freedom of the seas’, published separately as the pamphlet *Mare liberum* (*The free sea*) in 1609. This argument, that no state can claim individual sovereignty or jurisdiction over the high seas, was fiercely opposed by the Portuguese Serafim de Freitas. In this week’s readings we examine that debate, looking at the sea as a contested space of sovereignty and at how this space entered into the construction of sovereignty over land and peoples. We also look at other issues of sovereignty raised by the Dutch action, for example the status of the Dutch captain as a private or a public actor, the juridical status of privateering, and other elements of jurisdiction over and on board ships addressed in the lawyer Alberico Gentili’s contemporaneous practice at the Courts of Admiralty.

Texts

- Hugo Grotius *De iure praedae*, ed. M. van Ittersum (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund 2006), esp. Chh. 2, 12, 13

- Hugo Grotius *The free sea*, ed. D. Armitage (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund 2004) (this is Ch.12 of *De iure praedae*, modified for publication, tr. Richard Hakluyt)
- Serafim de Freitas *De iusto imperio Lusitanorum Asiatico* (1625), short excerpts from Chh. 1-2, 10-11, 13-14, 17 [translations on Camtools]
- Alberico Gentili *Hispanicae Advocationis Libri II* (New York: Oxford University Press 1921), Vol. II: Translation, Bk I, Ch. 8

Secondary reading

- L. Benton *A search for sovereignty. Law and geography in European empires, 1450-1800* (Cambridge 2010), Chh. 1, 3
- M. Brito Vieira 'Mare liberum vs. mare clausum: Grotius, Freitas and Selden's debate on dominion over the seas', *JHI* 64 (2003)
- H. Blom ed. *Property, piracy and punishment: Hugo Grotius on war and booty in De iure praedae* (Leiden: Brill 2009) (originally published as Volumes 26 (2005), 27 (2006) and 28 (2007) of Brill's journal *Grotiana*, available online)
- P. Borschberg 'The seizure of the Sta. Catarina revisited: The Portuguese empire in Asia, VOC politics and the origin of the Dutch-Johor alliance', *JSEAsianS* 33 (2002)
- P. Borschberg *Hugo Grotius, the Portuguese, and free trade in the East Indies* (National University of Singapore 2011)
- P. Borschberg 'From self-defence to an instrument of war: Dutch privateering around the Malay peninsula', *JEMH* 17 (2013)
- A. Brett *Changes of state. Nature and the limits of the city in early modern natural law* (Princeton 2011), Ch. 8
- M. van Ittersum *Profit and principle. Hugo Grotius, natural rights theories and the rise of Dutch power in the East Indies* (Brill 2006)
- I. Porras 'Constructing international law in the East Indian seas: Property, sovereignty, commerce and war in Hugo Grotius's *De iure praedae*,' *Brooklyn Journal of International Law* 31 (2006), 741-80
- R. Tuck *Philosophy and government, 1572-1651* (Cambridge 1993), Ch. 5
- R. Tuck *The rights of war and peace* (Oxford 1999), Ch. 3
- R. Tuck 'Alliances with infidels in the European imperial expansion', in S. Muthu ed., *Empire and modern political thought* (Cambridge 2012)

‘Sovereignty, International Relations, and the Westphalian Myth’,
International Organization, vol. 55 no. 2, 2001, 251-87

A. Würgler “‘The League of the Discordant Members’ or How the Old Swiss Confederation Operated and How it Managed to Survive for so Long’, in Holenstein, Maissen and Prak, 29-50

Pufendorf

Peter Schröder, ‘The Constitution of the Holy Roman Empire after 1648: Samuel Pufendorf’s Assessment in his *Monzambano*’, *Historical Journal* 42 (1999), 961-83.

J. Whaley *Germany and the Holy Roman Empire: Volume II: The Peace of Westphalia to the Dissolution of the Reich 1648-1806* (Oxford 2012), ch. 11

9 Friends and enemies, war and peace: the law of war in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries

War was both the limit and at the heart of inter-state relations in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The capacity to declare and to make war defined a state; for some writers, it defined (along with the capacity to legislate) a public rather than a private actor. And yet the dividing line between public and private was not always so clear, and, for some theorist, private warfare was also a legitimate activity. In this week’s readings we look at the law of war as a central mode in which state sovereignty and the international arena were theoretically constructed, looking both at general doctrines of legitimacy and at the more specific casuistry of making war and making peace.

Texts

Francisco de Vitoria *On the law of war*, in A. Pagden and J. Lawrance eds., *Vitoria: Political writings* (Cambridge: CUP 1992)

Balthasar Ayala *De iure et officiis bellicis et disciplina militari libri III* (Washington: Carnegie Institute 1912), Vol. II: Translation, Bk I Chh. 2, 5, 6, 9, II Chh. 5-9

Alberico Gentili *De iure belli* (Oxford: Clarendon 1933), Vol. II: Translation, Bk I chh 1-16; Bk II chh. 1-2, 14-18; Bk III chh. 1-5, 8-10, 12, 15-19, 22-24

Hugo Grotius *De iure belli ac pacis* (Oxford: Clarendon 1925), Vol. II: Translation, or ed. R. Tuck (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund), Bk I Ch. 1, Bk III [selected passages]

Samuel Pufendorf *De jure naturae et gentium libri VIII* (Oxford: Clarendon 1934), Vol. II: Translation, Bk VIII, chh. 2, 6-9

Note: Vitoria’s *relectio* ‘On the law of war is short’, but the others are major texts. If you want to handle this topic by homing in on a detailed analysis of one particular text, then you are welcome to do so and the exam question will allow for this, although it will expect you to set your consideration

of the particular author you have chosen within a broader analysis that shows some knowledge of the other texts.

Secondary reading

Abbreviations:

Asbach and Schröder = *War, the state and international law in seventeenth-century Europe* (Aldershot: Ashgate 2010)

Kingsbury and Straumann = B. Kingsbury and B. Straumann eds. *The Roman foundations of the law of nations* (Oxford: OUP 2011)

Background

- Asbach and Schröder Part II (on war and state-formation, including taxation)
- S. Neff *War and the law of nations. A general history* (Cambridge 2005)

Theory and law of war

- D. Armitage ‘Hobbes and the foundations of modern international thought’, in A. Brett and J. Tully eds., *Rethinking the foundations of modern political thought* (Cambridge 2006)
- L. Foisneau ‘Security as a norm in Hobbes’s theory of war: A critique of Schmitt’s Interpretation of Hobbes’s approach to international relations’, in Asbach and Schröder
- N. Malcolm ‘Hobbes’s theory of international relations’, in id., *Aspects of Hobbes* (2002)
- ‘Alberico Gentili and the Ottomans’, in Kingsbury and Straumann
- D. Panizza ‘Alberico Gentili’s *De armis romanis*: The Roman model of a just empire’, in Kingsbury and Straumann
- P. Piirimae ‘Just war in theory and practice: The legitimacy of Swedish intervention in the 30 years’ war’, HJ (2002)
- ‘Russia, the Turks and Europe: Legitimations of war and the formation of European identity in the early modern period’, JEMH 11 (2007)
- ‘The Westphalian myth and the idea of external sovereignty’, in Q. Skinner and M. Koskenniemi eds., *Sovereignty in fragments* (Cambridge 2010)
- ‘Alberico Gentili’s doctrine of defensive war and its impact on 17th-century normative views’, in Kingsbury and Straumann
- S. Recchia ed. *Just and and unjust military intervention. European thinkers from Vitoria to Mill* (Cambridge 2013), Chh, 2-4

- D. Saunders 'Hegemon history: Pufendorf's shifting perspectives on France and French Power', in Asbach and Schröder
- P. Schröder 'Taming the fox and the lion: Some aspects of the 16th century's debate on inter-state relations', in Asbach and Schröder
- 'Vitoria, Gentili, Bodin: Sovereignty and the law of nations', in Kingsbury and Straumann
- R. Tuck *The rights of war and peace* (Oxford 1999), Chh. 1-5

Practice and casuistry of peace

- C. Kampmann 'Peace impossible? The Holy Roman Empire and the European state system in the seventeenth century', in Asbach and Schröder
- R. Lesaffer 'Alberico Gentili's *ius post bellum* and early modern peace treaties', in Kingsbury and Straumann
- R. Lesaffer ed. *Peace treaties and international law in European history. From the middle ages to world war one* (Cambridge 2004), Chh. 2, 5, 9-10
- A. Alimento ed. *War, trade and neutrality. Europe and the Mediterranean in the 17th and 18th centuries* (Milan: FrancoAngeli 2011), chh. by Alimento, Stapelbroek

10 The law of nations and the international order in the eighteenth century

This topic looks at the developed 'state system' of eighteenth-century Europe as articulated in the work of two major theoreticians of the 'law of nations', Christian Wolff and Emer de Vattel. It looks at how that international world was both legitimated in juridical and political theory, but also intellectually constructed through the practices of diplomatic mediation and negotiation as well as of war, treading a fine line between vocabularies of the 'lawful' and non-legal vocabularies of *raison d'état*.

Texts

- Christian Wolff *The Law of Nations According to the Scientific Method* [1749], trans. Joseph Horace Drake (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1934), Ep. Ded., Preface, Prolegomena, Chh. 1-2, 6
- Emer de Vattel *The Law of Nations* [1758], trans. Charles G. Fenwick (Washington: Carnegie Institution, 1916), or ed. B. Kapossy and R. Whatmore (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund 2008), Preliminaries; Bk I Chh. 1-4, 8, 11, 14, 18, 23; Bk II Chh. 1-4, 9; Bk III Chh. 1, 3, 6-7, 11-12; Bk IV Ch. 1 (available online)

Secondary reading

Abbreviation: Chetail and Haggemacher = V. Chetail and P. Haggemacher eds., *Vattel's international law from a XXIst century perspective* (Leiden: Brill 2011)

G. Cavallar 'Vitoria, Grotius, Pufendorf, Wolff and Vattel: Accomplices of European colonialism and exploitation or true cosmopolitans?', *Journal of the History of International law* 10 (2008)

Ian Hunter 'Kant and Vattel in context: Cosmopolitan philosophy and diplomatic casuistry', *History of European Ideas* 39 (2012)

E. Jouannet *Emer de Vattel et l'émergence doctrinale du droit international classique* (Paris 1998)

M. Koskenniemi 'International law and raison d'état' in Kingsbury and Straumann eds., *Roman foundations of the law of nations*

M. Koskenniemi "'International community" from Dante to Vattel', in Chetail and Haggemacher

J.C. Laursen ed. *New essays on the political thought of the Huguenots of the Refuge* (Leiden: Brill 1995), Ch. 2 (for Barbeyrac, Burlamaqui and Vattel)

R. Lesaffer 'A schoolmaster abolishing homework? Vattel on peacemaking and peace treaties', in Chetail and Haggemacher

I. Nakhimovsky 'Vattel's theory of the international order', *History of European Ideas* 33 (2007)

I. Nakhimovsky 'Carl Schmitt's Vattel and the 'Law of Nations' between Enlightenment and Revolution', *Grotiana* 31 (2010)

N. Onuf, *The republican legacy in international thought* (Cambridge: CUP 1998), esp. Ch. 3 for Wolff

J. Pitts 'Intervention and sovereign equality: Legacies of Vattel', in S. Recchia ed., *Just and and unjust military intervention. European thinkers from Vitoria to Mill* (Cambridge 2013)

W. Rech *Enemies of mankind. Vattel's theory of collective security* (Leiden: Brill 2012)

11 Universal Monarchy and Commerce in the Eighteenth Century

In the eighteenth-century the debate over universal monarchy was transformed by a new appreciation of the potential of commerce to re-shape relations between states. Optimists, led by Montesquieu, believed that 'doux commerce' had laid the bogey of universal monarchy for good; by contrast, the harder-headed Scots David Hume and Adam Smith feared that commerce was creating new incentives for conflict – and public indebtedness. Even as the threat of universal monarchy was discounted, however, the example of ancient Rome remained pertinent – and disputed: while the historian Gibbon believed that the Roman Empire would never be replicated, Adam Ferguson maintained that military

despotism was the likeliest fate of commercial monarchies which did not uphold civic virtue – a prognosis that the French Revolution would be taken to vindicate.

Texts

- Montesquieu *Considerations on the Causes of the Greatness of the Romans and their Decline*, trans and ed. D. Lowenthal (Indianapolis: Hackett, 1999) [18C translations on ECCO]
- The Spirit of the Laws*, eds. A. Cohler, B. Miller and H. Stone (Cambridge, 1989), Books IX-X, XIX, XX, XXI
- David Hume ‘Balance of Trade’, ‘Jealousy of Trade’, ‘Balance of Power’, ‘Public Credit’, in *Essays Moral, Political and Literary*, ed. E.F. Miller (Indianapolis, 1985); or in *Political Essays*, ed. K. Haakonssen (Cambridge, 1994)
- Adam Smith *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, eds. T. Campbell, A. S. Skinner and W. Todd, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976, reprinted Indianapolis, 1981): Book III
- Adam Ferguson *An Essay on the History of Civil Society*, ed. F. Oz-Salzberger (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 194-264: Parts V and VI
- Edward Gibbon ‘General Observations on the Fall of the Roman Empire in the West’, in *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ed. D. Womersley (London, 1995), Vol II pp. 508-16

Secondary

General

- Istvan Hont *Jealousy of Trade. International Competition and the Nation State in Historical Perspective* (Cambridge, Mass., 2005), pp. 1-156: Introduction; and pp. 185-266: ‘Free trade and the economic limits to national politics’
- Antoine Lilti & Céline Spector (eds) *Penser l’Europe au XVIIIe siècle. Commerce, civilisation, empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Studies in the Enlightenment, 2014): esp. Spector, ‘Civilisation et empire : la dialectique négative de l’Europe au siècle des Lumières’
- Anthony Pagden *Lords of all the World: Ideologies of Empire in Spain, Britain and France c. 1500-1800* (New Haven and London, 1995), chs 5-6

Montesquieu

- D.W. Carrithers, M.A. Mosher and P.A. Rahe (eds), *Montesquieu’s Science of Politics: Essays on the Spirit of the Laws*, (Lanham MD, 2001)
- P. Cheney *Revolutionary Commerce: Globalization and the French Monarchy* (Cambridge MA, 2010), chapter 2, pp. 52-86: ‘Montesquieu’s Science of Commerce’.

- A. O. Hirschman *The Passions and the Interests. Political arguments for capitalism before its triumph* (Princeton, 1977)
- S. Mason ‘Montesquieu’s Vision of Europe and its European Context’, *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century*, 341 (1996), 61-87
- Paul A. Rahe ‘The book that never was: Montesquieu’s *Considerations on the Romans* in historical context’, *History of Political Thought*, 26 (2005), 43-89
- Michael Sonenscher *Before the Deluge: Public Debt, Inequality, and the Intellectual Origins of the French Revolution* (Princeton, 2007), chs 2-3

Hume

- Istvan jHont *Jealousy of Trade*, pp. 325-53: ‘The Rhapsody of Public Debt: David Hume and Voluntary Bankruptcy’
- J.G.A. Pocock ‘Hume and the American Revolution: The Dying Thoughts of a North Briton, in Pocock, *Virtue, Commerce and History: Essays on Political Thought and History* (Cambridge, 1985), 125-141
- John Robertson ‘Universal monarchy and the liberties of Europe: David Hume’s critique of an English Whig doctrine’, in N. Phillipson and Q. Skinner (eds), *Political Discourse in Early Modern Britain*, (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 349-73.

Adam Smith

- Istvan Hont *Jealousy of Trade* (Cambridge, MA., 2005): 354-88: ‘Adam Smith and the Political Economy of the “Unnatural and Retrograde Order”’
- And ‘Adam Smith’s History of Law and Government as political theory’, in R. Bourke and R. Geuss (eds), *Political Judgement: Essays for John Dunn* (Cambridge, 2009), pp. 131-171.

Ferguson

- Iain McDaniel *Adam Ferguson in the Scottish Enlightenment: The Roman Past and Europe’s Future* (Harvard, MA, 2013)
- ‘Ferguson, Roman History and the Threat of Military Government in Modern Europe’, in E. Heath and V. Merolle(eds), *Adam Ferguson: History, Progress and Human Nature* (London, 2007), pp. 115-130.

Gibbon

- John G.A. Pocock *Barbarism and Religion III The First Decline and Fall* (Cambridge, 2003)
- John Robertson ‘Gibbon’s Roman Empire as a Universal Monarchy. The *Decline and Fall* and the imperial idea in early modern Europe’, in R. McKitterick& R. Quinault (eds), *Gibbon and Empire* (Cambridge, 1996), 247-270
- Hugh Trevor-Roper *History and the Enlightenment* (New Haven and London, 2012), 129-43: ‘The idea of the *Decline and fall of the Roman Empire*’

12 Confederation, federation and perpetual peace in the Eighteenth Century

The new focus on commerce likewise transformed the discussion of the alternatives to imperial monarchy, revitalising the idea of confederation, or federations of states, as the basis for projects of European peace. A fresh starting-point for the discussion was provided by the Abbé de Saint-Pierre's sprawling *Project for perpetual peace*, whose arguments were influentially summarised and criticised by Rousseau. Across the Atlantic, debate over a new constitution for the United States led Hamilton and Madison to undertake a sustained historical critique of confederations, before framing a new and strikingly original conceptual distinction between confederal and federal union. Faced with the French Revolution, however, Kant stopped short of offering a similar federal union as the basis for his celebrated plan for perpetual peace, proposing instead a new version of equal, confederal union. This in turn provoked a series of responses from J.G. Fichte. Fearing the consequences of French domination of Europe, Fichte drew still further back, arguing that Germany should become a 'closed commercial state': only a union based on economic self-sufficiency would secure its states' independence of the new imperialism of France and Britain.

Texts

Rousseau 'Fragments on War', and 'Extract' and 'Judgement' of Saint-Pierre's Project for Perpetual Peace' (1756), in: S. Hoffman and D.P Fidler (eds), *Rousseau on International Relations* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 48-100 [scan on Camtools]

'The state of war' is also in V. Gourevitch (ed), *The Social Contract and other later Political Writings* (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 162-176.

Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay *The Federalist Papers*, ed. I Shapiro, (New Haven and London, 2009) (and other editions), Numbers 1, 9, 14-23

Kant 'Perpetual Peace: a philosophical sketch', in *Kant: Political Writings*, ed. H. Reiss (Cambridge, 1991), 93-130

J.G. Fichte 'Review of Immanuel Kant, *Perpetual Peace*' (1796), translated D. Breazeale, *The Philosophical Forum*, 32, 4 (2001), 311-21

'Outline of the right of nations and cosmopolitan right: Second Appendix to the Doctrine of Natural Right, in F. Neuhouser (ed), *Foundations of Natural Right* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 320-334

J.G. Fichte *The Closed Commercial State*, translated by A. C. Adler (Albany, NY, 2012), pp. 73-88: prefatory material; 135-60: Second Book

Secondary

Saint-Pierre and Rousseau

Nick Childs *A Political Academy in Paris, 1724-1731: the Entresol and its members*, SVEC 2000:10 (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2000), Part II: The political thought of the Entresol

- Stella Ghervas 'La paix par le droit, ciment de la civilisation en Europe? La perspective du siècle des Lumières', in A. Lilti & C. Spector, *Penser l'Europe en XVIIIe siècle* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2014), pp. 47-69
- Bela Kapossy *Iselin contra Rousseau* (Basle, 2006), chapter 3, pp. 173-245
- Patrick Riley 'Rousseau as a theorist of national and international federalism', *Publius*, 3 (1973), 5-17
- Elizabeth V. Souleyman *The Vision of World Peace in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century France* (New York, 1941)
- Richard Tuck *The Rights of War and Peace: Political Thought and the International Order from Grotius to Kant* (Oxford, 1999), 197-207: The Hobbesianism of Rousseau.

America

- Terence Ball and J. G. A. Pocock, eds. *Conceptual Change and the Constitution* (Lawrence, 1988): chs by Onuf, Pocock
- Eliga H. Gould *Among the powers of the earth* (Cambridge, Mass., 2012)
- H.G. Koenigsberger 'Composite states, representative institutions and the American Revolution', *Historical Research*, 62 (1989), 135-153
- Alison L. LaCroix *The Ideological Origins of American Federalism* (Cambridge, MA, 2010)
- Peter S. and Nicolas G Onuf *Federal Union, Modern World. The law of nations in an age of revolutions 1776-1814* (Madison, 1993)
- Anthony Pagden *Lords of all the world: Ideologies of Empire in Spain, Britain and France c. 1500-1800* (New Haven and London, 1995), ch 7
- John G.A. Pocock 'Empire, State and Confederation: the War of American Independence as a Crisis in Multiple Monarchy', in John Robertson, (ed), *A Union for Empire: Political Thought and the Union of 1707* (Cambridge, 1995), 318-48

Kant

- J. Bohman and M. Lutz-Bachmann *Perpetual Peace: Essays on Kant's Cosmopolitan Ideal* (Cambridge, MA, 1997)
- Pauline Kleigeld *Kant and Cosmopolitanism* (Cambridge, 2011)
- SankarMuthu *Enlightenment against Empire* (Princeton, 2003), Ch. 5: Kant's anti-imperialism
- Richard Tuck *The Rights of War and Peace*, pp. 207-225: 'The Hobbesianism of Kant'

Fichte

Isaac Nakhimovsky *The Closed Commercial State: Perpetual Peace and Commercial Society from Rousseau to Fichte* (Princeton, 2011)

Also

R. Whatmore *Against War & Empire. Geneva, Britain and France in the Eighteenth Century* (New Haven and London, 2012)

13 Beyond the Sovereign's Reach? Companies & Convicts

Imperial 'sovereigns' were never fully sovereign. Rather, in the course of building and maintaining empires metropolitan authorities not only incorporated and recognized the rights of certain pre-existing political bodies, they repeatedly went so far as to constitute and consecrate new bodies that then went on to challenge the center's oversight and control. Two of the most striking eighteenth-century examples were monopoly joint-stock trading companies and penal colonies, each of which posed a distinctive challenge to metropolitan authority and a puzzle concerning the legitimate interaction of legislative and executive powers projected across vast space.

Texts

Adam Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, eds. T. Campbell, A. S. Skinner and W. Todd (Oxford, 1976), 556-641, 660-662, 731-758, 944-947.

Edmund Burke, 'Speech on Fox's India Bill' and 'Speech on Opening of Impeachment', in *Empire and Community: Edmund Burke's Writings and Speeches on International Relations*, ed. David P. Fidler and Jennifer M. Welsh (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1999), 169-234.

Jeremy Bentham, 'Plea for the Constitution: Shewing The Enormities Committed, to the Oppression of British Subjects, Innocent as Well as Guilty; in Breach of the Magna Charta, the Petition of Right, the Habeus Corpus Act, and the Bill of Rights, as Likewise of the Several Transportation Acts, in and by the Design, Foundation, and Government of the Penal Colony of New South Wales: Including an Inquiry into the Right of the Crown to Legislate Without Parliament in Trinidad, and Other British Colonies', in *The Works of Jeremy Bentham*, vol. 4, ed. John Bowring (Edinburgh, 1843).

Secondary reading

Philip J Stern, *The Company-State: Corporate Sovereignty and the Early Modern Foundations of the British Empire in India* (Oxford, 2011).

Sankar Muthu, 'Adam Smith's Critique of International Trading Companies: Theorizing "Globalization" in the Age of Enlightenment', *Political Theory* 36, no. 2 (2008): 185-212.

Emma Rothschild, 'Global Commerce and the Question of Sovereignty in the Eighteenth-Century Provinces', *Modern Intellectual History* 1, no. 1 (2004): 3-25.

- Richard Bourke, 'Edmund Burke and the Politics of Conquest', *Modern Intellectual History* 4, no. 3 (2007): 403-432.
- Richard Bourke, 'Liberty, Authority and Trust in Burke's Idea of Empire', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 61, no. 3 (2000): 453-71.
- David Armitage, 'Edmund Burke and Reason of State', in *Foundations of Modern Political Thought* (Cambridge, 2013), 154-171.
- Jennifer Pitts, 'Empire and Legal Universalisms in the Eighteenth Century', *The American Historical Review* 117, no. 1 (2012): 92-121.
- Jennifer Pitts, *A Turn to Empire: The Rise of Imperial Liberalism in Britain and France* (Princeton, 2005), ch. 3.
- Huw V Bowen, 'A Question of Sovereignty? The Bengal Land Revenue Issue, 1765-7', *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 16, no. 2 (1988): 155-176.
- PJ Marshall, *The Impeachment of Warren Hastings* (London, 1965)
- PJ Marshall, 'Burke and Empire,' in *Hanoverian Britain and Empire: Essays in Memory of Philip Lawson*, eds. Stephen Taylor, Richard Connors, and Clyve Jones (Woodbridge, 1998), 288-298.
- Geoffrey Carnall and Colin Nicholson, eds., *The Impeachment of Warren Hastings: Papers from a Bicentenary Commemoration* (Edinburgh, 1989).
- David Musselwhite, 'The Trial of Warren Hastings', in *Literature, Politics, and Theory: Papers from the Essex Conference, 1976-84*, eds. Francis Baker, Peter Hulme, Margaret Iversen, and Diana Loxley (London, 1986), 77-103.
- Nicolas B Dirks, *The Scandal of Empire: India and the Creation of Imperial Britain* (Cambridge, MA: 2006).
- Mithi Mukherjee, 'Justice, War, and the Imperium: India and Britain in Edmund Burke's Prosecutorial Speeches in the Impeachment Trial of Warren Hastings', *Law and History Review* 23, no.3 (2005): 589-630.

Convicts:

- Lauren Benton and Lisa Ford, 'Magistrates in Empire: Convicts, Slaves, and the Remaking of the Plural Legal Order in the British Empire', in *Legal Pluralism and Empires, 1500-1850*, eds. Lauren Benton and Richard J Ross (New York, 2013), 173-198.
- Lauren Benton, *A Search for Sovereignty: Law and Geography in European Empires, 1400-1900* (Cambridge, 2010), ch 4: 'Island Chains: Military Law and Convict Transportation'.

14 Empire and Confederation in Napoleon's Europe

Between 1800 and 1820 the map of Europe was redrawn several times: the old Holy Roman Empire was abolished, and a new sort of continental Empire founded, lost and replaced by a system of alliances that appeared both to re-establish the pre-revolutionary balance of power and to announce the dawn of a new age of international diplomacy. This topic examines the arguments for and against Napoleon's challenge to the prior European order, as well as disagreements over how to interpret the resulting settlement and what would be required to re-establish the possibility of peace in a post-Revolutionary Europe. Among the innovations of this period are those that would inspire later theories of '*Realpolitik*' and 'realist' international relations, but at the time they were both criticized and defended also in the languages of political and religious principle. The Napoleonic wars and their aftermath dramatically illustrated how political contests over internal and external power could be inextricably linked, so that neither could be durably solved without at the same time solving the other.

Texts

G.W.F. Hegel, 'The German Constitution' (1798-1802), in *Political Writings*, ed. Laurence Dickey and H.B. Nisbet (Cambridge, 1999); 'Letter to Friedrich Immanuel Niethammer, October 13, 1806' in *Hegel: The Letters*, ed. Clark Butler and Christiane Seiler (Bloomington, IN: 2984).

Alexandre Maurice Blanc de Lanautte Hauterive, *State of the French Republic at the End of the Year VIII*, trans. Lewis Goldsmith (London, 1801). Ch. 1-4.

Friedrich Gentz, *Fragments upon the Balance of Power in Europe* (London, 1806), introduction, 1-74, 104-8, 111-7.

Benjamin Constant, 'The Spirit of Conquest' (1813) in *Political Writings* ed. Biancamaria Fontana (Cambridge, 1988).

Germaine de Staël, 'On the Political Doctrine of Bonaparte', in her *Considerations on the Principal Events of the French Revolution* (1818), ed. Aurelian Craiutu (Indianapolis, 2008).

Secondary reading

Biancamaria Fontana, 'The Napoleonic Empire and the Europe of Nations', in *The Idea of Europe from Antiquity to the European Union*, ed. Anthony Pagden (Cambridge, 2002).

Philip Dwyer, 'Napoleon and the Universal Monarchy', *History* 95 (2010): 293-307.

Isaac Nakhimovsky, 'The "Ignominious Fall of the European Commonwealth": Gentz, Hauterive, and the Debate of 1800', in *Trade and War: The Neutrality of Commerce in the Inter-State System*, ed. Koen Stapelbroek (Helsinki, 2011), 212-228, <https://helda.helsinki.fi/handle/10138/25843>.

Murray Forsyth, 'The Old European States-System: Gentz vs. Hauterive,' *The Historical Journal* 23 (1980): 521-38.

Emma Rothschild, 'Language and Empire, c.1800', *Historical Research* 78 (2005): 208-29.

F. H. Hinsley, *Power and the Pursuit of Peace: Theory and Practice in the History of Relations Between States* (Cambridge, 1963), 186-212.

Günther Kronenbitter, “‘The Most Terrible War’: Freidrich Gentz and the Lessons of Revolutionary War,’ in *War in an Age of Revolution* (Cambridge, 2010), 117-136.

Raidar Maliks, ‘The State of Freedom: Kant and his Conservative Critics’, in *Freedom and the Construction of Europe, Vol. II: Free Persons and Free States*, ed. Quentin Skinner and Martin van Gelderen (Cambridge, 2013), 188-207.

Hannah Arendt, ‘Friedrich von Gentz,’ in *Essays in Understanding, 1930-1954* (New York, 1994), 50-6.

J. Pitts, ‘Constant’s Thought on Slavery and Empire’, in Rosenblatt (ed), *Cambridge Companion to Benjamin Constant* (Cambridge, 2009), pp. 115-145

Maria Fairweather, *Madame de Staël* (London, 2005).

Madelyn Gutwirth, Avriel H Goldberger, and Karyna Szmulro, eds., *Germaine de Staël: Crossing the Borders* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1991).

15 The Constitution of Cádiz and Spanish American Independence

When Napoleon overturned Spain’s Bourbon monarchy in 1808 to install his brother on the throne, he unleashed a chain of events that led to the collapse of the Spanish American empire. The liberal 1812 Constitution of Cádiz offered colonies representation in the Spanish Cortes, but the peninsular power proved incapable of stifling rebellions after Ferdinand VII’s restoration in 1814, and itself fell to revolution in 1820. This is not a story of fully-formed nations wresting their independence from foreign tyrants, but of the opening of a vacuum of final authority that invited players on the ground in the Americas to fashion new forms of sovereignty wherever and however they could manage. We consider the range of forms, from trans-Atlantic representative assemblies to confederations of independent townships, that were explored before borders finally settled through war, as well as the ways that enlightenment and revolutionary ideals drawn both from French and English examples and from the Spanish Enlightenment were recombined and redeployed for new ends in a changed political context.

Texts

José Campillo y Cossío, ‘A New Economic Policy for America’ (1762); The Count of Aranda, ‘On the Independence of Colonies’ (1783); Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos, ‘In Praise of Charles III’ (1788) and ‘Letter on the French Revolution’ (1794); and Pedro Rodríguez de Campomanes, ‘On the Political Economy of Spain’ (1789), in *Early Modern Spain: A Documentary History*, ed. Jon Cowans (Philadelphia, 2003).

Juan Pablo Viscardo y Guzmán, ‘Letter Addressed to the American Spaniards by One of Their Compatriots’ (1791 pub. 1801), trans. as ‘An Open Letter to América’ in *Latin American*

Independence: An Anthology of Sources, ed. Sarah C. Chambers and John Charles Chasteen (Indianapolis, 2010).

'Decrees of the Cádiz Cortes (1810-1814)' in *Modern Spain: A Documentary History*, ed. Jon Cowans (Philadelphia, 2003); and 'The Cádiz Constitution of 1812' [selected articles] in Chambers and Chasteen.

Simón Bolívar, 'The Jamaica Letter' (1815), and 'The Angostura Address' (1819) in *El Libertador: Writings of Simón Bolívar*, ed. David Bushnell (Oxford, 2003); and Bernardo Monteagudo 'Essay on the Need for a General Federation of Hispanic American States,' trans. as 'Diplomatic Proposal: Bolívar's Confederation Initiative,' in Chambers and Chasteen.

José María Luis Mora, 'Discourse on the Independence of the Mexican Empire' (1821), 'Discourse on the Limits of Civil Authority Deduced from Their Source' (1827), 'On the Means Ambition Uses to Destroy Liberty' (1827), and Mora/Alberto Lista, 'Discourse on Public Opinion and the General Will' (1827) in *Liberty in Mexico: Writings on Liberalism from the Early Republican Period to the Second Half of the Twentieth Century*, ed. José Antonio Aguilar Rivera (Indianapolis, 2012).

Secondary reading

Anthony Pagden, *Spanish Imperialism and the Political Imagination: Studies in European and Spanish American Social and Political Theory, 1513–1830* (New Haven, 1990), chs. 4-5.

Anthony Pagden, *Lords of All the World: Ideologies of Empire in Spain, Britain and France c. 1500-c.1800* (New Haven, 1995), ch. 4.

David Armitage, *Foundations of Modern International Thought* (Cambridge, 2013), ch. 12.

José Carlos Chiaramonte, *Nation and State in Latin America: Political Language During Independence* (Buenos Aires, 2010).

François-Xavier Guerra, 'The Spanish-American Tradition of Representation and Its European Roots', *Journal of Latin American Studies* 26, no. 1 (1994): 1-35.

Hilda Sabato: 'On Political Citizenship in Nineteenth-Century Latin America', *The American Historical Review* 106, no. 4 (2001): 1290-1315.

Tamar Herzog, 'Communities Becoming a Nation: Spain and Spanish America in the Wake of Modernity (and Thereafter)', *Citizenship Studies* 11, no. 2 (2007): 151-172.

Jordana Dym, *From Sovereign Villages to National States: City, State, and Federation in Central America, 1759-1839* (Albuquerque, 2006).

Michael T Ducey. *A Nation of Villages: Riot and Rebellion in the Mexican Huasteca, 1750-1850* (Tucson, 2004).

Jeremy Adelman, *Sovereignty and Revolution in the Iberian Atlantic* (Princeton, 2006).

Jeremy Adelman, 'Iberian Passages: Continuity and Change in the South Atlantic,' in *The Age of Revolutions in Global Context*, David Armitage and Sanjay Subrahmanyam, eds. (Basingstoke, 2010).

David Brading, *The First America: The Spanish Monarchy, Creole Patriots, and the Liberal State* (Cambridge, 1991).

Gabriel Paquette, ed., *Enlightened Reform in Southern Europe and its Atlantic Colonies, c. 1750-1830* (Farnham, 2009)

Gabriel Paquette, *Enlightenment, Governance, and Reform in Spain and its Empire, 1759-1808*. (Basingstoke: 2008)

On Bolívar:

David Brading, *Classical Republicanism and Creole Patriotism: Simón Bolívar (1783-1830) and the Spanish American Revolution* (Cambridge, 1983).

John Lynch, *Simón Bolívar: A Life* (New Haven, 2006).

On Portugal and Brazil:

Gabriel Paquette, *Imperial Portugal in the Age of Atlantic Revolutions: The Luso-Brazilian World, c. 1770-1850* (Cambridge, 2013).

Gabriel Paquette, 'The Brazilian Origins of the 1826 Portuguese Constitution,' *European History Quarterly* 41, no. 3 (2011): 444-471.

16 Slavery and Independence in Political Thought in the Age of Revolutions

Issues of slavery, citizenship and independence were nowhere more tightly intertwined than in the West Indies; we focus on this region, rather than the more familiar North American case, including the spectacular revolution in Haiti that saw a slave revolt defeat the armies of Napoleon's Empire. It is widely known that arguments over abolition often turned on appeals to economic efficiency, sentiment, or religion, but our interest is in what these debates revealed about the contested nature of imperial citizenship and sovereignty at the turn of the nineteenth century. In Haiti rebels proclaimed fidelity to French revolutionary values as they won their right to found their own Empire separate from Napoleon's. And in the British West Indies planters and metropolitan officials struggled over the question of whether or not the Empire had the right to free its subjects' slaves. In both cases the relationship between 'empire' and 'independence' was complex and itself an object of political struggle.

Texts

Abbé Raynal, *Philosophical and Political History of the Settlements and Trade of the Europeans in the East and West Indies, Newly Translated from the French by J.O. Justamond, F.R.S.*, vol. 5 (London, 1788), 261-309 (Book XI, ch. 22-4).

Marie-Jean-Antoine Nicolas de Caritat, marquis de Condorcet, 'Reflections on Negro Slavery' (1781), in *The French Revolution and Human Rights: A Brief Documentary History*, ed. Lynn Hunt (Boston: Bedford, 1996), 55-57. [A short excerpt]

Toussaint Louverture, *The Haitian Revolution*, ed. Nick Nesbitt (London, 2008), docs. 1, 3-7, 9, 11-13, 15-16, 19-21.

James Stephen, *The Slavery of the British West India Colonies Delineated, as It Exists Both in Law and Practice, and Compared with the Slavery of Other Countries, Antient and Modern*, vol. 1 (London, 1824), Preface, Book I, ch. I, Appendix. I.

Joseph Clayton Jennyns, *An Appeal to the Earl Bathurst, When Colonial Minister, On the Unconstitutional Continuance of Foreign Laws in the Colonies Ceded to Great Britain, with a Preface on the Direful Revolution Projected in England, and Executed in the British Antilles, by the Advocates of Negro-Mania* (London, 1828), Preface (i-xxvii).

Secondary reading

General

Gordon K. Lewis, *Main Currents in Caribbean Thought: The Historical Evolution of Caribbean Society in its Ideological Aspects, 1492-1900* (Lincoln, NE: 2004).

French Debates, Toussaint L'Ouverture, & the Haitian Revolution:

Malick W Ghachem, *The Old Regime and the Haitian Revolution* (Cambridge, 2012).

Laurent Dubois, *A Colony of Citizens: Revolution and Slave Emancipation in the French Caribbean, 1787-1804* (Chapel Hill, NS: 2004).

Laurent Dubois, 'An Enslaved Enlightenment: Rethinking the Intellectual History of the French Atlantic,' *Social History* 31, no. 1 (2006): 1-14.

Carolyn E. Fick, 'The Haitian Revolution and the Limits of Freedom: Defining Citizenship in the Revolutionary Era,' *Social History* 32, no. 4 (2008): 394-414.

John D Garrigus, *Before Haiti: Race and Citizenship in French Saint-Domingue* (New York, 2006).

Sue Peabody, 'There Are No Slaves in France': *The Political Culture of Race and Slavery in the Ancien Régime* (Oxford, 1996).

Jeremy D Popkin, 'The French Revolution's Other Island,' in *The World of the Haitian Revolution*, ed. Norman Fiering and David Geggus (Bloomington, IN: 2009), 199-222.

David Geggus, 'Racial Equality, Slavery, and colonial secession During the Constituent Assembly,' *The American Historical Review* 94, no. 5 (1989): 1290-1308.

CLR James, *The Black Jacobins: Toussaint L'Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution*, 2nd revised ed. (New York, 1963).

David Allen Harvey, *The French Enlightenment and Its Others: The Mandarin, The Savage, and the Invention of the Human Sciences* (New York, 2012), chapter 6.

Lawrence C Jennings, *French Anti-Slavery: The Movement for the Abolition of Slavery in France, 1802-1848* (Cambridge, 2000).

Robin Blackburn, 'Haiti, Slavery, and the Age of Democratic Revolution,' *William and Mary Quarterly* 63, no. 4 (2006): 643-674.

Louis-Sala Molins, *Dark Side of the Light: Slavery and the French Enlightenment* (Minneapolis, 2006).

Raynal, Diderot, and the *Histoire des deux Indes*:

JGA Pocock, 'Commerce, Settlement and History: A Reading of the *Histoire des deux Indes*,' in *Articulating America: Fashioning a National Political Culture in Early America, Essay in Honor of JR Pole*, ed. Rebecca Starr (Landham, 2000), 15-44.

Sankar Muthu, *Enlightenment Against Empire* (Princeton, 2003), 46-121.

Anthony Pagden, *Lords of All the World: Ideologies of Empire in Spain, Britain and France c. 1500-c.1800* (New Haven, 1995), ch. 6.

Anoush Fraser Terjanian, *Commerce and Its Discontents in Eighteenth-Century French Political Thought* (Cambridge, 2012).

Sunil M Agnani, *Hating Empire Properly* (New York, 2013), 23-68.

Condorcet & Slavery:

David Williams, 'Condorcet and the Abolition of Slavery in the French Colonies,' in *Enlightenment and Emancipation*, ed. Susan Manning and Peter France (Cranbury, NJ: 2006), 15-29.

David Williams, *Condorcet and Modernity* (Cambridge, 2004), especially 139-171.

Richard H. Popkin, 'Condorcet, Abolitionist,' in *The Third Force in Seventeenth Century Thought* (Leiden, 1992), 50-63.

Daniel P. Resnick, 'The Société des Amis des Noirs and the Abolition of Slavery,' *French Historical Studies* 7, no. 4 (1972): 558-569.

The Abolition Debate in the British West Indies:

Derek Peterson, ed., *Abolitionism and Imperialism in Britain, Africa, and the Atlantic* (Cambridge, 2010), chs. 1, 4, 5, 6.

John R Oldfield, *Transatlantic Abolitionism in the Age of Revolution, c.1787-1820* (Cambridge, 2013).

David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution, 1770-1823* (Ithaca, NY: 1975).

Seymour Drescher, *Abolition: A History of Slavery and Anti-Slavery* (Cambridge, 2009), 115-244.

Christopher Leslie Brown, *Moral Capital: Foundations of British Abolitionism* (Chapel Hill, NC: 2006).

Larry E. Tise, *Proslavery: A History of the Defense of Slavery in America, 1701-1840* (Athens, GA: 1987), ch. 4, 'Proslavery Heritage of Britain and the West Indies, 1770-1833', 75-96.