Prior Knowledge: Understanding the world and creating the Treaty of Utrecht through maps and atlases/Esto perpetua respublica americana: Use of Fra Paolo Sarpi and of the Venetian example in political discourse by the founders of the American republic

Phillip Louis Emanuel

Sydney, New South Wales, Australia

Master of Philosophy in Early Modern History, University of Cambridge, 2008
Bachelor of Arts (Honours Class I), University of Sydney, 2006

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APPROVAL PAGE

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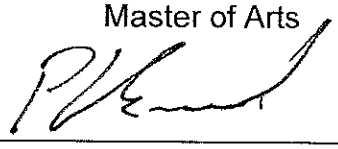

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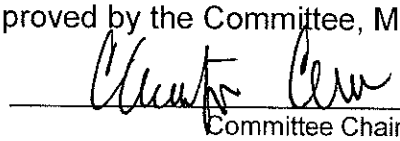
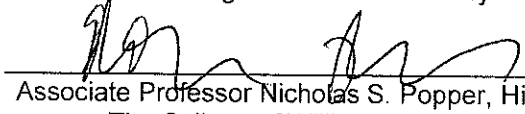
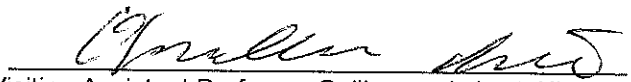


Committee Chair
Professor Christopher Grasso, History
The College of William and Mary



Associate Professor Nicholas S. Popper, History
The College of William and Mary



Visiting Assistant Professor Guillaume Aubert, History
The College of William and Mary

ABSTRACT PAGE

Prior Knowledge: Understanding the world and creating the Treaty of Utrecht through maps and atlases.

Much of the negotiation for what would become the Treaty of Utrecht of 1713 actually happened in London in 1711 in the house of Matthew Prior (1664-1721), a poet and diplomat and one of the negotiators. It is possible to reconstruct the information filtering back from across the Atlantic to the actors in this metropolitan space thanks to an inventory of Prior's property, including his personal library. This was an collection of approximately two thousand books, including maps and atlases, known through an inventory taken at Prior's death which is now in the British Library. The peace signed at Utrecht secured several British territorial claims in what is now Canada, but left unresolved colonial borders which were to be at issue for many years. It also opened the Pacific to British and French imperial competition. Most importantly, it granted Britain the asiento contract to supply slaves to all of Spain's American colonies, a contract which would put Britain on track to become the largest slave trading nation of the eighteenth century. An examination of geography books and atlases with information on the Americas and available to one of the principal negotiators helps in understanding the ways in which empire and territorial boundaries were imposed upon the world from an imperial centre and how the lives of millions of people were determined by partially informed agreements made in a house in London.

Esto perpetua respublica americana: Use of Fra Paolo Sarpi and of the Venetian example in political discourse by the founders of the American republic.

In 1819, at the height of the Missouri Crisis, John Adams wrote a letter to Thomas Jefferson in which he expressed his hope that the young American republic would weather this storm, saying "Esto perpetua." These were the reputed last words of a Venetian priest who was famed throughout Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries for his vigorous defence of the liberty of Venice against the temporal power of the Papacy, Fra Paolo Sarpi (1552-1623). Adams quoted this phrase many times in his correspondence, and he was not alone, the phrase was used throughout the early republican period at times of strain to address concerns over the ability of the republic to endure. Many of the American founders read Sarpi's works, James Madison even recommending that Congress buy two of them for its own library and suggesting that a third was the best source for discussion of the need to keep churches from becoming powerful in the temporal world by restricting their ability to hold land and incorporate themselves. Although many American thinkers dismissed the Venetian republic as not a useful example of a republic or indeed as not even a republic at all, the idea of Venice as an enduring polity, and the threat to republics which some saw in its fall, was a good reason to look to the Italian city and to Sarpi as sources of inspiration in a young country still struggling with what it meant to be a republic.

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Intellectual Biography

Both of the papers contained within this portfolio relate to my interest in the history of the book and of libraries and reading in an Atlantic context. However, they arise out of different periods and make use of somewhat different methodologies. The first, *Prior Knowledge: Understanding the world and creating the Treaty of Utrecht through maps and atlases* (hereafter *Prior Knowledge*) attempted to take a large-scale Atlantic approach, dealing with the relationship between diplomatic events in Europe and their relationship to events in the Americas, Africa, and in the Atlantic itself. The second essay, *Esto perpetua respublica americana: Use of Fra Paolo Sarpi and of the Venetian example in political discourse by the founders of the American republic,* (hereafter *Esto perpetua respublica americana*) was written within the framework of a class on the early American republic, and although it did involve connections to seventeenth century Venice and England, viewed these through the national and political lens of the American republic. These essays attempted to examine the role of books and reading in events and discourse around the Atlantic world, one in the diplomatic, the other in the political sphere.

Prior Knowledge built on my longstanding interest in the diplomatic career of Matthew Prior (1664-1721) and on previous work I had conducted on his life. My first interest in Prior began during my undergraduate degree when I found a book published under his name in 1740 and called *The History of His Own Time*. This led to my conducting research on Prior in the course of both of my previous degrees, at the Universities of Sydney and Cambridge. During a subsequent period living in London I transcribed the whole of the inventory of goods in Prior's house at his death, including a full catalogue of his library. This source and the important role played by Prior in the negotiations leading to the Treaty of Utrecht led me to research and write *Prior Knowledge*. I attempted to discover what a library

list such as this can tell us of the intellectual world inhabited by a diplomat of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. In particular, I was interested in what knowledge of the places under negotiation Prior could have gained from his books, given that he never left Europe. The large number of travel books, maps, and atlases in Prior's library, coupled with the fact that his house was the site of the preliminary agreements for the peace, made it clear that I was dealing with a self-presentation as a person of expertise. However, as I read in the historiography of maps which has been built up over the years, starting with the foundational essays of J.B. Harley I began to be interested in the limitations on the knowledge deployed by diplomats acting in Europe in ways which affected the lives of many millions of people in places they had never seen. The clear disconnect between the mis/information in the books and maps and the knowledge asserted in the negotiations seemed to be essential to understanding how these played out. My hope in this essay was to establish the importance of books and the knowledge supposedly contained therein in the arguments of diplomats, connecting the colonial Atlantic world to the metropole through these material objects.

In *Esto perpetua respublica americana* I attempted to find somewhat different connections between the Old World and the New. During the course of my apprenticeship in Swem Library's Special Collections I was given the task of writing a blog post on the only book to survive from the first library of the College. This was Fra Paolo Sarpi's (1552-1623) *History of the Council of Trent* and in researching it I discovered that Sarpi's last words (esto perpetua) had been quoted by John Adams in a letter to Thomas Jefferson about the Missouri Crisis in 1819. In the course of the same semester I was also enrolled in a reading seminar on 'Internationalizing the American Revolution' which covered the relationship between that event and the political events in Europe at the same time. In the course of our reading about other republics and their role in shaping the American republic, or vice versa, I was struck by the general lack of discussion of the Venetian republic. When in my second semester I was

looking for a research topic relating to the early American republic I decided to investigate Sarpi's Venice and his and its possible role in influencing the American founders. Sarpi's last words did appear in a number of letters written by and to the founders, and in vastly different contexts. I also discovered that James Madison recommended three of his books, two to Congress and one in the context of a discussion of church-state debates in Virginia. Through these particular references to Sarpi and to Venice in the letters of a handful of the American founders I attempted to engage with the historiography on the subject of classical republicanism and that dealing with the separation of church and state.

It is currently my hope to polish *Prior Knowledge* and to submit it to an academic journal. During the writing of the paper I relied upon digitized images of the maps which were in Prior's library rather than editions of the published atlases, which because of the value of individual maps on the antiquarian market have often been broken up by dealers. However, during the winter break I was able to consult original editions of these atlases in the Library of Congress map division, and so feel that I am now on more solid ground in my discussion of how these maps may have functioned in Prior's library. Furthermore, the two reading seminar essays which I am writing this semester will I hope buttress other aspects of this paper. In the 'Comparative Slavery' class I am currently writing a historiographical essay on major works dealing with the subject of the English conception of the slave trade in the years leading up to the Treaty of Utrecht. This is in hopes of bolstering what I currently believe to be a weak point in the essay as I submitted it last semester, the discussion of Britain's securing of the *asiento* to trade slaves to Spanish America. At the same time, in my class on West African history I am working on a historiographical paper on travel accounts in the seventeenth century and their use both now and in the period as sources of information. I hope that this will allow me to revisit the sections in *Prior Knowledge* which deal with travel accounts, and perhaps refine my analysis. Based on these developments I plan to revise the

essay over this summer and to submit it to a journal in hope of receiving detailed feedback from readers with expertise in this field. At present I am inclined to submit the paper to a journal on travel and exploration or cartography, along the lines of *Imago Mundi* or *Itinerario*. After writing this essay I am now very interested in the subject of information and misinformation in books in the colonial centre and in the related study of ignorance – under the neologism of 'agnotology.' Exploring whether this essay may be publishable will allow me to examine whether I have a topic which may form the basis of the PhD dissertation, and certainly my interest in the issues raised in researching this paper means that I would be very much inclined to pursue further research in this area.

In *Esto perpetua respublica americana* I attempted to engage with two historiographies about classical republicanism and about the separation of church and state, although the fact that these are considerable bodies of literature and the limitations of my own schedule meant that this was certainly a weaker point in this essay. If I were to return to this subject a greater attention to this historiography would necessarily be the first step. However, I am not sure that there would be enough interest in the role of Sarpi and Venice in the thinking of the American founders to make this worth submission for publication. My only thought on the future of this subject would be to look for a greater currency for the phrase 'esto perpetua.' If I could find it spread more widely than just among an elite who had access to Sarpi's works and the story of his life, then there may be something to be said about the popularization of classical republican language. Beyond the printed word, it would be most interesting if this appeared in any other material culture context, for instance in broadsides or posters or on patriotic printed pottery. This seems unlikely (simply because the phrase is in Latin), but should I be able to find signs of this transfer it would perhaps be grounds for revisiting this essay.

These two essays have provided me with excellent opportunities to examine the role of books, libraries, maps, and reading in the Atlantic context as a means of connection across that space. I plan to continue to pursue this broad topic within the Atlantic framework, and my work on *Prior Knowledge* has certainly given me indications of future avenues to explore. The presence in Williamsburg of the papers of William Blathwayt, another colonial administrator with a large library, offers a particularly tantalising opportunity. Although both papers have their weaknesses, I think the first was the stronger and will be the more likely to provide a route into further work. That being said, I am proud of the work I did on *Esto perpetua respublica americana*, and I was certainly able to explore the issues which had been raised by the reading seminar in my first semester and by my apprenticeship in the library. In any case, I will retain my interest in Paolo Sarpi, even if the essay remains only a footnote to the surviving volume from the first William and Mary library.

Prior Knowledge: Understanding the world and creating the Treaty of Utrecht through maps and atlases.

"Now see what You owe to Us Scholars, who tame
the World to make it Subordinate to your power."

Matthew Prior.[1]

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In August of 1711, while the War of Spanish Succession continued, a group of men met secretly in a house in Duke Street, Westminster. On entering the hall they were confronted by a view of London, and a large map, and as they continued upstairs an extensive library, complete with globes, maps, and geographical works. This was the house of Matthew Prior (1664-1721), the poet and diplomat who had carried the first proposals for peace to the French that summer, and these men, British ministers and the French agent Nicolas Mesnager, were here to negotiate what would become the Treaty of Utrecht.[2] In this space a small group of men made decisions affecting millions of others as they negotiated whether France or Britain would possess Newfoundland, Acadia, Cape Breton Island, and Hudson's Bay, and as the British pushed for an expansion of their empire beyond its earlier Atlantic focus and into the South Seas. In redrawing boundaries in the Americas which would continue to be sources of contention for fifty years and more, what knowledge were these men of the metropole drawing upon? Thanks to an

[1] Matthew Prior, , "A Dialogue between Charles the Emperor and Clenard the Grammarian," 1721, H. Bunker Wright and Monroe K. Spears, eds, *The Literary Works of Matthew Prior*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), I, 601.

[2] The best (and most recent) life of Prior covers these negotiations in detail, Charles Kenneth Eves, *Matthew Prior: Poet and Diplomatist*, (N.Y.: Columbia University Press, 1939, reprinted N.Y.: Octagon Books, 1973), 220-357; for Prior's own account of the preliminary negotiations, "Prior's Negotiations in France," in Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report on the Manuscripts of His Grace the Duke of Portland, preserved at Welbeck Abbey*, Volume V, (Norwich, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1899), 34-42; on the meetings at Prior's house, see Henry St John's letter to Queen Anne, dated the 20th of September, 1711, printed in *The Parliamentary History of England, from the Earliest Period to the Year 1803, Volume VII, A.D. 1714-1722*, (London: Longman, Hurst, et al., 1811), Appendix I, cv.

inventory of goods in the house at Prior's death less than a decade after the Treaty was signed it is possible to reconstruct something of his informational world.[3] A snapshot of the atlases and geographical books available to Prior and to the negotiators during the discussions at Duke Street gives us some idea of what they thought they knew, what they pretended to know, and what they knew nothing about in coming to the agreement which would become the settlement of Utrecht. The Treaty gave more power to the rising British empire and signalled the beginning of the balance of power system in Europe, whilst at the same time allowing for the continuation of British and French competition in the waters around and beyond the Atlantic.[4] What follows will examine how diplomats who never left Europe, and in particular a professional diplomat like Prior, could use the knowledge contained in maps, atlases, and descriptive geographies to understand and shape the imperial discourse of European powers in their allocation of territories. It is my hope that this essay and the particular example of the Matthew Prior library will contribute to our understanding of how the men in the metropole developed and displayed the supposed knowledge (not to say, effrontery) which allowed them to make

[3] This manuscript was prepared in 1721 on Prior's death and is Additional MS 70362, British Library, henceforth cited as Add. MS 70362. The list of the goods in the hall, including the map, is at 43v. The map is not described in any detail, beyond its being large. Many large maps (sometimes of several feet in size) are known to have been produced in London at this time, including a number of England, but also a 10 by 7 foot, 21 sheet world map featuring the voyages of Sir Francis Drake and Thomas Cavendish. This last was printed and advertised numerous times by Joseph Moxon, James Moxon, and Philip Lea between 1679 and 1700 and it is tempting to think that this was Prior's map, but no direct evidence exists. For details of the Moxon map see Sarah Tyacke, *London Map Sellers: 1660-1721*, (Tring, Hertfordshire: Map Collector Publications Limited, 1978), xvii & 56-57.

[4] On the treaty's importance and the ongoing competition afterwards see John Brewer, *The Sinews of Power: War, Money and the English State*, (N.Y.: Alfred A. Knopf, 1989), 171-72; Geoffrey Holmes, *The Making of a Great Power: Late Stuart and early Georgian Britain, 1660-1722*, (London: Longman, 1993), 241-44; Patrick K. O'Brien, "Inseparable Connections: Trade, Economy, Fiscal State, and the Expansion of Empire, 1688-1815," P.J. Marshall, ed., *The Oxford History of the British Empire, Volume II, The Eighteenth Century*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 65.

decisions affecting millions of people in a colonial context which was expanding to encompass the whole world.[5]

[5] This essay builds upon considerable historiography on mapping and discourses of power, starting with the work of J.B. Harley in the 1980s and 1990s, J.B. Harley, *The New Nature of Maps: Essays in the History of Cartography*, (Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001). Harley's various papers treated the map as a rhetoric-laden object, far from innocent or purely scientific, and invited an iconological study of the deeper layers of meaning in maps. The iconographical/iconological analysis Harley suggests on page 48 of *The New Nature of Maps* is explicitly based upon that of Erwin Panofsky, "Iconography and Iconology: An Introduction to the Study of Renaissance Art," Erwin Panofsky, *Meaning in the Visual Arts*, (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1955), 28-41. This new approach to the map as a "thick text" made it possible to examine the role of maps in political structures of power, both in Europe and in the projection of power overseas, Martin Brückner, "Introduction," *Early American Cartographies*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, 2011), 15. In fact, the map has now been placed at the centre of the transformation and expansion of European empires by historians such as James R. Akerman and Matthew H. Edney, see James R. Akerman, "Introduction," James R. Akerman, *The Imperial Map: Cartography and the Mastery of Empire*, (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2009), 1-9; Matthew H. Edney, "The Irony of Imperial Mapping," Akerman, *The Imperial Map*, 11-45; David Buisseret, "Introduction," David Buisseret, ed., *Monarchs, Ministers, and Maps: The Emergence of Cartography as a Tool of Government in Early Modern Europe*, (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1992), 1-4; James R. Akerman, "The Structuring of Political Territory in Early Printed Atlases," *Imago Mundi*, 47 (1995): 138-54.

Historians have noted not only the role of power in shaping maps, but the power of maps themselves over states and actors in an era when on-the-ground experience of administrative and political figures was in short supply, see Michael Biggs, "Putting the State on the Map: Cartography, Territory, and European State Formation," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 41 (1999): 376; Jordan Branch, *The Cartographic State: Maps, Territory, and the Origins of Sovereignty*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 39, 71. A new field, known as agnotology, has been developing recently to explore ignorance, although its application has largely been within the natural sciences, Robert N. Proctor, "Agnotology: A Missing Term to Describe the Cultural Production of Ignorance (and its Study)," Robert N. Proctor and Londa Schiebinger, *Agnotology: The Making and Unmaking of Ignorance*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008), 1-33. This essay will engage with an agnotological historiography, even if not conceived within that framework, most notably the work of Glyndwr Williams on the British knowledge and action in the South Sea and that of Paul W. Mapp on the limitations placed upon colonial administrators in North America by their faulty knowledge of geography. Glyndwr Williams, *The Great South Sea: English Voyages and Encounters, 1570-1750*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997); Paul W. Mapp, *The Elusive West and the Contest for Empire, 1713-1763*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, 2011), particularly 3-15.

Given the importance of knowledge or ignorance to this discussion it is also necessary to draw on some works on the preparation and training of diplomats. In this regard the two works with which I have particularly engaged are those of Jeremy Black and Lesley B. Cormack, the first on British diplomats, the latter on geography in the English universities in a period before Prior's own, but with obvious institutional connections to his own time and training, Jeremy Black, *British Diplomats and Diplomacy, 1688-1800*, (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2001); Lesley B. Cormack, *Charting an Empire: Geography at the English Universities, 1580-1620*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997). Although the latter work nominally ends a considerable time before Prior's own period at Cambridge it does much to establish a history of geographical studies in the universities which can at least gesture towards the period in question and has considerable focus on Prior's own College.

Bringing all of these threads together are Dale Miquelon and Jordan Branch, who have both worked on the negotiations leading to the Treaty of Utrecht and explored the use of maps by negotiators. Dale Miquelon, "Envisioning the French Empire: Utrecht, 1711-1713," *French Historical Studies*, 24

Matthew Prior was not an aristocrat, and his biographers have been under some difficulty in puzzling out his early life.[6] What is not at issue however, is the story of his education, first at Westminster School, and then at St John's College, Cambridge, where he was eventually appointed a fellow, a position he would hold for the rest of his life. Expertise in this period was based, as it is now, to a considerable degree on experience, although that is not to say that formal education was thought useless.[7] In the earlier seventeenth century St John's had had an extremely strong geography programme within the arts curriculum studied by all pupils, and it seems that the college statutes had not changed in Prior's time at the college in the 1680s.[8]

Prior did, however, quickly take up opportunities for the gaining of practical experience and beginning in 1690 was secretary to English envoys at The Hague, and later secretary to King William III. These positions were followed by those of secretary to the embassy at the peace negotiations at Ryswick, secretary (in absentia) to the Lords

(2001): 653-77; Branch, *The Cartographic State*. These works are of course central to placing Prior, his books, and the diplomatic deployment of cartographical knowledge into context.

[6] Much of the detail of Prior's life in what follows is from Eves, *Matthew Prior*, mentioned above. There are two earlier biographies, L.G. Wickham Legg, *Matthew Prior: A Study of his Public Career and Correspondence*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1921), and Francis Bickley, *The Life of Matthew Prior*, (London: Sir Isaac Pitman and Sons, Ltd, 1914), as well as a literary biography Frances Mayhew Rippy, *Matthew Prior*, (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1986). A chronology is also available on the website of the Matthew Prior Project, which records all of his extant letters, "Matthew Prior's Life and Times," accessed 16th of November, 2015, http://conan.lib.muohio.edu/prior/about.php#body.1_div.3.

[7] Eric H. Ash, "Introduction: Expertise and the Early Modern State," Eric H. Ash, ed., *Expertise: Practical Knowledge and the Early Modern State, Osiris 25*, (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2010), 5-6; Black, *British Diplomats and Diplomacy*, 7. A remarkably similar story of the training of a diplomat is that of Charles Whitworth, who like Prior went to Westminster and Cambridge (Trinity College), served on the Board of Trade, and received his first posting to a foreign court as a result of patronage, through his relative and a school friend of Matthew Prior, George Stepney, see Andrew C. Thompson, "The Utrecht Settlement and its Aftermath," Trevor J. Dadson and J.H. Elliott, eds, *Britain, Spain and the Treaty of Utrecht, 1713-2013*, (London: Modern Humanities Research Association and Maney Publishing, 2014), 62.

[8] Cormack, *Charting an Empire*, 81-86. Geography education at the universities at this time can be divided into three sub-disciplines: mathematical geography, grid-based and connected to cosmology, descriptive geography, offering natural and political descriptions of other lands, and chorography, a detailed local history of particular areas, see Cormack page 15. Prior's library contained all three, although this essay will mainly focus on maps and descriptive geographies.

Justices of Ireland, and secretary to the embassies of the earls of Portland, Jersey, and Manchester in Paris between 1697 and 1699. When the negotiators arrived at Prior's house in 1711 to decide the basis of the next treaty between Britain and France they were reminded of his background by the display of portraits from this time. Prior owned a copy of the Godfrey Kneller picture of the late king, and portraits of Portland and Jersey by Hyacinthe Rigaud, both dating from his time in Paris and hanging in the dining room at Duke Street.[9] By this display Prior reminded his friends and asserted to newcomers that he had a lifetime of diplomatic experience to draw upon in these negotiations, and moreover that this was therefore an appropriate place for their business. In addition, if there had been any doubt of Prior's familiarity with embassies and negotiations, he also owned numerous books on the theoretical side of this profession, written by diplomats such as Francis Walsingham, Philippe de Béthune, Dudley Digges, and Abraham de Wicquefort.[10] Indeed, Wicquefort supports what has been said above about the importance of experience and is critical of men of letters being used as diplomats precisely because of their reading: "pour dire en un mot, qui sont pedants de profession, ou qui en ont les sentiments."[11] Luckily, despite his fellowship and position as a lecturer, Prior did have a great deal of experience, and though his ideological opponents might

[9] Add. MS. 70362, 17r-18r.
[10] "In a word, who are pedants by profession, or who have such tendencies." *Memoires et instructions pour les ambassadeurs, ou, Lettres et negotiations de Walsingham: avec les maxims politiques de ce minister et des remarques sur la vie des principaux ministers et favoris de cette princess,* (Amsterdam, George Gallet, 1700), listed in Add. MS 70362, 21v., Prior's copy at St John's College, Cambridge, classmark B.7.20; Philippe de Béthune, *Le Conseiller d'Etat, ou Recueil des plus générales considerations servant au maniement des Affaires publiques*, (Paris: 1645), listed in Add. MS 70362, 25r.; Sir Dudley Digges, *The Compleat Ambassador, or, Two treatises of the intended marriage of Qu. Elizabeth of glorious memory comprised in letters of negotiation of Sir Francis Walsingham, her resident in France*, (London: Gabriel Bedell and Thomas Collins, 1655), listed in Add. MS 70362, 26r.; Abraham de Wicquefort, *L'Ambassadeur et ses fonctions. Par Monsieur de Wicquefort, Conseiller aux Conseils d'Estat et Privé du Serenissime Duc de Brunswic et Lunebourg Zelle &c.*, (The Hague: Jean and Daniel Steucker, 1681), listed in Add. MS 70362, 38r.
[11] Wicquefort, *Ibid*., 164.

have accused him of low birth (and they sometimes did), they could not accuse him of ignorance or inexperience.

In fact, Matthew Prior had other, more important, experience for the negotiations to end the War of Spanish Succession, having been under-secretary of state in the negotiations for the Second Partition Treaty which had been intended to avert the war in the first place. He had followed this with an appointment to the Board of Trade from 1700 to 1707, replacing John Locke. Locke himself had considerable knowledge of the world beyond Britain, having served in various capacities, and along with William Blathwayt may be considered an example of the professional group to which Prior belonged – specialists in diplomacy, trade, and colonial matters, with considerable experience of negotiation, propped up on large libraries and collections of maps.[12] Prior owned Locke's book on *Money, Interest, and Trade*, published while Locke was in the position to which Prior would be appointed, and it should be positioned alongside works in the library by Charles Davenant, Lewes Roberts, and Sir Josiah Child (of which more later) on trade and colonial matters.[13] The Board of Trade dealt with all matters

[12] Jess Edwards, "A Compass to Steer By: John Locke, Carolina, and the Politics of Restoration Geography," Brückner, *Early American Cartographies*, 100; Jeannette Black, "The Blathwayt Atlas: Maps used by British Colonial Administrators in the Time of Charles II," *Imago Mundi*, 22 (1968): 20-21. It should be noted that the Board of Trade did not maintain a detailed map collection and made no efforts to acquire one until after Utrecht. J.H. Elliott, *Empires of the Atlantic World: Britain and Spain in America, 1492-1830*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 34.

[13] John Locke, *Several Papers Relating to* Money, Interest *and* Trade, *&c. Writ upon several occasions, and Published at different Times*, (London: A. and J. Churchill, 1696), listed in Add. MS 70362, 28v.; Charles Davenant, *Discourses on the Publick Revenues, and on the Trade of* England, *In Two Parts*, (London: James Knapton, 1698), listed in Add. MS 70362, 22r.; Charles Davenant, *An Essay upon the probable methods of making a people gainers in the ballance of trade*, (London: 1701), listed in Add. MS 70362, 22r.; Lewes Roberts, *The Merchants Map of Commerce : wherein the Universal Manner and Matter relating to the Trade and Merchandize, are fully Treated of*, (London: Thomas Horne, 1700), listed in Add. MS 70362, 40r.; Josiah Child, *A New Discourse of Trade, Wherein is Recommended several weighty Points relating to Companies of Merchants, The Act of Navigation, Naturalization of Strangers, And Our Woollen Manufacturers, The Ballance of Trade*, (London: T. Sowle, 1698), listed in Add. MS 70362, 28v. Prior actually owned half a dozen of Davenant's books (Add. MS 70362, 22r.) and this is an important reminder that Davenant is actually key to an understanding of government policy on the war and colonial gains and

concerning the growing British Empire, and Prior, unlike a lot of the appointees to this position, did go to a majority of the meetings of the Board during his time. In fact, he was always one of the most regular attendees, and between 1703 and 1705 was present for more meetings than any other member, including Blathwayt.[14] When it came to the meeting at Duke Street in 1711, Prior's name was added to the list of the plenipotentiaries empowered to sign the heads of agreement because of this and other experience he brought to the table (it was after all his table):

> My lord treasurer moved, and all my lords were of the same opinion, that Mr. Prior should be added to those who are impowered to sign; the reason for which is, because he having personally treated with Mons. De Torcy, is the best witness we can produce of the sense in which the general preliminary engagements are entered into, besides which, as he is the best versed in matters of trade of all your majesty's servants who have been trusted in this secret, if you shall think fit to employ him in the future treaty of commerce, it will be of consequence that he has been a party concerned in concluding that convention, which must be the rule of this treaty.[15]

In fact, Prior didn't sign the preliminaries, they were signed only by the two secretaries of state and the French envoys and not by the other seven Englishmen. He was, however, at the signing, and was with the Frenchmen and St John the next day when they went to

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had been associated with Harley for some time. His works on the balance of trade and on the balance between European land forces and cheaper naval war with colonial gains were doubtless influential upon Prior as upon others. See Shinsuke Satsuma, *Britain and Colonial Maritime War in the Early Eighteenth Century: Silver, Seapower and the Atlantic*, (Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 2013), 78-79.

[14] "Appendix A," I.K. Steele, *Politics of Colonial Policy: The Board of Trade in Colonial Administration, 1696-1720*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), 174.

[15] Henry St John to Queen Anne, 20.09.1711, O.S., *Parliamentary History of England,* VII, Appendix I, cvi. The other signatories were Simon, Baron Harcourt, Keeper of the Great Seal, Robert, Earl of Oxford and Mortimer, High Treasurer, John, Duke of Buckinghamshire, President of the Council, John, Bishop of Bristol, Keeper of the Privy Seal, Charles, Duke of Shrewsbury, Chamberlain of the Household, John, Earl of Poulet, Steward of the Household, William, Earl of Dartmouth, Secretary of State, Henry St John, Secretary of State. See the "Warrant to Lord Keeper, for affixing the Great Seal to a Commission for signing a Treaty with Mesnager," in *Parliamentary History of England,* VII, Appendix I, cxi-cxii.

Windsor, attested by Jonathan Swift, who dined with them.[16] Afterwards, Prior was sent back to France and remained in Paris to negotiate the treaty of commerce which was to accompany the Treaty of Utrecht. It was meanwhile suggested that he be one of the three commissioners at Utrecht, until the objections of the earl of Strafford to Prior's 'low birth' and Queen Anne's own doubts sank that scheme.[17]

To return to August and September of 1711, and the events which took place in the Duke Street house. That Prior had experience he demonstrated by his portraits and behaviour, as well as having it recognized by his friends and colleagues. The house, however, also served as a physical representation of knowledge about the world, and not just in terms of the large number of books. The large map and view of London in the hall served not just as decoration or as some sort of 'you are here', but rather were part of the symbolic demonstration of Prior's power and knowledge. The map as public performance is part of the representation of one's knowledge, technological capabilities, connection to the wider world, including the colonies, and grasp of affairs.[18] The geographical material available in this house was key to Prior's public display of his knowledge and experience. Other than the hall, most of the books, atlases, and other printed matter seems to have been upstairs, and close to the dining room and its closet, the two rooms filled with dozens of pictures and the most likely venue for the negotiations. In the section of the

[16] Jonathan Swift, ed. Abigail Williams, *Journal to Stella: Letters to Esther Johnson and Rebecca Dingley, 1710-13*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 289.
[17] In fact, Swift had anticipated this as early as November. *Ibid.*, 328.
[18] George Tolias, "Maps in Renaissance Libraries and Collections," David Woodward, ed., *The History of Cartography, Volume Three, Part 1, Cartography in the European Renaissance*, (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2007), 653; J.B. Harley, "Maps, Knowledge, and Power," originally in Denis Cosgrove and Stephen Daniels, eds, *The Iconography of Landscape, Essays on the Symbolic Representation, Design, and Use of Past Environments*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), in Harley, *The New Nature of Maps*, 79.

library marked in the catalogue under L we find the pair of globes and the large format atlases, filled with maps and prints of the world.[19] They immediately precede section M, which might in modern parlance be called the art or coffee-table books, filled with prints and representations of paintings, battles, architecture, and other aesthetic subjects.[20] That the maps are located next to the art books may be simply a matter of format, most of these being large, but that these are the only books in the library which were individually valued during the inventory indicates their importance and value in this collection. This lack of separation between display and use concerning maps was a large part of the power of maps in this time.[21] The atlases themselves, some produced in London, but others in Paris by the cartographer royal, and still another by Blaeu in Antwerp, were tools and symbols in the negotiations at Duke Street.[22] Finally, the pair of globes, although nothing more is known of them from the inventory, are once again useful tools and symbols that the whole world has been brought within this space and within the command of the men in the room. Prior's ability to use the globes mathematically is

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[19] Add. MS 70362, 34r.
[20] *Ibid*., 34r-34v.
[21] On the lack of separation between maps and art at this time, see Svetlana Alpers, *The Art of Describing, Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century*, (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1983), 126.
[22] Nicolas Sanson, *Le Neptune François ou Atlas Nouveau des Cartes Marines: Levées et Gravées par Ordre Exprés du Roy, Pour l'usage de ses Armées de Mer, Dans lequel on voit la description exacte de toutes les Côtés de la Mer Oceane, et de la Mer Baltique, depuis la Norwege jusques au Detroit de Gibraltar, Où sont exactement marquées les routes qu'il faut tenir, les Bancs de sables, Rochers, et Brasses d'eau, et generalement tout ce qui concerne la Navigation*, (Amsterdam: Pierre Mortier, 1708); Charles Hubert Alexis Jaillot and Nicolas Sanson d'Abbeville, *Atlas Nouveau, contenant toutes les parties du monde*, (Amsterdam: Pierre Mortier, 1708; Philipp Clüver, *Introductio in universam Geographiam tam veterem quam novem tabulis geographicis XLVI ac notis olim ornata*, (London: Herman Moll and John Senex, 1711); Charles Hubert Alexis Jaillot, *Atlas François, contenant les Cartes particuliers de France, dressees sur les Memoirs les plus Nouveaux*, (Paris: 1709); Joan Blaeu, *Novum ac Magnum Theatrum Urbium Belgicae Foederatae* and *Novum ac Magnum Theatrum Urbium Belgicae Regiae*, (Amsterdam: 1649); Philip Lea, [Collection of maps], (London: [1699]) ; these all in Add. MS 70362 at 34r. Owing to the efforts of collectors and book and map dealers many early modern atlases have long since been broken up and are exceedingly difficult to find. In looking at individual maps from the various makers listed here I have had frequent recourse to the online collections of the John Carter Brown Library at Brown University. "JCB Map Collection," accessed 1st of December, 2015, http://jcb.lunaimaging.com/luna/servlet/JCBMAPS~1~1.

suggested by the four books on the use of globes which were in the library, in English and French.[23] These are largely works of mathematical geography rather than the descriptive geography which will concern us below, but nonetheless they demonstrate that, presumably from his academic background, Prior had the capability of making a rational and 'objective' case about territories pictured on the maps.

That this collection of books is both a working library and a display of the owner's erudition and sophistication may be confirmed by examining parts of the library not dealing specifically with geography, trade, and empire. It is hard to separate the public and private uses of this library in part because the public affairs with which this essay deals did take place in private spaces, and private knowledge and expertise were placed in the service of the state in a system of mutual recognition and utility.[24] It was only at Utrecht that the private discussions which had actually created the conditions for peace were brought into the public sphere. When Prior went to Paris with the British proposals in the summer of 1711 some of the negotiations took place in the private lodgings of the Marquis de Torcy, others in the gardens at Fontainebleau, and when Henry St John, by that stage Viscount Bolingbroke, went to Paris in 1712 he and Prior met with Torcy at his home and were first greeted by the minister's mother.[25] As a part of a semi-private space Prior's library was therefore partly a self-presentation as an educated

[23] John Chilmead, *A Learned Treatise of Globes, Both Cælestiall and Terrestriall: with their severall uses*, (London: P. Stephens and C. Meredith, 1639); Joseph Moxon, *A Tutor to Astronomy and Geography, Or an easie and speedy way to know the Use of both the Globes,* Cœlestial *and* Terrestrial, (London: Joseph Moxon, 1686); Nicolas Bion, *L'usage des globes célestes et terrestres, et des spheres, suivant les différens systems du monde*, (Paris: 1699); these all in Add. MS 70362 at 40v.
[24] Ash, "Introduction" *Expertise*, 13-16.
[25] "Prior's Negotiations in France," *Portland MS,* V, 37-39; Henry St John, Viscount Bolingbroke to "My Lord" (likely the Earl of Oxford), 21.08.1712, N.S., *Parliamentary History of England,* VII, Appendix I, cxciii.

and well-to-do man of his time, and as a result it included valuable editions of classical works. He owned numerous incunabula, as well as the products of the Stephanus family, Plantin, and Vascosan, great printers of the sixteenth century, all shelved in the N section of the library.[26] Other sections were more practical. Section E contains gazettes, acts of Parliament from the reigns of the two sovereigns Prior had served, the acts of customs (he was at this time appointed a commissioner for customs), and the votes in Parliament covering the time he had sat in that body in 1700-1701.[27] Section F also seems to be a practical part of the library, covering a variety of subjects, including languages, mathematics, and other subjects which were part of the curriculum at the English universities at this time.[28] This is also the part of the library which includes Prior's books on medicine, again, of practical value given that his fellowship was in medicine, and that he served as Linacre Lecturer in Physic at St John's from 1706 to 1710. This position may seem a world away from Prior's concerns as a diplomat, but he followed earlier lecturers in physic who also had considerable cartographic knowledge and even direct involvement in the search for the Northwest Passage and the Virginia Company.[29] Returning to geographical matters, the largest section on what we might now consider geography was the last in the catalogue, under P, containing considerable holdings on the various parts of the world, and it is largely with this section of the catalogue containing professional diplomatic knowledge that the rest of this paper will concern itself.[30]

[26] Add. MS 70362, 35r-37v.
[27] *Ibid*., 25v.
[28] Ibid., 26r.-27v.
[29] Cormack, *Charting an Empire*, 82-83 and 119.
[30] Add. MS 70362, 40r.-41r.

Of course, as mentioned earlier, Prior's owning books on the affairs of the world does not mean that he knew everything he thought he did, and certainly not all that he pretended to. The relationship between the colonial worlds which concerned the negotiators at Duke Street and the metropolis was irregular, and the representational difficulties, not to say aims, of both parts of the exchange were not insignificant.[31] One of the books mentioned above, Bion's *L'usage des globes* identified the unknown lands in very narrow terms, saying that "Les Terres inconnuës sont vers le Pole Arctique, & aux environs du Pole Antarctique."[32] Presumably that meant that other lands were known, although an examination of the maps shows that that was not at all the case. And yet, leaving lacunae in maps and books was in many respects a sound idea, given that if one admits where one has no information (say concerning the east coast of what is now Australia), one presents the other information related in the book or map as more reliable by virtue of its inclusion.[33] This negative 'proof' of the veracity of maps was common, and seems even to our eyes to lend credence to the contentions of map-makers in this era. We assume that the makers knew what they represented, yet, like the diplomats negotiating the Treaty, they were trying to appear as well-versed and as knowledgeable as possible to convince others of their command of the available information. The performance of knowledge bound up in maps and geographical books thus extends through both their creation and use, and was an integral part of the early modern map even before it reached the hands of diplomats like Prior.

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[31] Mapp, *The Elusive West*, 14; Proctor and Schiebinger, *Agnotology*, 8.
[32] "The unknown lands are towards the North Pole and around the South Pole." Bion, *L'Usage des Globes*, 187.
[33] Ken MacMillan, "Centers and Peripheries in English Maps of America, 1590-1685," Brückner, *Early American Cartographies*, 71.

Prior and his colleagues naturally never admitted the limits of their knowledge, and constantly presented themselves as having everything needed to conduct the important business which was their responsibility. When the negotiations at Duke Street had ended with the signing of preliminaries and Prior had been sent back to France to work out details such as the demolition of Dunkirk and the areas allowed the French for drying their fish on the coasts of Newfoundland and to conduct discussions leading to the treaty of commerce, he had himself painted by one of the leading court painters of his day, Alexis Simon Belle. This portrait, given by Prior to his college in Cambridge and still hanging in the hall, is a far cry from the portrait he had taken home from Paris in 1699. The former, by Hyacinthe Rigaud, represented Prior the man of letters, in a cap and banyan and holding a book. The Le Belle portrait, however, is of the diplomat, not the poet, in gold embroidered coat, silk waistcoat, and full wig, seated in a red upholstered chair. He wears a sword, just visible next to his knees and presumably the silver-handled one in the inventory of his goods.[34] However, perhaps more noticeable than the sword are the books on the table, standing by his right hand, in which he holds a paper, presumably of some diplomatic importance given that it is addressed to the "Roi Très Chrétien." Though for the purposes of this essay one might wish for a representation of a map or globe, that learning plays some role in diplomatic matters is important in the self-representation of Prior as a man of knowledge about diplomatic and colonial affairs. Unlike the other portraits of Prior, by many of the best known painters of his day, this is

[34] Add. MS 70362, 14. Prior also owned a book on fencing, *Les arts de l'homme d'epée*, Add. MS 70362, 27r. Swords were of course part of court dress, especially for embassies, although Prior may have been enough of a gentleman to carry a sword on his own account. He had been admitted to St John's College as a pensioner, usually reserved for young men of higher social rank, was generally addressed as esquire, and also made use of a coat of arms on his bookplates, still visible in the books preserved at St Johns.

the only one in which he is represented richly dressed, somewhat stiffly, and in a diplomatic setting, the man of affairs of Wicquefort's book, not the man of letters, and yet even here carrying his books and his knowledge to the table.[35]

While the Le Belle portrait was being painted Prior was in Paris, still negotiating the exact terms of the treaty as they were to be carried out by both sides, but the arguments he was having grew of those which had taken place at Fontainebleau in the summer of 1711 and at Prior's house in the autumn.[36] Prior had presented the British claims to territories in the northern parts of North America in the summer, and the discussion of what would belong to which country continued throughout the treaty negotiations, at Duke Street, in Paris, and in Utrecht. Meanwhile, the four ports to be given to Britain in Spanish America which Prior had demanded at Fontainebleau had been dropped in the discussions at his house, in favour of certain other economic concessions from the Spanish, including a twenty-year extension of the already agreed upon allocation of the *Asiento* to Britain.[37] These areas will be the focus of what remains of this paper, beginning with the territorial claims in the north and the associated fisheries. Some of the diplomatic wranglings centred on accepted boundaries, in particular in Acadia or Nova Scotia, but the majority were concerned with the 'proofs' of title provided by names on maps, in large part connected to the concept of right of possession by first discovery:

> I did not say any more to this article than that all Hudson's Bay was originally ours, that the name spoke it, that Hudson, in the year 1610, sailed through and

[35] Prior's clothes at his death were still of considerable value, and although they are described in some detail in the inventory it is impossible to determine if any are survivors from the Paris days. Add. MS 70362, 44v.
[36] Miquelon, "Envisioning the French Empire," 655.
[37] Satsuma, *Britain and Colonial Maritime War*, 176.

> possessed himself of that bay, that the names of all the banks and towns even in the French maps have always been and are now English, and as to Newfoundland, the words *terre neuve* is but the interpretation of the English name, and even before that name was given to the place it was found by Sebastian Cabot, possessed by the English in the time of our Henry the Eighth, and known by the name of Avelon.[38]

This was Prior approach in discussion with Torcy at Fontainebleau in July of 1711, and although it seems remarkably like a child saying "I was here first," it really did matter in the claim of ownership.[39] That there were natives in this part of the world was of course known to the men in the metropole, but it does not seem to have bothered them, even though their sources might have given them many details, including the names of those 'nations'.[40] Instead Prior was participating in a longstanding English discourse of ownership through naming which often focused on the naming of individual places after explorers, as John Ogilby did in his *America,* but which could equally extend to the more ambitious visual representation of Herman Moll's map of "The English Empire in America," which has the whole eastern coastline of what is now the United States labelled as the "Sea of the English Empire".[41] When it comes to the maps actually used in the negotiations, rather than just those which may have shaped Prior's thinking, Jordan

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[38] "Prior's Negotiations in France," *Portland MS* V, 36.

[39] On the connection between law, geography, and claims of empire see Lauren Benton, *A Search for Sovereignty: Law and Geography in European Empires, 1400-1900*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010). For a particular examination of the distinction between sovereignty by conquest (the Spanish claim) and sovereignty by claim on lands supposedly belonging to no one (used by the English, French, and Dutch) see Andrew Fitzmaurice, *Sovereignty, Property and Empire, 1500-2000*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014). It should be noted that Prior did have in his library numerous legal works, including several editions of Grotius, Pufendorf, Hobbes, among others, Add. MS 70362, 25r., 31v., 39v.

[40] Louis-Armand de Lom d'Arce de Lahontan, *Nouveau Voyages de Mr Le Baron de Lahontan dans L'Amerique Septentrionale*, (The Hague: Les Frères l'Honoré, 1703), 36-39, listed in Add. MS 70362 at 40 v.

[41] John Ogilby, *America: Being the latest, and most accurate description of the New World; Containing the Original of the Inhabitants, and the Remarkable Voyages thither, the conquest of the vast Empires of Mexico and Peru, and other large provinces and territories; with the several* European *Plantations in those parts*, (London: John Ogilby, 1671), 126-27, listed in Add. MS 70362 at 40r; Herman Moll, "The English Empire in America, Newfound-land, Canada, Hudson's Bay &c." in Moll, *Atlas Manuale, or, A new sett of maps of all the parts of the earth, as well Asia, Africa and America, as Europe…*, (London: A. and J. Churchill and T. Child, 1709) .

Branch states a belief that the probable candidates were all commercially produced British maps, and Dale Miquelon, in his focused analysis of this part of the treaty process identified two possibilities, both British.[42] One of these was by Moll, and the other by John Senex, and one or both are likely to have been in Prior's volume of "Maps of several Parts of the World by Senex and Molle bound in a Marble Cover with leather at the back", most likely not a commercially available atlas, but a collection put together for Prior.[43] Moll's and Senex's maps of course contain English names on the northern part of the map, including regions in the north west like New South Wales and New North Wales, features like Hudson's Bay, and many of the points or inlets or other geological structures, from the southern end of Hudson's bay up to the top of the map, generally around Baffin's Bay or Davis Strait.[44] The toponymic claims even extended to the south of the St Lawrence, with Acadia or Nova Scotia named as New Scotland in both mapmakers' works.[45] And in his claim that the names are recognized by the French on their own maps Prior was correct, at least based on the French atlases he had at home. The Duke Street inventory lists two versions of works by Sanson, one undated and one from 1708, most likely the Jaillot atlas which reused many of Sanson's maps, despite his

[42] Branch, *Cartographic State*, 133; Miquelon, "Envisioning the French Empire," 666.
[43] "If a gentleman or official needed a set of maps, he would commission a mapseller to supply the maps and have them bound." Helen M. Wallis, "Geographie is Better than Divinitie: Maps, Globes, and Geography in the Days of Samuel Pepys," Norman J.W. Thrower, ed., *The Compleat Plattmaker: Essays on Chart, Map, and Globe Making in England in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), 26-27. Wallis also says that Philip Lea was Pepy's consultant and colourist of his maps, (14-15) and it seems likely that, this being part of his business, the volume of maps by Lea which is listed in Prior's inventory at Add. MS 70362 34r. is also one of these put-together collections.
[44] Herman Moll, "America," "Isle of California, New Mexico, Louisiane, The River Misisipi and the Lakes of Canada," "The English Empire in America," all in Moll, *Atlas Manuale*; John Senex, "North America, Corrected from the Observations Communicated to the Royal Society at London and the Royal Academy at Paris," (London: 1710).
[45] *Ibid.*

having died many years before.[46] In numerous maps, from the 1650s to the 1708 edition, Sanson and Jaillot printed the northern stretches of what is now Canada with English names.[47] Sometimes these were not as detailed as in maps by the English makers, but nonetheless included New South Wales, New North Wales, Davis Strait, Hudson's Bay, and others names drawn from the English explorers of this area. In terms of his own experience and the books in his possession Prior was right, the names were English even on the French maps, which explains how French ministers could complain that the English were able to use maps made by Frenchmen against them in treaty negotiations.[48]

Of course, placing a name on a map does more than deprive the native peoples of their rights and is not simply cosmetic. The privilege of naming was considered to belong to those who 'first' saw new places, and it had long been a part of English imperial mythology that the voyagers of previous generations had beaten the French, the Dutch, and sometimes even the Spanish to the New World. Prior's library contained two books which particularly contributed to ideas of empire in Britain in this period, and are the foundation for his knowledge of the exploration and mapping of the northern parts of North America. These are not at-a-glance visual-textual sources like the various maps which could be easily used in front of the French, but are books which form part of the descriptive geographical field which underpinned the cartographic visualization of imperial space. The more recent, published when Prior was a child but obviously bought by him second hand, along with its companion volume on Africa, was John Ogilby's *America*. It makes England's claim on North American territories, particularly

[46] "*L'Amerique Septentrionale*," Jaillot and Sanson, *Atlas Nouveau*.
[47] See also Sanson's "*Le Canada, ou Nouvelle France*," (Paris: 1656) and Sanson/Jaillot's "*Amerique Septentrionale*," (Paris : 1674).
[48] Branch, *Cartographic State*, 120.

Newfoundland, based on the voyages of Sebastian Cabot on behalf of Henry VII and on the attempted settlement of St John's by Humphry Gilbert in the reign of Elizabeth I.[49] In fact, Ogilby even repeats the story that Cabot was the first discoverer of Florida in 1497 and so challenges not only the French, but the Spanish possessions in North America.[50] Of course, Ogilby was not the first to make these claims, and Prior also owned the book which did more to publicise English claims to the New World than any other, Hakluyt's *The principal navigations, voiages, and discoveries of the English Nation, made by Sea*.[51] Hakluyt's numerous accounts make frequent reference to Cabot's discovery, even citing Spanish sources to secure further corroboration.[52] But he does not stop there, going instead to the twelfth century and to an old story that the Welsh prince Madoc, son of Owain Gwynedd landed in Newfoundland in 1170, and asserting that Elizabeth I was therefore holder of title to at least this part of North America based on discoveries well before those of Columbus.[53] Naturally, in negotiations Prior made no arguments based on these supposed contacts, but was more than happy to draw on the later Tudor and early Jacobean efforts to search for the Northwest Passage to make a claim for English sovereignty in the lands north of New France. Hakluyt's work is full of these men, active before Hudson even set out, amongst others, Humphry Gilbert, Martin Frobisher, and John Davis, all of whom had their own names attached to parts of the map, as well as the names which they themselves allocated.[54] So when the proposals for peace in 1711 said

[49] Ogilby, *America*, 128, 304, 307.
[50] *Ibid*., 213.
[51] Add. MS 70362 at 40r.
[52] Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations, Voiages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation, made by Sea or over-land, to the remote and farthest distant quarters of the Earth, at any time within the compasse of these 1500. yeeres*, (London: George Bishop, Ralph Newberie, Robert Barker, 1598-1600), 145, 9.
[53] *Ibid*., 1, 172.
[54] *Ibid.*, 29, 98-114, 135-37, 165-81.

that Newfoundland and Hudson's Bay and Strait would be "restored" to Britain, they meant a true restoration, not a new claim based on some more recent conquest.[55]

That being said, conquest was a part of the negotiations, and it is in this context that the maps available to people like Prior and Torcy can be seen to shape the change from place based territorial claims to those based on superimposed borders.[56] In the question of Acadia/ Nova Scotia, as memoirs flew from side to side long after the discussions in Prior's house over where the boundary would actually lie, there was much competition. Nova Scotia was initially to be given to the English "according to its ancient limits", although what this meant in practice was not outlined in that particular case.[57] However, when the French offered Britain much more than had been conquered (including the Caribbean islands of St Martin and St Barts) for France to keep Nova Scotia the boundary was said to be the St George River.[58] This was roughly in keeping with many French maps, which normally included a dotted border just to the east of the Kennebec River in what is now Maine.[59] Anchoring that dotted line to the St George seems to be relatively simple as it had certainly never before followed the Kennebec exactly and had always allowed for some more space beyond. Yet the question of the borders of Nova Scotia, even after it was given to the British by the treaty remained unresolved for decades after Utrecht and the disputed territory throughout this period

[55] *Parliamentary History of England,* VII, Appendix I, cix-x.
[56] "The limits once fixed, it shall be forbidden to the subjects of both crowns to pass the said limits to go by land or by sea the one to the other," *Ibid.,* clxxii.
[57] Memorial from St John to Torcy, 24th of May, 1712, O.S., *Ibid.*, cxlviii.
[58] The French answer, 10th of June, 1712, N.S., *Ibid.,* cl-cliii.
[59] Sanson's North American maps of 1650 and 1669 and the Jaillot/Sanson maps of 1674 and in the *Atlas Nouveau* all show this border in the same place.

continued to be inhabited not by the British or French but by the Abenaki Confederacy.[60] Some English maps made even before the peace, including Prior's maps made by Moll, extended New England right up to the St Lawrence itself.[61] Still others, like Philip Lea's map of America, again likely in Prior's collection of maps from Lea, made New France a tiny territory, stretched only along the north shore of the St Lawrence, with no hinterland, and extending no further to the west than New England.[62] In fact, the Baron de Lahontan, now considered by many to have written somewhat fanciful accounts of his experiences but generally believed at the time and whose work was certainly in Prior's library, was by 1711 advocating for the St Lawrence as a boundary between New England and New France. A memoir written by Lahontan in 1710 or 1711, published in the 1960s and thought to have been prepared for the use of the British government, as Lahontan had prepared papers for William Blathwayt some years before, argued for exactly that boundary.[63] These complicated disagreements between representations on the maps meant that actors like Prior could never be sure of what was the locally accepted boundary, and allowed for the on-the-spot blurring which created so much tension between Britain and France in this area until the end of French empire on the North American mainland during the Seven Years' War.

Ongoing disputes about whether Newfoundland, Hudson's Bay, and Nova Scotia should be British or French may seem to be only about fish, but thanks both to personal

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[60] James Pritchard, *In Search of Empire: The French in the Americas, 1670-1730*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 401.
[61] Moll, "America," *Atlas Manuale*.
[62] Philip Lea, "A new mapp of America devided according to the best and latest observations and discoveries, wherein are described by their proper names, the severall countries that belong to ye English which are wholly left out in all French and Dutch maps," (London: [1687?]).
[63] Edward L. Towle and George A. Rawlyk, "A New Baron Lahontan Memoir on New York and the Great Lakes Basin," *New York History*, 46(1965): 215-16, 219.

interactions and to books Prior and his contemporaries were very aware of the importance of what was being negotiated as part of the peace. The men who Prior knew about from Hakluyt had after all been searching for the Northwest Passage which many still believed to exist, supported by the blank spaces on the maps which they consulted – after all, one can be quite creative in the blank spaces of maps. Control of places like Newfoundland was also seen to have bearing on the continued exploration and exploitation of the St Lawrence basin and the Great Lakes. Ogilby said that Newfoundland was perfectly situated to discover the Northwest Passage and also called it the "Key to the Gulf of *Canada*, which if the *English* had again in their possession… they might give a Law to all foreign Kings and People in any of the parts of *America*."[64] The importance for this region beyond the local was reinforced by the recent voyages of de la Salle down the Mississippi, and once again we find the account of this trip in Prior's library in the form of Henri de Tonti's *Account of Monsieur* de la *Salle's Last Expedition and Discoveries in North* America, advocating for the commercial possibilities of the Great Lakes region, connected to the St Lawrence and of course guarded by Newfoundland.[65] Yet all of this was hypothetical, and there were other definite advantages to the Newfoundland fisheries for both Britain and France. At Fontainebleau in July Torcy told Prior that "it is the nursery of our seamen," and said that those who worked the Newfoundland Banks returned to St Malo and Brest, where they were registered.[66] In fact, Ogilby had advocated fortifying Newfoundland precisely to deprive the French of the nursery of

[64] Ogilby, *America*, 305, 310.
[65] Henri de Tonti, *An Account of Monsieur* de la *Salle's Last Expedition and Discoveries in North* America, (London: J. Tonson, 1698), 116.
[66] "Prior's Negotiations in France," *Portland MS,* V, 36.

mariners, and of course he and others recognized that this benefit cut both ways.[67] Tory merchants like John Drummond, corresponding with Prior's friend and master the Earl of Oxford during the negotiations informed the politician of the benefit to shipbuilding and associated trades which came from Newfoundland.[68] Josiah Child's book on trade, mentioned above as part of Prior's library, gave a concrete feeling to this issue by estimating the number of jobs in Britain contingent upon shipping to the Americas, saying that an increase in French fishing was damaging to the English, who had 10,000 mariners employed in the fisheries, providing an impetus for shipbuilding, spending money at home in England (Child consequently did not want them to settle permanently in Newfoundland), and offering "a ready supply for his *Majesty's* Navy upon all Emergencies."[69] Prior and Torcy were fully seized of the importance of their negotiations over the territories and fishing rights in North America, in part because of information gained from people they encountered in their working life, but also backed up by the 'authority' of books on trade and books of descriptive geography.

Another serious boost to British shipping was guaranteed by the Treaty of Utrecht, and its importance for the lives of many millions of people and for the structure of trade, settlement, and politics in the Atlantic world make it essential that it be touched upon here.[70] Britain's acquisition of the previously French *Asiento* to carry slaves to the Spanish colonies was demanded as part of the proposals carried to Fontainebleau and was

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[67] Ogilby, *America*, 310.
[68] John Drummond to the Earl of Oxford, Amsterdam, 15th/26th of June, 1711, *Portland MS,* V, 10.
[69] Child, *A New Discourse on Trade*, 188, 205, 210-11.
[70] Hugh Thomas gives the figure of 64,000 slaves sold by the South Sea Company between 1715 and 1731 and discusses the rising numbers of ships leaving Britain for the slave ports of Africa as a result of this trade. See Hugh Thomas, "The Treaty of Utrecht and the Slave Trade," Dadson and Elliott, *Britain, Spain and the Treaty of Utrecht*, 55-56.

in fact extended during the Duke Street negotiations, from ten to thirty years. The question of slavery itself does not seem to have set off any qualms of conscience among either British or French negotiators, although it was to be questioned on moral grounds by Alexander Pope, close to many of the Tory minsters on the British side.[71] Books from Prior's library tell stories including slave shipments to the Spanish colonies which are completely bereft of any such moral concern, including the *Relations de divers voyages curieuses* by Melchisedec Thévenot. In Thévenot's account it is the Dutch trading in slaves from Angola and the Congo who are present at Buenos Aires and who are needed for the mines on the other side of the continent.[72] He even references the treaty to bring them over, although not in a great deal of detail.[73] Otherwise, references in books owned by Prior to slaves are not to the trade or the *Asiento,* but to their usefulness in the American colonies. This takes the form of Child's continued interest in jobs at home, addressing both his fear that depopulation of the mother country will result from the appeal of colonies, and his estimates of the markets for manufactures in the Americas.[74] The employment of "eight or ten Blacks for one White servant" on the islands of the

[71] See Howard Erskine-Hill's "Pope and Slavery," Howard Erskine-Hill, ed., *Proceedings of the British Academy,* 91, (Oxford: Oxford University Press for The British Academy, 1998), 27-53. Erskine-Hill notes objections to slavery in Pope's works of the time of Utrecht and also draws attention to the personal connections between Pope and Prior, St John, Swift, and Harley. He theorizes that Pope's opposition to slavery may have come from a reading of Bodin's *Six Livres de la Republique* or Montaigne, although he notes that both Locke and Swift had these books and expressed no similar objections to slavery. Prior also owned these books, a copy of Bodin in an edition of 1676 and a Montaigne of 1632, both listed in Add. MS 70362 at 26r. Pope was an investor in the South Sea Company and therefore in the slave trade, although he is not unusual in that. The South Sea Company permeated society and subscribers included Godfrey Kneller, Isaac Newton, John Gay, John Vanbrugh, Charles Montagu, lord Halifax, the Dukes of Chandos and Argyll, and Thomas Guy. See Thomas, "The Treaty of Utrecht and the Slave Trade," Dadson and Elliott, *Britain, Spain and the Treaty of Utrecht*, 55.

[72] "Relation des Voyages du Sieur Acarete sur la Riviere de la Platte, et de là par terre jusques au Perou et au Potosi," Melchisédec Thévenot, *Relations de divers Voyages curieux, qui n'ont point esté publiees; qui ont esté traduites d'Hacluyt, de Purchas, & d'autres Voyageurs Anglois, Hollandois, Portugais, Allemands, Espagnols; et de quelques Persans, Arabes, et autres Auteurs Orientaux*, (Paris : Jacques Langlois et al., 1663), 1-2.

[73] *Ibid.*, 12-13.

[74] Child, *A New Discourse on Trade*, 179.

Caribbean is explicitly linked to employment for Britons in providing provisions (including fish from the Newfoundland fisheries), clothes, and other materials to the slaves, but also in shipbuilding, fitting out, and victualling, supporting the same maritime industries as those fishermen in the north.[75] Other authors who Prior had on his shelves emphasized the slave trade not just as a source of employment for white men, but the slaves themselves, almost as raw materials for the creation of profit.[76] Charles Davenant "chief tory economic spokesman"[77] advocated better organizing the African trade of England in 1698, relying on statistics (of what reliability it is impossible to guess) that said that one hundred slaves produced £1,600 profit per annum to the kingdom.[78] It is perhaps little wonder that people like Prior left no sign of being troubled by the question of slavery as they negotiated the transfer of the *Asiento* from France to Britain, this was just one more aspect of imperial commerce and the people themselves were reduced to abstractions in the books they read. The only recognition that the people on the slave ships were in fact alive and human seems to have been in the part of the propositions for the *Asiento* which included places in the Americas to be given to the British for the "refreshment" of slaves before sale.[79] Those places, amongst them Buenos Aires, Vera Cruz, and Portobello were to be an issue in the most ambitious part of the British demands, and an awareness of South America was to be crucial to the planning for the

[75] *Ibid*., 190-91.
[76] Davenant, *Discourses on the Publick Revenues*, II, 257.
[77] Steve Pincus, "Addison's Empire: Whig Conceptions of Empire in the Early 18th Century," *Parliamentary History*, 31 (2012): 102.
[78] Davenant, *Discourses on the Publick Revenues*, II, 255-56; Davenant, *An Essay upon…the ballance of trade*, 219.
[79] French memoir, 27th of September/8th of October, 1711, *Parliamentary History of England*, VII, Appendix I, cvii-cix.

commercial enterprise which was supposed to develop from the *Asiento*, The South Sea Company.[80]

Of course the British did not only want ports in South America to support their trade in slaves, but rather to open up the commerce of all of Spanish America, although that was not how they phrased it in negotiations. At Fontainebleau Prior told Torcy that the Spanish "would have little reason to fear from our settlements, which were to secure us from pirates and robbers, particularly in the South sea," linking this to the British demand for the demolition of Dunkirk, that "nest of pirates".[81] Torcy was having none of it, knowing as he did of the South Sea Company which was chartered in England before the peace negotiations were even begun:

> Have you not put all the money in England upon that chance, and do you not intend to do in the West Indies as you have done in the East, to possess yourselves of the places and fortify them, and to make yourselves master of the whole trade of the world.[82]

Prior downplayed the British ambitions and suggested that the demand for four places was hardly unreasonable, implying that the Spanish wouldn't even notice.[83] The British even said that they would not object to the French getting the same concession, just so long as the Dutch didn't.[84] It seems however that the Dutch had other ideas, with John Drummond, Tory merchant in the Dutch Republic writing to Oxford to inform him of

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[80] The *Asiento* may be seen to be crucial to the excitement over and support for the South Sea Company. Hugh Thomas says that the City of London rejoiced at the peace terms not because of territorial gains, but because of the Asiento, and Helen J. Paul argues that it had an "option value" for future trade with the Spanish empire. Thomas, "The Treaty of Utrecht and the Slave Trade," Dadson and Elliott, *Britain, Spain and the Treaty of Utrecht*, 52; Helen J. Paul, *The South Sea Bubble: An economic history of its origins and consequences*, (Abingdon, Oxfordshire: Routledge, 2011), 56.
[81] "Prior's Negotiations in France," *Portland MS*, V, 35-36.
[82] *Ibid.*, 38.
[83] *Ibid*., 39.
[84] Mapp, *Elusive West*, 135.

plans to seize a place "rich in mines" somewhere on the mainland.[85] In fact, Prior's library indicated that there were still vast riches to be had in the Spanish colonies, and he and his masters doubtless saw this as the best opportunity to seize concessions from the Spanish, at the moment when the Bourbon Philip V needed to secure his position on the throne. Prior had two copies of William Dampier's *New Voyage round the World*, one in English and one in French, and it is tempting to see this book, the fruit of the most recent English voyages to the South Seas as being the principal source for knowledge of this area.[86] Which is not to ignore the personal connections which he and his friends had to this world. Dampier's book had actually been dedicated to one of Prior's closest childhood friends, Charles Montague, later Baron Halifax, at a time when the two friends still saw much of one another, before they split over the Second Partition Treaty in 1701.[87] In fact, Prior's personal connections to the South Seas schemes of Dampier were much deeper. Daniel Defoe, at the time of the Utrecht negotiations secretary to Prior's friend Oxford, was desperately trying to persuade his superior to invest in this scheme.[88] He wrote to Oxford at the same time that Prior was in Fontainebleau saying that in the past the only people who had seen his notes on the matter were William III and the Earl of Portland.[89] It will be remembered that Prior's house in Duke Street had portraits of

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[85] Drummond to Oxford, Amsterdam, 1st/12th of June, 1711, *Portland MS*, V, 1; Drummond to Oxford, Amsterdam, 27th of June/7th of July, 1711, *Portland MS*, V, 24; Drummond to Oxford, Amsterdam, 3rd/14th of July, 1711, *Portland MS*, V, 28.

[86] Add. MS 70362, 40v-41r. Glyndwr Williams has made the case that Dampier's book sparked revived interest in the South Sea and provided information to those in England who had never seen it. He also draws particular attention to the tendency for Dampier's readers to find in the book exactly the encouragement for aggressive action against Spain's empire which they were looking for. Williams, *The Great South Sea*, 75, 133-34.

[87] The dedication is unpaginated, but is at A2 in William Dampier, *A New Voyage Round the World*, (London: James Knapton, 1697).

[88] Daniel Defoe to the Earl of Oxford, 23rd of July, 1711, *Portland MS*, V, 58-59. See also Dennis Reinhartz, "Shared Vision: Herman Moll and His Circle and the Great South Sea," *Terrae Incognitae*, 19 (1987): 1-10.

[89] *Ibid.*, 58.

both of these men, as he had worked under Portland in Paris in the 1690s and had been greatly favoured by William with appointments, including acting as secretary in the Netherlands. At that time Dampier had been going around town showing his maps to people, telling them what was wrong with the old ones, and claiming that the King was supporting him, as is evidenced by an entry in John Evelyn's diary from August of 1698 describing a dinner at Samuel Pepys's house at which Dampier did just that.[90] Dampier was still active in 1711, and he and Moll produced in that year "A New and Exact Map of the Coast, Countries, and Islands within ye Limits of ye South Sea Company…" dedicated to the Earl of Oxford.[91] Disavowing the French map (likely that of Sanson/Jaillot which was in Prior's library)[92] this included the sea limit of the South Sea Company, extending from the entrance of the River Plate around the South American continent until it left the map level with California, carrying on up the unknown coast of North America. It is not clear if this is one of the Moll maps in Prior's collection of Moll and Senex maps, but it seems likely that it was available to him in some form given the importance of the South Seas scheme to the negotiations in France and at Duke Street and the personal connection through Oxford, as well as its great popularity at the time.[93] In many forms and via many people the South Seas must have intruded themselves upon Prior over the course of the twenty year career which led to the negotiations of 1711. Moll, Dampier, and many others frequented the coffeehouses of London, and in

[90] E.S. de Beer, ed., *The Diary of John Evelyn, Vol. V., (1690-1706),* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), 295.
[91] Herman Moll, "A New and Exact Map of the Coast, Countries and Islands within ye Limits of ye South Sea Company…," (London: 1711).
[92] Sanson and Jaillot, "Amerique Meridionale, divisée en ses Principales Parties ou sont distingués les un des autres Les Estats suivant qu'ils appartienent presentment aux François, Castillans, Portugais, Hollandais &c.," (Paris: 1709).
[93] Moll's map was apparently so popular that he complained of its being pirated in the Dutch Republic and sold in England. Williams, *The Great South Sea,* 166.

particular Jonathan's, a Tory house and seat of stockbrokers which would become an unofficial headquarters for the South Sea Company.[94] Prior may or may not have been a habitué of this particular house (although he did go to the Smyrna with Jonathan Swift), but the personal connections may have been essential to knowledge of the South Sea enterprise in a way that they were not in the case of the northern colonies.[95] In part this must have something to do with the issue of language and the general lack of knowledge of Spanish amongst diplomatic and political figures like Prior and the men who met at his house in 1711. Although he owned a Spanish grammar (in addition to others for Italian, Hebrew, Anglo-Saxon, and other languages beyond those he was comfortable in), he did not own Spanish books, and so until the appearance of Dampier's work, recent information about the Spanish empire may have been hard to come by.[96]

In asking for four places in the Spanish territories for their trade the British wanted two on the east and two on the west of the continent, and on the east their attention focused mainly on the River Plate. The maps, however, offered little information of value, and certainly none of the claims of prior ownership which could be made for Newfoundland, despite Hakluyt's and Ogilby's interest in voyages by Cabot and Drake to this area.[97] Sanson's maps gave the men of the metropolis a vision of the River Plate as an enormous route into the interior, spreading up almost to the Amazon and in the northwest sometimes to the great silver mines at Potosi, without any

[94] Dennis Reinhartz, *The Cartographer and the Literati: Herman Moll and His Intellectual Circle*, (Lewiston, N.Y.: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1997), 67-68.
[95] Swift, *Journal to Stella*, 146.
[96] Add. MS 70362, 27r.-28v.
[97] Hakluyt, *Voyages*, 726; Ogilby, *America*, 109.

indications that this might nonetheless not be a reliable trade route.[98] Moll similarly extended the river to Potosi, again without clarifying whether it had any limitations, creating an image of a vast, navigable route to immense riches. And he and Lea both depicted the coast as being completely devoid of towns except for Buenos Aires and those far to the north in Brazil.[99] No settlements are marked between the River Plate and the Straits of Magellan, and of course no native peoples, whether on Jesuit plantations or on their own account, stand in the way of new claims. Suddenly Prior's comments that the Spanish wouldn't notice a few new towns in such a huge space become understandable, what would it concern them if the British set up a couple of places in all of this space? And it was obviously going to be possible to settle there and survive, there was after all Dampier's account of 'savannahs' "the largest that ever I heard of, 50, 60, of 100 miles in length."[100] Given such good prospects for a food supply and the image of emptiness, it seems hardly surprising that the British would push for a settlement in this area. Defoe's memorandum to Oxford suggested something between the River Plate and the Straits of Magellan, without perhaps considering issues relating to the harsher climate towards the south.[101] Here again ignorance plays a role, and although Prior and his colleagues may not have looked up his edition of Ortelius for this area, given that he says

[98] Sanson and Jaillot, "Amerique Meridionale". The Spanish actually moved the silver of Potosi overland to the Pacific coast, where it was put on a ship from Arica to Callao. From there it was part of a convoy to the Isthmus of Panama, to then be transported overland once again to Portobello for shipment to Spain. Peter T. Bradley, *The Lure of Peru: Maritime Intrusion into the South Sea, 1598-1701*, (N.Y.: St Martin's Press, 1989), 2.
[99] Herman Moll, "The Great Province of Rio de la Plata," *Atlas Manuale*; Herman Moll, "To the Right Honourable Charles Earl of Sunderland…This Map of South America," (London: 1709); Lea, "A new mapp of America."
[100] Dampier, *A New Voyage Round the World*, 87.
[101] Defoe to Oxford, 23rd of July, 1711, *Portland MS*, V, 60.

of Patagonia "ubi incoles sunt gigantes",[102] the Ogilby map of Tierra de Fuego has in its centre palm trees and naked native peoples hunting large birds which look like rheas.[103] Despite or because of their actual ignorance of conditions on the south eastern coast of South America the British, and Prior among them, seem to have been happy to push for settlements in areas which they really did not understand.

On the other side of the straits, however, things were at least a little bit clearer. Dampier had spent a lot of time on the western side of the continent, and so he had many accounts of towns and cities which he had seen, as well as a pirate's eye for the value of their trade. As a consequence, Moll's map, dedicated to Oxford and supporting the South Sea Company, contained numerous inset views or plans of towns, islands, and coastlines.[104] Three areas were singled out for particular attention, and they are areas in which both Dampier and the Utrecht negotiators had particular interest. The southernmost is the island of Chiloe, in an area marked on earlier Moll maps as being the "Duke of York's Islands".[105] This seems to be the only case of a toponymical claim in the southern parts of the Americas, and the source for it is unclear, given that this obviously does not appear on the maps of other countries, but it may have come from John Narborough's voyage in 1669, during which he claimed to be authorized by James, Duke of York, or from another similar voyage during James's period as Lord High Admiral.[106] The second of Moll's larger insets is of Guayaquil "Done from a New Spanish Draught", a town

[102] "Where the inhabitants are giants." Abraham Ortelius, "America sive novi orbis, nova description," Abraham Ortelius, *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, (Antwerp: 1570), between pages 2 and 3; available online via the Library of Congress, "Theatrum Orbis Terrarum," accessed 7th of December, 2015, http://www.loc.gov/resource/g3200m.gct00003/?st=gallery.
[103] Ogilby, *America*, between pages 472 and 473.
[104] Moll, "Map…South Sea Company."
[105] Herman Moll, "Chili, Magellans-Land and Terra del Fuego &c." Moll, *Atlas Manuale*.
[106] Williams, *The Great South Sea*, 77.

which Dampier was particularly impressed by (and keen to capture) as "one of the chiefest Sea-Ports in the *South Seas*".[107] Dampier does tell of an attempt to capture the town, and it is in keeping with the piratical tone of much of his voyage of plunder, in which he also captures the town of Ylo and Spanish ships whilst also scouting for fortifiable harbours which could be used as bases.[108] However, the most important town for Dampier, as well as the third of Moll's large insets, and one of the towns particularly mentioned for the British claim in Defoe's memoir is Valdivia.[109] Prior's copy of Ogilby would have told him the story of the value of Valdivia (or Baldivia) to its founder because of its proximity to "the best Mines of Peru", as well as of its port and connection through the river to the sea.[110] In addition, Dampier's account corrects the map in Ogilby which pictures the coast as being regularly punctuated with rivers running directly eastwards, the same distance each time, and says rather that there are "no Rivers of note that fall into these Seas."[111] If Valdivia really did have a good and reliable harbour it was obviously a good choice for the British in their search for towns to be given up by the Spanish, and yet at the same time, the special situation of this town and its richness and usefulness makes it seem entirely improbable that the Spanish would give it away, to the British or to anyone else, and of course they never did.[112] Here the ignorance and knowledge of the Duke Street diplomats becomes confused, the limits of their knowledge

[107] Dampier, *A New Voyage Round the World*, 152.
[108] *Ibid*., 4, 98-99, 91.
[109] Defoe to Oxford, 23rd of July, 1711, *Portland MS*, V, 59.
[110] Ogilby, *America*, 473, map between pages 470 and 471.
[111] Dampier, *A New Voyage Round the World*, 95.
[112] Earlier in the seventeenth century Valdivia had not been occupied by the Spanish, who had encountered significant native resistance, and the Dutch had attempted a settlement in 1643 which had not lasted. However, by the time of the Utrecht negotiations the Spanish town had been established and defences constructed. For the Dutch expedition see Bradley, *The Lure of Peru*, 64-80.

allowing them to put the best possible spin on things and to believe what they really wanted to, rather than what might have been based on evidence.

Of course evidence is what you make of it, and one of the more persistent mistakes of this era was consistently represented in the maps which Prior and his superiors drew upon in understanding the west of the North American continent. Ogilby's book calls California the biggest of the American islands, bigger even than Newfoundland, and the idea of California as an island persisted well into the period of the Utrecht negotiations, even as the bounds of the South Sea Company enclosed it.[113] The Moll maps which Prior had access to certainly made California an island, despite the existence by this time of maps which attached it to the mainland.[114] Dampier's account does not come down on one side or the other, although his suggestion that the Spanish intentionally kept people from exploring the 'Lake of California' because they did not want others finding ways to the mines further inland would certainly appeal to the men in London looking for extensions to empire in the Spanish periphery.[115] Dampier's book here goes beyond the territorial and begins to explain why the expansion of British interests into South America which would be occasioned by the *Asiento* was so hotly pursued by the government and its negotiators. Ports designed for the trans-shipment of slaves could be used for many other purposes, and Torcy may not have been exaggerating when he feared that the British were trying to secure dominance in yet another part of the world. Dampier expressed belief that bases on the Pacific side of the continent could

[113] Ogilby, *America*, 126.
[114] Moll, "Isle of California." At the same time as the negotiations and the Moll maps Guillaume De Lisle produced a map with California clearly attached to the mainland, see Guillaume De Lisle, "L'Amerique Septentrionale," (Amsterdam: Pierre Mortier, 1710.
[115] Dampier, *A New Voyage Round the World*, 272.

provide access to mines which the Spanish were not yet exploiting.[116] He also thought that exploration from here would be the best way to find the Northwest Passage, not from the Atlantic, but from the other side, arriving in the bays and straits on the Atlantic side which already had English names and which were to be guaranteed by the Treaty of Utrecht.[117] The Territorial consolidations and recognitions which Prior was demanding on Britain's behalf in the north were in fact linked to the South Sea project which he was also pushing, because the north-western parts of all of these maps, containing as they did unknown lands, may well have contained the long sought route to China and even greater riches.

And so despite, or because of, the empty spaces, Matthew Prior and the others who met at Duke Street, at Fontainebleau, in Paris, and in Utrecht, thought that they had made a good peace. In Europe Britain received Minorca, Gibraltar, and commercial concessions from Spain. In North America she gained recognition of claims to Hudson's Bay, complete ownership of Newfoundland, and Nova Scotia. In the south, an annual ship would be allowed to carry merchandise to the Spanish empire and the *Asiento* was secured for thirty years, partly due to the end of demands for four ports in South America. In Paris, negotiating the treaty of commerce between the British and French which was supposed to secure the peace, Prior waited for the call to go to Utrecht to sign. Yet the promised orders never came, because despite all of his knowledge, his fellowship at Cambridge, his time on the Board of Trade, his years spent at foreign courts, he was not of a high enough rank to accompany Lord Strafford and the Bishop of Bristol in the

[116] *Ibid.,* 273.
[117] *Ibid.,* 273. Interest in the western approach to the Passage was kept alive by the frequent representation (including on many of Prior's maps) of the "Strait of Anian," leading inland above Drake's "Nova Albion." Williams, *The Great South Sea,* xiii.

signing. In fact, it is hard to tell whether Prior was kept out of this honourable position in spite of his deep knowledge or because of it, being as he was a mere professional. So he waited, and on the death of Queen Anne he was still in Paris having his picture painted and hoping to be recalled to London. On the accession of George I, Prior's friend and patron Bolingbroke fled, and Oxford was accused by the new Whig government of treason and committed to the Tower. As Prior received this news and awaited recall he was consoled by his friend Jonathan Swift with the thought that "I know you can retire as gracefully as any from six footmen and a gilt Chariot to Jonathon and your Cloak."[118] But that would not be how it happened. When Prior did return he too was in danger for the making of the peace and was placed in close confinement by the House of Commons.[119] In fact he soon realized that the accusation of treason against Oxford was based upon the meeting at his house in the autumn of 1711, the very meeting which began this essay, at which he had demonstrated his extensive geographical and diplomatic knowledge to those engaged in the making of what would become the Treaty of Utrecht.[120] With the arrest Prior's public career was over and he was forcibly retired, from now on buying books on art for his library instead of books on the world beyond England.[121] His death in 1721 kept him from seeing the completion of the house he was building in the country in Essex, and also kept him from reading the greatest work of his friend Jonathan. Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* filled the empty spaces on the maps with fanciful, ridiculous peoples, but it had many serious satirical points. The whole thing laughed at those like Dampier

[118] Jonathan Swift to Matthew Prior, Dublin, 1st of March, 1715, O.S., Harold Williams, ed., *The Correspondence of Jonathan Swift, Vol. II, 1714-23*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963), 158-59.
[119] *Parliamentary History of England,* VII, 68.
[120] *Ibid*., Appendix II, "Mr. Prior's Account of his Examination, before the Committee of Secrecy appointed to inquire into the Negociations, relating to the Treaty of Utrecht," ccxxvi.
[121] He seems to have spent the years of retirement buying books on architecture and painting, as a number of books published after 1715 were on these subjects. Add. MS 70362, 26v.

who had travelled the world in search of strange things, and it referenced both Dampier himself and his cartographer, Moll, who is mentioned in the text and whose style of map-making is imitated in the maps of Lilliput and Blefescu, of Brobdingnag, the Isle of Laputa, and the land of the Houyhnhnms.[122] One cannot but wonder, had Matthew Prior lived would he have seen in Swift's comments about the men who ventured out into the world and told tall tales a comment on those men in the metropolis who never really went anywhere, but who pretended to a knowledge of the whole world as they carved it up on paper?

[122] Frederick Bracher, "The Maps in 'Gulliver's Travels'," *Huntingdon Library Quarterly*, 8, (1944): 59-74.

Esto perpetua respublica americana: Use of Fra Paolo Sarpi and of the Venetian example in political discourse by the founders of the American republic.

In 1773 Thomas Cushing wrote to Benjamin Franklin about avoiding the break with Britain and said of the desire of people in America to remain united with Britain "esto perpetua"- "Be enduring."[1] Nine years on Samuel Cooper also used the same phrase in a letter to Franklin, but his hopes were in opposition to Cushing's, he desired the continued success of the Revolution.[2] The phrase recurs in letters of the American founders throughout the early republican period, including several instances in the letters of John Adams, right down to 1824, and it is Adams who generally attributed the phrase when he used it to "Father Paul." This was the name given to the Venetian priest and state theologian at the time of the papal Interdict of 1606-07, Fra Paolo Sarpi (1552-1623).[3] The Interdict had been proclaimed by Pope Paul V in reaction to Venice's assertions that she had the right to try priests in civil courts, to regulate the building of churches in her territory, and to limit donation of lands to the Church. Sarpi was brought in to fight the pamphlet war against the Roman Curia, and he presented arguments that the civil power should regulate matters in the temporal world and that the Church should confine itself to

[1] "To Benjamin Franklin from Thomas Cushing, 10 December 1773," Founders Online, National Archives (http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Franklin/01-20-02-0263 [last update: 2016-03-28]). Source: *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, vol. 20, *January 1 through December 31, 1773*, ed. William B. Willcox. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1976, pp. 494–497.
[2] "To Benjamin Franklin from Samuel Cooper, 15 June 1782," Founders Online, National Archives (http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Franklin/01-37-02-0305 [last update: 2016-03-28]). Source: *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, vol. 37, *March 16 through August 15, 1782*, ed. Ellen R. Cohn. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2003, pp. 480–483.
[3] For Sarpi and his role in the Venetian Interdict see William James Bouwsma, *Venice and the Defense of Republican Liberty: Renaissance Values in the Age of the Counter Reformation*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968); David Wootton, *Paolo Sarpi: Between Renaissance and Enlightenment*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983); selected essays republished in William James Bouwsma, *A Usable Past: Essays in European Cultural History*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990); Gatti, Hilary, *Ideas of Liberty in Early Modern Europe: From Machiavelli to Milton*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015).

the spiritual. He challenged the authority of the papacy and propagated a view of the history of the early Church which focused on community-level involvement and direct election of priests by those communities. This Servite monk corresponded with Protestants and Catholics alike and advocated for the reform of the Church. In all this he was supported by the Venetian state and attacked by Rome, even finding himself the victim of an assassination attempt.

Sarpi's books, principally the *History of the Council of Trent*, were frequently found in libraries in the age of Franklin and Adams, as they had been in England since the beginning of the seventeenth century, when Sarpi had inspired John Milton, John Harrington, Thomas Hobbes, and many others whose works were to provide intellectual underpinnings for the political theories of the American Founders.[4] Sarpi's anti-Curialism, his opposition to the temporal power of the Church, to the Inquisition and to the Index of banned books had strong resonances in the seventeenth century in England, and they continued to be published and consulted in Europe throughout the eighteenth century. The presence of Sarpi's works and ideas in the writings of the American Founders provides an opportunity to examine another group of sources which may have had an effect, both directly and indirectly through the writers of the seventeenth century, on such matters as the structure of government, relations between church and state, and on a language of republicanism in which phrases like "esto perpetua" communicated some of the concerns, hopes, and anxieties of an elite educated in classical republican traditions dealing with an experimental republic shifting towards a more democratic

[4] For two particular treatments of Sarpi's influence on the English political writers of the seventeenth century see Z.S. Fink, "Venice and English Political Thought in the Seventeenth Century," *Modern Philology*, 38, 2, (1940): 155-72 and John Leon Lievsay, *Venetian Phoenix: Paolo Sarpi and Some of His English Friends (1606-1700)*, (Lawrence, KS: The University Press of Kansas, 1973).

system.[5] The myth of Venice as an ideal republic had been strong in European thinking for hundreds of years before the Americans began their own experiment in republican government. She had lasted from her foundation as a city without kings and with a balance of government by councils composed of an aristocratic elite. Venice provided a model for many of the English republicans of the seventeenth century, both in their political writings and in their own Commonwealth during the seventeenth century, and they had been reading works by and about Father Paul throughout this period.

These works were also carried into the American colonies and were in personal and institutional libraries throughout the thirteen colonies which would rebel against Britain in the eighteenth century. As the Americans built their own republic they frequently listed Venice amongst polities called by that name which were undeserving of it. And yet they continued to read about the Serene Republic, and books about Venice and the works of Sarpi were recommended by these New World republicans. James Madison suggested Congress should buy two of Sarpi's books for its library, and when it came to discussing the power of churches in a republic he could find no better work than

[5] There is a considerable literature on the American founders and classical republicanism, beginning most notably with John Pocock's *Machiavellian Moment*, John Greville Agard Pocock, *The Machiavellian Moment: Florentine Political Thought and the Atlantic Republican Tradition*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975). A considerable challenge to Pocock's view is at the heart of Paul Rahe's book on republics, and is evident in his rejection of Pocock's emphasis on civic humanism and Rahe's assertion that in the American Revolution civic humanism "is by and large a figment of the scholarly imagination," Paul A. Rahe, *Republics Ancient and Modern: Classical Republicanism and the American Revolution*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992), 570. My work on Sarpi and the American Founders will make use of the historiography surrounding Pocock's *Machiavellian Moment* and Rahe's work dealing with the influence of humanist writings on the political structures put into place in the young republic. More recent historiography on civic humanism in republican and democratic language such as that produced by James Aune, and Asher Horowitz and Richard Matthews has been essential to coming to terms with the strange survival of fragments such as the "esto perpetua" as almost a mantra, a relic of civic humanist republicanism in the democratizing American republic, James Arnt Aune, "Democratic Style and Ideological Containment," *Rhetoric and Public Affairs*, 11:3, (2008): 482-490, Asher Horowitz and Richard K. Matthews, "Narcissism of the Minor Differences: What is at issue and what is at stake in the civic humanism question," *Polity*, 30:1 (1997): 1-27.

one by the Venetian priest who had fought against the papacy. Despite Venice's supposedly dubious claim to being a republic by the eighteenth century, her fall in 1797 nonetheless worried many in the young United States. Some of them began to worry that their own republic might be in danger, and that without a strong and virtuous citizenry no republic could stay afloat for long without falling prey to the vicissitudes of fortune. Some elite Americans expressed this fear and their hopes that their republic would survive forever by quoting the last words of Sarpi, "esto perpetua." Perhaps those who knew and quoted Sarpi's words wanted to assert hopes for the perfection and endurance of their own republic similar to that which had attached to Venice until 1797, more likely they found in this an ideal republican mantra which could be adapted to many purposes. After all, it had already been used to hope for both good relations with Britain and for the success of the revolt against the colonial power.

Throughout the seventeenth century Englishmen, and particularly republican Englishmen, had admired the Serene Republic of Venice. This admiration was based upon an ideal of government by councils, which Venice was thought to embody.[6] Sovereignty resided in a Great Council, membership of which had been restricted to a particular group of named families in 1297. Above this was the Senate, composed of approximately three hundred members, some elected for year-long terms and some appointed as part of a particular function exercised within the republic. For the most secret requirements of state, the Council of Ten was the responsible body, although it had begun as a temporary measure and its continued existence was a subject of frequent debate. The whole was presided over by a doge elected from within the same group of

[6] Fink, "Venice and English Political Thought."

families which provided the members of the various councils, and although considerable pomp and circumstance surrounded the person of the doge, true power lay in the councils.[7] That being said, despite the limited role of the doge as a figurehead, Venetians believed that in 1177 their republic had been the mediator in making peace between the Holy Roman Emperor and the Pope, and that the doge had consequently been given the right to be covered by an umbrella like those which sheltered the other leaders, placing the Venetian Republic on an equal footing with emperor and pope, the leaders of Christendom.[8]

Although only in very small part the responsibility of Paolo Sarpi, the republican myth of the Venetian republic nonetheless goes a long way to explaining the positive reception of his works in Europe and in America in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Aside from her aristocratic deliberative bodies, the religious liberty of Venice, which allowed Jews, Greek Orthodox Christians, and a variety of other denominations to live within the republic and encouraged trade with the Muslim world was well known, and was in fact later cited by Montesquieu, alongside the example of the Dutch Republic, as a clear indication that religious toleration was good for business.[9] In Sarpi's *Maxims of the Government of Venice* he had said that "whoever brings new Commodities into a City brings along with them at the same time new Customs," and advocated encouraging settlement by foreign merchants.[10] Money was of course key to Venice, it was at times

[7] For a detailed discussion of Venice and her government in the time of Sarpi see Bouwsma, *Venice and the Defense of Republican Liberty*, 52-64.
[8] *Ibid*., 55.
[9] Christopher Nadon, "The Secular Basis of the Separation of Church and State: Hobbes, Locke, Montesquieu, and Tocqueville." *Perspectives on Political Science* 43, no. 1 (Jan, 2014): 21-30.
[10] Paolo Sarpi, *The maxims of the government of Venice. In an advice to the Republick; How it ought to govern it self both inwardly and outwardly, in order to perpetuate its Dominion. In which are likewise consider'd the several Interests of all the Princes of Europe, with respect to the Affairs of Italy*, (London: J. Morphew, 1707), 33-34. There is some question about whether Sarpi was indeed the author of this work

considered the market of the world. At the heart of this business life was the bank of Venice, recognized by the Americans as the oldest in the world, considerably older than those of Amsterdam and London. Both James Madison and Alexander Hamilton commented on it in their writings, and the latter clearly saw much to admire in Venice's commercial life and in the resulting interaction with many peoples, even seeing benefits in the luxury prevalent there.[11]

But Venice occupied a larger role in much of European thinking about republics as a paragon of mixed government, although in many respects it was being eclipsed by England by the end of the seventeenth century. It was for three hundred years the ideal state to many European elites, a combination of liberty and order.[12] John Milton was famously enamoured of the wider Venetian, and Sarpi's particular, resistance to restrictions on printing and free expression. In fact, in Sarpi's *Quarrels of Paul V* the cleric writes of Venice willingly allowing the printing of the Papal tracts against the city

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which circulated under his name. See Z.S. Fink, *The Classical Republicans: An Essay in the Recovery of a Pattern of Thought in Seventeenth Century England*, (Evanston: Northwestern University, 1945), 141-42. For the purposes of considering the influence of Sarpi and Venice on the American Founders it is more important that the work was attributed to him and believed to be by him, both lending authority to it by the use of his name and to the discussion of the government of Venice contained therein by reference to his particular access to the archives of the state.

[11] "Notes on Banks, [ca. 1 February] 1791," Founders Online, National Archives (http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Madison/01-13-02-0278 [last update: 2016-03-28]). Source: *The Papers of James Madison*, vol. 13, *20 January 1790–31 March 1791*, ed. Charles F. Hobson and Robert A. Rutland. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1981, pp. 364–367; "From Alexander Hamilton to James Duane, [3 September 1780]," Founders Online, National Archives (http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Hamilton/01-02-02-0838 [last update: 2016-03-28]). Source: *The Papers of Alexander Hamilton*, vol. 2, *1779–1781*, ed. Harold C. Syrett. New York: Columbia University Press, 1961, pp. 400–418; "Enclosure: Notes on the Advantages of a National Bank, [27 March 1791]," Founders Online, National Archives (http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Hamilton/01-08-02-0159-0002 [last update: 2016-03-28]). Source: *The Papers of Alexander Hamilton*, vol. 8, *February 1791–July 1791*, ed. Harold C. Syrett. New York: Columbia University Press, 1965, pp. 218–223; "Pay Book of the State Company of Artillery, [1777]," Founders Online, National Archives (http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Hamilton/01-01-02-0350 [last update: 2016-03-28]). Source: *The Papers of Alexander Hamilton*, vol. 1, *1768–1778*, ed. Harold C. Syrett. New York: Columbia University Press, 1961, pp. 373–412.

[12] Bouwsma, *Venice and the Defense of Republican Liberty*, 162, 628.

while at the same time Rome suppressed those of the Venetians, the perfect example of the freedom of thought allowed in the republic.[13] The word 'republic' is key here, given that for a very long time and in much of Europe Venice was discussed along the lines of a Polybian republic. The *Encyclopédie* mentions a mixed government of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy in the doge, Senate and Great Council, although the author of this, like so many others, was able to see through the myth.[14] The preface to Sarpi's *Maxims* discussed this more aristocratic model of government, and it should be remembered that in this European context an aristocratic republic was not necessarily a bad thing, and that democratic governments were considered unstable, even during the eighteenth century.[15] The system of election of magistrates in Venice was considered to be related to the absence of strong parties, which continued to be viewed as dangerous to the state, including in the young American Republic.[16] The virulent spirit of party was supposed to have been a negative outcome of the English Revolution of 1688, and although in the American colonies the English model was preferred to the Venetian, there were those who may have preferred to avoid party by reference to the Venetian system. Most notably, the Venetian aristocratic model, as well as Sarpi's attitude to the papacy, found considerable support in Gallican France. The model of Venetian freedom, aristocratic and supposedly lasting since the sixth century, was particularly appealing to those who saw themselves as an intellectual and social elite who could run a perfectly stable state for the benefit of all.

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[13] Paolo Sarpi, *The History of the Quarrels of Pope* Paul *V. With the State of Venice, In seven books*, (London: John Bill, 1626), 202.
[14] "Venise," in *Encyclopédie, ou dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts, et des métiers*, (Paris : Briasson, 1751-65), Vol XVII, 14.
[15] Sarpi, *Maxims*, xviii.
[16] *Ibid*., xviii.

Perhaps the most striking aspect of Venice for Europeans and Americans of the eighteenth century related to this question of longevity. In the *Quarrels of Paul V* Sarpi depicts the Pope's attack on Venice in 1606 as arising from the death of the doge and his lack of realization that despite this the state itself was strong and stable, the doge being after all only a figurehead.[17] This was at the heart of John Adams's critique of the supposed reduction of the US Presidency to a ceremonial function during the presidency of George Washington – he did not want to see it become as unimportant as the doge was to the Venetian state. In Sarpi's *Maxims* too there is considerable emphasis on the longevity of the Venetian republic. The desire is expressed that the republic will endure in perpetuity, and it is already claimed to have survived for longer than any other in history, a frequent claim of Venetian writers of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.[18] The stability of Venice was noted in France as it was in England in the projections of the republicans of the mid-seventeenth century. Despite difficulties, including the combined attack of the European powers on Venice during the papacy of Julius II, it had survived and continued to maintain internal peace.[19] The durability of Venice was again mentioned by Voltaire in his own reaction to the *Encyclopédie,* and he too expressed a hope for its continuation: "Rome perdit par *César*, au bout de cinq cens ans, sa liberté acquise par *Brutus*. Venise a conservé la sienne pendant onze siècles, & je me flatte qu'elle la conservera toujours."[20]

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[17] Sarpi, *Quarrels of Paul V*, 33.
[18] Sarpi, *Maxims*, xvi, 4.
[19] "Venise," *Encyclopédie*, XVII, 12.
[20] Voltaire, "Venise, et par occasion, de la liberté," *Questions sur l'encyclopédie, par des amateurs*, (1771), Vol. 9, 38. "Rome lost by Caesar, after five hundred years, the liberty acquired by Brutus. Venice has conserved hers for eleven centuries, and I flatter myself that she will always retain it." On the role of Venice in Voltaire's thought, see also Franco Venturi, "Venise et, par occasion, de la liberté," trans. David Robey, in Alan Ryan, ed., *The Idea of Freedom : Essays in Honour of Isaiah Berlin*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), 195-210.

Between the already long-lived Venice of Sarpi and the England of the Stuarts strong cultural and political connections existed, and in the *Maxims* it is suggested that the strengthening of England's power would be of benefit to Venice as a counterweight to other rulers.[21] Sarpi's works on the Interdict and the battle with the pope easily found favour in an England still very anti-Catholic and particularly anti-Jesuit. The Preface to the English edition of the *Quarrels of Paul V* gives some indication of this common ground and the description of the expulsion of the Jesuits in that work expressed common Venetian and English fears about those soldiers of the Counter-Reformation.[22] By the time of the English Civil Wars, Sarpi was still of interest, perhaps more so than ever before, and in 1651 the English translation of his friend Fra Fulgentio Micanzio's *Life of the most learned Father Paul* was published, in which Sarpi was identified as the anagrammatic author of *The History of the Council of Trent* (which had been originally published under the name Pietro Soave Polano).[23] A few years earlier, however, Sarpi had received his most famous outing in English, in John Milton's "Areopagitica," the forceful argument against ecclesiastical and governmental control of the presses of England which would later be an inspiration to the American founders. The whole work is informed by Sarpi's attack on "the most Antichristian Councel (of Trent), and the most tyrannous Inquisition," and in particular on the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*.[24] Milton feared the imposition of such controls under the presbytery in England and unleashed an impassioned defence of a free press, including a reference to having visited Sarpi's friend

[21] Sarpi, *Maxims*, 124.
[22] Sarpi, *Quarrels of Paul V*, Preface unpaginated; on the expulsion of the Jesuits, 93-95
[23] Fulgentio Micanzio, *The life of the most learned Father Paul, of the Order of the Servie*, (London: Humphrey Moseley and Richard Marriot, 1651), 96-97.
[24] John Milton, "Areopagitica," in John Milton, *The Works of John Milton, Vol. IV*, (NY: Columbia University Press, 1931), 305.

Galileo, a victim of the Church's control of information.[25] In this work Milton notes that the recent innovation of censorship was noted by "*Padre Paolo*, the great unmasker of the *Trentine* Councel."[26] Thus Sarpi found his epithet in English, at a time when he was informing the works of many English writers, notably the republican John Harrington, author of *Oceana*.[27] Sarpi's opposition to Church control of civil matters such as publication and the criminal law found resonances throughout this period, as was noted in the *Life* attached to the 1737 edition of his *Treatise on Ecclesiastical Benefices*, which discussed his connection to the Gallican party in France as it resisted the ultramontane policies of the papacy.[28] Sarpi's opposition to the Papal Curia continued to be influential in English and European circles long after the passions of the Interdict had cooled and even after the English became (somewhat) less concerned about Jesuitical plotting. Edward Gibbon's analysis of the post-Tridentine Church is obviously informed by Sarpi's *History*, particularly in his discussion of the papal assumption of temporal power in addition to the spiritual.[29] In one footnote in his final volume he groups Sarpi with Guicciardini, Machiavelli, and Davila as "the first historians of modern languages."[30] Thus Sarpi's view of the Church and its role in the state and in society remained influential in English-speaking elite circles into the eighteenth century, including in the American colonies.

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[25] *Ibid*., 330.
[26] *Ibid*., 302-03.
[27] See both Fink, "Venice and English Political Thought," and Lievsay, *Venetian Phoenix*.
[28] Paolo Sarpi, *A treatise of ecclesiastical benefices and revenues… To which is prefixed, (but once before printed) the life of Father Paul, by Mr. Lockman.*, trans. Tobias Jenkins, (Dublin: Thomas Moore, 1737), lxvii.
[29] Edward Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, Vol. III*, ed. David Womersley, (London: Penguin Books, 1995), 1054-57.
[30] *Ibid*., 1057, footnote 89.

Sarpi's books sold well in the English-speaking world; in fact, they were very popular amongst the elite of this culture. No other Italian author was more often translated into English in the seventeenth century, and editions continued to be produced well into the eighteenth century.[31] In that century Samuel Johnson even intended to produce a new translation of the *History of the Council of Trent*, although he never succeeded in doing so.[32] The first publication of *The History of the Council of Trent* was in England, in Italian, in 1619, with a dedication by Marco Antonio de Dominis to James I and VI. Other works followed in both languages, and many of them made the journey across the Atlantic to the American colonies. An English edition of *The History of the Council of Trent* travelled on the Mayflower in the small collection of books brought by William Brewster, and so from the early days of English America Sarpi was present in the colonies.[33] The only book to survive from the first library of the College of William and Mary, founded in 1693 and lost to fire in 1705, was a copy of the 1676 edition of *The History of the Council of Trent*, an edition which contained a life of Sarpi, featuring the story of his death and the last words, "esto perpetua."[34] Editions of Sarpi continued to be found in what would become the United States, and the same as that at William and Mary was, by 1770, in the collections of the Library Company of Philadelphia.[35] This was of course the library founded by Benjamin Franklin and his friends and used by the

[31] Lievsay, *Venetian Phoenix*, 76.
[32] James Boswell, *The Life of Samuel Johnson, LLD*, (London: Office of the National Illustrated Library, 1851), 99.
[33] William James Bouwsma, "Venice and the Political Education of Europe," (originally in *Renaissance Venice*, ed. J.R. Hale, (London: Faber and Faber, 1973), in Bouwsma, *A Usable Past*, 273.
[34] For the history of this first library at William and Mary see John M. Jennings, *The Library of the College of William and Mary in Virginia, 1693-1793*, (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press for The Earl Gregg Swem Library of the College of William and Mary in Virginia, 1968), 15-35.
[35] Library Company of Philadelphia**,** *The Charter, Laws, and Catalogue of Books, of the Library Company of Philadelphia. With a Short Account of the Library Prefixed.* (Philadelphia: Joseph Crukshank, 1770), unpaginated, at gathering L3.

members of Congress in Philadelphia, and so they had access to Sarpi as they did to all of the other books in that institution. Moreover, many of them owned their own copies of Sarpi's works, although it is, as always, difficult to ascertain when these were acquired. John Adams had in his library the 1629 edition of *The History of the Council of Trent*, although, frustratingly for the historian, in this case he avoided his usual habit of annotating his books.[36] Thomas Jefferson owned both an Italian and an English version of the same work, both of which he shelved under the heading of 'Ecclesiastical History' in his library.[37] Madison also owned the *History* in English, although when in 1783 he made recommendations for a library for Congress he did not mention it on that list.[38] He did, however, include two other Sarpi books. The first, written on the list as "Padre Paolo on the Venetian Republic" has been identified as *The Quarrels of Paul V*, and was classed under the heading of "Particular History," and the sub-heading of "Italian," presumably, along with other works in this category, intended to act as a guideline for management of current affairs.[39] The other work was written as "Father Paul on the Venetian Republic" and has been identified as the *Maxims of the Government of Venice*, a work which identified itself as arising out of Sarpi's unique access to the archives of the Venetian state, granted during his appointment as state theologian and consultant.[40] This book was

[36] A pdf of Adams's copy can be found through the search engine at "The John Adams Library at the Boston Public Library," accessed on the 6th of April, 2016, http://www.johnadamslibrary.org/search/.
[37] E. Millicent Sowerby, *Catalogue of the Library of Thomas Jefferson*, (Washington, DC: Library of Congress, 1952-59), I, 291-92.
[38] James Madison's Montpelier, "James Madison's Reading List," accessed 6th of April, 2016, https://www.montpelier.org/james-and-dolley-madison/james-madison/james-madison-reading-list.
[39] "Report on Books for Congress, [23 January] 1783," Founders Online, National Archives (http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Madison/01-06-02-0031 [last update: 2016-03-28]). Source: *The Papers of James Madison*, vol. 6, *1 January 1783–30 April 1783*, ed. William T. Hutchinson and William M. E. Rachal. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1969, pp. 62–115. On Madison using history as a guide to the present, see A.E. Dick Howard, "James Madison and the Founding of the Republic," in Alley, Robert S., ed., *James Madison on Religious Liberty*, (Buffalo, NY: Prometheus Books, 1985), 23.
[40] "Report on Books for Congress;" Sarpi, *Maxims*, v.

not recorded as history, but under "Politics," a category which included, amongst others, Hobbes, Harrington, and Locke, all men of the English seventeenth-century political tradition who had been influenced by the work of Sarpi.[41]

Despite, or because of their reading of Sarpi and other Venetians, the American founders seem often to have viewed Venice as not a true republic, and this may well account for the reduced role she played in their considerations on government by comparison to the Englishmen of the seventeenth century. Although Venetian political structures and books had had a considerable influence on the English republicans, the works of those men could now be used by the Americans, and so any Venetian models which were thought to be of value had presumably been incorporated into the English, and subsequently American, systems. Indeed, the author of the article on Venice in the *Encyclopédie* had made the same point, that there were monarchies freer than the 'republic' of Venice.[42] The particular lack of any positive references to Venice in the writings of Thomas Jefferson, and indeed his consigning of Sarpi to 'Ecclesiastical History' and never citing him in any of his extant correspondence indicates how low an opinion could be held of the Venetian republic by an American founder. In *Notes on the State of Virginia* Jefferson made the case that the concentration of power in one body of government is despotic, and cited Venice as an example:

> All the powers of government, legislative, executive, and judiciary, result to the legislative body. The concentrating these in the same hands is precisely the definition of despotic government. It will be no alleviation that these powers will be exercised by a plurality of hands, and not by a single one. 173 despots would surely be as oppressive as one. Let those who doubt it turn their eyes on the republic of Venice.[43]

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[41] "Report on Books for Congress."
[42] "Venise," *Encyclopédie*, XVII, 15.
[43] Thomas Jefferson, *Notes on the state of Virginia. Written by Thomas Jefferson. Illustrated with a map, including the states of Virginia, Maryland, Delaware and Pennsylvania.* (London: 1787), 195.

Support for this position among the founders may be seen in the fact that this very passage was quoted by James Madison in *The Federalist* number forty eight in 1788 and by Alexander Hamilton in *The Examination* number sixteen in 1802.[44] Jefferson returned to this view of Venice later in life in a letter to Joseph C. Cabell, and so we might presume that he did not change his mind on the matter.[45] Furthermore, though in many instances Venice was admired for not restraining printing and thought, it should be noted that the one man who referenced Paolo Sarpi more than any other of the American founders was not convinced that Venice was in any way a place of free inquiry. John Adams compared the Venetian attitude to intellectual freedom to other aristocracies in the Netherlands, Poland, and Switzerland, and concluded that there was no more freedom in those Old World republics than in the most absolutist states in Europe.[46] And not only did he find there to be no freedom of thought in Venice, but he also attacked that which Alexander Hamilton had admired, her commerce and luxury, saying that it was this which destroyed Venice, the Dutch Republic, and Switzerland, and which was the cause

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[44] "*The Federalist* Number 48, [1 February] 1788," Founders Online, National Archives (http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Madison/01-10-02-0269 [last update: 2016-03-28]). Source: *The Papers of James Madison*, vol. 10, *27 May 1787–3 March 1788*, ed. Robert A. Rutland, Charles F. Hobson, William M. E. Rachal, and Frederika J. Teute. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1977, pp. 456–460; "The Examination Number XVI, [19 March 1802]," Founders Online, National Archives (http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Hamilton/01-25-02-0305 [last update: 2016-03-28]). Source: *The Papers of Alexander Hamilton*, vol. 25, *July 1800–April 1802*, ed. Harold C. Syrett. New York: Columbia University Press, 1977, pp. 564–569.

[45] "Thomas Jefferson to Joseph C. Cabell, 2 February 1816," Founders Online, National Archives (http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/03-09-02-0286 [last update: 2016-03-28]). Source: *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, Retirement Series, vol. 9, *September 1815 to April 1816*, ed. J. Jefferson Looney. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012, pp. 435–439.

[46] "From John Adams to Thomas Brand Hollis, 9 April 1788," Founders Online, National Archives (http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/99-02-02-0383 [last update: 2016-03-28]). Source: this is an **Early Access document** from The Adams Papers. It is not an authoritative final version.

of their not pursuing democratic models.[47] This is of interest in light of the concerns of the Roman and Renaissance tradition of virtue with luxury and its corrupting effects in a republic. A considerable concern in Roman history and in the works of the Italian authors concerned with republics was their rise and fall and the role played in that fall by moral corruption. This is central to John Pocock's discussion of the roles of *fortuna* and *virtu* in classical republican language, with the latter providing a means of restraining the inevitable decline associated with the former, as a brake on the corruption of citizenship by the everyday world.[48] Adams and others of his generation frequently looked at the Venetian senate and saw no republic there, although it should also be noted that they did so after founding their own, which they obviously considered superior.[49] In fact, Adams seems to have adopted Venetian models in comparisons to the United States more often than most of his contemporaries, and his reflections on the role and powers of the US president more than once made reference to him as being nothing more than a powerless doge.[50] He did once tell George Washington that the presidency in the US was superior to

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[47] "From John Adams to Benjamin Rush, 27 September 1808," Founders Online, National Archives (http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/99-02-02-5258 [last update: 2016-03-28]). Source: this is an **Early Access document** from The Adams Papers. It is not an authoritative final version.

[48] Pocock, *Machiavellian Moment*, 31-48.

[49] "From John Adams to John Trumbull, 2 April 1790," Founders Online, National Archives (http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/99-02-02-0898 [last update: 2016-03-28]). Source: this is an **Early Access document** from The Adams Papers. It is not an authoritative final version; "From John Adams to Samuel Adams, Sr., 18 October 1790," Founders Online, National Archives (http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/99-02-02-1081 [last update: 2016-03-28]). Source: this is an **Early Access document** from The Adams Papers. It is not an authoritative final version; "Destutt de Tracy's Commentary on Book 2 of Montesquieu's Esprit des Lois, [ca. 12 June 1809]," Founders Online, National Archives (http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/03-03-02-0001-0003 [last update: 2016-03-28]). Source: *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, Retirement Series, vol. 3, *12 August 1810 to 17 June 1811*, ed. J. Jefferson Looney. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006, pp. 7–11; "To George Washington from Lewis Nicola, 22 May 1782," Founders Online, National Archives (http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/99-01-02-08500 [last update: 2016-03-28]). Source: this is an **Early Access document** from The Papers of George Washington. It is not an authoritative final version.

[50] "From John Adams to James Lovell, 16 July 1789," Founders Online, National Archives (http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/99-02-02-0676 [last update: 2016-03-28]). Source: this is an **Early Access document** from The Adams Papers. It is not an authoritative final version.

the dogeship, although it was in a context in which he was expressing concerns about maintaining and augmenting the presidential power and display in order to secure the republic and its leader.[51] Elite members of the young American republic seem generally to have considered that Venice had little to teach them, except as a bad example. This may have been the reason behind Madison's inclusion of a section on Venetian history in his recommendation of books for Congress. However, in the matter of religion and the state Madison found reason to cite Sarpi as an authority.

As state theologian during the papal Interdict against Venice Paolo Sarpi had argued that the Church was originally intended to be the body of the faithful, that it had no role beyond the spiritual, and that the state was the ultimate authority over both members of the clergy and real property. Sarpi's role in challenging the power of the Catholic Church led in his own time to accusations of Protestantism and even atheism. In fact, in recent decades it has been suggested that his private writings reveal the latter to have been the case, and that he was hostile to Christianity and sought to establish a secular republic.[52] In the *Treatise on Beneficiary Matters* he himself claimed not to be hostile to Christianity, but merely to be attempting to restore it to its early form.[53] Certainly, he attacked the Church and its power in the state, and that was after all the root of Milton's admiration for the Venetian cleric who outwardly professed a very different religion to the Protestant Englishman. Venice's attitude to the papacy, and in particular to

[51] "From John Adams to George Washington, 17 May 1789," Founders Online, National Archives (http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/99-02-02-0564 [last update: 2016-03-28]). Source: this is an **Early Access document** from The Adams Papers. It is not an authoritative final version.
[52] For this view see Wootton, *Paolo Sarpi*. Wootton's view is referenced (and accepted) by Paul Rahe in *Republics Ancient and Modern*, 244. For an opposing view see the most recent monograph on Sarpi by Jaska Kainulainen, *Paolo Sarpi: A Servant of God and State*, (Leiden: Brill, 2014).
[53] Paolo Sarpi, *Of beneficiary matters, or, The dues of the altar being a compleat history of ecclesiastical revenues*, (London: O. Payne, 1730), xxiv.

the Inquisition, received continued attention throughout the eighteenth century, and in the *Encyclopédie* was cited in the generally positive article on the republic.[54]

Similar concerns agitated the founders of the American Republic, and Thomas Jefferson in particular worried about a church-state alliance which might limit free enquiry.[55] None of the discussion above of Sarpi's anti-Curialism and possible personal atheism is to say that the Venetian state in Sarpi's time was anti-Catholic, merely that it considered the Church to have jurisdiction only over spiritual and not temporal matters. This was a long-standing fight in Europe, and examples like the Venetian Interdict could also be well used on the other side of the Atlantic. In his "Detached Memoranda" of 1820, James Madison brought up some of his concerns over the role of religion in his own country, and reflected on the need to restrict the power of the churches to hold land and claim rents.[56] In this discussion he cited only one book – Sarpi on church benefices. Madison took Jesus' "declaration that his Kingdom was not of this World" seriously in considering the role of churches in relation to the state.[57] Nor was this attitude unusual at the time. Less than two pages after he cited Sarpi as one of the great historians, Edward Gibbon declared himself "scandalized by the temporal kingdom of the clergy; and the local majesty of Rome."[58] Such attitudes characterize all of the works of Paolo Sarpi. The *Maxims*, which is on Madison's list of books for Congress, states that the expansion of

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[54] "Venise," *Encyclopédie*, XVII, 15.
[55] See Johann N. Neem, "Beyond the Wall: Reinterpreting Jefferson's Danbury Address." *Journal of the Early Republic* 27, no. 1 (Spring, 2007): 139-154.
[56] "Detached Memoranda, ca. 31 January 1820," Founders Online, National Archives (http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Madison/04-01-02-0549 [last update: 2016-03-28]). Source: *The Papers of James Madison*, Retirement Series, vol. 1, *4 March 1817–31 January 1820*, ed. David B. Mattern, J. C. A. Stagg, Mary Parke Johnson, and Anne Mandeville Colony. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2009, pp. 600–627.
[57] *Ibid*.
[58] Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, III, 1059.

papal power, beginning from the campaigns of Julius II, was a danger to the republic, and in the *Quarrels of Paul V*, again on the Congress list, Sarpi is translated as saying that "The Doctrine of the *Venetian* Writers was, in summe; That *God* hath established two Gouernments in the World, the one Spirituall, and the other Temporall, each one of them being supreme and independent upon the other."[59] This message runs throughout the work on benefices, and its influence on Madison's writing on this subject in the "Detached Memoranda" is clear. Sarpi discusses the growth of the monasteries and their support by the papacy, which he says realized that this would be a means of expanding its own power and influence. He considers this as part of the reforms of the eleventh century which saw the increasing power of the pope and of Rome over the whole Western Church.[60] He tells a story of the clergy engrossing as much temporal power as possible and neglecting the spiritual. This story would have had clear resonances for Jefferson and Madison in the power of the Church of England in Virginia before the Revolution, both in its receipt of tax money from the state and in its role as a considerable landowner. In Sarpi's work this focus on the temporal is not enough to destroy the spiritual power of the clergy, and so contributes to a rise in their power:

> It had been reasonable to imagine, that the little Care the Clergy shew'd of spiritual Affairs would have cool'd the Zeal of secular Men in their Bounties to the Churches, and consequently have put an End to the Growth off their Wealth: But it took another Turn, for with a supine Neglect of Spirituals, the Spirit of defending their Temporals seem'd to rise in Proportion.[61]

Madison specifically discusses in the Memoranda "the danger of encroachment by Ecclesiastical Bodies."[62] He mentions Patrick Henry's attempt to secure state sponsorship

[59] Sarpi, *Maxims*, 74-75; Sarpi, *Quarrels of Paul V*, 202-03.
[60] Sarpi, *Of Beneficiary Matters* (1730), 34, 58.
[61] *Ibid*., 65.
[62] "Detached Memoranda."

of Christian churches as being supported by old prejudices attached to an established church with significant temporal powers.[63] Sarpi's advocacy that clergy should be supported by their parishioners and not by the state or from rents, with no legally required amount from those church members, was shared by Madison and Jefferson in this case. For their part they were successful in their push to disestablish the Church of England, and the legislature of Virginia, supported by evangelical groups, went on during the early years of the republic to deprive the disestablished Episcopal Church of its lands and revenues.[64]

The power of religious organizations in the temporal sphere was a concern for Sarpi, for Jefferson and Madison, and remains so today. The support of these particular men for what has been called a 'religion blind' constitution is well known.[65] In this matter of ecclesiastical benefices, however, lies one of the more significant enunciations of what this was to mean. At its heart lies a fear of the economic, social, and political power of churches which, though they may not be supported by the state, are nonetheless possessed of considerable revenues.[66] Madison discusses ecclesiastical property and the Virginian restrictions upon entail and primogeniture in the same piece of writing, with a

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[63] *Ibid*.
[64] Sarpi, *Of Beneficiary Matters* (1730), 36.
[65] For particular discussion of the concept of a 'religion blind' reading of the Constitution see Vincent Phillip Muñoz, "James Madison's Principle of Religious Liberty." *American Political Science Review* 97:1 (2003): 17-32. Naturally, an extensive historiography on the founders and the separation of church and state exists. On the importance of Thomas Jefferson and James Madison to this issue see in particular see the monographs of Edwin S. Gaustad and John Ragosta. Edwin S. Gaustad, *Faith and the Founders: Religion and the New Nation, 1776-1826*, (Waco, Texas: Baylor University Press, 2011, reprint of 2nd edition); John Ragosta, *Religious Freedom: Jefferson's Legacy, America's Creed*, (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2013). Both of these works make use of Madison's "Detached Memoranda," and Ragosta specifically addresses those scholars who have dismissed this work as the product of a long-retired politician out of touch with political issues (see p. 125).
[66] On the question of disestablishment and the related attack on religious property holding see Thomas E. Buckley, *Establishing Religious Freedom: Jefferson's Statute in Virginia*, (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2013) and Sarah Barringer Gordon, "The First Disestablishment: Limits on Church Power and Property before the Civil War," *University of Pennsylvania Law Review*, 162, (2014): 307-72.

particular concern for "the indefinite accumulation of property from the capacity of holding it in perpetuity by ecclesiastical Corporations."[67] From the very beginning of his career, in Virginia, James Madison had sought an end to establishment and a seizure of all church property.[68] As President he had also vetoed the incorporation of a church in Washington.[69] Years later, the tone of the "Detached Memoranda" is of a man who had fought for a principle and who continued to fear an increase in the power of churches contrary to the interests of the state, in the same way in which Sarpi had described the Catholic Church after the papacy of Gregory VII:

> Are the U.S duly awake to the tendency of the precedents they are establishing, in the multiple incorporations of Religious Congregations with the faculty of *acquiring* and holding property real as well as personal? Do not many of these acts give this faculty, without limit either as to ti<me> or as to amount? And must not bodies, perpetual in their existence, <a>nd *which* may be always gaining, without ever losing, speedily gain more than is useful, and in time more than is safe?[70]

It is interesting to compare this passage from Madison from those in the work which he cites as the authority on this subject, the work of the Venetian friar who had challenged the power of Rome on behalf of his own republic:

> And thus Things seem to be inverted: To sell and give to the Poor (*b*) which in former Times was the highest Christian Perfection, would, at this Day, incur great Censures: And it now consists in retaining the Possessions of the Church, without a Power even of marking any Exchanges, or changing the Property of them on any Occasion whatsoever, unless upon an evident Advantage: And the Laws against Alienations, which were begun in Favour of the Laity against the Church-men, are now turn'd in their Favour against the Laity.[71]

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[67] "Detached Memoranda."
[68] Buckley, *Establishing Religious Freedom*, 54.
[69] Gordon, "The First Disestablishment," 319.
[70] "Detached Memoranda."
[71] Sarpi, *Of Beneficiary Matters* (1730), 166.

The feeling of a corruption of purpose can be felt through both works, along with the sense that good intentions have been noble beginnings for a process now dangerous to freedom. Madison does indeed end his reflections on the matter with a comparison to the revolt in America against the tax on tea, which he sees as the appropriate and early recognition by the colonists of an evil precedent lurking behind something innocuous.[72] Throughout Sarpi's work the institution of ecclesiastical benefices and property can be seen as something beginning from benevolent roots in the duty of the clergy and the community to care for the poor. He does however claim that this good intention did not even continue long in Jerusalem after Jesus' death.[73] The lofty aims of the accumulation of money to the Church is seen to be connected to the exemption of the clergy from taxation and to public disadvantage.[74] Sarpi saw this as a dereliction on the part of princes, who should have proceeded to curtail this practice in order to protect the interests of their citizens.[75] This is part of his story of the failure of the state to keep the Church from interfering in its affairs, and continues on from what he sees as its root in the weakness of Charlemagne's successors, who allowed the Church to claim a role in temporal matters which had never existed before.[76] Thus the Church had risen at the expense of the states of Europe and of their people, except of course in the Venetian republic. This at least was the view which prevailed locally, and it was, thanks to the works of Sarpi and others, later to become part of the myth of Venice. The ability of the Senate in Venice to control the clergy was noted in the article in the *Encyclopédie*, and

[72] "Detached Memoranda."
[73] Sarpi, *Of Beneficiary Matters* (1730), 3-4.
[74] *Ibid.*, 12.
[75] *Ibid*., 12.
[76] *Ibid*., 48.

the appointment of clergy by parishioners is particularly noted, along with the fact that Venice continued in this the ancient practice of the Church.[77] As Venice had preserved her form of government, so had she preserved the true structure Christian churches, concerned only with matters of faith, and in matters of this world rendering unto Caesar that which is his.

Concern about the fates of republics and their governments was made urgent during the early years of the American republic by an awareness of events in Europe, and Americans, both elite and non-elite, closely watched the news about the upheavals in Europe which had followed the French Revolution. In 1797 the Venetian Republic fell to the forces of Napoleon Bonaparte and the supposedly eternal republic ended. John Adams had seen the signs of decay earlier, and in 1779 had written that Italy did not offer many useful examples to the Americans and that in particular "Venice heretofore so powerfull, is reduced to a very inconsiderable Commerce, and is in an entire state of Decay."[78] Alexander Hamilton, in *The Federalist* number six in 1787 similarly saw a decline, although he dated it back to the large-scale attack organized by Julius II at the beginning of the sixteenth century.[79] That Venice was recognizably in such terminal danger even twenty years before her final fall may be a major reason why the Americans were not inclined to look to her for examples of republican government, whereas in the

[77] "Venise," *Encyclopédie*, XVII, 14.
[78] "From John Adams to the President of the Congress, 4 August 1779," Founders Online, National Archives (http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/06-08-02-0080 [last update: 2016-03-28]). Source: *The Adams Papers*, Papers of John Adams, vol. 8, *March 1779–February 1780*, ed. Gregg L. Lint, Robert J. Taylor, Richard Alan Reyerson, Celeste Walker, and Joanna M. Revelas. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989, pp. 108–120.
[79] "The Federalist No. 6, [14 November 1787]," Founders Online, National Archives (http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Hamilton/01-04-02-0156 [last update: 2016-03-28]). Source: *The Papers of Alexander Hamilton*, vol. 4, *January 1787–May 1788*, ed. Harold C. Syrett. New York: Columbia University Press, 1962, pp. 309–317.

seventeenth century those like Harrington who wished to create a republic owed much to the Venetian model. However, it should also be stressed that the position of the aristocracy in the state was probably the greater hindrance to those Americans used to a more democratic electorate, although it was not in itself sufficient to prevent them making use of certain elements of Venetian thought and practice. That being said, this awareness of the illiberal elements of the Venetian republic and criticisms that it was not a true republic may have been limited to the educated elite who had had the time to read the books on Venice which, along with those of Sarpi which are the focus of this essay, sat on the shelves of such men as Adams, Hamilton, Jefferson, and Madison. Others may only have seen the fall of a republic, and worried.

Despite an ambiguous relationship to the government of Venice, Americans nonetheless reacted strongly to her fall, first to Bonaparte's forces, after which she became a French-supported republic, and soon after as her territory was divided and the city itself fell under the Austrian monarchy. A number of letters exist dating from the fall of Venice and written to and by the founders of the American republic. Americans in Europe wrote to inform those at home of what had happened, along with the many other changes to a continent wracked by war and revolution. In 1797 Rufus King wrote to Alexander Hamilton, saying "Venice is no more," and Hamilton used exactly that phrase nine months later (unattributed) in *The Stand* in April of 1798.[80] The future Chief Justice of the Supreme Court John Marshall in writing to George Washington compared the fall

[80] "To Alexander Hamilton from Rufus King, 27 June 1797," Founders Online, National Archives (http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Hamilton/01-21-02-0071 [last update: 2016-03-28]). Source: *The Papers of Alexander Hamilton*, vol. 21, *April 1797–July 1798*, ed. Harold C. Syrett. New York: Columbia University Press, 1974, pp. 115–117; "The Stand No. III, [7 April 1798]," Founders Online, National Archives (http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Hamilton/01-21-02-0233 [last update: 2016-03-28]). Source: *The Papers of Alexander Hamilton*, vol. 21, *April 1797–July 1798*, ed. Harold C. Syrett. New York: Columbia University Press, 1974, pp. 402–408.

of Venice to the end of Poland, a 'republican' polity with which she had often been grouped, along with the Dutch Republic and the Swiss cantons.[81]

Beyond these worldly men, many of whom were corresponding from Europe itself, or had connections to the Old World, there were others who saw the fate of the small republic in Europe and were worried about their own country. A number of letters exist, most of them to John Adams during his presidency, lamenting the fate of Venice and worrying that the same may befall the United States. These are often signed by numerous people in communities in America which clearly had no direct connections to Italy. Some are from local militia organizations, some from towns, one is even from a group of settlers beyond the Ohio. They include groups in Maine, Vermont, New York (City and State), Maryland, and South Carolina.[82] These men were not the poorest

[81] "To George Washington from John Marshall, 24–27 October 1797," Founders Online, National Archives (http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/06-01-02-0379 [last update: 2016-03-28]). Source: *The Papers of George Washington*, Retirement Series, vol. 1, *4 March 1797–30 December 1797*, ed. W. W. Abbot. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1998, pp. 424–427.

[82] "To John Adams from Daniel Stevens, 19 May 1798," Founders Online, National Archives (http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/99-02-02-2483 [last update: 2016-03-28]). Source: this is an **Early Access document** from The Adams Papers. It is not an authoritative final version; "To John Adams from Hosea Howard, 23 June 1798," Founders Online, National Archives (http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/99-02-02-2638 [last update: 2016-03-28]). Source: this is an **Early Access document** from The Adams Papers. It is not an authoritative final version; "To John Adams from John Sanders, 1 June 1798," Founders Online, National Archives (http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/99-02-02-2529 [last update: 2016-03-28]). Source: this is an **Early Access document** from The Adams Papers. It is not an authoritative final version; "To John Adams from Jonathan Bell, 5 June 1798," Founders Online, National Archives (http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/99-02-02-2544 [last update: 2016-03-28]). Source: this is an **Early Access document** from The Adams Papers. It is not an authoritative final version; "To John Adams from Nicholas Fish, 25 May 1798," Founders Online, National Archives (http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/99-02-02-2505 [last update: 2016-03-28]). Source: this is an **Early Access document** from The Adams Papers. It is not an authoritative final version; "To John Adams from Benjamin Chadbourn, 11 June 1798," Founders Online, National Archives (http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/99-02-02-2570 [last update: 2016-03-28]). Source: this is an **Early Access document** from The Adams Papers. It is not an authoritative final version; "To John Adams from Jacob Samsin, 23 June 1798," Founders Online, National Archives (http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/99-02-02-2639 [last update: 2016-03-28]). Source: this is an **Early Access document** from The Adams Papers. It is not an authoritative final version; for Adams's responses to two of these letters, one cited here, the other not so, in which he too discusses the Venetian example, see "From John Adams to Jonathan Bell, 25 June 1798," Founders Online, National Archives (http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/99-02-02-2655 [last update: 2016-03-28]). Source: this is

citizens of the United States, but nor were they on the level of Adams, Madison, and the other founders. They were citizens, members of town councils or militia companies who felt tied to the American republican experiment. It seems that their concerns may have been linked to the fact that Venice had been overtaken by the more democratic French Republic and they may in fact be read as 'Federalist' reactions to a more popular form of republic. This partially-informed protest of groups who considered themselves the local elite within a republic is very interesting. However misinformed their understanding of the Venetian constitution, they were concerned at the ending of a republic. It may well be that to these men the conception of republican citizenry which they applied to themselves could equally be applied to the citizens of Venice, and republics across the world be governed by the same rules of history. Adams wrote back reassuring them expressing his own hope that the United States would last, although in later years he too would have his doubts.

Elite writers dealing with the fate of Venice seemed to have fewer fears than these men at the local level, although again party associations may have played a role here. Tench Coxe told James Madison in 1801 that the fate of Venice would not be easily imposed on the US, and in writing to Thomas Jefferson seven years later he described Venice as a genuine republic after the surrender to Republican France, but one which had since been sacrificed to the Austrians. Thomas Appleton, writing to Madison in 1802 decided that the situation was somewhat Venice's own fault.[83] The different reactions to

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an **Early Access document** from The Adams Papers. It is not an authoritative final version; "From John Adams to Et al., 4 January 1799," Founders Online, National Archives (http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/99-02-02-3283 [last update: 2016-03-28]). Source: this is an **Early Access document** from The Adams Papers. It is not an authoritative final version.

[83] "To James Madison from Tench Coxe, [ca. 22 November] 1801," Founders Online, National Archives (http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Madison/02-02-02-0393 [last update: 2016-03-28]). Source: *The Papers of James Madison*, Secretary of State Series, vol. 2, *1 August 1801–28 February 1802*, ed. Mary A.

the fate of Venice may well have had something to do with the party spirit of the time, but the fact that citizens below the level of the men who made up the federal government were concerned, and attached the fate of their own republic to that aristocratic one in Europe, seems a strong indication of the way in which elements from the political history of Europe and from the language of republicanism could filter through society and create anxiety at the fate of the Most Serene Republic, which Voltaire had hoped would last forever.

The same hope had animated Fra Paolo Sarpi, and the best evidence was in his last words, those which give the title to this essay. One should always be inclined to distrust last words – they always seem so well thought out and appropriate. However, in this case, with Sarpi's "esto perpetua," it does not really matter whether they were actually what he said as he died, for the important fact is their survival and use, first in publications about him, and later by members of the American Revolutionary generation, until eventually they became the motto on the great seal of the State of Idaho, amongst their many other uses.[84] Several accounts of Sarpi's death were attached to his works, including the 1676 edition of *The History of the Council of Trent* which was found in the library of the College of William and Mary and in the holdings of the Library Company of Philadelphia, and another was attached to some editions of the *Treatise on Beneficiary*

Hackett, J. C. A. Stagg, Jeanne Kerr Cross, and Susan Holbrook Perdue. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1993, pp. 258–264; "To Thomas Jefferson from Tench Coxe, 19 November 1808," Founders Online, National Archives (http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/99-01-02-9117 [last update: 2016-03-28]). Source: this is an **Early Access document** from The Papers of Thomas Jefferson. It is not an authoritative final version; "To James Madison from Thomas Appleton, 1 June 1802 (Abstract)," Founders Online, National Archives (http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Madison/02-03-02-0333 [last update: 2016-03-28]). Source: *The Papers of James Madison*, Secretary of State Series, vol. 3, *1 March–6 October 1802*, ed. David B. Mattern, J. C. A. Stagg, Jeanne Kerr Cross, and Susan Holbrook Perdue. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1995, pp. 272–274.

[84] "Idaho State Historical Society, Reference Series, Idaho's State Motto," available as pdf from "Idaho State Historical Society," accessed the 6th of April, 2016, http://history.idaho.gov/.

Matters which Madison cited in his "Detached Memoranda."[85] The life of Sarpi was generally based on the one supposedly written by his friend Fra Fulgentio Micanzio, published in Italian in 1646 and in translation in England in 1651. The following is the account of his final words from that version:

> His very last words (which were hardly understood by *Fra. Marco* that stood over him, yet often repeated) where these two *Esto perpetua*. I doubt not when in that trance he recommended his soul to God with such fervent votes and praiers from his heart, but he remembered to recommend also, and to pray for the perpetuity of the most serene Republique, to which he had done his service with so much faith and charitie.[86]

The version attached to the *Treatise on Benefices* is less fulsome and places the emphasis on Sarpi's service to the republic, but the various versions share an image of republican virtue, loyal and concerned to the last.[87] It is in this context that the phrase seems to fit in with John Pocock's ideas about the survival of the Renaissance concept of virtuous citizenship beyond the Italian city-states of the Renaissance. In any case, it was clearly well known, had the benefit of being fairly simple Latin and was thus easily understood by those with limited abilities in that language. If one knew the story of Sarpi's life and his importance in protecting the independence of his own country it certainly possessed the added lustre of virtuous citizenship and concern for the republic. However, this may have been a feature more of the English reading of Sarpi, for though the *Encyclopédie* makes frequent and glowing references to Sarpi in the entry on Venice and describes his whole life and death, there is no mention of these words in the account.[88] Before

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[85] Paolo Sarpi, *The history of the Council of Trent containing eight books in which besides the ordinary acts of the Council are declared many notable occurrences which happened in Christendom during the space of forty years and more : and particularly the practices of the Court of Rome, to hinder the Reformation of their errours and to maintain their greatness*, trans. Matthew Brent, (London: Samuel Mearne, 1676), ciii.
[86] Micanzio, *Life of Sarpi*, 199.
[87] Sarpi, *Ecclesiastical Benefices*, 1737, lxxi.
[88] "Venise," *Encyclopédie*, XVII, 8.

departing from the Old World it should be noted that the phrase clearly had resonances and connections to political rhetoric there as well, with the best example being that of Henry Grattan in the Irish Parliament during its disputes with Westminster in 1782. Having won victories in passing resolutions against the legislative and appellant jurisdiction of Westminster over Dublin, ending the practice of altering or suppressing Irish bills, and repealing the Westminster-imposed Mutiny Bill, all of which bear some similarities to the conflict between Britain and her American colonies, Grattan made a very republican sort of speech:

> I am now to address a free people! – Ages have passed away and this is the first moment in which you could be distinguished by that appellation.
>
> I have spoken on the subject of your liberty so often, that I have nothing to add, and have only to admire by what heaven-directed steps you have proceeded, until the whole faculty of the nation is braced up to the act of her own deliverance.
>
> I found Ireland on her knees; I watched over her with eternal solicitude; I have traced her progress from injuries to arms, and from arms to liberty. *Spirit of Swift! Spirit of Molineux! your genius has prevailed*! Ireland is now a nation! In that new character I hail her! and bowing to her august presence, I say, *Esto perpetua*![89]

This is strong language, and very much that of a classical republican tradition of virtue and service to one's own country. It is interesting that this should be used on both sides of the Atlantic at a time of challenges to authority, and in a time when the republic to which the phrase initially referred was sliding into terminal decline. But that is the power of such phrases, which can so easily be co-opted for various purposes and can give the veneer of classical republicanism to political speech.

[89] Henry Grattan, *Memoirs of the Life and Times of the Rt Hon. Henry Grattan*, Vol. II, (London: Henry Colburn, 1849), 232, 236.

The adaptability of the phrase lent itself very well to the American political sphere. The first revolutionary-era public use of "esto perpetua" was in the context of Benjamin Franklin's response to protests on his 1764 appointment to go to England to resolve the differences between the imperial centre and the colonies. His *Remarks on a Late Protest* was itself printed and published, and so it may itself be the immediate source for many of the quotations of Sarpi's last words in the American colonies. Franklin of course had access to the Library Company of Philadelphia and perhaps by this time to its copy of Sarpi's *History of the Council of Trent* and its version of Sarpi's death, was certainly in the collections by the time of the catalogue of 1770. He made use of the phrase in 1764, in bidding goodbye to his 'country,' which at the time was of course still within the British Empire.[90] Some nine years later it was used in writing to Franklin himself by Thomas Cushing, describing the issue over the tea tax, troubles in Boston, and confrontations with a 'Court party' in the colonies. In this case, Cushing used the words to hope for the continuation of union between the colonies and the metropole.[91] Nine years on, it was once again used in writing to Franklin, this time by Samuel Cooper, and not in hopes that the connection with Britain would continue, but in reference to his own service "for advancing a Cause in which I was early engaged, and for establishing a *Revolution* of which I shall say with my latest Breath, *Esto perpetua*."[92] Here, in the same

[90] "*Remarks on a Late Protest*, 5 November 1764," Founders Online, National Archives (http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Franklin/01-11-02-0125 [last update: 2016-03-28]). Source: *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, vol. 11, *January 1, through December 31, 1764*, ed. Leonard W. Labaree. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1967, pp. 429–441.
[91] "To Benjamin Franklin from Thomas Cushing, 10 December 1773," Founders Online, National Archives (http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Franklin/01-20-02-0263 [last update: 2016-03-28]). Source: *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, vol. 20, *January 1 through December 31, 1773*, ed. William B. Willcox. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1976, pp. 494–497.
[92] "To Benjamin Franklin from Samuel Cooper, 15 June 1782," Founders Online, National Archives (http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Franklin/01-37-02-0305 [last update: 2016-03-28]). Source: *The*

year in which Grattan used Sarpi's words to convey hopes for an Ireland no longer under Westminster but still under the crown, an American is making use of the same words to express his hopes for the Revolution. It is tempting to think that he knew that these were Sarpi's last words from the fact that he too uses these two words in connection with dying, but there is no reference to it in the letter, and so it must remain a mere suspicion.

Many of the other uses of Sarpi's phrase are in letters to or by a man who certainly knew who had said them, and who himself often attributed them to the Venetian priest in his own letters, John Adams. Adams is often thought of as out of touch with the spirit of the age, and certainly he was inclined to filter his view of political events through his reading.[93] However, during his presidency he was in correspondence with citizens of the republic who worried about the fate of the nation, and who were concerned about the Venetian example. They did not in their letters use the words "esto perpetua," but the sentiment of concern for the survival of the republican experiment is echoed in Adams's own use of Sarpi's last words. Adams himself used the phrase to express his concerns about the survival of the republic. In writing to his son and the future president about his concerns over the judiciary and the senate under the Jefferson administration he made use of "esto perpetua."[94] He used it again years later in writing to Jefferson himself about the Missouri crisis, worried again about the dangers to the republic.[95] Perhaps the

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Papers of Benjamin Franklin, vol. 37, *March 16 through August 15, 1782*, ed. Ellen R. Cohn. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2003, pp. 480–483.

[93] C. Bradley Thompson, *John Adams and the Spirit of Liberty*, (Lawrence, Kansas, University Press of Kansas, 1998), xiv, 92.

[94] "From John Adams to John Quincy Adams, 12 February 1808," Founders Online, National Archives (http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/99-03-02-1641 [last update: 2016-03-28]). Source: this is an **Early Access document** from The Adams Papers. It is not an authoritative final version.

[95] "From John Adams to Thomas Jefferson, 21 December 1819," Founders Online, National Archives (http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/99-02-02-7287 [last update: 2016-03-28]). Source: this is an **Early Access document** from The Adams Papers. It is not an authoritative final version; "To Thomas Jefferson from John Adams, 21 December 1819," Founders Online, National Archives

most grandiose version of his use of Sarpi's words was to Charles Carroll the next year, but once again it is in the context of great worry:

> But I dare not look into futurity to compare great things with Small. It is like looking into *that contemptible bauble, the kaleidoscope,* the least turn of which presents to view a groupe of objects all entirely new. When I surprise myself <*with*> in thinking about futurity, I feel like the American Soldier, in the time of the American Revolution, on the top of the highest mountain on Hudson-River. He burst out – "Attention Universe! Kingdoms of the Earth, to the right about wheel! March!!!" The Common Union will last as long as God pleases – It is the duty of every American Citizen to exert his utmost abilities and endeavours to preserve it as long as possible and to pray with Submission to Providence – "Esto Perpetua."[96]

Although the fatalistic sense of much of the passage makes it seem as though the better Latin tag may be "Deus vult," Adams nonetheless continues to employ the words of the civic republican Sarpi. He would do so at least until 1824, and perhaps until his death, for his last toast, written for the fiftieth anniversary of the signing of the Declaration of Independence and the day of his death was "INDEPENDENCE FOREVER."[97] This may seem like the fears of an old man, worried about his life's work, and that may be a true reading of the situation in this case. However, "esto perpetua" was used in numerous cases by younger men, including by John Adams Smith on his personal seal, as is evident in a letter from his uncle, John Quincy Adams.[98] Benjamin Rush had used it in writing to

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(http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/98-01-02-0977 [last update: 2016-03-28]). Source: this is an **Early Access document** from The Papers of Thomas Jefferson: Retirement Series. It is not an authoritative final version.

[96] "From John Adams to Charles Carroll, 2 August 1820," Founders Online, National Archives (http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/99-02-02-7387 [last update: 2016-03-28]). Source: this is an **Early Access document** from The Adams Papers. It is not an authoritative final version.

[97] "From John Adams to John Taylor, 12 April 1824," Founders Online, National Archives (http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/99-02-02-7877 [last update: 2016-03-28]). Source: this is an **Early Access document** from The Adams Papers. It is not an authoritative final version; "July Fourth Toast by John Adams, 30 June 1826," Founders Online, National Archives (http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/99-02-02-8030 [last update: 2016-03-28]). Source: this is an **Early Access document** from The Adams Papers. It is not an authoritative final version.

[98] In this case the tag is altered to "Respublica esto perpetua." "From John Quincy Adams to John Adams Smith, 17 May 1819," Founders Online, National Archives

John Adams in 1813, and back in 1786 Samuel Adams wrote to his cousin using Sarpi's words to refer to the wish of an acquaintance for his own country.[99] Sarpi's last words seem to have entered into a discourse of classical republicanism and have been brought out frequently in reference to the young American republic. The virtuous citizen was clearly expected by the elite men of the founding generation to continue to work and wish for the continued survival of his newly founded nation, just as before he had done so for the union with Britain and as Sarpi had for Venice.

This question of the role of the virtuous citizen, or *virtu* in political life is central to the issue of civic humanism and the transference of these ideals to modern democracies. It is a considerable theme of the various versions of the life of Sarpi, and "esto perpetua" can be seen to be part of this tradition. In the 1651 *Life* attributed to Micanzio, the question is dealt with several times, and linked to the religious and civil roles of Sarpi:

> But man is not borne alone for himselfe, but principally for his Countrey and for a common good. That problem whether a wise man ought to apply himselfe to government? let others dispute. This father of ours shall give us an example to refuse no paines nor peril for the service of God; and of his Countrey.[100]

In each of the versions of his life are lists of Sarpi's virtues, descriptions of his lack of ambition for fame, and mentions of his service to Venice.[101] In the *Encyclopédie*, once again there is a list of virtues, and the friar is described as "un des hommes illustres dont

(http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/99-03-02-3671 [last update: 2016-03-28]). Source: this is an **Early Access document** from The Adams Papers. It is not an authoritative final version.

[99] "Samuel Adams to John Adams, 13 Apr. 1786," Founders Online, National Archives (http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/99-01-02-0590 [last update: 2016-03-28]). Source: this is an **Early Access document** from The Adams Papers. It is not an authoritative final version.

[100] Micanzio, *Life of Sarpi*, 85-86.

[101] *Ibid*., 175; Sarpi, *Ecclesiastical Benefices*, (1737), li, lxii, lxvii.

Venise a plus de raison de se glorifier."[102] Sarpi himself was interested in republican virtue, and saw hereditary nobility arising from the personal virtues of citizens.[103] This is one of the reasons why the subject was so contentious, for though the model of a man like Sarpi might be positive in a state like Venice and the life devoted to the wish that "esto perpetua" could be seen as a good one, the link to aristocracy and elite control was constantly visible. John Adams was once again an indication of the difficult relationship which Americans had with this particular aspect of their intellectual heritage. He who quoted Sarpi's last words the most of his fellows was of course interested in this question of virtue, and like much of his other thinking, it led to accusations against him of not supporting the United States as it had been established. In particular, Adams opposed virtue to that which the Romans had seen as destructive of that quality – luxury and wealth. Writing to his son he singled out Cincinnatus and Camillus as good men for their contempt of riches, and in numerous other letters he discussed his fears of corruption entering into the American republic through wealth and luxury and in the absence of republican virtue.[104]

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[102] "Venise," *Encyclopédie,* XVII, 7-8. "One of those illustrious men on whom Venice has much cause to pride herself."
[103] Sarpi, *Maxims,* 50.
[104] "From John Adams to John Quincy Adams, 12 February 1808," Founders Online, National Archives (http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/99-03-02-1641 [last update: 2016-03-28]). Source: this is an **Early Access document** from The Adams Papers. It is not an authoritative final version; "Review of James Hillhouse, Propositions, 12 April 1808," Founders Online, National Archives (http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/99-02-02-5237 [last update: 2016-03-28]). Source: this is an **Early Access document** from The Adams Papers. It is not an authoritative final version; "From John Adams to Benjamin Rush, 27 September 1808," Founders Online, National Archives (http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/99-02-02-5258 [last update: 2016-03-28]). Source: this is an **Early Access document** from The Adams Papers. It is not an authoritative final version; "To Thomas Jefferson from John Adams, 21 December 1819," Founders Online, National Archives (http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/98-01-02-0977 [last update: 2016-03-28]). Source: this is an **Early Access document** from The Papers of Thomas Jefferson: Retirement Series. It is not an authoritative final version.

The problem with this conception of virtue was that it was unapologetically elitist. In Sarpi's *Maxims* one can find the usual seventeenth-century position that democracy leads to tyranny and monarchy and is an unstable state.[105] In fact, in a passage which is of considerable interest in light of the American emphasis on militia service during the Revolution, he suggests the possibility of prohibiting arms to the people for fear that they would become too strong and overthrow the government.[106] It would be well here to remember the letters which denied that Venice was a true republic, and to consider that the Republican platform advocated by such founders as Jefferson was based on a considerable extension of the franchise, certainly when compared to Venice. This was why people fought over the definition of a republic and of virtue, and why civic humanism has been described as "never fully adequate" to expressing the social development of America.[107] Thus James Madison dealt with the question of a republic in *The Federalist* number thirty-nine, saying that:

> The same title has been bestowed on Venice, where absolute power over the great body of the people, is exercised in the most absolute manner, by a small body of hereditary nobles.[108]

Even at this early date, the difference of the American case was being discussed by elites raised in a patrician educational system based upon classical republicanism. In fact, James Arnt Aune has seen the vernacular republicanism of the United States as arising out of this classical republicanism and as a reaction to the supposed elite expertise which

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[105] Sarpi, *Maxims*, 10.
[106] *Ibid*., 46-47.
[107] Horowitz and Matthews, "Narcissism of the Minor Differences," 27.
[108] "*The Federalist* Number 39, [16 January] 1788," Founders Online, National Archives (http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Madison/01-10-02-0234 [last update: 2016-03-28]). Source: *The Papers of James Madison*, vol. 10, *27 May 1787–3 March 1788*, ed. Robert A. Rutland, Charles F. Hobson, William M. E. Rachal, and Frederika J. Teute. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1977, pp. 377–382.

at the time was related to the acquisition of knowledge. This distrust of elites he sees as central to the vernacular expression of republican values, including its ongoing use by market elites to maintain control.[109] It may be that as Pocock suggested, ambiguous concepts could be adopted to varied purposes, and such a phrase as "esto perpetua" is certainly easily re-purposed to support any number of positions in a republic still uncertain of its models of citizenship.

Distrust of elites and of Roman examples had its strongest expression in the early American republic in the affair of the Society of the Cincinnati, another area in which we find Sarpi's last words appearing as an adaptable mantra of republican virtue and service. The man whom Adams had cited along with Camillus as an example of virtuous citizenship also served as the namesake of a society of which Adams himself certainly disapproved.[110] Sarpi's last words were implicated in this elite society. In 1783 James Madison received a letter from Elnathan Haskell with, as an attachment, the "Institution" of the group. In it is described the medal of the Cincinnati, which contained the mottos: "Omnia relinquit servare Rempublicam," "Virtutio Proemium," and "Esto perpetua."[111] It is hard to tell here if "esto perpetua" refers to the republic or to the society, and the imagery of the medal is strongly elite-based, as one might expect for an order of army officers. In Winthrop Sargent's journal of a year later is a description of the part of the medal which contains the Sarpi phrase:

> On the reverse – Sun rising; a city with open gates and Vessels intering the port – Fame crowning Cincinnatus with a wreath, inscribed Virtutis Proemium. Below,

[109] Aune, "Democratic Style and Ideological Containment."
[110] William Doyle, *Aristocracy and Its Enemies in the Age of Revolution*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 112.
[111] "To James Madison from Elnathan Haskell, 12 September 1783," Founders Online, National Archives (http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Madison/01-07-02-0173 [last update: 2016-03-28]). Source: *The Papers of James Madison*, vol. 7, *3 May 1783–20 February 1784*, ed. William T. Hutchinson and William M. E. Rachal. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1971, pp. 311–312.

> Hands joining, supporting a heart, with the motto – Esto perpetua. Round the whole – Societas Cincinnatorum instituta. A.D. 1783.[112]

Sargent's journal actually contains mention of the contentious nature of the Cincinnati, including George Washington's attempt to demonstrate to the members that Congress was planning to exclude all holders of hereditary titles from their membership, an effort aimed at the Cincinnati in response to the considerable popular and elite objections to this new, if virtuous and republican, aristocracy.[113] Such uses of Latin tags and classical references may have dealt the death blow to the assumed dominance of classical models of republicanism, but the continued use of such references by elites, and the continued use of "esto perpetua" argues that it was not enough to kill such ideas. It may well be that as Pocock suggests, the American Revolution was "the last act of the civic Renaissance," insofar as it was indeed the last time that this language could be used by elites without challenge from the claims of an expanding electorate.[114]

Paolo Sarpi, the Venetian cleric and theologian and his aristocratic republic may seem odd inspirations for the founders of a New World republic, but the process by which they became embedded in the English republican tradition in the seventeenth century means that many of the American founding generation probably encountered references to him in their reading, even if they never did read his works themselves. Some of course did, and James Madison considered some of those books worth recommending to Congress and to those interested in matters of church and state. Venice

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[112] "II. Winthrop Sargent's Journal, 4–18 May," Founders Online, National Archives (http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/04-01-02-0236-0003 [last update: 2016-03-28]). Source: *The Papers of George Washington*, Confederation Series, vol. 1, *1 January 1784–17 July 1784*, ed. W. W. Abbot. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1992, pp. 332–354.
[113] *Ibid*.
[114] Pocock, *Machiavellian Moment*, 462.

continued to be talked about, and the intriguing letters from citizens to the president of the United States in which they expressed concerns about the fate of that other republic indicate just how important language was – all that many of them knew was that another republic had fallen, and they worried for their own. Perhaps some of them knew that that republic had been famed in Europe, and was still considered by many to have been the most enduring republic in history, lasting for over a thousand years. Those who read Sarpi and those who didn't tapped into his hopes and fears and the question of the fate of republics as they quoted his dying words. The hope expressed in the two Latin words was important, it was related in this case to something new which might not survive. Later in the century it would be used again, by Jefferson Davis as the last words in his *A Short History of the Confederate States of America*,[115] and in 1890 on the seal of the State of Idaho, a part of the United States which was so far beyond the boundaries of the original colonies that it was completely unknown to the founders of the republic, and certainly a blank space on any map when Sarpi last spoke. Sayings are easily divorced from their original meanings, but the principal hope embodied in this one was easy to grasp and satisfied one of the basic human wishes – eternal survival.

[115] Jefferson Davis, *A Short History of the Confederate States of America*, (New York: Belford Company, 1890), 505.