

## FOUNDATIONS OF MODERN INTERNATIONAL THOUGHT

Between the early seventeenth and mid nineteenth centuries, major European political thinkers first began to look outside their national borders and envisage a world of competitive, equal sovereign states inhabiting an international sphere that ultimately encompassed the whole globe. In this insightful and wide-ranging work, David Armitage – one of the world’s leading historians of political thought – traces the genesis of this international turn in intellectual history. *Foundations of Modern International Thought* combines important methodological essays, which consider the genealogy of globalisation and the parallel histories of empires and oceans, with fresh considerations of leading figures such as Hobbes, Locke, Burke and Bentham in the history of international thought. The culmination of more than a decade’s reflection and research on these issues, this book restores the often overlooked international dimensions to intellectual history and recovers the intellectual dimensions of international history.

DAVID ARMITAGE is the Lloyd C. Blankfein Professor of History at Harvard University where he teaches intellectual history and international history. His many publications include *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire* (Cambridge University Press, 2000), *The Declaration of Independence: A Global History* (2007) and, as editor, *The British Atlantic World, 1500–1800* (2nd edn, 2009), *British Political Thought in History, Literature and Theory, 1500–1800* (Cambridge University Press, 2006), *Shakespeare and Early Modern Political Thought* (Cambridge University Press, 2009) and *The Age of Revolutions in Global Context, c. 1760–1840* (2010).



© The British Library Board. Justus Lipsius, *Saturnalium sermonum libri duo, qui de gladiatoribus* (Antwerp, 1604), f. 70 (BL 1476. c. 26).

[I]n all times, Kings, and Persons of Sovereigne authority, because of their Independency, are in continuall jealousies, and in the state and posture of Gladiators; having their weapons pointing, and their eyes fixed on one another . . .

Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan* (1651)

Power or weakness does not in this respect produce any difference. A dwarf is as much a man as a giant; a small republic is no less a sovereign state than the most powerful kingdom.

Emer de Vattel, *Le Droit des gens* (1758)

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## *Preface*

I have accumulated a great many debts over the dozen years in which I have been working on the history of international thought. The most fundamental is to Knud Haakonssen for his generous invitation to deliver the 2003 Robert P. Benedict Lectures in the History of Political Philosophy at Boston University; he and Jim Schmidt were exemplary hosts for that stimulating series. My only regret is that a published version of the lectures was so long in coming and that it has not arrived in the form Knud, or indeed I, had originally anticipated. To deliver the Benedict Lectures, I took a semester's leave from my duties at Columbia University: belated but heartfelt thanks to David Johnston and Jim Zetzel for shouldering the extra burdens my absence created.

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Over the years, parts of my original project took on lives of their own,<sup>1</sup> but I never stopped thinking about the larger whole of which they were part.

<sup>1</sup> Grotius (2004); Armitage (2007a); Armitage and Subrahmanyam (2010); Armitage (in press); Locke (in press).



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Apart from the Introduction, all the chapters of this book have appeared in earlier versions, though two are published here for the first time in English. In revising them, I have tried to eliminate repetitions and excessively local references, corrected errors and updated references where necessary. I am grateful to the editors and publishers for permission to reprint and rework the following material:

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## *Abbreviations*

|             |   |
|-------------|---|
| BL          | British Library, London                                   |
| Bod.        | Bodleian Library, Oxford                                  |
| HRO         | Hampshire Record Office, Winchester                       |
| HUA         | University Archives, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. |
| LC          | Library of Congress, Washington, DC                       |
| NYPL        | New York Public Library, New York                         |
| <i>ODNB</i> | <i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i>            |
| <i>OED</i>  | <i>Oxford English Dictionary</i>                          |
| SCDA        | South Carolina Department of Archives, Columbia, SC       |
| SRO         | Somerset Record Office, Taunton                           |
| TNA         | The National Archives, Kew                                |
| UCL         | University College London                                 |