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DE LA REZA, GERMAN A.

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# The 1623 Plan for Global Governance: the obscure history of its reception

*O Plano de 1623 pela Governança Global: a obscura história da sua repercussão*

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GERMAN A. DE LA REZA\*

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## Introduction

In 1623, a remarkable book was published amid the general indifference: *The New Cyneas, or discourse on the occasions and means for establishing general peace and free trade throughout the world: to the monarchs and sovereigns of the present day* (*Nouveau Cynée ou Discours d'Etat représentant les occasions et moyens d'établir une paix générale et la liberté de commerce pour tout le monde*), written by the French Latinist Émeric Crucé.<sup>1</sup> The backdrop of this first plan of world peace and free trade was the Thirty Years' War, which ended with the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, and settled the French hegemony in continental Europe. Historians highlight its primacy in identifying the link between the preservation of peace and commercial interdependence, and in projecting a universal organization. They also assert its influence on various works on international politics, particularly the plan for European confederation published in 1639 or 1640 by Maximilien de Béthune, Duke of Sully.<sup>2</sup> Given the small number of references to the book during the first decades of its apparition, it can be assumed that the Sully chapter is important to this hypothesis and to the general perception of Crucé's legacy.

In this article we examine the circumstances of the reception of the *New Cyneas*. With this objective in mind, we analyze the book's internal coherence, the editing process, the historical precedents of its principal themes, and the dissemination of the work.<sup>3</sup> In the first section, we present the biographical data

\* Metropolitan Autonomous University, Campus Xochimilco, Coyoacán – DF, Mexico (delareza@hotmail.com).

1 For our study, we used the facsimile edition of 1976.

2 The imprint indicates 1638, but it is almost certain that it appeared one or two years later. See Buisseret and Barbiche (1970: xvii-xxiii).

3 The sources consulted are largely found in the special collections of the *Bibliothèque Nationale*. Some of these works are included in its digital collection, *Gallica* (<http://gallica.bnf.fr>).

for Crucé and examine his intellectual production; in the second, we analyze the premise and the original traits of this international governance plan; in the next section, we evaluate the first reception and the arguments that provide the basis for Crucé's influence on Sully's *Grand Design*.<sup>4</sup> The last two sections assess the scant dissemination and the contemporary readings of the *New Cyneas*. The conclusions highlight its originality, the lack of evidence for asserting its impact on the *Grand Design*, and the prevalence of a general reception affected by external and historical factors.

## An (almost) unknown writer in Paris

The scant interest aroused by the first edition of the *New Cyneas* did not prevent its author from reprinting it with slight modifications to the title a year later.<sup>5</sup> It was not Crucé's only work. The first, dated in 1613, is a poem in verse and prose written in honor of Henry IV, who had been assassinated three years earlier by a religious fanatic. In 1618 and 1620, Crucé published a study on the Latin poet Publius Papinius Statius, and an annotated edition of the *Thebaid*, an epic poem inspired in the *Aeneid*.<sup>6</sup> Two eulogies dedicated to King Louis XIII appeared in 1629 and 1643, and in 1639 and 1640, Crucé published his response to the severe criticisms of Johann Friedrich Gronovius, the German publisher of Statius and friend of Hugo Grotius, another precursor of the international order.<sup>7</sup> Unlike the *New Cyneas*, written in classic French, these works were published in Latin and appeared with the regularity of a methodical scholar. Significantly, very little is known about the life of Crucé. More than two centuries after his death, the monumental *Nouvelle Bibliographie générale*, published by the brothers Firmin Didot, declares:

What can we say [...] about his life? That we know nothing about any of his circumstances, and this is unfortunate, since this obscure writer was not a vulgar man, [and his] work is worthy of note.<sup>8</sup>

And we know no more today than the Didot did then: Crucé was a Catholic priest and taught in a *college* in Paris, the city in which he was born in approximately 1590, and he died in 1648. Even his name was uncertain until the diligent research of Nys (1890: 365-82) sorted out the variants Emericus Crucejus, Emery de la

4 Pfister (1894: 330); Louis-Lucas (1919: 157); Gutiérrez (1919: 43); Beres (1974: 74); Hinsley (1980: 33); Eliav-Feldon (1989: 66); Puharré (2002: 86-9); Mansfield (2013: 22); Balch (1907: 302-11).

5 Crucé (1624).

6 Crucé (1618; 1620).

7 Crucé (1629; 1643; 1639 y 1640).

8 "Que dirons-nous [...] de sa vie? On n'en connaît aucune circonstance, et cela est regrettable, car cet écrivain obscur ne fut pas un homme vulgaire [l'] ouvrage [est] tout à fait digne de remarque" (Hauréau 1859: 586).

Croix, and Lacroix. Before we analyze an indirect element of his biography –the reputation of his family–, let’s examine first its message.

### Premises of the *New Cyneas*

Beginning with the title, Crucé’s book advocates the need of pacification without distinction of nationality and religion. In the version supplied by Plutarch (1992: III, 15), Cyneas was a disciple of Demosthenes, and his prudence and judgment allowed the King Pyrrhus to increase his conquests more by eloquence than by force of arms. Over time, the discreet ambassador became the symbol of the superiority of reason over force, a theme picked up by Crucé, among other pacifists.<sup>9</sup> To explain his purposes, Crucé appeals to an irrefutable notion: humanity would considerably increase its benefits if it would keep the peace and increase trade rather than beginning and continuing wars between countries, races, and religions.<sup>10</sup> He suggests incentivizing the exchange of goods and the communication amid countries as the means of impeding one nation to invade another (Crucé 1623: 79). The argument follows an innovating approach: the fact that “almost the entire world” is divided into two groups, Christian and Turk, does not represent an obstacle to peace because it could facilitate the creation of agreements that constitute true “advances toward universal peace.” (Crucé 1623: 14).

To prevent wars, Crucé advises creating a permanent assembly with powers of arbitration (Crucé 1623: 18). Its procedure should follow three steps: (1) the ambassadors of the countries in conflict submit the case to the judgment of the assembly; (2) the assembly considers the arguments of both sides “without passion,” and (3) in the final analysis, a decision is made by the majority (Crucé 1623: 60). As in the case of Greek amphyctyonic councils, the verdict is binding on all parties, and if resisted, the assembly can use various means to make the rebel member return to reason (Crucé 1623: 72). Crucé does not reject the use of force but makes it depend on the exhaustion of diplomatic resources and reasonable reparations (Crucé 1623: 18-9).

For the location of the assembly, he proposes the city of Venice, a selection that takes into account its relative political neutrality, its republican indifference to princes, and its geographical proximity to the most important powers of the world, the Papacy, the Emperors, and the King of Spain (Crucé 1623: 60-1). Although he does not expressly say so in the text, Crucé also considers the reduced capacities of the *Serenissima repubblica*, unable to exert significant pressure on a world assembly.

Crucé’s general assembly appeals to five rules of conduct: (1) recognition and acceptance of the territorial *status quo* (Crucé 1623: 191, 17); (2) non-intervention in internal matters of member countries (Crucé 1623: 74); (3) expulsion of seditious

<sup>9</sup> Cyneas as a symbol is also used by Vernulaeus (1643).

<sup>10</sup> Regarding rejection of violence and use of force, see Crucé (1623: 5, 7, 11, 21, 23, and 81).

countries from the universal assembly (Crucé 1623: 93); (4) the preparation of measures favoring the coherence of the organization (Crucé 1623: 48), and (5) a prohibition of making use of war (Crucé 1623: 4). It can be said that, more than original contributions, these rules are the minimal conditions for the functioning of a multipolar and peaceful assembly.

In addition, the author recommends that the assembly be organized in hierarchical form. At the head of the confederation would come the Pope, followed by the Emperor of the Turks, the sovereign of Germany, the king of France, and finally the dignitaries of the European republics (Crucé 1623: 63). This hierarchy only provides the right to select which disputes should be addressed first (Crucé 1623: 70). Crucé recognizes the weight of international disparities; his criteria are not religious or dynastic and are exclusively derived from size and military strength, an implicit way of introducing a realist approach.

Pages later, Crucé details the most important ideas of his project. The first concerns the causal relationship between peace and international commerce. To explain its significance, Crucé looks at the construction of maritime and river routes (Crucé 1623: 33-5), lists projects that might expand trade between nations, and concludes by noting that wars would be less frequent if sovereigns were able to see their onerous effects on the development of engineering. Another novelty of the book is its suggestion of a monetary union and the harmonization of the conditions of trade. Given that exchanges and communications appeal to different systems of weights and measures, he believes that it is imperative that governments harmonize them and reduce the differences of national legislations in economic matters (Crucé 1623: 195). Other novel idea is his recommendation for monetary policy. To limit the distortions produced by the intervention of the State, Crucé believes it is necessary “to make no innovations” in this area to avoid uncertainty regarding the course and quality of the currency.

The final novelty, perhaps the one of greatest transcendence, is the inclusion in the assembly of representatives from practically the entire world: the monarchies and republics of Europe, Turkey, Russia, China, Persia, Japan, Morocco, the Grand Mogul, and Ethiopia. Unlike the Greek amphictyonic councils and the pacifists generally interested in resolving only regional conflicts, Crucé promotes economic integration between all of the cultures and religions of his time. The world that this organization would create is imagined by Crucé with impeccable generosity:

How pleasant it would be to see men go from one place to another freely and communicate without any thought of country, ceremony or other such differences, as if the world were thus what it truly is, one city common to all.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>11</sup> “Quel plaisir seroit ce de voir les homes aller de part & d’autre librement, & communiquer ensemble sans aucun scrupule de pays, de cérémonies, ou d’autres diversitez semblables, comme si la terre estoit, ainsi qu’elle est véritablement, une cité commune à tous” (Crucé 1623: 36).

## First reception and the *Grand Design*

Despite these innovations, only two reviewers quoted the *New Cyneas* during the first decades of its apparition, Gabriel Naudé and Charles Sorel; Gottfried W. Leibniz addresses its contents almost a century later. When it comes to the early intellectual impact, specialists point to Sully's *Grand Design*,<sup>12</sup> a conjecture that benefits from the support of certain consent.<sup>13</sup>

Its variants can be summarized in two arguments.<sup>14</sup> The first is chronological and takes into consideration the 15 years separating the appearance of the *New Cyneas* from the publication of the *CEconomies royales*. The reasoning draws on a certain fact, but in doing so excessively simplifies its demonstration and ignores the complex preparation of the Sully's book. The "1638" edition in two *folio* volumes is the product of four successive draftings: (1) a 66-page draft prepared shortly after 1610; (2) a manuscript with 145 letters and various indications of changes from sometime prior to 1617; (3) a manuscript with the edits and chapter structure; and (4) the final version of the manuscript prior to its printing. Sully began to refine his ideas on the European confederation in approximately 1611, and the text was almost complete in 1617.<sup>15</sup> More important, the first allusions to the *Grand Design* date to 1596, when Crucé was only six years old (Pfister 1894, 55: 67 and ff.). Regarding the existence of apocryphal texts in the *CEconomies royales*,<sup>16</sup> which can affect the reliability of the above chronology, it should be noted that an external reference points in the same direction: the summary of the *Grand Design* published by Agrippa d'Aubigné in 1820, three years prior to the *New Cyneas*.<sup>17</sup>

The second argument is based on the parallelism between the works and takes for granted that the ideas in common are due to the influence of Crucé. These are, principally, international arbitration, religious freedom, and the project of bringing the ambassadors of the confederated countries together in a council. From the outset, it can be said that this argument operates a textual comparison which is not able to separate the original elements of Crucé from those that belong to his period or to the Greek tradition. Indeed, rather than the invention of Crucé or Sully, the idea of an assembly belongs to the amphictyons, who either considered the election of delegates through popular vote or limited themselves to bringing together properly credentialed ambassadors. The Greek model will inspire not only

12 The first two volumes of the *CEconomies royales* were printed in Sully's Castle under the direct supervision of the author. In 1662, volumes three and four appeared under the care of Augustin Courbé.

13 Nys (1912: 489) argues that also Grotius was influenced by Crucé. The receiving work (Grotius 1625), never mentions the *New Cyneas*; based on this observation, Van Vollenhoven (1924: 5-12) concludes that such an influence is unlikely.

14 For a bibliography, see note 5.

15 For an explanation, see D. Buisseret and B. Barbiche "Introduction" (1970: xvi-xxiii).

16 Pfister (1894, 54: 300, 306 and 313-4).

17 Aubigné (1620, II and III). The first two volumes, written from the perspective of a Protestant, were prohibited in France, and a portion of the print run was burned.

Crucé and Sully, but also Grotius, the abbot Saint Pierre, Jean Jacques Rousseau, Immanuel Kant, and even Simón Bolívar, architect of the Amphictyonic Congress in Panama in 1826.

The arbitration system also goes back the Hellenic leagues, although in France it has are closer referents, such as Pierre Dubois, the adviser of the King, who in 1306 proposed the creation of a council of arbitration as the “most proper” means for preventing wars.<sup>18</sup> Religious tolerance, in turn, was nourished by the personal experiences of Sully, who barely escaped the Saint Bartholomew’s Day Massacre, and is reflected in the governmental acts in which he participates, such as the Edict of Nantes and the European diplomacy of Henry IV.<sup>19</sup> It is important to remember that the mandate of tolerance originally applied to relationship between Catholicism and Protestantism, not to the always-difficult relations between Christians and Ottomans. For Crucé, freedom of religion involves all world religions, including those of the East. His conception of tolerance does not have existing points of reference and should be seen as an objective that is far from becoming realized.

The specific trait of Sully’s plan is its desire to restrict the power of the Hapsburg dynasty, and contrary to the respect of the *status quo* recommended by Crucé, here we are dealing with an “anti-peace” plan (Beres 1974: 78). Another contrast has to do with the role of France. Crucé and Sully agree that their king should promote the creation of the assembly. For the favorite minister of Henry IV, this idea is almost inevitable and is within his reach. In the case of Crucé, however, it seems absurd because it involves support by the French sovereign of a confederation presided, in terms of protocol, by the Pope, the Ottoman Emperor, and the Germanic Holy Roman Emperor before himself. Although the passage does not say much about Crucé’s philosophy, in whose system the intervention of the king is peripheral, for Sully it is fundamental.

They also differ in their conception of the State. Crucé accepts (and criticizes) the incipient national sovereignty and defends a principle (non-intervention in internal affairs) that will become more significant after the Peace of Westphalia of 1648. Sully, on the contrary, is a prisoner of the dynastic thinking of his age, and his notion of international politics reflects the play of dominating empires. A final differentiating aspect concerns the importance of each work for its authors. In the case of Crucé, the *New Cyneas* is the eighth publication to his credit and is atypical in terms of subject and even by the language used. Sully, in contrast, dedicated several decades to editing his memoirs as warrior and chief minister for Henry IV.

18 Dubois (1891: 66). An edition of his work was circulating beginning in 1611. Regarding this edition, see note 18. See also Erasmus (1518).

19 The Edict of Nantes, signed on April 13, 1598 by Henry IV, authorizes freedom of religion for Protestants and amnesty to all belligerents. Regarding the European politics of Henry IV, who sought recognition of the principle of tolerance in the Netherlands, England, and Germany, see Anquez (1887: 177).

**Table 1.** Comparison of the two plans

|                              | <i>New Cyneas</i> – Crucé        | <i>Grand Design</i> – Sully |
|------------------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| <i>Plan</i>                  | Permanent assembly               | Permanent assembly          |
| <i>Objective</i>             | Pacification                     | Parity and equilibrium      |
| <i>Associated objective</i>  | Free trade                       | Pacification                |
| <i>Geographic coverage</i>   | Worldwide                        | European                    |
| <i>Solution of conflicts</i> | Arbitration                      | Arbitration                 |
| <i>Seat</i>                  | Venice                           | Central Europe              |
| <i>Factor of cohesion</i>    | Mutual interest                  | Christianity                |
| <i>External adversary</i>    | None                             | Turkey and Russia           |
| <i>Internal adversary</i>    | None                             | House of Austria            |
| <i>Sovereignty</i>           | <i>Status quo</i>                | Proportional domination     |
| <i>Other works</i>           | Seven literary studies and poems | None                        |

Table 1 shows the content of both works according to eleven indicators. The *New Cyneas* and the *Grand Design* share the ideas of the assembly of representatives and the international arbitration, both of which have important antecedents and thus lack originality. Peacemaking as a goal has important differences between the two authors, and the other indicators are dissimilar and sometimes contradictory. One of the reasons for this contrast may owe to their distinct geographic coverage and the underlying organizational logic: if the assembly is regional (fewer members), it may have more elements of cohesion within its reach, although the number of adversaries and exogenous causalities may grow. In turn, when the assembly becomes multilateral, external threats are reduced; it has to accept different cultures and manage their coexistence by appealing to rules of respect for diversity.

### The scant dissemination of the work

What is not clear is why the *New Cyneas* did not make any impact in its day. In approximately 1642 (one year after the death of Sully), Naudé (1642: 75), the first commentator on the book, included it in a category of recreational works that cannot be implemented in the real world, and called the author “*Émery de la Croix Parisien*,” which adds to the confusion. More generously, in 1664, Sorel observed:



There is a book called the *New Cyneas* which gives some advises for establishing a general peace and free trade by all the world. We can imagine that something is lacking for its success, although the plan is certainly beautiful and hardy.<sup>20</sup>

The Crucé's modest origins and the reputation of his family could be one of the reasons that explain the lack of interest of his contemporaries. Oudin Crucé, relative or father of Émeric, was solicitor at the court of Église and then a hermit; in approximately 1570, he became a judge and finally an executioner during the Saint Bartholomew's Day Massacre (Louis-Lucas 1919: 6-8). This massacre of Huguenots, rejected by most French population because of its brutality, led to the adoption of religious tolerance as a principle of government. Other explanations are: its utopian traits, the scarcity of copies, the lack of political contacts, and the author's relative abstraction from the historical conditions, far away from the nationalism and religious fanaticism of his time.<sup>21</sup>

A more central factor is the unattractive organization of the book: approximately 240 pages of uninterrupted text, without divisions, and an index of names at the place of the table of contents. Regarding the silence of Sully, we should add to the above that the *New Cyneas* is a project of universal character, different from the Pan-European approach of the former superintendent of France. The Thirty Years' War and the ongoing confrontation with the Ottomans must have seemed to Sully and his contemporaries to be the necessary and only relevant framework for an ecumenical project. Crucé, in contrast, required the advent of a new era and the interest of the great powers in world governance, unthinkable by then.

That said, at the time of the Peace of Utrecht in 1712 and 1713, the book was steps away from leaving its state of ostracism. Leibniz, in a letter to J. L. Le Gallois de Grimaest, comments on the project for European pacification by the Abbot Saint Pierre (1713), published a short time before, and notes its resemblance to the *New Cyneas*.

The author, who is not named, gives to the princes the same advice Cyneas gave to Pyrrhus, to prefer their rest and comfort to their ambition, and proposes at the same time [...] a common court.<sup>22</sup>

20 "Il y a un livre appellé le Nouveau Cynée qui donne des avis pour établir une Paix generale & la liberté du Commerce par tout le Monde. On se figure quelque chose à y souhaiter, pour y trouver du succez, mais le dessein en est toujours beau & hardy" (Sorel 1664: 62).

21 The importance of these factors is questionable; despite of them the Crucé-Gronovius debate was recalled a century later (Mencke 1715: 160).

22 "[L]'auteur, qui ne se nomme point, donne aux princes le conseil que Cyneas donna à Pyrrhus, de préférer leur repos et commodité à leur ambition et propose en même tems un tel tribunal commun". Leibniz to De Grimaest, Hannover, 4 June, 1712 (Leibniz 1734: 43).

Sometime thereafter, the German philosopher repeats this information, this time, directly to the abbot himself:

When very young, I came to know a book titled the *New Cyneas*, whose unknown author counseled sovereigns to govern their states in peace and to resolve their differences through a tribunal; but I can no longer find this book and no longer recall any details. We know that Cyneas was a confidant of King Pyrrhus, who advised him to rest [and rejoice] first, since it was his purpose (as he confessed) when he had conquered Sicily, Calabria, Rome and Carthage.<sup>23</sup>

The communication goes no further. As Leibniz says that he does not remember the name of the author, nor any other detail about the book, it could be believed that the *New Cyneas* “had vanished from the face of the earth” (Butler 1920: 92).

## Contemporary Readings

Later, at an undetermined date, two copies of the editions of 1623 and 1624 deposited in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France (1925: 387-8) were found. In the mid-nineteenth century, the pacifist Charles Sumner gave his copy, without cover, to the library of Harvard University (Dungen 1980: 12-3). Then, in 1910, a fourth copy was found in the Bibliothèque Mazarine in a state of conservation, suggesting that it had not been read (Vesnitch 1911: 40).

In 1924, Hubert Pajot (1924: 9-10) found two copies in Sainte-Geneviève and in the Arsenal. A seventh copy appeared at the library of the Nobel Institute in Norway, and Christian Lange used it in preparing his chapter on Crucé in 1919 (Lange 1919: 401). Later, three more copies were discovered at the Palace of The Hague (which also did not seem to have been consulted), the Columbia University, and the University of London.

The most significant discovery took place in the 1970s, when Peter van den Dungen located a copy at the Herzog August Bibliothek in the small city of Wolfenbüttel in Lower Saxony. Leibniz was the librarian and director of this library between 1690 and 1716, i.e. the last 26 years of his life. The fact suggests that the German philosopher was in charge of the volume at the time that he was writing his letters to abbot Saint Pierre and De Grimaest. Was it forgetfulness,

23 “Étant fort jeune j’ai eu connaissance d’un livre intitulé, *Nouveau Cyneas*, dont l’auteur inconnu conseilloit aux souverains de gouverner leurs États en paix, et de faire juger leurs différens par un tribunal établi ; mais je ne saurois plus trouver ce livre, et je ne me souviens plus d’aucunes particularités. L’on sait que Cynéas étoit un confident du Roy Pyrrhus, qui lui conseilla de se reposer [et de se réjouir] d’abord, puisqu’aussi bien c’étoit son but, (comme il le confessoit) quand il auroit vaincu la Sicile, la Calabre, Rome et Carthage”. *Observations sur le Projet de paix perpétuelle* (Robinet 1995: 34-45). The *Observations* were attached to the letter sent by Leibniz to Saint Pierre from Hannover on 4 April, 1715.

or the jealousy of an expert? Whatever the motive, the incident is a good example of the book's tortuous reception.<sup>24</sup>

The vindication of the book, set off by a large commentary dedicated to it by *Le Magasin Pittoresque* in 1839, took off at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century.<sup>25</sup> During these years, reflections increased regarding the need for the League of Nations (created in 1919), and the *New Cyneas* played the role of the perfect precursor. The authors and publishers who established Crucé's prestige included Ernest Nys, Paul Fancille, Gaston Jèze, Thomas W. Balch, Jacques-Léon Régnier, Daniel Crick, Milenko Vesnitch, Pierre Louis-Lucas, Christian Lange, Prospère Boissonnade, Gustavo Gutiérrez, Geoffrey G. Butler, Hubert Pajot, and Albertus W. Sijthoff. The English translation by Balch (1909) also appeared during this period.<sup>26</sup>

The failure of the League of Nations and the Second World War obscured the historic opportunity of the work, a situation in which it remained throughout the Cold War. Even so, it benefited from a second English translation in 1972, a facsimile reprint in 1976 and was translated into Italian in 1979.<sup>27</sup> In 2004, a version was published in contemporary French (Crucé 2004). This reissue by Alain Fenet and Astrid Guillaume modernizes the spelling and adds four indices: general, onomastic, toponymic, and linguistic notes.

Onwards, with the exception of Fenet's article (2004), specialists do not stop to explore the meanings and arcana of the *New Cyneas*; they include the name of the author in their lists of proponents of international peace and order (Bowden 2011: 2; Call 2007: 13-14), pioneers of cosmopolitanism (Tännsjö 2006: 288), ancestors of global governance (Weiss 2009: 259), etc. Crucé benefits from a solid but static recognition, mainly for his criticism of the state system and his plan to replace it with a universal regime.

The Twenty-first Century exponents of global governance are no longer interested in the creation of a world government (Weiss 2009: 259); logically, they should not be attracted by Crucé's message. Is this the main reason why the specialists have almost deserted the study of the intellectual father of the world pacifism? It is certainly one of the reasons, but one should pay attention to the fact that it is not a new attitude, but the persistence of the "lack of something for its success" observed by Sorel some three and half centuries ago.

24 For all that, the commentary by Leibniz stimulated the research of Nys, who discovered and appreciated the copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale. See Balch (1909: VI).

25 Hauréau (1859) was inspired by this article for his note in the *Nouvelle Biographie générale* of 1859, and Nys (1909) mentions it with praise.

26 Balch classifies the book under the rubric of the necessity to restrain the arms trade.

27 Edition and translation by A. M. Lazzarino Del Grosso.

## Conclusions

The present study substantiates three principal conclusions. The first concerns the pioneering place of the *New Cyneas* with respect to the nexus between commerce and international peace, and its correlation with a universal assembly designed to include different religions, nationalities, and cultures. From an historical point of view, these contributions should have stimulated at least the interest of the first reviewers, although the denser reception only takes place later, during the discussion and the creation of the League of Nations. The second result, which encompasses the principal scope of this article, states the tortuous reception of Crucé's book, affected by external factors and possibly the organization of the text. With the exception of a period, the *New Cyneas* misses the debate on the global governance.

The third contests the hypothesis that the similarities between this work and Sully's *Grand Design* owe to the influence of Crucé. Instead, it shows the existence of parallel intellectual genealogies that at times overlap. One has Crucé as founder and consists of a series of multilateral projects that seek to make peace and organize the world without distinction to race or religion; the other records the contribution of Sully and other political thinkers to the project of regional European integration, an ideal based on a community of religion, cultural and economic interests. Taken together, the three findings point out the need for further study of the life and work of the author.

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## Abstract

In the present article we analyze the characteristics and the reception of the first plan for global governance, the *New Cyneas* by Émeric Crucé. With this goal in mind, we examine the history of its readings and the possible influence on the Duke of Sully's project for European confederation, the case most often cited by historians of ideas. Our analysis takes into consideration the 17<sup>th</sup> century reception, the scant dissemination of the work and the possible causes of its limited impact. Our conclusions support, on the one hand, the novelty of Crucé's principal ideas, and on the other, their limited impact over the time with the exception of the period surrounding the creation of the League of Nations.

**Keywords:** XVII Century International Relations, Émeric Crucé (1590-1648), International peace, Duke of Sully (1560-1641), Multilateralism, History of Ideas and International Relations.

## Resumo

Neste artigo vamos analisar as características e a recepção do primeiro plano para a governança global, o Novo Cyneas, de Émeric Crucé. Examinaremos a história de suas leituras e da possível influência que o Novo Cyneas teria exercido sobre o duque de Sully na definição do projeto de confederação europeia, o caso mais frequentemente citado pelos historiadores de ideias. A nossa análise leva em consideração a repercussão no século XVII, a escassa difusão da obra e as possíveis causas de seu impacto limitado. Nossas conclusões indicam, por um lado, a novidade das principais ideias de Cruce, e, por outro, o seu impacto limitado ao longo do tempo, com exceção do período próximo à criação da Liga das Nações.

**Palavras-chaves:** Relações Internacionais do Século XVII, Émeric Crucé (1590-1648), Paz Internacional, Duque de Sully (1560-1641), Multilateralismo, História das Ideias e Relações Internacionais.

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