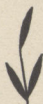


Plans for World Peace through Six Centuries



By SYLVESTER JOHN HEMLEBEN

*Head of the Department of History and Social Studies
School of Education, Fordham University*



THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS
CHICAGO • ILLINOIS

COPYRIGHT 1943 BY THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
ALL RIGHTS RESERVED. PUBLISHED JANUARY 1943
THIRD IMPRESSION FEBRUARY 1945

*

COMPOSED AND PRINTED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, U.S.A.

PREFACE

WE ARE now witnessing one of the greatest wars in history. Freemen everywhere are resolved that this war shall not be fought in vain. Never again must a strong military power led by unscrupulous leaders be allowed to threaten the forces of liberty and endanger civilization itself. We must so organize the world that peace will be secure and free peoples will no longer need to live in fear of others. The hope of establishing a world order that will make war impossible is not new. There have been men of vision who have urged the necessity of a league to guarantee peace.

It is the purpose of this study to trace the historical background and development of the idea of an organization to secure permanent peace. It is obvious that it is impossible to consider here every plan that has ever been conceived. Only those were selected which the author thought to be of greatest importance or interest, although some of the minor plans are indicated from time to time. Doubtless, no two scholars will fully agree as to which plans should rightly be chosen. In the matter of selection there will always be room for difference and disagreement. The present endeavor has been guided by the thought that it is an attempt to give a portrayal of the peace plans of history in a work of sufficiently small compass to enable the reader to make a survey and a comparative study all within the covers of a single book.

The study begins with the first real plans of the early fourteenth century. It will be noted that the work is limited in scope to the plans previous to the formation of the present League of Nations. A consideration of peace projects since

World War I would necessitate a treatment in some detail of the immediate origins, the history, and the organization of the League and the Permanent Court of International Justice. Such treatment is patently impossible within the limits of space, and all that could be accomplished in a work of this size would be something akin to a textbook account, which is easily enough obtainable. The author trusts that at a later time he may be able to undertake a second volume dealing with the plans for world peace that were proposed after World War I. It is hoped that the present book may indicate why peace plans of the past have failed to be put into effect; and perhaps it will suggest why the greatest of all peace plans, the present League of Nations, has not achieved what was expected of it. If lessons can be derived from a historical study of the development of the concepts of international organization for peace, then this work may possibly make a contribution, no matter how small.

In the preparation of this volume I am indebted for suggestions and encouragement to Dean Francis M. Crowley and Professor Lawrence J. Mannion, of the School of Education, Fordham University; to Dr. Harold Larson, of the National Archives, Washington, D.C.; to Mr. V. J. Sacco, Federal Assistant District Attorney, Hartford, Connecticut; to Professors James Michael Eagan and Thomas F. McManus, of the College of New Rochelle; to Professor Albert Salisbury Abel, School of Law, University of West Virginia; and to the late Professor Parker T. Moon, of Columbia University. The greatest debt of all I owe to my wife.

SYLVESTER JOHN HEMLEBEN

NEW YORK CITY

INTRODUCTION

THE conception of an international organization to preserve peace is not novel. Well-wishers of mankind have, from time to time, caught a vision of permanent peace and have offered their plans on how best to achieve it. The present work offers a study of some of the most important peace plans of history and attempts to trace through them the development of the idea of organizing world peace. Long before the appearance of definite written projects the foundations had been laid in the practices of federation and arbitration.

To the ancient Greeks we are indebted for the conception of federation for peace. Several federations, of which the Delphic Amphictyony is the most noted, furnished the nearest approach in ancient times to a working league of nations. Yet it would be somewhat hasty to entitle such federations as "leagues of nations" in the modern sense of the term, since membership was drawn wholly from Greece itself, and the interests of the members were not primarily political but religious. When it is realized, however, that the Greek political unit was the city-state, each independent of the other, federation among these independent city-states will appear as a true accomplishment in co-operation. In addition, we are indebted to the Greeks for frequent use of arbitration as a peaceful means of settling disputes and for the development of the general arbitration treaty. Although the Greeks had constant recourse to federation and arbitration, it is evident from a perusal of Greek history that peace was not the natural condition of society. The first approach to world peace was achieved under the Roman Empire; but the peace

of the Caesars cannot be considered international, for Rome dominated the world and recognized no equals. The Pax Romana was an enforced national peace, not a peace resulting from a league of independent nations. In such a system there was no place for arbitration as developed by the Greek city-states.

With the crumbling of the Roman Empire and the coming of the barbarians, peace in the political realm was no longer possible. Christian Europe turned to the spiritual realm, and the church assumed leadership, effecting, in a very real way, a common unity of Christendom. Arbitration, dormant during the Roman period, was brought into use in the Middle Ages. The papacy provided Europe with a supreme and final arbiter. Parallel with this was the attempt to establish political unity under a universal empire. There appeared the Carolingian and the Holy Roman empires, each claiming to be the legal successor to the former Roman Empire. While world peace was never as completely secured either by the universal church or by the universal empire as that attained under the Roman Empire, the idea of the unity of civilization was a real force throughout the Middle Ages. The rise of the spirit of nationality and the birth of the modern national state system were potent factors in the breakdown of this conception. Rulers cast aside the political philosophy of the Middle Ages with its acknowledgment of the natural law and the compact and substituted, instead, a philosophy based on the Roman law. Their claims to absolutism were supported by a rising group of theorists who recognized no moral obligations and no limitations on the powers of the monarch. Reason gave way to sheer force, and the claims to absolute power made themselves felt in the international order as well as in the national. Any hopes that might have survived

for a world federation through religion were made impossible by the Protestant revolt, which produced rival and conflicting Christian groups. Europe lost a common international arbiter, and in its stead was raised the sovereign state, which alone was the judge of its own conduct and obligations.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

The reader who may be interested in making an introductory study of the peace idea in ancient times and a survey of the conception in the Middle Ages apart from written projects is referred to the following:

Eleanor Hunsdon Grady, *Epigraphic Sources of the Delphic Amphictyony* (Walton, N.Y., 1931); Anton H. Raeder, *L'Arbitrage international chez les Hellènes* (New York, 1912); Charles Calvo, *Le Droit international théorique et pratique: précédé d'un exposé historique des progrès de la science du droit des gens* (Paris, 1880-81); Ferdinand Dreyfus, *L'Arbitrage international* (Paris, 1892); Coleman Phillipson, *The International Law and Custom of Ancient Greece and Rome* (London, 1911); W. L. Westermann, "Interstate Arbitration in Antiquity," *Classical Journal*, Vol. II (1907); Wallace E. Caldwell, *Hellenic Conceptions of Peace* (New York, 1919); Marie Mathieu, *L'Evolution de l'idée de la société des nations* (Nancy, 1923); Marcus N. Tod, *International Arbitration amongst the Greeks* (Oxford, 1913); Michael I. Rostovseff, "International Relations in the Ancient World," in Edmund A. Walsh (ed.), *The History and Nature of International Relations* (New York, 1922); Henry S. Fraser, "A Sketch of the History of International Arbitration," *Cornell Law Quarterly*, Vol. XI, No. 2 (1926); Elizabeth York, *Leagues of Nations: Ancient, Mediaeval, and Modern* (London, 1919); Edward Augustus Freeman, *History of Federal Government in Greece and Italy* (London, 1893); V. J. Lewis, "The Peloponnesian League," *New Commonwealth*, Vol. I, No. 6 (March, 1933); Jacques Hodé, *L'Idée de fédération internationale dans l'histoire: les précurseurs de la société des nations* (Paris, 1921); Jackson Harvey Ralston, *International Arbitration from Athens to Locarno* (Stanford, Calif., 1929); Victor Bérard, *De arbitrio inter liberae Graecorum civitates* (Paris, 1894); W. W. Tarn, "Alexander the Great and the Unity of Mankind," *Proceedings of the British Academy*, Vol. XIX (1933); Marie V. Williams, "Internationalism in Ancient Greece," *London*

Quarterly Review, Vol. CLVI (July, 1931); Louise E. Matthaël, "The Place of Arbitration and Mediation in Ancient Systems of International Ethics," *Classical Quarterly*, Vol. II (October, 1908); George A. Finch, *The Sources of Modern International Law* (Washington, D.C., 1937); C. L. Lange, *Histoire de l'internationalisme* ("Publications de l'Institut Nobel norvégien," Tome IV [Kristiania and New York, 1919]); C. L. Lange, "Histoire de la doctrine pacifique et de son influence sur le développement du droit international," *Recueil des cours*, 1926, III, Tome XIII (1927); John Eppstein, *The Catholic Tradition of the Law of Nations* (Washington, D.C., 1935); C. van Vollenhoven, *The Law of Peace* (London, 1936); August C. Krey, "The International State of the Middle Ages: Some Reasons for Its Failure," *American Historical Review*, Vol. XXVIII, No. 1 (October, 1922); Loren C. MacKinney, "The People and Public Opinion in the Eleventh Century Peace Movement," *Speculum*, Vol. V (April, 1930); Paschal Robinson, "Peace Laws and Institutions of the Medieval Church," *Ecclesiastical Review*, Vol. LII (1915); R. F. Wright, *Medieval Internationalism, the Contribution of the Medieval Church to International Law and Peace* (London, 1930); William F. Røqemer and John Tracy Ellis, *The Catholic Church and Peace Efforts*, study presented to the Catholic Association for International Peace by the History Committee (New York, 1934); John Eyre W. Wallis, *The Sword of Justice or the Christian Philosophy of War Completed in the Idea of a League of Nations* (Oxford, 1920); Frédéric Duval, *De la paix de Dieu à la paix de fer* (Paris, 1923); Maurice De Wulf, "The Society of Nations in the Thirteenth Century," *International Journal of Ethics* (Concord, N.H.), Vol. XXIX (January, 1919); Siegfried Frey, *Das öffentlich-rechtliche Schiedsgericht in Oberitalien im XII. und XIII. Jahrhundert* (Luzern, 1928); A. Mérignhac, *Traité théorique et pratique de l'arbitrage international* (Paris, 1895); Michel Revon, *L'Arbitrage international* (Paris, 1892); Comte L. Kamarowsky, *Le Tribunal international* (Paris, 1887); Mileta Novacovitch, *Les Compromis et les arbitrages internationaux du XII^e au XV^e siècle* (Paris, 1905); John Gruber, "The Peace Negotiations of the Avignon Popes," *Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. XIX, No. 2 (July, 1933); John K. Cartwright, "Contributions of the Papacy to International Peace," *Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. VIII (April, 1928); Franziskus Stratmann, *The Church and War: A Catholic Study* (New York, 1929); Joseph Müller, "L'Œuvre de toutes les confessions Chrétiennes (Églises) pour la paix internationale," *Recueil des cours*, 1930, I (Paris), Tome XXXI (1931).

CONTENTS

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION	xi
CHAPTER I	
EARLY PEACE PLANS	1
CHAPTER II	
PROJECTS TO THE CLOSE OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY	42
CHAPTER III	
PLANS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY	96
CHAPTER IV	
PROGRAMS OF THE GREAT WAR PERIOD (1914-18)	138
CHAPTER V	
REFLECTIONS	182
<hr/>	
BIBLIOGRAPHY	195
INDEX	223

CHAPTER I

EARLY PEACE PLANS

PIERRE DUBOIS, lawyer and adviser to Philip le Bel, king of France, was the medieval herald of modern projects of world organization for peace.¹ Dubois was born in Normandy about 1255, attended the University of Paris, and became successful in the legal profession. His interest in writing, however, led him to give expression to his ideas concerning contemporary affairs in a succession of pamphlets between the years 1300 and 1314.² In his chief work, *De recuperatione Terre Sancte*,³ written between 1305 and 1307,⁴ Dubois advocated a federation of Christian sovereign states. A staunch supporter of his king in the latter's struggle with Pope Boniface VIII, it was only natural that Dubois's devotion to the crown led him to conceive an association of nations in which France would be the dominant member.⁵ Whether this in Dubois's mind amounted to the establishment of a French overlordship is open to question. It would seem that, while he expected France to play the leading role in the federation, he was

¹ V. J. Lewis, "Pierre du Bois," *New Commonwealth*, I, No. 12 (September, 1933), 10.

² Charles C. Tansill, "Early Plans for World Peace," *Historical Outlook*, XX, No. 7 (November, 1929), 322.

³ Pierre Dubois, *De recuperatione Terre Sancte: traité de politique générale, pub. d'après le manuscrit du Vatican par Charles V. Langlois* (Paris, 1891).

⁴ Langlois, Introduction to *ibid.*, p. x. Dubois's work was first published in 1611. See Elizabeth V. Souleyman, *The Vision of World Peace in Seventeenth and Eighteenth-Century France* (New York, 1941), p. 3.

⁵ Tansill, *op. cit.*, p. 322.

opposed to the creation of a world-state dominated by a single lord.⁶ Although advanced by the greater part of his contemporaries,⁷ he apparently saw that the hope of a revived Roman Empire was a dream that would but lead to disaster, and he therefore eliminated the conception of a universal monarchy as the solution.

The treatise, while purporting to deal with a plan for recovering the Holy Land, was more concerned with the general problem of European relationships. Peace among Christian rulers was considered a necessary prelude to the successful undertaking of a crusade. It is probable that Dubois used the subject of the Holy Land as a means of popularizing his work, but this does not necessarily imply that the subject of the crusade was a mere excuse for writing on other schemes in which he was more interested.⁸ The idea of a crusade was being widely discussed at the time, and Dubois was only one of a number of writers in the first decade of the fourteenth century to reflect this interest. *De recuperatione* was divided into two parts. The first and longer part was dedicated to Edward I of England as one who was particularly interested in a new crusade.⁹ This was probably meant as a circular to be sent by the French king to the European courts.¹⁰ The second part was concerned with Philip's royal problems and was meant for him alone.

⁶ Delisle Burns, "A Medieval Internationalist: Pierre Dubois," *Monist*, XXVII (1917), 108.

⁷ C. L. Lange, *Histoire de l'internationalisme* ("Publications de l'Institut Nobel norvégien," Tome IV [Kristiania and New York, 1919]), p. 98.

⁸ Eileen E. Power, "Pierre du Bois and the Domination of France" in F. J. C. Hearnshaw (ed.), *The Social and Political Ideas of Some Great Mediaeval Thinkers* (London, 1923), p. 147. Souleyman presents the controversy among scholars on this point (*op. cit.*, pp. 3-5).

⁹ Burns, *op. cit.*, pp. 105-6. A survey of the plan is given on pp. 105-13.

¹⁰ Frederick Maurice Powicke, "Pierre Dubois: A Medieval Radical," *Owens College Historical Essays* (London, 1902), pp. 175-76.

According to Dubois, war breeds war until war becomes a habit (par. 2). He considered war as the principal obstacle to progress and proposed the establishment of a council of nations to decide all quarrels by arbitration.¹¹ If the council disagreed (par. 3), nine judges were to be selected to settle the dispute. In order to prevent any direct influence by the disputants on the judges, three judges were to be selected by the council to represent each contestant and three from among the ecclesiastics.¹² Appeals could be carried to the pope.¹³ Dubois was distinctly a pioneer, for he was the first to propose an international court of arbitration. He urged the kings and the general council to institute a boycott (par. 5) against a power making war, and he advocated concerted military action against the offending nation. In this recommendation Dubois preceded the sanctions of the Covenant of the League of Nations by over six centuries. After defeating the guilty people the European allies were to send them off to colonize the Holy Land! Because he advocated that the economic saving from the abolition of wars was to be expended for the establishment of international schools (par. 60), he may be considered one of the earliest proponents of international education.

¹¹ Stawell states that arbitration was more fully used in the time of Dubois than at any other period in medieval history and that Dubois was recommending a method which was tried and which he knew would continue to prove useful (F. Melian Stawell, *The Growth of International Thought* [London, 1929], p. 67).

¹² Dubois held, however, that a prerequisite to general peace was a reform of the church. He suggested as a first step that the pope deter the cardinals and bishops from going to war. Next he recommended the abolition of the temporal power of the popes, for then no one would need to go to war for the papacy, and thus a beginning would be made on the road to peace. Then he called for the confiscation of ecclesiastical property by the states, the wealth to be used for the common European civilization (Burns, *op. cit.*, pp. 110-11).

¹³ Stawell (*op. cit.*, p. 65) points out that Dubois was writing when the "Babylonian captivity" at Avignon had already begun and that Dubois therefore expected the pope to be under the influence of the French king.

While in some respects Dubois was a pioneer, he was not entirely original, as perhaps no one can be, for all are products of their age. The ideas which he advanced were current in the Europe of his day. By some writers Dubois has been bitterly assailed and by others just as stoutly defended. Characterizations of his proposals, as one writer says, "stretch the entire octave of praise and condemnation."¹⁴ One writer states: "When all is said and done there can be few books more remarkable in their prevision of the future than the *De Recuperatione*. . . . Pierre Du Bois' book was a prophecy rather than a programme."¹⁵ Langlois speaks of the Norman's conceptions as noble, elaborated dreams, bequeathed with a very liberal intelligence, and animated with a violent love for the good and the better.¹⁶

In contrast to Dubois, who proposed an assembly representative of the European powers, Dante, early in the fourteenth century,¹⁷ in his *De monarchia*¹⁸ called for the estab-

¹⁴ Tansill, *op. cit.*, p. 322.

¹⁵ Power, art. cit., in Hearnshaw, *op. cit.*, p. 163.

¹⁶ Langlois, Introduction to Dubois, *op. cit.*, pp. xix, xx.

¹⁷ *De monarchia* was not published until 1559 at Basel. Some scholars believe that the work was written prior to Dante's exile in 1302, probably in Florence; some hold that it was produced between 1308 and 1314, heralding the coming of Henry of Luxemburg to Italy; others maintain that it was one of his last works and believe that it was composed between 1318 and 1321 (Aurelia Henry [ed.], Introduction to Dante Alighieri, *The "De monarchia" of Dante Alighieri* [Boston, 1904], pp. xxxii-xlvi).

¹⁸ Centuries before, Augustine had given to the world (A.D. 413-26) his great work, *Civitas Dei*. While it has been called "one of the most difficult books to read," nevertheless in design and execution "its grand idea is clear" (A. J. Carlyle, "St. Augustine and the City of God," in Hearnshaw, *op. cit.*, p. 40). This book became "the chief source" of disclosing the Christian attitude toward peace (Herbert F. Wright, "St. Augustine on International Peace," *Catholic World*, CV [September, 1917], 745). St. Augustine had presented "for the first time in history" the plan of a great empire of peace binding the world and all nations together (M. Erzberger, *The League of Nations*:

lishment of a world-state under an all-powerful emperor. The Italy of Dante's day was distracted with quarrels and endless strife. Factions reigned within every city, and the turbulent country was divided and impotent. It was "in a strain of passionate patriotism that the 'De Monarchia' was written to show his [Dante's] countrymen the principles of government by which alone he believed safety could be found amid such dire peril."¹⁹ The *De monarchia* was a political treatise "born of the special circumstances of his own time."²⁰ Dante raised "a passionate cry for some power to still the tempest"²¹ that engulfed the civilization of his day, and he found the solution in a universal emperor. If, to Dante, the Middle Ages represented war and conflict, the empire meant peace.²² In the realm of real politics he saw the

The Way to the World's Peace, trans. Bernard Miall [New York, 1919], p. 77; Louis Carle Bonnard, *Essai sur la conception d'une société des nations avant le XX^e siècle* [Paris, 1921], p. 20). St. Augustine held the foundation of the City of God to be peace, and he presented the ideal of an earthly society which "should be an exact copy of the divine city where all is peace and unity" (Maurice De Wulf, "The Society of Nations in the Thirteenth Century," *International Journal of Ethics* [Concord, N.H.], XXIX [January, 1919], 219). On Augustine see further: James Brown Scott, *Law, the State, and the International Community* (New York, 1939), I, 184-95. In the thirteenth century St. Thomas Aquinas in his *Summa theologica*, dealing with the problem of peace and the problem of a just war and its characteristics, proposed to achieve the same end by exalting the papal theocracy. The writings of St. Thomas, along with Gratian, were the authoritative manuals in philosophy and theology and greatly influenced later writers (William F. Roemer, "The Scope of This Study Determined by a Christian Philosophy of Peace," in William F. Roemer and John Tracy Ellis, *The Catholic Church and Peace Efforts* [New York, 1934], p. 17). On St. Thomas see further: Scott, *op. cit.*, pp. 213-22.

¹⁹ Charlton Wilkinson, "Dante's Vision of International Peace," *Nation and the Athenaeum*, XXX, No. 3 (October 15, 1921), 111.

²⁰ *Loc. cit.*

²¹ Viscount James Bryce, *The Holy Roman Empire* (New York, 1904), p. 280.

²² E. Sharwood Smith, "Dante and World-Empire," in Hearnshaw, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

embodiment of his hopes in Henry of Luxemburg,²³ who was crowned Emperor in 1308. In him Dante saw the ideal emperor who would rid the world of the evils from which it was suffering. The *De monarchia* was written in behalf of imperial power against the spiritual and has been termed by one author "a specimen of the writings which the conflict of Boniface VIII and Philip IV called forth."²⁴

Dante explained his purpose in writing the treatise in the following words:

But seeing that among other truths, ill-understood yet profitable, the knowledge touching temporal monarchy is at once most profitable and most obscure, and that because it has no immediate reference to worldly gain it is left unexplored by all, therefore it is my purpose to draw it forth from its hiding-places, as well that I may spend my toil for the benefit of the world, as that I may be the first to win the prize of so great an achievement to my own glory. The work indeed is difficult, and I am attempting what is beyond my strength; but I trust not in my own powers, but in the light of that Bountiful Giver, "Who giveth to all men liberally, and upbraideth not."²⁵

Dante divided his work into three books. The first book dealt with the question whether a temporal monarchy is necessary for the well-being of the world; the second answered the question whether the Roman people assumed to itself by right the dignity of empire; while the third book undertook the problem of whether the authority of the monarch comes directly from God or from some vicar of God.

In the first book Dante maintained that the end of the

²³ V. J. Lewis, "Dante," *New Commonwealth*, II, No. 1 (October, 1933), 8.

²⁴ Mandell Creighton, *A History of the Papacy during the Period of the Reformation* (London, 1882), I, 30-31.

²⁵ Richard William Church, *Dante: An Essay to Which Is Added a Translation of "De monarchia"* by F. J. Church (London, 1879), p. 178. The following page references to the text of *De monarchia* are made to the Church edition.

civil order of mankind is "to set in action the whole capacity of that understanding which is capable of development,"²⁶ and that, in order to achieve this, mankind needs the calm and tranquillity of universal peace.²⁷ Where several means are ordained to attain an end, one of them should govern the others. There must be one to guide and govern, and therefore an emperor of a world-state is necessary.²⁸ "It is only under the rule of one Prince that the parts of humanity are well adapted to their whole" and adapted to the Prince of the Universe, who is one God.²⁹ Men are made in the likeness of God, and God is one. When the race is wholly united in one body, it is "most made like unto God."³⁰ Since the whole heaven is regulated with one motion and by one mover, God, the best state is one regulated by one law and a single prince.³¹ There may be controversy between any two princes, and there should be a means of judgment; but one cannot be judged by the other if they are equal. Therefore, it is necessary for the world to have one monarch to whom all princes are subject, and thus controversies can be settled.³² The universal monarch is most disposed to work for justice,³³ "for if he be really a Monarch he cannot have enemies."³⁴

The human race is ordered best when it is most free.³⁵ "Men exist for themselves, and not at the pleasure of others, only if a Monarch rules; for then only are the perverted forms of government set right, while democracies, oligarchies, and tyrannies, drive mankind into slavery, as is obvious to anyone who goes about among them all. . . ."³⁶

²⁶ P. 184.²⁹ P. 190.³³ Pp. 192-98.²⁷ Pp. 184-85.³¹ P. 191.³⁴ P. 198.²⁸ Pp. 185-88.³² Pp. 191-92.³⁵ Pp. 198-201.²⁹ P. 189.³⁶ P. 200.

Mankind is best off under an emperor who is "the servant of all."³⁷ The monarch is the only one who can be fitted in the best possible way to govern, for he has nothing to tempt his appetite, as have other princes, and "in him there may be judgment and justice more strongly than in any other."³⁸ Dante indicated that, while there would be one supreme prince, this did not mean that the prince would direct every trifling matter in local government. Nations and states, Dante pointed out, have their peculiarities and therefore should be governed by different laws.³⁹ Only in matters common to all men would they be ruled by one monarch and governed by one law.⁴⁰ Dante thus allowed for local government. He held that "all concord depends on unity which is in wills."⁴¹ There must be one will to regulate all the others. He concluded his first book by pointing out that Christ willed to be born when Augustus was monarch, "under whom a perfect Monarchy existed and the world was everywhere quiet."⁴²

In the second book Dante claimed that it was the role of Italy to accomplish this political union. He first asked whether the Roman people assumed to itself by right the dignity of the empire. Answering in the affirmative, he stated that "what God wills to see in mankind is to be held as real and true Right."⁴³ Therefore, it was by right and not by usurpation that the Roman people assumed to itself the office of the empire over all mankind. It was fitting that the noblest people be preferred, and the Romans were the noblest.⁴⁴ Further, the Roman Empire was helped to its perfection by miracles, and therefore it was of the right. Whoever works for the good of the state, works with right as the

³⁷ P. 201.⁴⁰ P. 205.⁴³ P. 215.³⁸ P. 203.⁴¹ P. 208.⁴⁴ P. 216.³⁹ Pp. 204-5.⁴² P. 209-10.