

## *Sources and Interpretations*

### The “framing of a new world”: Sir Balthazar Gerbier’s “Project for Establishing a New State in America,” ca. 1649

Vera Keller

THE mercurial international career of Sir Balthazar Gerbier (1592–1663), a Dutch-born Huguenot, carried him between England, France, the Netherlands, Spain, and Guyana. A portrait painter, costume designer, architect, scribe, art collector, economic theorist, spy, and academy founder as well as the English king Charles I’s Master of Ceremonies (beginning in 1641), Gerbier is also known as the founder of a short-lived, ill-fated Dutch colony in Guyana in 1660. He had, however, previously imagined a much grander New World settlement. Gerbier drew up an extensive constitution for a new American state, in connection with a March 1628 plan devised by his patron, George Villiers, the 1st Duke of Buckingham (1592–1628), to establish himself as a sovereign ruler under the protection of Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden. Although the Duke of Buckingham was assassinated in August 1628, Gerbier continued to promote Buckingham’s plan. He sent his “Project for Establishing a New State in America,” translated here from French, to Buckingham’s son in February 1649. It has never been studied before. The “Project” shows us how one man imagined a sovereign American state in the early seventeenth century. In comparison to Gerbier’s other writings, the “Project” sheds light on a continuum of other New World projects ranging from practical plans for short-lived adventures abroad to more enduring state constitutions and timeless utopias (Figure I).<sup>1</sup>

Vera Keller is an assistant professor of history in the Robert D. Clark Honors College at the University of Oregon. A Mellon Postdoctoral Fellowship at the Early Modern Studies Institute of the University of Southern California and the Henry E. Huntington Library supported this research. The author would like to thank Peter Mancall, Leigh Penman, Daniel Richter, Koji Yamamoto, and the anonymous readers for the *William and Mary Quarterly*. She is writing a book on the role of political theory in seventeenth-century projects for the advancement of learning.

<sup>1</sup> Balthazar Gerbier, “Project pour l’establissement d’un nouvel estat en Amerique,” MS Rawlinson C. 254, [63r–82v], Bodleian Library, Oxford, U.K.; Paul R. Sellin, “Michel le Blon and England III: Gustav II Adolf, Sir Walter Raleigh’s Gold Mine, and

Projet pour l'establiement  
 d'un nouvel Estat en  
 Amerique .

Premièrement on'establiera un chef en qualite' de Roy Sou-  
 uerain, perpetuel et Hereditaire, venant par Succession  
 Masculine selon la Loy Salique .

Tous les officiers de la Justice, Milice, Police et finan-  
 ces de l'Estat seront establis par le Roy, dependant  
 de luy seul; luy prestont serment de Fidelite' et  
 seront tous esleus d'entre les Cheualliers .

Les Juges des lieux pourront auoir Jurisdiction sur les  
 biens du Roy, des Princes, Cheualliers et autres en  
 premiere Instance; Mais pour la Vie et l'honneur  
 personne n'y aura droit que le Roy et le Senat ou  
 les Chambres Souueraines

Le Roy seul pourra donner graces et absolutions  
 des Crimes de Mort; luy seul pourra faire battre  
 • Monnoye

FIGURE I

MS. Rawlinson C. 254, fol. [63r], Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford.

The ways that Gerbier appears to reflect on contemporary European political issues with hardly any consideration given to specific American constraints might suggest that he composed the "Project" merely as a vehicle for ruminating on the European politics of his day. This impression might be strengthened by the fact that Gerbier included a nearly identical version of the "Project" in another holographic manuscript of 1654, only this time he cast it not as a project for a peculiarly American state but as the "Laws, Statutes, Ordonnances, and Customs, for a new State (Loix, status, ordonnances, et coutumes, pour un nouvel Estat)," to be located anywhere.<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, while both texts include details of luxurious fashions and chivalric heraldry difficult to imagine successfully fulfilled in a New World context, they do not include any of the more achievable and utilitarian plans that appeared in Gerbier's later pamphlets promoting his Guyanese venture of 1660.

Despite the differences between the "Project" and the "Laws" on the one hand and Gerbier's plans for his actual Guyanese venture or similar settlements on the other, these projects are united by Gerbier's seriousness of purpose. The "Project" and the "Laws" are constitutions for proposed sovereign states, whereas Gerbier's other pamphlets discuss short-term, profit-oriented settlements. Gerbier had planned to fund the state described in the "Project" through a gold mine. In 1655 a corporation from his native Dutch province, Zeeland, sent a ship to fetch sample ores from Gerbier's projected

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the Perfidy of George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham," *Dutch Crossing* 23, no. 1 (Summer 1999): 102–32; Sellin, *Treasure, Treason and the Tower: El Dorado and the Murder of Sir Walter Raleigh* (Burlington, Vt., 2011). In 1648 Gerbier referred to the document as written "some time past," but at present it is not known if he composed the full "Project" in 1628 at the time of the originally projected state. Gerbier to Samuel Hartlib, Oct. 24, 1648, in *The Hartlib Papers: A Complete Text and Image Database of the Papers of Samuel Hartlib (c. 1600–1662) Held in Sheffield University Library*, 2d ed. (Sheffield, U.K., 2002), 10/2/18A–19B (quotation, 10/2/19A). A full translation of the "Project" appears on 164–76.

<sup>2</sup> Gerbier, "Loix, status, ordonnances, et coutumes, pour un nouvel Estat," in "Secretum virtutis et scientiarum speculum / Miroir de la vertu. Et quelque secrets utiles aux Princes Et aux Peuples. / Formulaire Touchant l'Art de la Plume et D'un language et Chifre secret; tres utile aux Princes, du Desseing, de la Geometrie, de l'Architecture militaire, de la Perspective, Cosmographie, Geographie, Minnature, Peinture, Architecture, et de la Philosophie naturelle experimentale, en exemples de secrets, tres rares et utiles [A Mirror of Virtue and a Secret of Sciences / Mirror of Virtue. And Several Secrets Useful to Princes and Peoples. / Sampler. Concerning the Scribal Art, and a Secret Language and Cipher, Very Useful for Princes, on Drawing, Geometry, Military Architecture, Perspective, Cosmography, Geography, Miniature, Painting, Architecture, and Experimental Natural Philosophy, in Examples of Secrets, Very Rare and Useful]," 1654, MS 2505, [28–39], Wellcome Library, London. According to the Wellcome Library catalog, the "Loix" spans fols. 18–23, but all citations of it in this article follow an alternate system of page numbers written on the manuscript volume. All translations are provided by the author.

gold mine, apparently with success. From 1656 to 1660 he published several tracts relating to his plans for a colony. These tracts also produced future-oriented lists of rules and policies, but they are very different in scope and character from the "Project." Ultimately, Gerbier did contract with the Dutch States General to start a gold-mining colony in Guyana in 1660. He quickly left Guyana, however, after other settlers mutinied and attacked his family, killing his daughter Catharine. Even after this disaster, he did not stop composing projects for new South American colonies. A 1660 pamphlet included the costs per person, lists of necessary goods, and eight numbered regulations Gerbier deemed necessary for another proposed settlement.<sup>3</sup> These regulations indicated in extremely abbreviated form a few institutions and policies, such as an initial freedom from taxation, liberty of conscience, and a "judicious boddy of Councill." They did not, however, include the elaborate system of checks and balances Gerbier had designed for his new state or the rich material culture he imagined for it. In the 1660 pamphlet, Gerbier described a very rough way of life for a proposed settlement that was intended to generate quick profits and that would require settlers who could make do without "codlings, and rose water."<sup>4</sup>

The "Project" and the "Laws" are written in a much graver, grander register, with a morally elevated purpose and elaborate material specifications. They seek to overcome human deficiencies and create a just society through highly detailed policies and institutional contrivances that are projected long into the future and that are not based on short-term calculations of profit. As constitutions for a new state, the "Project" and the "Laws" were not merely theoretical exercises or fanciful products of Gerbier's leisure. Like other written constitutions of the period, however, they do intersect with the practice of describing ideal states in literary utopias. As J. C. Davis has argued, seventeenth-century utopianism had an ambivalent relationship with the emerging practice of composing writ-

<sup>3</sup> For Gerbier's settlement in Guyana, see M. G. de Boer, "Een Nederlandsche goudzoeker: Een bijdrage tot de geschiedenis onzer nederzettingen aan de Wilde Kust," *Tijdschrift Voor Geschiedenis, Land-en Volkenkunde* [18] (1903): 1-18. For an example of Gerbier's pamphlets concerning his settlement, see Gerbier, *Waerachtige Verklaringe Nopende de Goude en Silvere Mijnel Waer van den Ridder Balthazar Gerbier, Dowily gcontracteert heeft met eenige geasossierde In Zeelant* ([The] Hague, 1656). Gerbier describes a 1655 published policy or set of rules ("Police van een Goude ende Silvere Mijne ende andere Schatten ende Conquesten in America") in *Waerachtige Verklaringe vanden Ridder Balthasar Gerbier, B: Dowilij; Noopende sijn saecke van Goude en Silvere Mynen, waer over hy ghecontracteert hadde met sekere Persoonen in Zeelant* (n.p., [1657]), A2 ["Facti Ennaratio ofte Saecken van Feyt"]. For Gerbier's 1660 pamphlet, see Gerbier, *A Sommary Description, Manifesting that greater Profits are to bee done in the hott then in the could parts off the coast off America: And how much the public good is concerned therein Referring to the annexed Advertisment, For men inclined to Plantations* ([Rotterdam, 1660]).

<sup>4</sup> Gerbier, *Sommary Description*, A3 [B3] ("judicious"), B2 ("codlings").

ten constitutions (such as the written rules and constitutions of Virginia, Carolina, and Pennsylvania). In his view utopias share with constitutions the use of "institutional contrivances to enable government to proceed without personal dependence in a world of deficient actors."<sup>5</sup> Davis asserts that utopianism differs from constitutionalism in that utopias, as descriptions of already perfected states, do not offer policies and processes for dealing with future political change. Whereas constitutions project a state forward through time, utopias are located out of time.

Gerbier certainly based his "Project" on a view of human nature as deficient. As he stressed to Buckingham's son in a 1649 letter prefacing the "Project," "All men are subject to Infirmities," but if a ruler followed "good Laws, the People will love him, and Stick to him, let him be never so much subject to personall infirmities."<sup>6</sup> His "Project" offered detailed processes for judging rulers who failed to follow the law. Such processes must have appeared all too topical, given that Gerbier wrote to the 2d Duke of Buckingham shortly after the execution of Charles I of England. But rather than merely responding to contemporary European political events, Gerbier attempted to sketch an enduring polity in the "Project" and the "Laws."

The first extant manuscript in which Gerbier sketched his new state is bound within a quarto volume in the collection that Richard Rawlinson (1690–1755) donated to the University of Oxford.<sup>7</sup> Following the "Project,"

<sup>5</sup> J. C. Davis, "Utopianism," in *The Cambridge History of Political Thought, 1450–1700*, ed. J. H. Burns with Mark Goldie (Cambridge, 1991), 329–44 (quotation, 332). In his treatment of utopianism, Davis includes rules and constitutions for American colonies such as Virginia, Carolina, and Pennsylvania. *Ibid.*, 340–41. See also Davis, *Utopia and the Ideal Society: A Study of English Utopian Writing, 1516–1700* (Cambridge, 1981).

<sup>6</sup> Gerbier to George Villiers, 2d Duke of Buckingham, Feb. 19, 1649, MS Rawlinson C. 254, [60r–62r], (quotations, [62r]). A full transcript of this document appears on 163–64. In these and other quotations, some uses of *u* and *i* have been modernized as *v* and *j*.

<sup>7</sup> The text is labeled on the exterior "Bought at Sr. Ch. Cotterels Auction 15 Jan. 1710-0-2-8." See MS Rawlinson C. 254. In 1641, when Gerbier was appointed Master of Ceremonies, Charles Cotterell was appointed his assistant. See "Letters Patent ordaining Charles Cotterell to assist Sir Balthazar Gerbier in the receipt and entertainment of ambassadors and strangers coming into the realm," July 30, 1641, State Papers, 16/482, 200, National Archives of the U.K. (NA), Kew. Both Gerbier and the father of Cotterell had been clients of the powerful and controversial royal favorite the 1st Duke of Buckingham. In the Interregnum, however, their political allegiances diverged. After the execution of Charles I, Cotterell accompanied the 2d Duke of Buckingham to the Continent and continued to serve him there as his agent. He also replaced Gerbier as Master of Ceremonies. See Gerbier, *A Manifestation by Sr. Balthazar Gerbier, Kt.* (London, 1651), 15–16; Paul Seaward, "Clarendon, Tacitism, and the Civil Wars of Europe," in *The Uses of History in Early Modern England*, ed. Paulina Kewes (San Marino, Calif., 2006), 285–306. Cotterell's son, Sir Charles Lodowick Cotterell, succeeded him in the position of Master of Ceremonies until his death in 1710. See S. L. Lee, "Cotterell, Sir Charles (1615–1687?)," in Leslie Stephen, ed., *Dictionary of National Biography* (London, 1887), 12: 290–91; Matthew Jenkinson, *Culture and Politics at the Court of Charles II*,

Gerbier appended an account of the origins of his plan for the new state. The plan had initially been hatched by the 1st Duke of Buckingham when he (later joined by Gerbier) took Prince Charles to Madrid in 1623 to arrange a match between Charles and the Spanish infanta. Buckingham had made a secret contract with the Flemish secretary of the Spaniards, one Hennin, who informed Buckingham about “the entire secret” of a very rich gold mine in the New World, a plan for capturing the Spanish fleet, and another secret that Gerbier would not put in writing. Gerbier asserted that with Hennin’s guidance, Buckingham hoped to conquer Florida, Jamaica, Havana, and Hispaniola to make himself master of the Gulf of Mexico and intercept the shipping of the Spanish king. Gerbier included a copy of the 1628 treaty that Buckingham had contracted with the king of Sweden. According to the terms of the treaty, Buckingham and his heirs would rule as sovereign princes “forever.”<sup>8</sup>

Buckingham’s plan offered Gerbier the opportunity to design laws and policies not for a short-term settlement but for a sovereign state projected far into the future. Gerbier wanted to maintain a stable social order in the “Project” through laws to “be observed immutably forever.” He promoted the long-term conservation of the state by legislating against the causes of internal strife, including duels, lawsuits, and the accumulation of ecclesiastical property. He noted in English in the margins that the latter “order will keepe the Churchmen in fit temper when otherwayes they grow Insolent and unrully.” Liberty of conscience would prevent emigration for religious reasons. Laws regarding noble marriages and the education of noble youth in the royal palace would build familial ties between members of the nobility and royalty, and the order of precedence would be clearly defined from the start (randomly drawn by lot). Gerbier protected against the arbitrary use of royal prerogative by building in a system of checks and balances between the king, his council, and the senate. He attempted to establish stable social orders through highly detailed laws concerning dress, ranks

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1660–1685 (Woodbridge, U.K., 2010), 61. It seems likely that the “Project” passed from its addressee, the Duke of Buckingham, to the Cotterells and was purchased by Richard Rawlinson in 1710 or soon thereafter.

<sup>8</sup> “Copie et translât de l’acort qui auoyt esté fait entre le Roy de Suede et le Duc de Buckingham [Copy and translation of the treaty which was made between the King of Sweden and the Duke of Buckingham],” in Gerbier, “Project,” MS Rawlinson C. 254, [79v–82v] (“entire secret,” [81r], “forever,” [80r]). As Paul R. Sellin points out, the scribe of “The Secrett discovery w[hi]ch Don Hennyn a Spanish Secretary made to the Duke of Buckingham in the yeare 1623 att Madrid,” 1623, MS Clarendon 4, [61r–74v], Bodleian Library, Oxford, rendered Hennin’s name variously as “John Fermyn,” “Fennyn,” and “Hermyn” within the space of a few pages, apparently struggling to read Gerbier’s original. See Sellin, *Dutch Crossing* 23: 110. Sellin failed to find a Spaniard of this description. See Sellin, *Treasure, Treason and the Tower*, 18–20. According to the “Project,” however, the secretary was Flemish.

of nobility, and inheritance. Observation of the biblical Jubilee, in which all lands would revert to their original owners every fifty years, would periodically return the organization of the state to its original settings. Even "in the case of future conquests," he averred, "the same laws generally will be observed . . . so that as much as the State grows and expands, it will never change its nature, and there will always be space for recognizing the virtue of wise and valiant men."<sup>9</sup> There would be no division between the central state and its expanded territories. All laws and institutions would apply in all parts of the state, and commoners throughout would always have the opportunity to join the lower nobility through the Third Order of Knights.

Gerbier believed the state would be funded through the "secrets" the Duke of Buckingham had obtained. Besides the gold mine, these included, as Gerbier later told Oliver Cromwell, a "processe" for producing "dyamonts Rubis and other precious Stones" (which, he protested, were "no Alchemisticall Chimeras nor tender grounded on Mercenary Intentions").<sup>10</sup> Such dreams of riches can help explain the very luxurious material culture Gerbier imagined for his new state.

He was certainly naive to imagine that the New World offered him a blank canvas on which he could sketch such designs. He did not, however, outline a finely detailed portrait of European material culture in the "Project" due to his belief in the power of European culture to override local conditions. Rather, he brought this level of social regulation to the "Project" because he did not believe that civil society could function without it. Good laws were what allowed society to continue despite the infirmities of particular human actors. Nevertheless, Gerbier's potential patrons proved more interested in the short-term, potentially profitable secrets that accompanied Gerbier's "Project" and "Laws" than in Gerbier's constitution itself.

Gerbier sought patrons in England, France, the Netherlands, and Sweden. In 1645, as Paul R. Sellin has pointed out, he turned to his fellow Dutch artist and agent Michel le Blon and asked him for his help promoting an overseas venture to Dutch backers. Le Blon suggested that the Swedish Crown might be interested again, and he forwarded Gerbier's copies of Buckingham's 1628 contract with Gustavus Adolphus to the Swedish chancellor, Axel Oxenstierna.<sup>11</sup> In 1652 Gerbier approached the

<sup>9</sup> Gerbier, "Project," MS Rawlinson C. 254, [72v] ("observed"), [68v] ("order"), [76v-77r] ("in the case").

<sup>10</sup> "A summary relation of Sr Balthazar Gerbiers proceedings since this Parliaments assembly and his finall ends thereby," Mar. 1, 1653, Additional Manuscripts 32093, fol. 307r, British Library, London.

<sup>11</sup> Sellin, *Dutch Crossings* 23: 102-32. Because this contract (in French and Latin versions) differs from that found in MS Clarendon 4, Sellin believes that Michel le Blon's contracts came from a source independent of Gerbier. However, the Latin contract Le Blon sent to Oxenstierna is identical to that appended to the "Project," with the exception of Gerbier's translation of the clause concerning Puritans. Sellin gives

Dutch directly, and he also informed the English Interregnum Committee for Trade and Foreign Affairs of Parliament about Buckingham's 1628 plan for a sovereign state in America. The committee refused to make a bargain with him but assured him that Parliament would deal "worthily" with him if he brought "any advantage to the State, and thinks fitt to keep any thinge secret which he shall discover."<sup>12</sup> When Gerbier finally found an investor in the form of a Zeeland merchant corporation in 1655, his bankers were interested only in short-term profits associated with the reputed gold mine.

Gerbier complained to the London-based Prussian social reformer Samuel Hartlib in 1648 that he could not find any patrons who were interested in transforming the social and political order by founding a new state based on his political constitution. The times called for bolder strokes than merely reforming current European polities. He had seen the recently printed *Experimentall Essay Touching the Reformation of the Lawes of England*. The author of that essay had proposed that the way "to make the best Platforme for a Common-wealth" would be to compare "all the Excellencies and Inconviences" of "All Countries of the world," so that "our Common-wealth . . . might easily be mended, and made a better Common-wealth, than ever was in the world."<sup>13</sup> Gerbier disagreed with such plans for modifying existing polities. As Armand-Jean du Plessis, Cardinal Richelieu, had once said, Gerbier told Hartlib, "it would prove more facile to forme a new World. then to reforme the Old." Gerbier had himself written "some time past a little Treaty for the framing of a new world in florida. . . . All was composed and rulled as a Musike booke." He had planned to protect his new world against arbitrary power by declaw-

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the Latin version of Gerbier's clause as "Cognatum illum nostrum praefectinos [*sic*] tuebimur contra omnes singulasque factiones, quae contra ipsum, aut interesse ipsius apud Anglos fabricari poterunt, tam quod insulam . . . . . ab Hispanis acquisivit; quam quod factioni Catharisticae se ipsum neuitquam interposuit." RS, *Anglica* 531, Förhandlingar 1559–1632, in Sellin, *Treasure, Treason and the Tower*, 265–66 (quotation, 266). Sellin translates the passage as follows: "As commander in chief, we shall support this our cousin against all and sundry factions which were able to be formed against him, or to oppose him among the English, as much because he obtained the island . . . . . from the Spanish as because he did not stand up against the Puritan faction." Ibid, 12. Gerbier renders this passage in French as "Nous defenderons Nostre susdit Cousin contre tout et chacu'ne faction Angloise ou Puritaine qui le pouroyt endomager, pource qu'il aura aquis cette Isle sur les Espagnols." Notably, "Puritan" was crossed out. See Gerbier, "Project," MS Rawlinson C. 254, [80v]. In MS Clarendon 4, [69v], this is rendered as "We will defend our said Cousin aginst all Puritans which from the Barbadoes or other places could prejudiciate him when he shall have conquered these Territoryes from the King of Spaine." Karen Ordahl Kupperman discusses MS Clarendon 4 in *Providence Island, 1630–1641: The Other Puritan Colony* (Cambridge, 1993), 94.

<sup>12</sup> May 28, 1652, State Papers, 25/131, 5, NA.

<sup>13</sup> An Impartiall Well-willer to the Peace and Well-beeing of All, *An Experimentall Essay Touching the Reformation of the Lawes of England* (London, 1648), 6.



ing the king. "The king was to be a goodly glorious brave shinning Lyon without Nailles and without Teeth; the knights of his order. to have for their motto *So lett your light shine before men.*" "Butt," he continued, commiserating with Hartlib's search for patronage for his own social policies, "I could finde no undertakers, most men beeing sett on the old track. to runne and rubb on in the usuall boulling greene." Hartlib could hear more about Gerbier's proposed state "att the Prince Elector Palatin [Prince Rupert]."<sup>14</sup>

Notably, Gerbier did not describe Florida to Hartlib as lying within the New World; he framed his state as a "new world" lying within Florida. This inversion emphasizes the comprehensiveness, novelty, and universality of his creation. In the "Project" Gerbier proposed not a reform of a preexisting colony but an entirely new sovereign state, a "new world" that might equally be placed outside the New World. America seemed to Gerbier to be the blank sheet on which he could compose a new political score, one that might also be performed in other settings.

Gerbier did not believe that the grandeur of his plan detracted from its viability in the eyes of his potential patrons. He seemed to think that stressing the ambition of the project, which outdid that of previous adventurers' schemes, would prove an effective strategy in wooing Cromwell as a patron. After he presented "severall cifered papers" to the state, he boasted to Cromwell in 1653 that "the Secrets" contained in them far surpassed the plans of such previous adventurers as Sir Walter Raleigh, the Earl of Warwick, and Sir Will Waller. Gerbier also claimed that Buckingham was bent on this "dessigne" after his terrible naval defeat off the coast of France as Lord High Admiral.<sup>15</sup> Buckingham had returned to England from La Rochelle to prepare a new campaign but was assassinated in August before he could set sail with his fleet. The deciphered version of these papers, now housed at the Bodleian Library as MS Clarendon 4, is endorsed as "Prisented & the design Attempted & in some measure attained by Cromwell," referring to Cromwell's Western Design, which included a plan for taking over the Spanish fleet.<sup>16</sup> These papers contained a copy of the

<sup>14</sup> Gerbier to Hartlib, Oct. 24, 1648, in *Hartlib Papers*, 10/2/19A–B ("it would prove," "Prince Elector Palatin," 10/2/19A, "I could finde," 10/2/19A–B). Gerbier also quoted this saying of Richelieu's, in slightly different words, in the publication on his academy. See Gerbier, *Interpreter of the Academie for Forrain Languages, and All Noble Sciences, and Exercises* (London, 1648), 85.

<sup>15</sup> "A summary relation of Sr Balthazar Gerbiers proceedings since this Parliaments assembly and his finall ends thereby," Mar. 1, 1653, Additional Manuscripts 32093, fols. 306v–307r ("severall cifered papers," fol. 306v, "dessigne," fol. 307r).

<sup>16</sup> "Secrett discovery," 1623, MS Clarendon 4, (quotation, [74v]). MS Clarendon 4 was endorsed "Hispaniola[,] St. Domingo[,] Jamaica &c. Don Hennings Discovery to the Duke of Buckingham 1623. Since enciphered & attempted by Cromwell" (quotation, [61r]). "A Copie of the originall designe upon which Cromwell sett out the Fleet for the taking the Island of Hispaniola" in the form of a letter from "JB" to Capt. John Plye, Additional Manuscripts 11410, 61–80, esp. 61–74. Historians have debated whether

1628 treaty between Gustavus Adolphus and Buckingham; a map of gold mines throughout Hispaniola, Jamaica, and Florida; and a method for taking over the Spanish fleet. They also included a technique for protecting miners from the poisonous fumes involved in the Spanish mining practice of mercury amalgamation as well as a plan for seizing indigo cargoes.

It is easy to dismiss the significance of imaginative, ambitious, and seemingly far-fetched state-building projects, particularly when they go unfulfilled. Though early American frames or constitutions of government have long received attention as revered bedrocks of the state, the role projects played in imagining state institutions is only beginning to receive new and revised historiographical attention.<sup>17</sup> Joan Thirsk once distinguished between an early, “constructive” stage of projects in England, when practicable and profitable projects were proposed, and a “scandalous” phase that flourished in the late reign of Queen Elizabeth and under James I.<sup>18</sup> According to such a timeline, constructive projects only returned through the activity of pious Interregnum social reformers, such as those studied by Charles Webster.<sup>19</sup> Linda Levy Peck has argued more recently that the scandal so often associated with early Stuart projectors such as Gerbier has “obscured the long-term importance of these projects for trade, industry, profit-seeking and changing views of the economy.”<sup>20</sup> That is, the highly ambitious and imaginative period of Stuart projecting offered an important vehicle for change in political and economic thought that continued through the Interregnum.

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Oliver Cromwell’s Western Design was an anachronistic throwback to Elizabethan anti-Spanish policy when Cromwell should instead have been considering the new French threat. See Karen Ordahl Kupperman, “Errand to the Indies: Puritan Colonization from Providence Island through the Western Design,” *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 45, no. 1 (January 1988): 70–99. Cromwell was also aware, however, of Buckingham’s plan, which Gerbier presented as still more ambitious than those of the Elizabethans.

<sup>17</sup> Benjamin F. Wright Jr., “The Early History of Written Constitutions in America,” in *Essays in History and Political Theory in Honor of Charles Howard McIlwain*, [ed. Carl Wittke] (Cambridge, Mass., 1936), 344–71; Charles Howard McIlwain, *Constitutionalism: Ancient and Modern* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1947). Early American history has been at the forefront of new historiographical perspectives on projects. See Joyce E. Chaplin, *Subject Matter: Technology, the Body, and Science on the Anglo-American Frontier, 1500–1676* (Cambridge, Mass., 2001); Neil Kamil, *Fortress of the Soul: Violence, Metaphysics, and Material Life in the Huguenots’ New World, 1517–1751* (Baltimore, 2005); Walter W. Woodward, *Prospero’s America: John Winthrop, Jr., Alchemy, and the Creation of New England Culture, 1606–1676* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2010).

<sup>18</sup> Joan Thirsk, *Economic Policy and Projects: The Development of a Consumer Society in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 1978), 24–105.

<sup>19</sup> Charles Webster, *The Great Instauration: Science, Medicine and Reform, 1626–1660* (New York, 1976).

<sup>20</sup> Linda Levy Peck, *Consuming Splendor: Society and Culture in Seventeenth-Century England* (Cambridge, 2005), 76 (quotation); Koji Yamamoto, “Piety, Profit and Public Service in the Financial Revolution,” *English Historical Review* 126, no. 521 (August 2011): 806–34.

Like projects and projectors more generally, Gerbier has recently enjoyed renewed scholarly attention. In the past, the sheer multiplicity of Gerbier's activities has made his career difficult to assess.<sup>21</sup> Hugh Ross Williamson described him as having an "enquiring, if superficial, mind" and "multifarious, if short-lived, enthusiasms," which Jeremy Wood has characterized more recently as "preposterous schemes."<sup>22</sup> In contrast, Marika Koblusek and Jason Peacey have argued for the seriousness, agency, and, at times, success of Gerbier's projects. Peacey has emphasized how Gerbier's commitment to social reform allowed him to become an associate of important Interregnum figures such as Hartlib. Gerbier's projects were far from "short-lived." During two decades in several countries, he promoted proposals for a public registry for interest rates, a joint-stock foundation for business loans, and a national bank.<sup>23</sup> By integrating such institutional contrivances into his project for a new state, Gerbier imagined establishing them on a still more permanent footing.

Gerbier's 1654 folio, containing the "Laws," best illustrates how his constitution for a new state related to his lifelong career as a political agent and to the range of his other activities. While the "Project" is a simple quarto, the "Laws" is but one section in a lavishly calligraphic folio volume. The folio as a whole has two title pages. The first, "A Mirror of Virtue and

<sup>21</sup> M. G. de Boer, "Balthazar Gerbier," *Oud Holland* 21, no. 1 (1903): 129–60; Edward Chaney, "Notes towards a Biography of Sir Balthazar Gerbier," in *The Evolution of the Grand Tour: Anglo-Italian Cultural Relations since the Renaissance* (London, 1998), 215–25; Alexander Samson, ed., *The Spanish Match: Prince Charles's Journey to Madrid, 1623* (Burlington, Vt., 2006). On Gerbier's brief return to prominence in England at the Restoration, see Blair Hoxby, "The Government of Trade: Commerce, Politics, and the Courtly Art of the Restoration," *English Literary History* 66, no. 3 (Fall 1999): 591–627.

<sup>22</sup> Hugh Ross Williamson, *Four Stuart Portraits* (London, 1949), 26 ("enquiring"); Jeremy Wood, "Gerbier, Sir Balthazar (1592–1663/1667)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com> ("preposterous").

<sup>23</sup> See Marika Koblusek, "Cultural and Political Brokerage in Seventeenth-Century England: The Case of Balthazar Gerbier," in *Dutch and Flemish Artists in Britain 1550–1800*, ed. Juliette Roding et al. (Leiden, 2003), 73–82; Jason Peacey, "Print, Publicity, and Popularity: The Projecting of Sir Balthazar Gerbier, 1642–1662," *Journal of British Studies* 51, no. 2 (April 2012): 284–307. Charles Webster had included Gerbier among the associates of Hartlib without noting his previous Stuart career. Webster, *Great Instauration*, 219. For Gerbier's long-term projects, see "Proposals by Sir Belthasar Gerbier for the erection of 'mounts' or banks," 1641, State Papers, 16/478, 196, NA; Gerbier, *A new-years result*. . . (London, 1652); Gerbier, *A Manifestation*, 18; "Summary of papers presented to Council by Sir Balt. Gerbier, April 10, 1661, relating to his propositions for the establishment of banks of loan, cleansing and beautifying London, etc.," April 1661, State Papers, 29/40, 188, NA; "Brief description by Sir B. Gerbier D'Ouvilly, of a Bank of Exchange, as very beneficial to sovereign and people," August 1661, State Papers, 29/40, 189, NA. On the agreements Gerbier contracted with several banks in Holland, see Boer, *Oud Holland* 21: 144. In France, see Gerbier, *Avant-coureur des monts de piété* (Paris, 1643).

a Secret of Sciences. . . .” is followed by drawings on biblical subjects by Gerbier (Figure II). The second section is entitled “Sampler, Concerning the Scribal Art, and a Secret Language and Cipher, Very Useful for Princes, on Drawing, Geometry, Military Architecture, Perspective, Cosmography, Geography, Miniature, Painting, Architecture, and Experimental Natural Philosophy, in Examples of Secrets, Very Rare and Useful.” There are also some minor differences of content between the “Project” and the “Laws.” The greatest of these lies in the concluding section of the “Project” concerning crime and punishment, which, from the outlawing of duels onward, is entirely missing from the 1654 “Laws.” Gerbier replaced it there with the single political aphorism “*Salus patriae suprema lex esto* (Let the good of the fatherland be the supreme law).”<sup>24</sup>

The most obvious difference between the 1649 and 1654 manuscripts lies in their form. In contrast to the “Project,” Gerbier’s 1654 folio was a display of penmanship, illustrating already important links between penmanship and the management of commercial and geographic information.<sup>25</sup> The devices Gerbier formulated for his proposed three knightly orders each received their own full-page calligraphic treatment, emphasizing the stately trappings of the new social orders Gerbier imagined. Implicitly, such impressive folio pages also suggested how Gerbier’s own skills as an architect, painter, costume designer, and calligrapher might contribute to the design of a new state. Even the more practical secrets included in the volume, such as a design for a bomb, appeared in the same luxurious calligraphy (Figure III).

The 1654 volume represents a collection of the many skills Gerbier had gained and practiced in his international career as a political agent. In a retrospective defense of his career published in 1646, Gerbier recalled that the 1st Duke of Buckingham first took notice of him because he had “severall languages, good hand in writing, skill in sciences, as Mathematicks, Architecture, drawing, painting, contryving of scenes, Masques, shows and entertainments for great Princes, besides many secrets which I had gathered from divers rare persons,” etc. Such secrets included the “making of Engins usfull in warre,” Gerbier noted, “as I made those which might blew up the Dike that stopt the passage to the Towne of Rochell.”<sup>26</sup> Gerbier did in fact “contrive some Mines, Massoned up in Ships, which were to have blown up the Dycke at *Rochell*” during the battle led by Buckingham at the Île de Ré in France.<sup>27</sup> However, King James I objected to the use of the

<sup>24</sup> Gerbier, “*Secretum virtutis et scientiarum speculum*,” 1654, MS 2505, [38] (quotation), Wellcome Library.

<sup>25</sup> Miles Ogborn, “Geographia’s Pen: Writing, Geography and the Arts of Commerce, 1660–1760,” *Journal of Historical Geography* 30, no. 2 (April 2004): 294–315.

<sup>26</sup> Baltazar Gerbier, *To All Men That Loves Truth* ([Paris, 1646]), 3 (quotations).

<sup>27</sup> Gerbier, *A Manifestation*, 8 (quotation).



FIGURE II

Title page of MS 2505, 1654, Wellcome Library, London.

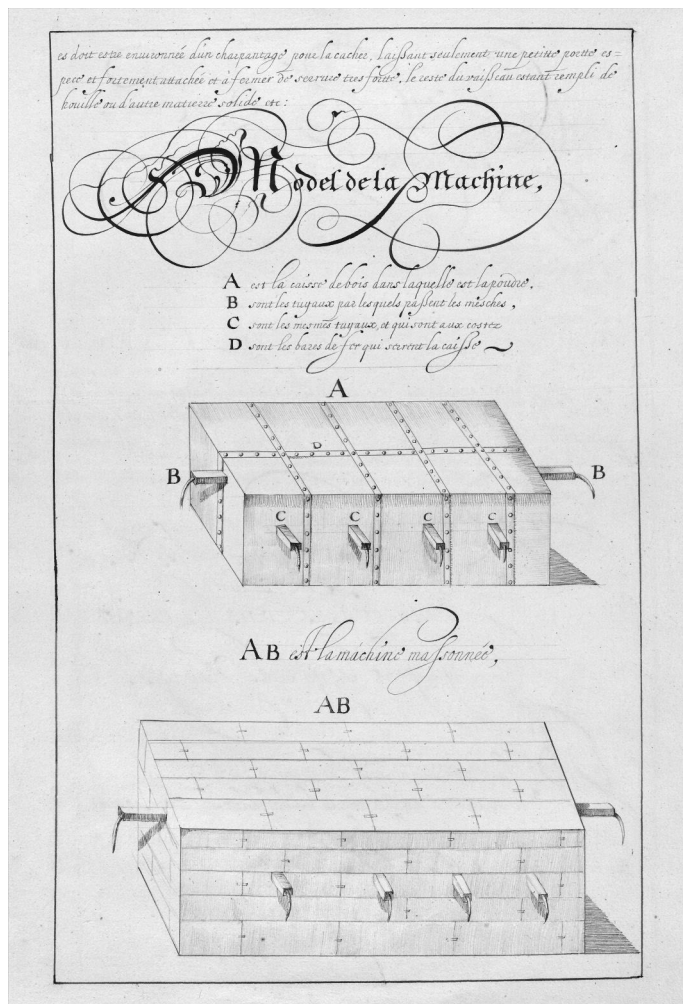


FIGURE III

“Model of the Machine” [Gerbier’s bomb], MS 2505, 1654, p. [24]/fol. 16r, Wellcome Library, London.

mines.<sup>28</sup> The mines put in place “on the project of a Dutchman” were at last removed from Buckingham’s ships in 1634.<sup>29</sup>

The bomb illustrated in the 1654 compendium was one of many secrets Gerbier collected during the course of his career. These secrets included

<sup>28</sup> Secretary [Edward] Conway to Secretary [John] Coke, Aug. 17, 1627, State Papers, 16/74, 50, NA.

<sup>29</sup> Mar. 17, 1634, State Papers Domestic, Charles I, Letters and Papers, 16/262, 165, NA; Mar. 29, 1634, State Papers Domestic, Charles I, Letters and Papers, 16/264, 2, NA.

several that could aid a long-distance voyage, military campaign, or remote new state, such as "How to destroy the ports, canals, and fleets of Enemies," "Remedy to prevent worms in the wood of ships during long voyages," and other secrets of "alchemy" and "experimental natural philosophy," including a method for fixing and amalgamating mercury (one of Secretary Hennin's "secrets"). Gerbier also included among these secrets the political and economic institutions he proposed throughout his career. These institutional contrivances appear again as part of his constitution for a new state, the "Laws," which falls between "The advantages a State and a People may have from registering lands and houses" and "Secrets of Alchemy."<sup>30</sup>

In other words, Gerbier's proposed new state related to two different types of secrets. On the one hand, throughout his career as a political agent, he collected profitable and practical knowledge such as the location of gold mines or the means of blowing up enemy fleets. These secrets were to fund his new state, and they most appealed to potential patrons, such as the eventual backers of his Guyanese colony. On the other hand, Gerbier also continually proposed new political and economic institutions, which he argued were highly practical and advantageous to polities. He included these projects within the constitution of his new state.

With the help of Hartlib, Gerbier was able to reproduce his constitutional thought in another form, as part of the curriculum for a new school, called the "Academie for Forrain Languages, and All Noble Sciences, and Exercises," in London in 1648–49.<sup>31</sup> In a 1648 account of his "Academie," Gerbier stressed how his curriculum would collect the knowledge normally gained in travel and not available in traditional curricula, including modern languages and "the constitution and Gouvernement of the most famous Empires and Estates of the World, besides the true Experimentall Naturall Philosophie."<sup>32</sup> With the folding of his London academy, Gerbier promoted his plans among the French and the Dutch. He suggested founding a free, public place of education in his hometown of Middelburg in Zeeland, and it was while promoting his academy in Middelburg that he composed his 1654 folio. The folio served double duty as a promotion for his new state and for his new curriculum. In 1658 he also reproduced his public London academy lectures on oratory and fortifications for the prince

<sup>30</sup> Gerbier, "Secretum virtutis et scientiarum speculum," 1654, MS 2505, Wellcome Library. On the relationship between the genres of political secrets and secrets of art and nature, see Vera Keller, "Mining Tacitus: Secrets of Empire, Nature, and Art in the Reason of State," *British Journal for the History of Science* 45, no. 2 (June 2012): 189–212. On secrets of art and nature, see William Eamon, *Science and the Secrets of Nature: Books of Secrets in Medieval and Early Modern Culture* (Princeton, N.J., 1994).

<sup>31</sup> On Gerbier, Hartlib, and the academy, see Peacey, *Journal of British Studies* 51: 284–307.

<sup>32</sup> Gerbier, *Interpreter*, 3.

of Orange, the eight-year-old future William III of England.<sup>33</sup> Gerbier collected a wide range of knowledge during the course of his career, from particular, utilitarian secrets to more fundamental institutions for social reform. He drew on this full array in both his reformed curriculum and his New World projects.

Projects for directing future action in the Americas range from short-term plans for profitable adventures to the reform of existing settlements and the founding of new ones. The longer the plan was projected into the future, the greater was the care taken to establish secure foundations for the state through policies and institutions. Buckingham's unusual (indeed, treasonous) plan for establishing an American hereditary monarchy offered Gerbier the opportunity to compose a project at the far end of this spectrum. As a constitution for a sovereign state, the "Project" resembles in some respects the practice of composing model states in the form of utopias. Yet the "Project" was not a piece of speculative literature that Gerbier never thought could be put into action. As he told the 2d Duke of Buckingham, it was "what will and must bee."<sup>34</sup>

<sup>33</sup> On Gerbier and the French cardinal Jules Mazarin, see Boer, *Oud Holland* 21: 144. On Mazarin's interest in the Guyana Company proposed in 1651–53, see Philip P. Boucher, *Les Nouvelles Frances: France in America, 1500–1815, An Imperial Perspective* (Providence, R.I., 1989), 32–33. For Gerbier's promotion of his academy in the Netherlands, see Boer, *Oud Holland* 21: 156. For the prince of Orange's copy of Gerbier's lectures, see Marika Keblusek, *Boeken in de hofstad: Haagse boekcultuur in de Gouden Eeuw* (Hilversum, Netherlands, 1997), 184.

<sup>34</sup> Gerbier to Buckingham, Feb. 19, 1649, MS Rawlinson C. 254, [60v].



*MS Rawlinson C. 254, Bodleian Library*<sup>35</sup>

[60r]

To the Illustrious Prince

George

Duke of Buckingham

May it please your Grace

The memorie of the matchlesse Duke your Father, beeing deare to me, and consequently all what may tend to the satisfaction of your graete mind, which I doe beleewe to bee of the same temper with that of your father, aÿming at what ever was noble, generous, Just and for the advancement of any good thing, as he was a true Mecenas of men Learned, vertuous, Industrious, actif, and that had well composed mind's,

I have thought fit to present to your grace a description which I have heretofore made, beeing a ground worke for the establishing of a new State in America; for that the generall distemper in these [60v] parts of the world may Justly moove the mind's of men of honnour and who love order, Justice, and what ever is good to fix on some other habitation, which qualities as I doe conceave to bee yours, so they are so many arguments to me that this my dedication is both Seasonnable and well adrest. The Treatie is in the french tongue wherein I writ it; and it beeing familiar to your grace I have thought fit to leave the same as it was first drawne:

Its the description of a gouvernement, which is so settled would (as may bee conceived) proove satisfactory both to Souveraine and People, who both claime the right of the Law of Nature, *preservation of each others due*, and truly it's most just, and what will and must bee when all is done; for as Souverains expect Obedience from the People as their due, so the Subjects expect Justice from their Prince, beeing appointed for Judges to the People, *Let God give us a King said the Hebrews to the Prophet to doe us Justice as to other Nations*; [61r] And as the Love of Children to their Parents, and of wives to their husbands increaseth when those Parents and husbands approve them selves wise, so doth Obedience, when Subjects find that they are gouverned by a Prince that Loveth Justice; Therefore King Solomon craved wisdom, for to Judge the People. And Artaxerxes the King was commended for choosing the man that spake most wisely, for

<sup>35</sup> In this transcript of Gerbier to Buckingham, Feb. 19, 1649, and translation of "Project pour l'establissement d'un nouvel estat en Amerique," both in MS Rawlinson C. 254, [60r-82v], Bodleian Library, Oxford, U.K., the spelling and sentence construction have been retained as in the original, except that usages of *u* and *i* have been modernized to *v* and *j* to promote ease of reading, with all clarifications inserted in brackets. Extra space between paragraphs has been eliminated. Marginal comments have been footnoted. Punctuation and paragraph formatting have been partially modernized. Words in full capitals have been rendered with initial capitals only. Most words that were crossed out have been silently omitted. A transcript of the original French of Gerbier's "Project" is available as a PDF document: <http://oieahc.wm.edu/wmq/Jan13/Keller.pdf>.

his cheef Councillour: It was hee that said truth to be stronger than wine, then woomen, and the King Artaxerxes put that man at his side, and when he beseeched the King to build up Jerusalem, and the Altars of the Living God, then did hee kisse that man; for that his scope was truth, and the manifestation of it's power. and as it was the presence of the Arke of God that did blesse the house of Obededom, the good Councillor is a blessing in the King's Pallace, as Joseph proved that of all Egipt during his beeing neere King Pharao, for on such Sentinells or watch men the People rest's in Safety when to the contrary they are persuaded that they [61v] are exposed to ravenous Beasts, as Sheepe that are abandonned to selfe Interested Leaders: Thence it comes at last that the People doe play Banckerout to all respect and Obedience; and then Magistrates and Souverains find them selves as riders, whose horses having taken the bit between their teeth and become furious are overturned and get most dangerous falls

I doe persuade my selfe that your grace will thincke thus much fit for me to say, having well neere thirty yeares frequented divers nations, and had the honnour to approach the persons of great Princes, and who having lost no time in the observation of things of this world am bound to be a faithfull relatour of them, especially to those to whom the motions of a good heart cannot be denied; And therefore it was that I said the other day these words. *That any great and glorious undertaking having for its Scope the advancement of Gods' Kingdom cannot but prosper*, And that when a well [62r] composed Soule resolves a Setlement it must bee by settling Justice.

All men are subject to Infirmities, and the greatist of the world are not free from it; But let a Prince bee a Lover of Justice, of order, and Consequently of good Laws, the People will love him, and Stick to him, let him be never so much subject to personall infirmities: I doe persuade my Selfe that your grace will approve it, and find satisfaction in this dessigne. It is a sommary description to which much can bee Added. I have Joyned to the same the Copie of the Contract which past betweene the great King of Suede and yr great Father. let it passe for a marke of the affection and Zeale of him that is and shall ever bee

Your graces  
Most humble most  
Obedient and zealous servant.

B. Gerbier  
From my study at Paris 19 A feb: 1649.

[63r]

*Project for Establishing a New State in America*

First of all, one would establish a leader with the status of a sovereign king, perpetual and hereditary through masculine succession according to Salic law.

All the officers of the Justiciary, Militia, Police, and finances of the State will be established by the king, and dependent upon him alone. They will all swear fidelity to him and they will all be selected from among the Knights.

The local judges will have jurisdiction in the first instance over the goods of the King, the Princes, the Knights, and others, but nobody will have rights over life and honor other than the King and the Senate or the Sovereign Chambers.

Only the King will be able to grant clemency and absolution for capital crimes; he alone can coin [63v] money and establish weights and measures.

Should the King fail to carry out his duty (which is to do justice) he cannot be judged except by the Senate along with fifty deputies from each body of Knights and one hundred from the commoners, who all together will represent the three Estates of the kingdom.

And in the case that he should be judged a tyrant (Heaven forbid), his life shall never be at risk, but he will be put in a place of security, and he will be sequestered the rest of his life, guarded there and kept in a manner befitting his quality, and always retaining the title of King. His eldest son will be put in his place, and in the case of a lack of male offspring, the closest relative, who will rule according to the aforesaid conditions which are the foundations of the State.

However, he who shall be put in place of the King, will only take the title of Regent during the [64r] life of the King, who will be able to recuse up to one third of his judges, and who will have six months for verifying his right, and for showing his legitimate excuses.

The King will never be able to be sequestered except for the following reasons, namely:

1. That he is duly convicted of having wished to undermine the fundamental laws of the State.
2. For changing the religion, and forcing consciences.
3. For unjustly condemning the Princes to death.
4. For burdening his subjects with a tax out of his own initiative and without the advice of the Senate.

Having been found truly charged with all the aforesaid crimes or two thirds of them, he will be judged to be a tyrant and Not Otherwise.<sup>36</sup>

When the King dies, should he leave a young minor as his successor, the regency of the State and the education of the child will be given equally to the Senate and [64v] to the Queen Mother of the young King; if there is no Queen Mother, the charge will be given to the first Prince of the Blood and to the Senate.

<sup>36</sup> Gerbier rendered "Not Otherwise" in full capitals.

One will establish a Grand Council composed of a hundred people; that is, of the King, of the Princes, and the Knights of the first and second rank, who will be discussed hereafter.

Alliances, wars, and peace, laws, taxes and public subsidies cannot be established except through the recommendation of the said Council.

The said Grand Council will be called the Senate and its members will be called Senators, of whom the King will be the leader.

All the edicts and ordinances which will be made there will be made in the name of the King.

Nobody will be elected Senator who does not have the age of thirty-five years, and he will reside continually [65r] beside the person of the King. The Senators will stay three years at court, and then they will return to their houses in order to stay there another three years, after which they will return [to court] to exercise their duties for another three years, and so forth in the future.

All the edicts and ordinances of the King will be examined in the said Grand Council, and none will pass into law which have not been verified with this phrase: "Verified In The Senate," to which at least two thirds of the Senators must always agree. And the Senate will never assemble without this quorum present for making a decree legally binding.

Besides the Senate, there will be a private Council composed of twenty people, of the King, eight Princes, three Knights of the first order, and three Senators who are Knights of the second order, the Chancellor, the grand Treasurer, and a Secretary of State, who will be taken from the body of the Senate.

[65v]

The King will preside there, and in his absence, his children or the first Prince.

One will discuss there all the affairs and secret enterprises which one will resolve to propose to the Senate.

The letters of Princes, Ambassadors, governors, and Captains will be opened there. Responses [will be there] recommended to the Secretaries of States, gifts examined, the rolls signed, the edicts and the ordinances first drafted, then proposed to the Senate, who having thereafter verified them, they will then pass into the form of law and not otherwise.

All those who sit in this Council, regardless of who they are, may propose what they judge is appropriate as well as say their opinion concerning all matters.

Only the King can call the Estates together and he will preside there.

The Senate can do so only in one case, that is, when the King has become a tyrant, and the Estates must judge him as above, and not in any other case.

[66r]

The entire land will be divided into 18 Principalities, each Principality in 4 Duchies, each Duchy in four Marquisates, each Marquisate in four Counties, and so forth.

The King will reserve six Principalities for himself and for his family.

The other twelve will be distributed to the twelve personages who are the principle actors in the enterprise.

The [leaders of the] said Principalities will be called Princes, and their wives Princesses forever.

They will all be equal in rank and power, and for this reason they will also be called Peers.

The King will call them his Cousins, and they will call each other brothers.

They and their male successors in perpetuity will compose the grand Council along with the King, those who will descend from him, and the forementioned Knights.

They as well as their descendants will be free and [66v] exempt of every public charge of whatever sort, and their lands will also be free. However, they will be obliged to aid the King according to their means, at times of need or of war, whether through men or through money, and if the war is domestic they must come in person.

All the sons of the Princes will carry the same title as the sons of the King, and the daughters will carry the same title as the Princesses; this is to be understood as applying to the living Prince, and not to those who will descend from him, since only the eldest who succeeds to the Principality can transmit the title to his posterity, in order not to increase the number of Princes.

The King and his descendants in perpetuity will marry with the daughters of their family in a nonprohibited degree,<sup>37</sup> or with the daughters of the aforesaid Princes, and the said Princes may also marry with the daughters of the Royal family, so that by this means there [67r] will be a more close union between the one and the other, and they will be mutually obliged to the maintenance of the State and their Houses.

Neither the one nor the other will ever marry otherwise, and they will not take a wife from outside the State, nor anyone who is not of the said quality, unless they are daughters of Knights, in case there is nobody else available, and in this case, they may marry the daughters of Knights of the second Order and not the third.

The said Principalities will be of the nature of Salic lands; that is, the daughters will not inherit at all, but in case of a lack of male heirs of the family the lands will return to the State in order to always have a means of

<sup>37</sup>That is, who are not so closely related as to outlaw marriage.

satisfying Virtue, and the same holds true for the titles of Dukes, Marquis, Counts, Barons, etc.

In the divisions that the Princes will make of their Lands none of their sons will have a right in the Principality other than Eldest for himself, and the other for the King.

The younger sons will partake in particular lands and domains, and their daughters will have a dowry of money [67v] or movables, according to their conditions, which will be given to them either by their father or by their elder brother.

The princes will take a tenth of the fruits of their lands and will send half to the King; this right will be called the Royal right.

Mines of gold and silver will belong to the King, and other mines will belong to the Princes in whose lands they are found.

All the eldest sons of the princes will be raised from the age of ten years at the court with the children of the King, until the age of twenty years, in order to be instructed there in every sort of honest discipline.

In all the cities of the State the King and the Princes and those of their blood will be able to build there Palaces and Halls which will be free of impositions, and the others will not be, but they will pay the regular charges, rents, or taxes.

[68r]

In the Royal Tribes the same rule will be observed.

The women among the Knights of the last two ranks, and the common people will never succeed to inheritances as long as there are brothers. Without the latter, when the women become heirs, they will be obliged to marry the closest relatives who bear their name.

Otherwise they will be provided for in movable goods, and they will be given dowries according to the pleasure of their parents.

Any sold or alienated goods will return according to the right of *retrait lignager* (lineal retrieval) to its original possessor after fifty years have expired as specified in the Law of God.

All the nobles can carry on wholesale trade, but not retail trade, as did the Grand Duke of Tuscany. There will be a public registry for genealogies, and each family will keep their own, where the birth of children, marriages, and deaths will be registered.

[68v]

There will also be a public Registry in the Department of Lands and Households detailing their value and state, according to Tribes or Principalities, the number of inhabitants of cities and meadows, and for this reason a census will be taken every three years.

There will also be another in which interest rates will be registered.

Usury will always be outlawed among the subjects, but permitted

between Strangers and Subjects, and in maritime business, that is, in great adventures and insurance.

There will only be a single religion, and no man of the Church can through that position possess lands or inheritances, but they will be supported through pensions by the Lords of the Lands, who will be obliged to do so according to his position:<sup>38</sup>

It will be forever forbidden to give or to will any property to the Church, and [69r] it will be forbidden for the Church to possess any as the source of all the corruption that has been introduced into it in the past thousand or twelve hundred years.

The King will establish the following three orders of Knighthood for the honor of the State and recompense for the virtue of his Subjects.

The first order will be instituted under the title of the Star.

The King will be its head, and the Princes its Knights, and nobody can ever enter into it who is not of their family; but those who are will be able to enter and not otherwise.

The chain of the order will be a chain of gold, of which the links will be hands joined together in the position of faith.

The insignia of the order will be a blazing star, and the device: *Thus will your justice shine before men.*

[69v]

The second will be instituted under the title of Columns for the nobles who are inferior to the forementioned.

Anyone can enter this one as long they are noble and not otherwise.

The chain of the order will be a chain of gold of which the links will be enflamed hearts linked together with a single link. The insignia will be a column with four faces, or squared with this inscription: *Justice, Police, Religion, Counsel*, and the device *This is our Support.*

The third will be instituted under the title of the Shield, and anyone at all can enter it no matter what condition he was before whatsoever.

And whoever enters it will become noble as well as his offspring, and he can afterwards rise up to the second rank.

[70r]

Nobody will be received into it who has not first performed some signal act of virtue, whether through arms or some great service rendered to the State.

The chain of the rank will be a chain of gold, of which the links will be books and swords linked by buckles.

The insignia will be a plain shield, and the device *Honor follows virtue.*

The King will be the head of these last two orders as well as of the first.

<sup>38</sup> Here a marginal comment in English reads, "This order will keepe the Churchmen in fit temper when otherwayes they grow Insolent and unrully."

For the meetings, they will process in order according to the time of their reception into the rank.

In the public assemblies, they will maintain this order: the Knights of the Star will be first, and afterwards the members of the families of the Princes, afterwards the Knights of the Columns and afterwards that of the Shield.

For the rank and the meetings of Princes, one will draw lots right at the founding [of the state], and according as [70v] they fall out, they will be thus established forever for them and their offspring as far as it concerns the rank of their families.

Nobody will be able to be admitted to public duties who was not first a Knight.

Those of the last two orders can attain all the public duties of the states, the militia as well as the justiciary, and the police, however the members of the first order will be preferred as long as they are capable and not otherwise.

All the Princes and Senators will wear a scarlet robe lined in ermine to the Council.

They will ordinarily dress in scarlet, and of silk and wool of any color, but they will never appear in public except with a scarlet soutane, or of crimson silk, which, as the special sign for distinguishing them will be protected on [71r] pain of corporal punishment.

All the officers of the Justiciary and the Police will wear a black robe to the Palace and for their sign a soutane of the same color over their clothing.

The officers of Finances will wear a violet robe, and for their sign a soutane of the same color over their clothing.

All the Knights who are not officers will dress in the ordinary fashion, but they will always be required to wear their Order upon them. The Knights and the nobles may wear gold and silver on their clothing, whether braiding and lace, or beading and plate.

The commoners may never wear gold or silver on their clothing, nor use scarlet.

All the nobles whether at times of peace or war will wear ordinarily a sword at their side, and no commoner [may wear one] except at times of war or voyage.

[71v]

All the women and girls will generally coif their hair, except there will be this difference between them that the wives and daughters of the Princes, Senators, Knights, and generally all the nobles will wear garlands of flowers, of feathers, or jewels on their heads, which they will always wear bare.

The common women and girls will be simply coifed without anything around their head, other than a coif of taffeta, crêpe, or toile according to their means.



All the girls generally in order to be distinguished from married women will wear a rose of ribbon on the left side of the head; and they will have the neck and part of the chest open, while the married women will cover it with a crêpe.

No woman or girl no matter who it is will be able to wear brocade, gauze, and toile of gold and silver except for the Princesses or those who will descend from the [72r] family of the Princes. All the wives or daughters of the Princes or descendants of them will wear brocade, cloth of gold, of silver, silk, and other things of this sort as it pleases them, and the commoners will wear silk, wool, cotton, or linen, the wives of the Knights and other nobles will wear the same materials, with this difference only being observed that the nobles will be able to wear gold and silver on their clothing, which the others will not be able to do.

All the noble women and girls generally will be able to wear necklaces, pendant earrings, golden chains, pearls, and other jewelry of metalwork. The common women and girls may only wear bracelets, rings, and belts of gold.

The noble women and girls will wear a long and trailing robe over their body and underskirt.

[72v]

Their gloves will be large and short, four fingers below the elbow.

The commoners, above the body and underskirt, will wear a narrow dress, and narrow gloves, as they do in France.

These sumptuary laws will never be changed, but will be observed immutably forever.

In all the cities of the State there will be a Mayor and two deputy mayors, to whom will be committed the duties of the Police and the naval affairs which fall within their jurisdiction.

They will swear fidelity to the King, and in all the towns and villages, one will also elect ever year three Consuls for directing the police, of whom one will be noble, the second a merchant, and the third a laborer.

The appeals of sentences of the Consuls [73r] will go in first instance to the mayors and deputy mayors, and then to the Sovereign Court of the Police, which will be a chamber of appeals composed of a president and seven counselors, with a clerk, who will judge sovereignly all the matters concerning the Police and the Majesty. This chamber will reside in the main city of the State.

There will likewise be in each city a civil judge assisted by two counselors, and a clerk for deciding all the differences arising between individuals, as well as a criminal judge with two counselors and a clerk.

One will establish in all the villages and towns the same judges and counselors whose appeals will go to the above mentioned, and from the first

to the Sovereign Court of Justice, called the Parliament, which will hear impartially all the said cases, and will be divided into [73v] two chambers, of which one will judge the civil cases, and the other the criminal ones. Each chamber will be composed of a President, six counselors and a clerk, living as well in the capital city.

The Judges of the villages, as well of the Police as of the civil and criminal justice, will judge in the last resort up to 100 francs, and those in the city up to 500, but in the case of death, only the Sovereign Court will have the right to judge.

Everyone will plead his own case personally, and there will never be either a prosecutor or defense lawyers.

On pain of death, nobody will suggest selling offices, but they will be distributed freely according to the merit of persons.

[74r]

There will be in each city a tax collector for receiving the taxes and other revenues belonging to the King and the Princes, who will make sure they are received from the collector or general treasurer of the principality, who, by order of the Prince, will make sure that what is owed the King will be received within his coffers, and placed in the hands of the Grand Treasurer of the Kingdom.

One will establish a chamber of Accounts which will hear all the cases concerning the rights of the Royal Domain, in order to judge disputes impartially. All the appeals of the sentences of the said Collectors will fall to this chamber, which will also furnish the Judges for deciding cases concerning the rights of the King and the Princes with the same powers of other civil and criminal Judges. The said Chamber will be the perpetual safeguard of the public charters concerning [74v] the Royal Domain, and the privileges of the cities.

All the said officers will be paid by the King, and will exercise Justice at no cost, without taking either presents or a salary from the parties, on pain of suspension for the first occasion, and deposition and corporal punishment for the second.

Their clerks will receive only the rights which will be taxed by them according to the general tax which the Senate will make for the expedition of acts and sentences of the Justiciary.

There will be four royal notaries established in each city, and in each town, in order to confirm all the contracts and public instruments.

There will be no officer established with the title of Admiral nor any Constable, but the armies of the land and the sea will be commanded by the general Princes or Knights in the form of a commission, whose members will be [75r] selected according to their merit and capacity.

In every Principality, there will be no other governor than the Prince who will command generally all the Officers under the authority of the King to whom they will swear individually an oath of fealty.

All the inhabitants of whatever condition they are will always be free of all import and custom taxes, and other charges, and personal impositions, except as they are dependent on the guard of the State, and that which depends upon it, and they will pay an annual ten percent to the King and to the Princes; that is to say, the tenth portion of the profit of their lands, and every artisan will be required to give every first day of the year a present of some masterwork, according to his abilities, to the King and to the Prince in whose lands he resides.

All the commoners of whatever condition they [75v] may be, will also owe four corvées to the King, and as many to the Prince, that is to say that they will be obliged to work for each of them four days of the year, from which they can be exempted by paying for each corvée the value of fifty shillings [*sols Tournois*], which applies to the heads of families, and not those who are about to marry nor to women and girls.

For twenty years there will not be established any impositions nor foreign treaties concerning merchandise which is exported or imported from the state for the native merchants or the strangers.

After the said twenty years, one will establish for every right five percent on all the said merchandise either for export or for import, and the tariff, and the tax, which, once being set, will never be raised, [76r] except for very urgent occasions and the necessity of the state, unless the Senate judges it appropriate to raise the said tax.

All new inhabitants will be exempt for three years from any ten percent tax upon their lands.

All men generally will be obliged to marry after the age twenty up to thirty years, and the girls from age 15 to 25, and in case that they or their parents will fail to see to that, the mayor and the deputy mayors of the city will arrange it with the advice of the said parents, and for this purpose they will have a list of all the young men and girls who are in their jurisdiction, which will be delivered to them by the keeper of the book of genealogies.

In the said marriages, one will never constrain anyone to marriage with someone else against their will, [76v] but will marry together as much as possible those who have some reciprocal inclinations, knowing very well that there is nothing worse for the state than forced marriages which ordinarily do not receive the benediction of God.

All the newlyweds will generally be exempt the first year of their marriage of public charges, whether applying to person or property, that is to say, all the dues which we have specified, and in the case of future conquests, the same laws generally will be observed, regarding the division of

the lands, the people, the erection of principalities, as well as that which concerns Religion, Police, and the Justiciary, so that as much as the State grows and expands, it will never change its nature, and there will always [77r] be space for recognizing the virtue of wise and valiant men.

Children (whether male or female) will not be able to get married without the consent of their parents, that is to say, their four nearest relatives.

In short, in order to maintain the peace between the citizens and between those who bear arms, challenges to duel will be prohibited, and he who gives one will be punished corporally, and he who receives one without answering will be presented to the judge, in order to be enrolled among the wise men worthy of being promoted in a career.

But those who provoke a duel, should they be the sons of nobles, they will be degraded from their title to nobility, their houses will be razed and their goods will be confiscated. And should it turn out that the parties [77v] nevertheless duel following a provocation, the two of them will be hanged from the same gibbet.

Nobody shall ever receive capital punishment for theft, regardless of who they are. The thief will be put on one of the public works for several years, and the value of what he stole will be drawn from his work in order to satisfy [the offended party].

Only murderers and those who commit torture similar to murder will be punished with death.

There will be no pardon for those who rape women or girls, unless it is the woman or girl who asks for clemency.

He who has impregnated a virgin will be obliged to marry her, if she is of the same rank as the man, or he will be considered [78r] a thief, and the girl will be recompensed as the judge of the region decides.

All punishments will conform to the offence, to the degree of injury, and to the condition of the persons involved.

No one will ever be held in prison for debt, but the judge will order that the creditor will be indemnified according to the income and the ordinary business of the debtor, so that the debtor may support himself and his family, and yet still satisfy his debts over time. In order to prevent bankrupts from public poverty, and harm to the [two] parties, no creditor who is planning a lawsuit will have any rights if he makes any pretention to being owed a greater sum [78v] than is his due.

The goods and movables of debtors will never be sold by sergeants or other officers of the law, but the court will make an inventory of their goods and movables, and that which is deemed necessary for the use of the debtor will be saved for him, and the remainder he himself will put up for sale in order to make a profit, and from what he receives, the judge will make a distribution to his creditors.

There will be no office of noble wards, but the children will remain under the tutelage and guardianship of their relatives, tutors, and friends, who will render an account to the magistrates of their administration.

Institutions of public resort will be founded, [79r] such as those which are called in Italy, "Mounts of Piety," where the poor will be aided for free, and others at a low price in accordance with the amount of the debts which they take out, which can serve them for the good of commerce and for their subsistence without feeling humiliated.

A special protocol will be established for avoiding the frauds which are ordinarily committed during sales, purchases, transports, endowments, and loans in both public and private affairs.

Every craftsman will wear upon his clothing some sign of his profession.

Mendicants will not be suffered, and the incurables will be sustained in hospitals, and cities will support their poor people.

The day of the Sabbath will be carefully observed, and the great commemorations of [79v] the birth Our Lord Jesus the Savior of the World, of his Circumcision, of his death, Resurrection, and Ascension, as the Anglican church has been accustomed to do for several centuries, to the glory of God, the salvation of Christians, and the edification of all.

Copy and translation of the treaty which was made between the King of  
Sweden and the Duke of Buckingham.

Gustavus Adolphus by the grace of God the king of Sweden of the Goths and the Vandals, the grand Prince of Finland, the Duke of Lithuania and Karelia, and Lord of Ingria, etc. Greetings to all those present and in the future.

We hereby signify as it appears by our sign and seal that the 28th of March [80r] we have accorded the Duke of Buckingham, our dear friend and cousin, and left in his free possession certain gold mines in the Island of . . . and in order to protect more strictly our treaty and so that we may defend it with greater security, we have committed it to the following articles:

We will defend our cousin the said Duke of Buckingham against anyone who should wish to oppose his free possession of the said island, and the gold mines which he shall encounter there, the which having been acquired and occupied by him, we will declare him a sovereign Prince and will continue to do so for all his heirs, granting them this forever, as long as the said Duke of Buckingham renders to us the tenth part of the profit furnished by the gold mine, and for this purpose we will keep close to our said cousin a minister or agent [80v] with two other chosen men, in order to be present to inspect the profit, and to see from month to month what profit the mine of gold will render.

We will never treat for peace with the Emperor nor with the King of Spain who may bring harm or inconvenience to the said Duke concerning this Island and the said gold mine.

We will defend our said cousin against any English or Puritan faction which might endanger him, since he will have acquired this island at the expense of the Spanish.

From the profit which the Island will render, there will be maintained four thousand cavaliers and six warships, each of five hundred tons, with canon and munitions. Done, this 16 month of March, the year 1628 in our city of Stockholm and signed. Gustavus Adolphus. G. Buckingham; and their seals here apposed.

[81r]

Nota

While the Duke of Buckingham was in Madrid, the Secretary Hennin, a Fleming by birth, offered him his loyalty, and contracted with the Duke to come to England as soon as he might withdraw from Spain.

He was supposed to go in person under the leadership of the Duke for the conquest of a certain Island where there was treasure, and particularly a very powerful gold mine.

This secretary Hennin gave the description of it [the gold mine] in return for the contract signed by the two of them and a present of a thousand *pistoles* which he received, and he left the entire secret in writing along with two other secrets.

The first how to become Master of all the gold and [81v] silver which the Spanish fleet bears away annually, and the other . . . which cannot be named without giving it away.

This Hennin was not able to leave Spain until several years later, since he was always spied upon and detained by the Count-Duke of Olivares, to whom he never wished to tell his secret. He was even poisoned by a poison spear, but nevertheless he escaped Spain, passing through France, and while he was staying in Calais (having formed a friendship with Sr. de Glarges, agent of the members of the Estates General) left there a manuscript in his own hand, containing an infinity of passages, in which are not forgotten [82r] milords Bristol, Cottenton, and Sir Endymion Porter.

This Sir Hennin died in Holland before he could reach England.

The places which he recommended to the Duke of Buckingham for planning his designs are Florida, Jamaica, Havana, and Hispaniola, in order to make himself Master of the Gulf of Mexico and to interrupt all the navigation of the King of Spain.

These relations and report gave all the particularities, as well as the advantages and fortunes which there are to make.

The Duke of Buckingham had his private reasons and secrets which [82v] obliged him to consider everything described above.

B. Gerbier