"Notes." *Utopian Moments: Reading Utopian Texts*. Ed. Miguel A. Ramiro Avilés and J. C. Davis. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2012. 150–170. Textual Moments in the History of Political Thought. *Bloomsbury Collections*. Web. 26 Apr. 2023. <<http://dx.doi.org/10.5040/9781849666848.0008>>.

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Notes

Introduction

- 1 According to James Harrington, 'Here lieth the whole difficulty: such things as, try them never so often, they cannot make hang together, they will yet have to be practicable', while the imagined solution, however good, was dismissed as impractical. His answer was that his reader should imaginatively experience a different and better order through the medium of narrative fiction. See J.G.A. Pocock, *The Political Works of James Harrington* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), pp. 662–3

Chapter 1 Systemic Remedies for Systemic Ills: The Political Thought of More's *Utopia*

- 1 George M. Logan and Robert M. Adams (eds), *Thomas More: Utopia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 38. Page references to this edition will be given in parentheses throughout the text of this essay. For the Latin original of the present passage, see George M. Logan, Robert M. Adams and Clarence H. Miller (eds), *Utopia: Latin Text and English Translation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 102–4
- 2 R.A.B. Mynors (trans.) and Peter G. Bietenholz (annotations), *The Correspondence of Erasmus*, Vol. 7, in *Collected Works of Erasmus* (Toronto/ Buffalo/London: University of Toronto Press, 1987), p. 24
- 3 See J.H. Hexter's *More's 'Utopia': The Biography of an Idea* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1952); reprinted with an Epilogue (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1965), pp. 15–30, and 'The Composition of *Utopia*', in his section of the introduction to Edward Surtz and J.H. Hexter (eds), *Utopia*, Vol. 4 of *The Complete Works of St. Thomas More* (CW) (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1965), pp. xv–xxiii
- 4 Elizabeth Frances Rogers (ed.), *St. Thomas More: Selected Letters* (New Haven/ London: Yale University Press, 1961), pp. 73, 76
- 5 Terence Cave (ed.), *Thomas More's 'Utopia' in Early Modern Europe: Paratexts and Contexts* (Manchester/New York: Manchester University Press, 2008), p. 6
- 6 Anne Lake Prescott, 'Afterlives', in *The Cambridge Companion to Thomas More* (CCTM), George M. Logan (ed.) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), p. 275. The same thing happened on the European continent: Cave, *Thomas More's 'Utopia'*, p. 5
- 7 Hexter, *More's 'Utopia'*, p. 28; see also CW 4: xxvii–xli
- 8 *The Life of Thomas More* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1998), p. 46; cited by Elizabeth McCutcheon, 'More's rhetoric', CCTM, p. 46
- 9 See my essay: '*Utopia* and Deliberative Rhetoric', *Moreana*, 31 (1994), no. 118–19, pp. 103–20
- 10 See the entry for him in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*
- 11 Richard S. Sylvester and Davis P. Harding (eds), *Two Early Tudor Lives* (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1962), p. 198

- 12 'Thomas More as humanist', *CCTM*, p. 30. And see Stephen Greenblatt, 'At the Table of the Great: More's Self-Fashioning and Self-Cancellation', in his *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago/London: University of Chicago Press, 1980; reprinted with a new Preface, 2005), pp. 11–73, esp. 27–37
- 13 On this point, see *CCTM*, p. 55 and n. 27; p. 158 and n. 37
- 14 Later in the sixteenth century, Raphael Holinshed's *Chronicles* recorded that 72,000 thieves and vagabonds were hanged in the reign of Henry VIII alone (*Holinshed's Chronicles [of] England, Scotland, and Ireland*, 6 vols (1807; reprinted New York: AMS Press, 1965), 1:314)
- 15 More's 'Utopia', p. 64; *CW* 4:ci. See also Russell Ames, *Citizen Thomas More and His Utopia* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1949), p. 176; Robert P. Adams, *The Better Part of Valor: More, Erasmus, Colet, and Vives, on Humanism, War, and Peace, 1496–1535* (Washington: University of Washington Press, 1962), pp. 125–6
- 16 In the *Republic*, only the ruling class – the Guardians – is communized, but in his last political work, the *Laws*, Plato declares that the best commonwealth would be communistic across the board. The metaphor of the statesman-physician is also employed – in a way that is in fact closer to More's use of it than is Plato's – in another Greek work that had an impact on *Utopia*, Plutarch's idealized biography of Lyscurgus, the legendary lawgiver of Sparta. See 'Lyscurgus' V.2
- 17 See *CU*, pp. xviii–xxvi. The clearest indication of More's debt to Plato and Aristotle, and to ancient Greek political theory and practice in general, is found in the many striking resemblances between *Utopia* and classical Greek city-states both real and ideal (the latter in Plato's and Aristotle's treatments of the ideal commonwealth and in the idealized Sparta of Plutarch's 'Lyscurgus'). In religion, the Utopians lack Christian revelation (until knowledge of it is brought to them by Hythloday and his companions), and their religious principles are limited to those that, according to Thomas Aquinas, can be derived from unassisted reason (see *CU*, p. 66 and n. 65). That *Utopia* is not Christian means, of course, that it is not simply More's ideal commonwealth. Among many other things, it embodies his musings on the topic – much discussed by both scholastics and humanists – of the degree of compatibility between reason and revelation. For the best discussion of the general topic of *Utopia* and Greek political theory, see Eric Nelson, *The Greek Tradition in Republican Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 19–48
- 18 See *CU*, pp. xxvi–xxviii, and, for more detail, my *The Meaning of More's 'Utopia'* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1983), pp. 218–53

Chapter 2 More's *Utopia*: Colonialists, Refugees and the Nature of Sufficiency

- 1 George M. Logan and Robert M. Adams (eds), *Thomas More: Utopia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 55–6. Page references to this edition will be given in parentheses throughout the text of this essay
- 2 Peter Kosminsky, 'The Promise', Channel 4
- 3 George M. Logan, *The Meaning of More's 'Utopia'* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1983), p. 223
- 4 Andrew Hadfield, *Literature, Travel and Colonial Writing in the English Renaissance 1545–1625* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), p. 11
- 5 Thomas Betteridge, *Borders and Travellers in Early Modern Europe* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 6–7

- 6 Jeffrey Knapp, *An Empire Nowhere: England, America and Literature from 'Utopia' to 'The Tempest'* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), pp. 19–21
- 7 Louis Marin, *Utopics: The Semiological Play of Textual Spaces*, trans. Robert A. Vollrath (New York: Humanity Books, 1984), pp. 106–9
- 8 Knapp, *Empire Nowhere*, p. 31
- 9 The translator of this edition is Ralph Robinson; his translation is reprinted in Susan Bruce (ed.), *Three Early Modern Utopias* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 127
- 10 Richard Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood: The Elizabethan Writing of England* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1992), pp. 12–13
- 11 I use 'Morus', following Stephen Greenblatt's *Renaissance Self-Fashioning* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), to distinguish the More-within-the-text from the real-More-outside-it
- 12 See Patricia Fumerton, *Unsettled: The Culture of Mobility and the Working Poor in Early Modern England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006)
- 13 Richard Halpern, *The Poetics of Primitive Accumulation: English Renaissance Culture and the Genealogy of Capital* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991), pp. 145–7
- 14 Christopher Kendrick, *Utopia, Carnival and Commonwealth in Renaissance England* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), p. 66
- 15 Christopher Kendrick, *Utopia, Carnival and Commonwealth in Renaissance England* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), p. 68
- 16 Halpern, *Poetics*, p. 165

Chapter 3 Goodbye to Utopia: Thomas More's Utopian Conclusion

- 1 George M. Logan and Robert M. Adams (eds), *Thomas More: Utopia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 110–11. Page references to this edition will be given in parentheses throughout the text of this essay
- 2 See J.H. Hexter, 'The Composition of *Utopia*', in *The Complete Works of St. Thomas More*, vol. IV: *Utopia*, Edward Surtz and J.H. Hexter (eds) (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1965), especially pp. xx–xxii
- 3 On their 'imperialism', see Chapter 2 above
- 4 Compare Aristotle, *Politics* (II. i–v)
- 5 On these themes see J.C. Davis, 'Thomas More's *Utopia*: Sources, Legacy and Interpretation', in *The Cambridge Companion to Utopian Literature*, Gregory Claeys (ed.) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 28–50
- 6 The printing in Basel of the March 1518 edition was held up for this letter
- 7 Act 5: 1–11
- 8 For other vindications of utopian practice as more akin to proper Christian conduct, see pp. 109, 127, 130
- 9 For the virtue of plain speaking, see pp. 5, 36, 37
- 10 For the theatre as a key theme in *Utopia*, see Davis, 'Thomas More's *Utopia*'
- 11 John 20: 24–9

Chapter 4 So Close, So Far: The Puzzle of Antangil

- 1 *Histoire du grand et admirable royaume d'Antangil. Incogneu jusques à présent à tous Historiens et Cosmographes: composé de six vingts Provinces très belles*

et très-fertiles. Avec la description d'icelui, & de sa police noppareille, tant civile que militaire. De l'instruction de la jeunesse. Et de la religion. Le tout compris en cinq livres. Par I.D.M.G.T. A Saumur: par Thomas Portau, 1616, pp. 124–5.

[An Account of the Great and Wonderful Kingdom of Antangil Unknown until the Present Time to All Historians and Cosmographers: Composed of Twenty-Six Highly Beautiful and very Fertile Provinces. With a Description of them and of their Unparalleled Polity, both Civil and Military. Also, an Account of the Education of their Youth, and their Religion]. Translations are from this text and are hereafter cited by page numbers in the text. For the translation of the title and an English abstract of *Antangil*, see: Glenn Negley and J. Max Patrick, *The Quest for Utopia: An Anthology of Imaginary Societies* (Garden City: Anchor Books Doubleday & Company, Inc, 1962), pp. 300–6

- 2 The identification of the author, indicated with the initials IDMG, has sparked a lively debate and led to various hypotheses. Frédéric Lachèvre supports the thesis of a French officer of noble origin; Nicolas van Wijngaarden says that this is Joachim du Moulin, a Protestant minister in Saumur, while according to Alexandre Cioranescu, he could be Jean de Moncy, a schoolteacher in the small Dutch town of Tiel. See: F. Lachèvre, 'La première utopie du XVII^e siècle : Le Royaume d'Antangil', appendice à *Les successeurs de Cyrano de Bergerac* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1922), pp. 261–9 and 'Une utopie protestante : Histoire du grand et admirable Royaume d'Antangil', in *Glanes bibliographiques*, vol. II (Paris: L. Giraud-Badin, 1929), pp. 196–7; N. van Wijngaarden, *Les odyssées philosophiques en France entre 1616 et 1789* (Genève-Paris: Slatkine Reprints, 1982; réimpression de l'édition d'Haarlem, 1932); A. Cioranescu, 'Le Royaume d'Antangil et son auteur', *Studi francesi*, XXVIII (1963), pp. 17–25
- 3 On political and social aspects in particular, see: Bruna Consarelli: '*Libero pensiero*' e *Utopia nel 'Grand Siecle'* (Pesaro: Flaminia editrice, 1990) and 'Histoire du grand et admirable Royaume d'Antangil', in *Dictionary of Literary Utopias*, V. Fortunati and R. Trousson (eds) (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2000), pp. 283–4
- 4 Consarelli, '*Libero pensiero*' e *Utopia nel 'Grand Siecle'*, p. 13
- 5 On religion, see: Frank Lestringant, 'Huguenots en Utopie, ou Le genre utopique et la Réforme (XVI^e-XVIII^e siècle)', *Bulletin de l'histoire du Protestantisme français* (avril-juin 2000), pp. 281–92
- 6 Geographical and cartographic aspects are studied in: Olivier Leplatre, 'Déplier l'utopie (Histoire du grand et admirable Royaume d'Antangil, 1616)', *Teximage*, n°2: Cartes et plans (été 2008), pp. 1–30
- 7 'Arts and sciences are acquired only through books and practice; yet, to succeed, one needs to be taught by good teachers. Being aware of this, the wise architects who founded this state wanted to introduce, among their most attractive decrees, a rule that the children of the nobility and of the richest members of the society with a good natural disposition, be trained freely in all civil and military disciplines, an academy or facility being built for such purpose ... in an airy, elevated and open location'
- 8 'Considering that a republic in which only men are learned and wise cannot be perfect: the Senate ordered that the girls be educated by the parishes in the same way as the boys'
- 9 M. Magendie, *La politesse mondaine et les théories de l'honnêteté en France au XVII^e siècle, de 1600 à 1660*, I (Genève: Slatkine Reprint, 1993 ; réimpression de l'édition de Paris, 1925), p. 56–7

- 10 Van Wijngaarden, *Les odyssees philosophiques en France entre 1616 et 1789*, p. 35, notes that the author probably has in mind the Protestant academies of a different cultural tenor
- 11 Henri Desroche, 'L'origine utopique', *Esprit* (octobre 1974), pp. 337–66

Chapter 5 Microcosm, Macrocosm and 'Practical Science' in Andreae's *Christianopolis*

- 1 J.V. Andreae, *Christianopolis*, intro and trans. Edward H. Thompson (Dordrecht: Kluwer, 1999), pp. 236–7. Page numbers to this edition will be given in parentheses throughout the text of this essay
- 2 Donald Dickson, *The Tessera of Antilia* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), ch. 2 and 3
- 3 Claus Bernet 'Johann Valentin Andreaes *Christianopolis* as Himmlisches Jerusalem', *Zeitschrift für Württembergische Landesgeschichte* (2007), pp. 147–82
- 4 Elizabeth Hansot, *Perfection and Progress: Two Modes of Utopian Thought* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1974), p. 84, n. 14
- 5 J.V. Andreae, *Christianae societatis imago* (Strasbourg, 1619)
- 6 J.V. Andreae, *Mythologiae Christianae, sive Virtutum & vitiorum vitae humanae imaginum* (Strasbourg: Zetzner, 1619), Book 1, Manipulus I, ch. 32
- 7 John W. Montgomery, *Cross and Crucible*, vol. I (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1973), pp. 91–6
- 8 J.V. Andreae, *Collectaneorum mathematicorum decades XI* (Tübingen: J.A. Cellius, 1614), Plates 31–3
- 9 Andreae, *Christianopolis*, ch. 49
- 10 Hartlib Papers 31/1/56B (Beale to Hartlib, 15 September 1657)
- 11 Andreae, *Collectaneorum*, Plate 36
- 12 J.V. Andreae, *Turris Babel, sive Judiciorum de Fraternitate Rosaceae Crucis Chaos* (Strasbourg: Zetzner, 1619), ch. 5
- 13 Andreae, *Mythologiae* Book 1, Manipulus I, ch. 32
- 14 J.V. Andreae, *Verae Unionis in Christo Jesu Specimen*, (n.p., 1628), introduction
- 15 Andreae, *Christianae Societatis imago*, p.3

Chapter 6 Tommaso Campanella, *The City of the Sun* and the Protective Celestial Bodies

- 1 The translation into English of this essay originally written in Italian has been possible due to the funds of the academic project *El Tiempo de los Derechos*, Programa Consolider-Ingenio 2010, CSD 2008-00007
- 2 Tommaso Campanella, *The City of the Sun: A Poetical Dialogue*, trans., introduction and notes Daniel J. Donno (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), p. 86. Page references to this edition will be given in parentheses throughout the text of this essay
- 3 Tommaso Campanella, 'Astrologicorum libri VII in quibus Astrologia omni superstitione Arabum et Iudaeorum eliminata physiologice tractatur', in *Opera latina Francofurti impressa annis 1617–1630*, a cura di L. Firpo, (Torino: Bottega d'Erasmus, 1975), Vol. 2, VI, 4, 1, pp. 1305–6
- 4 Claudio Tolomeo, *Le previsioni astrologiche (Tetrabiblos)*, a cura di S. Feraboli (Milan: Mondadori 1998), p. 15

- 5 Tolomeo, *Le previsioni astrologiche (Tetrabiblos)*, p. 31
- 6 Tolomeo, *Le previsioni astrologiche (Tetrabiblos)*, p. 83
- 7 Thomas More, *Utopia*, eds George M. Logan and Robert M. Adams (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 67. Thomas More makes a distinction between astronomy and astrology, raising the first to the dignity of a science (which allows one to profitably comprehend the signs of nature) and confining the second to the role of vain superstition
- 8 Tommaso Campanella, 'Come evitare il fato astrale', in *Opuscoli astrologici*, a cura di G. Ernst (Milan: Rizzoli, 2003), p. 65
- 9 Tommaso Campanella, *Il senso delle cose e la magia*, a cura di A. Bruers (Bari: Laterza, 1925), p. 315
- 10 '[T]he human mind is far superior and beyond the heavens. Therefore, the heavens only exert influence on the mind of man by accident. Whilst it may alter the body and the vegetative soul and the senses, over the human intellect, it has an indirect influence, as stated by St. Thomas regarding its operations on the body and senses' (Tommaso Campanella, 'Disputa sulle bolle dei ss. Pontefici Sisto V e Urbano VIII contro gli astrologi', in *Opuscoli astrologici*, p. 193)

Chapter 7 'A Dark Light': Spectacle and Secrecy in Francis Bacon's *New Atlantis*

- 1 Francis Bacon, 'New Atlantis', in Susan Bruce (ed.), *Three Early Modern Utopias* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 177. Page references to this edition will be given in parentheses throughout the text of this essay
- 2 For *New Atlantis*'s use of the travel narrative genre, see Paul Salzman, 'Narrative contexts for Bacon's *New Atlantis*', in Bronwen Price (ed.), *Francis Bacon's New Atlantis* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), pp. 30–8
- 3 See, for example, Brian Vickers, *Francis Bacon* (Harlow: Longman, 1978), pp. 28–9
- 4 See, for example, David C. Innes, 'Bacon's *New Atlantis*: The Christian Hope and the Modern Hope', *Interpretation*, 22:1 (1994), pp. 3–37
- 5 'Bacon's Use of Theatrical Imagery', in William A. Sessions (ed.), *Francis Bacon's Legacy of Texts* (New York: AMS Press, 1990), pp. 171–213
- 6 Bruce, *Three Early Modern Utopias*, p. 235, fn. 165. Bacon often uses the spelling 'Salomon' for Solomon in other works
- 7 Sidney Warhaft (ed.), *Francis Bacon: A Selection of His Works* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1965), p. 314
- 8 Warhaft, *Francis Bacon*, p. 337
- 9 Warhaft, *Francis Bacon*, pp. 300–1
- 10 'Ethics and Politics in the *New Atlantis*', in Price (ed.), *Francis Bacon's New Atlantis*, p. 62
- 11 See Bronwen Price, 'Introduction', in Price (ed.), *Francis Bacon's New Atlantis*, pp. 10–11
- 12 Warhaft, *Francis Bacon*, p. 323
- 13 'Advancement', in Brian Vickers (ed.), *Francis Bacon: A Critical Edition of the Major Works* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), pp. 147–8. See, for example, 'The Great Instauration', in Warhaft (ed.), *Francis Bacon*, pp. 314–15
- 14 John E. Leary, *Francis Bacon and the Politics of Science* (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1994), p. 258
- 15 Vickers (ed.), *Critical Edition*, p. 390
- 16 See Price, 'Introduction', pp. 12–13, for further detail about this feature

- 17 'Introduction', in Bruce (ed.), *Three Early Modern Utopias*, p. xxxv
- 18 See Julie Robin Solomon, "'To Know, To Fly, To Conjure': Situating Baconian Science at the Juncture of Early Modern Modes of Reading', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 44:3 (1991), pp. 522–8, 553–5
- 19 Vickers (ed.), *Critical Edition*, p. 439

Chapter 8 Gerrard Winstanley's *The Law Of Freedom*: Context and Continuity

- 1 Gerrard Winstanley, *The Law of Freedom in a Platform: Or, True Magistracy Restored* (1652): prefatory address to Oliver Cromwell
- 2 *The Complete Works of Gerrard Winstanley*, 2 vols, eds Thomas N. Corns, Ann Hughes and David Lowenstein (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), vol. 1, pp. 101–471. Volume and page references to this edition will be given in parentheses throughout the text of this essay
- 3 The activities of the Diggers are explored in John Gurney, *Brave Community: The Digger Movement in the English Revolution* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), pp. 121–209
- 4 J.C. Davis, *Utopia and the Ideal Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), pp. 170–1, 182, 190
- 5 Gurney, *Brave Community*, pp. 98–104, 126, 176–9
- 6 Gurney, *Brave Community*, p. 102
- 7 Davis, *Utopia*, pp. 182, 190–202
- 8 Hugh Peter, *Good Work for a Good Magistrate: Or, A Short Cut to Great Quiet* (1651)
- 9 Blair Worden, *The Rump Parliament, 1648–1653* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974), pp. 272, 274–5, 279
- 10 D.T., *Certain Queries* (1651); Edmund Leach, *The Down-fall of the Unjust Lawyers* (1652); John Shephard, *Certain Proposals for Regulating the Law* (1652); Samuel Duncon, *Severall Propositions of Publick Concernment* (1652); S.D., *Certain Assayes Propounded* (1652); Henry Robinson, *Certain Considerations in Order to a More Speedy, Cheap and Equall Distribution of Justice Throughout the Nation* (1652). Cf. Nicholas Culpeper, *An Ephemeris for the Year 1652* (1651); Charles George Cock, *English-Law* (1651)
- 11 Gurney, *Brave Community*, p. 214
- 12 Peter, *Good Work*, pp. 27–8
- 13 Peter, *Good Work*, pp. 27–57
- 14 Peter, *Good Work*, pp. 18–23, 57
- 15 Peter, *Good Work*, pp. 19, 20, 22, 27, 51, 54, 62, 64–72, 78–82, 89–109
- 16 *Works*, 2, pp. 282, 333, 369; Peter, *Good Work*, p. 35; Robinson, *Certain Considerations*, epistle dedicatory
- 17 *Works*, 2, pp. 332, 368, 369; Shephard, *Certain Proposals*, pp. 1–2; Peter, *Good Work*, p. 33. Cf. John Rogers, *Sagrir* (1653), pp. 31, 51, 55, 59–60
- 18 *Works*, 2, pp. 321, 322–3, 324, 325, 328, 329, 378; Peter, *Good Work*, pp. 24, 25, 29; Duncon, *Severall Propositions*, pp. 4–6. Cf. D.T., *Certain Queries*, p. 17; Robinson, *Certain Considerations*, p. 4
- 19 Isaac Pennington junior, *The Fundamental Right, Safety and Liberty of the People* (1651); *Mercurius Politicus*, 69 (25 Sept.–2 Oct. 1651), 91 (26 Feb.–3 March 1652), 109 (1–8 July 1652)
- 20 Winstanley, unlike Nedham, did not take from Pennington the latter's clear distinction between executive and legislative powers

- 21 Isaac Penington junior, *A Word for the Common Weale* (1650), pp. 8–9; Penington, *Fundamental Right*, prefatory address. Cf. *Works*, 2, pp. 305, 331, 332, 340, 368–9
- 22 Penington, *Word for the Common Weale*, pp. 8–9, 16, 17. Cf. *Works*, 2, pp. 331, 333–40
- 23 *Ibid.*, pp. 294–5; Penington, *Fundamental Right*, prefatory address. Cf. *Mercurius Politicus*, 69
- 24 Gurney, *Brave Community*, pp. 159–60, 163, 179–80, 181–4
- 25 *A Declaration of the Commoners of England, to his Excellency The Lord General Cromwell* (1652); *Articles of High Treason* (1652); *A New Way to Pay Old Debts: Or, The Law and Freedom of the People Established* (1652); *Faithful Scout*, 56 (6–13 Feb.), 439; 58 (20–27 Feb.), 454–5; *French Intelligencer* (4–11 Feb.), 87; (11–18 Feb. 1652), 90
- 26 Gurney, *Brave Community*, p. 216
- 27 *The Levellers New Remonstrance or Declaration* (1649), pp. 1–3, 6; *The King of Scots Declaration* (1649), pp. 4–5; *Englands Moderate Messenger* (12–19 June 1649), 58–60; *Works*, 2, p. 55, n.1
- 28 *Faithful Scout*, 66 (16–23 April, 1652), 518–19; Gurney, *Brave Community*, p. 216.
- 29 Davis, *Utopia*, pp. 181–3
- 30 Cf. *ibid.*, p. 180

Chapter 9 ‘*De Te Fabula Narratur*’: *Oceana* and James Harrington’s Narrative Constitutionalism

- 1 J.G.A. Pocock (ed.), *Harrington: The Commonwealth of Oceana and a System of Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 1. (Page references to this edition will be given in parentheses throughout the rest of the text of this essay.) This epigraph, which appears on the title page of the first printings of *Oceana*, is taken from Horace, *Satires*, I, pp. i, 68–70 and may be translated as: ‘Tantalus, thirsting forever, keeps straining to taste the retreating waters forever eluding his lips. Why do you laugh? Change the names and the story is told about you.’ I have here adapted the translation of H. Rushton Fairclough (trans. and ed.), *Horace: Satires, Epistles and Ars Poetica* (London: Heinemann, 1955), pp. 9–10
- 2 J.G.A. Pocock, *The Machiavellian Moment: Florentine Republican Thought and the Atlantic Republican Tradition* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1975)
- 3 See J.C. Davis, ‘The Prose Romance of the 1650s as a context for *Oceana*’, forthcoming
- 4 There is a more detailed discussion of this in J.C. Davis, ‘“*De te Fabula narratur*”: Narrative Constitutionalism and the Kinetics of James Harrington’s *Oceana*’, forthcoming
- 5 See Blair Worden, ‘*Oceana*: Origins and Aftermath’, in *Republicanism, Liberty and Commercial Society 1649–1776*, David Wootton (ed.) (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994), pp. 120–4; Blair Worden, *Literature and Politics in Cromwellian England: John Milton, Andrew Marvell, Marchamont Nedham* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 109–10
- 6 David Norbrook, *Writing the English Republic: Poetry, Rhetoric and Politics 1627–1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 189–91
- 7 Blair Worden, ‘Oliver Cromwell and the sin of Achan’, in *History, Society and the Churches*, Derek Beales and Geoffrey Best (eds) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 125–45

- 8 For a full description of *Oceana* see J.C. Davis, *Utopia and the Ideal Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), ch. 8
- 9 For example, by John Milton, Marchamont Nedham and Henry Stubbe. See Davis, 'Prose Romance'

Chapter 10 An Island with Potential: Henry Neville's *The Isle Of Pines*

- 1 Henry Neville, *The Isle of Pines, or, A late Discovery of a Fourth Island near Terra Australis, Incognita* by Henry Cornelius Van Sloetten (London, 1668), p. 3. Page references to this edition will be given in parentheses throughout the text of this essay. See also Gaby Mahlberg, 'The Critical Reception of *The Isle of Pines*', *Utopian Studies*, 17:1 (2006), pp. 133–42. Gaby Mahlberg, *Henry Neville and English Republican Culture in the Seventeenth Century: Dreaming of Another Game* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009)
- 2 Jonathan Scott, *When the Waves Ruled Britannia: Geography and Political Identities, 1500–1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011)
- 3 Although the date on the pamphlet is 27 June, the Stationer's Register has 4 July. The 'Letter' was published as *A New and further Discovery of The Isle of Pines in A Letter from Cornelius Van Sloetten a Dutch-man ... to a Friend of his in London* (London, 1668)
- 4 J.C. Davis, *Utopia and the Ideal Society: A Study of English Utopian Writing 1516–1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), pp. 24–6. The core text is sometimes published on its own. Cf. Philip Henderson (ed.), *Shorter Novels: Seventeenth Century* (London: Everyman, 1930), pp. 225–35
- 5 Thomas Paine, *Common Sense* in Thomas Paine, *Rights of Man, Common Sense and Other Political Writings*, ed Mark Philp (Oxford: Oxford World's Classics, 1995) p. 5.
- 6 James Harrington, 'The Commonwealth of Oceana', in *The Commonwealth of Oceana and A System of Politics*, ed. J.G.A. Pocock (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 35
- 7 Slingsby Bethel, *The Present Interest of England Stated* (London, 1671), f. A2v, p. 5
- 8 Harrington, 'Oceana', p. 75
- 9 William Petty, *A Treatise of Taxes & Contributions* (London, 1662), p. 5; John Graunt, *Natural and Political Observations Made upon the Bills of Mortality* (London, 1662); William Petty, *Political Arithmetick* (London, 1690), p. 23; John Locke, *Two Treatises of Government*, II, ed. Peter Laslett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), ch. v
- 10 Steve Pincus, 1688: *The First Modern Revolution* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009), pp. 366–99
- 11 Adam R. Beach, 'A Profound Pessimism about the Empire: *The Isle of Pines*, English Degeneracy and Dutch Supremacy', *The Eighteenth Century*, 41:1 (2000), pp. 21–36

Chapter 11 The Persian Moment in Denis Veiras's *History of the Sevarambians*

- 1 Denis Veiras, *The History of the Sevarambians*, eds J.C. Laursen and C. Masroori (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2006), p. 203. Page references to this edition will be given in parentheses throughout the text of this essay

- 2 For a brief biography of the author and more information about the text, see the introduction to Veiras, *The History of the Sevarambians*, pp. vii–xxvii
- 3 Veiras, *The History of the Sevarambians*, p. 90; cf. p. 66
- 4 Thomas More, *Utopia*, ed. David Wootton (Indianapolis: Hackett, 1999), pp. 70–3
- 5 Herodotus, *The Histories*, trans. A. de Sélincourt, revised by John Marincola (London: Penguin, 2003), p. 61
- 6 Strabo, *The Geography of Strabo*, Book 15, ch. 3, p. 13
- 7 For example, Plutarch, *Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romans* and Quintus Curtius, *The Life of Alexander*
- 8 ‘We revere Mithra (heavenly light) ruler of all countries, whom Ahura Mazda has created full of luster’ (*Khordeh Avesta: Zoroastrian Prayer Book, with Prayers in Roman Script and Translation in English*, trans. T.R. Sethna (n.p., n.p.: 1975), p. 45 (also see pp. 19 and 41))
- 9 ‘We revere the shining sun, eternal brilliant and emitting strong (light). We revere Mithra (heavenly light)’ (*Khordeh Avesta*, trans. Sethna, 45)
- 10 See C. Masroori, ‘Cyrus II and the Political Utility of Religious Toleration’, in J.C. Laursen (ed.), *Religious Toleration: ‘The Variety of Rites’ from Cyrus to Defoe* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1999), pp. 13–36
- 11 Justin, *The First Apology*, ch. 66
- 12 Archelaus, *Acts of the Disputation with the Heresiarch Manes*, Act 36
- 13 See Wilhelm Schmitt-Biggemann, *Philosophia perennis: Historical Outlines of Western Spirituality* (Dordrecht: Springer, 2004), p. 33
- 14 See Schmitt-Biggemann, *Philosophia perennis*, p. 172, and Michael Stausberg, *Faszination Zarathushtra* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1998), pp. 93–261
- 15 See Stausberg, *Faszination Zarathushtra*, pp. 621 ff., 638–641
- 16 Cited in Nora K. Firby, *European Travelers and Their Perceptions of Zoroastrians in the 17th and 18th Centuries* (Berlin: Reimer Verlag, 1988), p. 25
- 17 Cited in David Blow, *Persia Through Writers’ Eyes* (London: Eland, 2007), pp. 115–16
- 18 Jean Chardin, *Le couronnement de Soleimaan, troisième Roy de Perse de cette nomme* (Paris, 1671), cited from *The Coronation of Solymán, The Third of That Name*, appended to *The Travels of Sir John Chardin into Persia, and the East Indies* (London, 1689), p. 98
- 19 Edward Herbert, *Pagan Religion: A Translation of De religione gentilium*, trans. J.A. Butler (Binghampton: Medieval and Renaissance Texts, 1996), pp. 82–97
- 20 J. A. Butler, trans., ‘Introduction’ to Herbert, *Pagan Religion*, p. 38
- 21 Butler, ‘Introduction’, p. 15
- 22 Butler, ‘Introduction’, p. 19
- 23 Henry More, *An Antidote Against Atheism*, second edition (London, 1655), pp. 240–4
- 24 Jonathan Israel, *Radical Enlightenment: Philosophy and the Making of Modernity 1650–1750* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 591–2, 597

Chapter 12 Nature and Utopia in Morelly’s *Code De La Nature*

- 1 Etienne-Gabriel Morelly, *Code de la Nature* (Par-Tout: Chez le Vrai Sage, 1755), pp. 29–30 and 78–80
- 2 On Morelly, see Edouard Dolléans, *Notice in Morelly Code de la Nature* (Paris: Geuthner, 1910); Nicolas Wagner, *Morelly, le méconnu des Lumières* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1978); Guy Antonetti, ‘Morelly. L’homme et sa famille’, *Revue*

- d'histoire littéraire de la France* (May–June 1983), pp. 390–402; Guy Antonetti, 'Morelly. L'écrivain et ses protecteurs', *Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France* (Jan.–Feb. 1984), pp. 19–52
- 3 Morelly, *La Basiliade, ou les naufrages des isles flottantes* (Messine: Société de Libraires, 1753). Concerning a comprehensive analysis of the text, see Claudio De Boni, 'La Basiliade nello sviluppo dell'opera di Morelly', *Morus – Utopia e Rinascimento*, 1 (2004), pp. 89–102
 - 4 Morelly, *Essai sur l'esprit humain, ou Principes naturels de l'éducation* (Paris: Delespine, 1743); Morelly, *Essai sur le coeur humain, ou Principes naturels de l'éducation* (Paris: Delespine, 1745)
 - 5 Morelly, *Essai sur l'esprit humain*, p. 3
 - 6 Friedrich Engels, *L'evoluzione del socialismo dall'utopia alla scienza* (Roma: Editori Riuniti, 1971), p. 70
 - 7 A. Lichtenberger, *Le socialisme au XVIII^e siècle* (Paris: Alcan, 1895), p. 114

Chapter 13 *Sinapia*, A Political Journey to the Antipodes of Spain

- 1 Anónimo, *Descripción de la Sinapia, Península en la Tierra Austral* [no date]. References to *Sinapia* contain two page numbers divided by a forward slash. The first refers to Miguel Avilés' edition of *Sinapia* (*Sinapia. Una utopía Española del Siglo de las Luces* (Madrid: Editorial Nacional, 1976); the second one to the paragraph of the facsimile edition included in Stelio Cro, *Descripción de la Sinapia, Península en la Tierra Austral. A Classical Utopia of Spain* (Hamilton: Mac Master University, 1975)
- 2 See Susan Bruce's chapter in this book. Examples like this can be found throughout the text of *Sinapia*
- 3 José Santos Puerto, 'La Sinapia: luces para buscar la utopía de la ilustración', *Bulletin Hispanique*, 103:2 (2001), pp. 481–510. Curiously, another Spanish Enlightenment author, José de Cadalso, close to Pedro Pablo Abarca de Bolea, count of Aranda, who also was President of the Council of Castille in 1766–1773, wrote a book, now lost, entitled *Observaciones de un oficial holandés en el nuevamente descubierto Reino de Feliztá* [Observations of a Dutch officer in the new discovered Kingdom of Happiness] in which it is elaborated as a system of government (Russell P. Sebold, 'Introducción', in José de Cadalso, *Cartas Marruecas/Noches lúgrubas*, Russell P. Sebold (ed.) (Madrid: Cátedra, 2008), p. 25)
- 4 See George M. Logan's chapter in this book
- 5 See J. C. Davis and John Gurney's chapters in this book
- 6 Barbara Goodwin, 'Economic and social innovation in Utopia', in *Utopias*, P. Alexander and R. Gill (eds), (London: Duckworth, 1984), p. 82
- 7 The project was set in motion in July 1767 once the *Fuero de población* (which until 1835 regulated the social, economic and political life of the founded settlements) was passed (Pedro Ruiz Torres, *Reformismo e Ilustración* (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2010), p. 419)
- 8 'We made no inquiries, however, about monsters, which are the routine of travellers' tales. Scyllas, ravenous Celaenos, and man-eating Lestrygonians and that sort of monstrosity you can hardly avoid, but to find governments wisely established and sensibly ruled is not so easy' (Thomas More, *Utopia*, eds George M. Logan and Robert M. Adams (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 12)
- 9 Raymond Trousson, *Historia de la Literatura Utópica. Viajes a Países Inexistentes*, trans. C. Manzano (Barcelona: Península, 1995), p. 43

- 10 Sebold, 'Introducción', p. 39
- 11 Sebold, 'Introducción', p. 41
- 12 Miriam Eliav-Feldon, *Realistic Utopias* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), p. 2
- 13 Abel Janszoon Tasman (1603–59) who appears in the republic of Sinapia – 'I do not know how some notes that Abel Tasman had written of his journey came to my hands' (69/1) – was a sailor working for the Netherlands East India Company. Moreover, the animal life and flora described belong to the American continent, not to the Australasian one (Cro, *Descripción de la Sinapia*, p. 75, n. 23)
- 14 Darko Suvin, 'Defining the literary genre of Utopia: Some Historical Semantics, Some Geneology, a Proposal and a Plea', *Studies in the Literary Genre*, 6:2 (1973), p. 126
- 15 Tom Moylan, *Demand the Impossible: Science Fiction and Utopian Imagination*, (London: Methuen, 1986), p. 39
- 16 Moylan, *Science Fiction*, p. 40
- 17 Tom Moylan, *Scraps of the Untainted Sky* (Oxford: Westview, 2000), p. 43; Darko Suvin, 'On the poetics of the science fiction genre', *College English*, 34:3 (1972), p. 374
- 18 See Cyrus Masroori and John Christian Laursen's chapter in this book
- 19 J.C. Davis, 'Science and Utopia: The History of a Dilemma', in *Nineteen Eighty-Four: Science between Utopia and Dystopia*, E. Mendelshon and H. Nowotny (eds) (Dordrecht: Reidel, 1984), pp. 21–48
- 20 Miguel A. Ramiro Avilés, 'Law based Utopia', in *The Philosophy of Utopia*, B. Goodwin (ed.) (London: Frank Cass, 2001), pp. 221–48; *Utopía y Derecho: El sistema jurídico en las sociedades ideales* (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2002), pp. 305–60
- 21 Charles de Secondat, Baron de Montesquieu, *The Spirit of the Laws*, trans Thomas Nugent (Ontario: Batoche Books, 2001) p. 180.
- 22 Eliav-Feldon, *Realistic Utopias*, p. 9
- 23 Ruiz Torres, *Reformismo e Ilustración*, p. 435
- 24 See Sebold, 'Introducción', p. 50

Chapter 14 Condorcet's Utopianism: Faith in Science and Reason

- 1 Marie Jean Antoine Nicolas Caritat, marquis de Condorcet, *Esquisse d'un tableau historique des progrès de l'esprit humain* [written in 1793; first published in 1795], in *Oeuvres de Condorcet*, publiées par A. Condorcet O'Connor et M.F. Arago (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1847), t. 6, pp. 11–276. Translation by K. Steven Vincent from the text. The pages translated are pp. 236–7, 244–5 and 250–1, drawn from the chapter 'Tenth Stage: Of the Future Progress of the Human Mind'
- 2 Frank E. Manuel, *The Prophets of Paris* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1962), p. 65
- 3 Condorcet, *Discours prononcé dans l'Académie Française* (le jeudi 21 février 1782), in *Oeuvres de Condorcet*, publiées par A. Condorcet O'Connor et M.F. Arago (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1847–9), t. 1, p. 395
- 4 See Keith Michael Baker, *Condorcet: From Natural Philosophy to Social Mathematics* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1975)
- 5 David Williams, *Condorcet and Modernity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 109
- 6 See the articles in *Condorcet: Homme des Lumières et de la Révolution*, texts réunis par Anne-Marie Chouillet et Pierre Crepel (Fontenay/Saint-Cloud: ENS

- Editions, 1997); and Baker's article 'Condorcet', in *A Critical Dictionary of the French Revolution*, F. Furet and M. Ozouf (eds) (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1989), pp. 204–12. For an analysis that stresses Condorcet's appreciation of the diversity of opinion and the importance of civilized conflict, see Emma Rothschild, *Economic Sentiments: Adam Smith, Condorcet, and the Enlightenment* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2001), esp. pp. 157–217
- 7 Condorcet, *Esquisse d'un tableau historique des progrès de l'esprit humain*, t. 6, p. 13
 - 8 Condorcet, *Esquisse d'un tableau historique des progrès de l'esprit humain*, p. 237
 - 9 Quoted by Paul Cheney, *Revolutionary Commerce: Globalization and the French Monarchy* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2010), p. 147. Cheney contrasts this 'scientism' of the Physiocrats with the comparative historical approach of other economic thinkers of the era, strongly influenced by Montesquieu
 - 10 Cheney, *Revolutionary Commerce*, p. 235. Bronislaw Baczko has analysed this passage and the connection in Condorcet's thought between scientific prediction and history. See Baczko's *Utopian Lights: The Evolution of the Idea of Social Progress*, trans. J.L. Greenberg (New York: Paragon House, 1989), pp. 144–57
 - 11 Bronislaw Baczko, 'Le tournant culturel de l'an III', in *1795 Pour une République sans Révolution*, sous la direction de Roger Dupuy and Marcel Morabito (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 1996), pp. 17–37
 - 12 Condorcet, 'Fragment de justification', *Oeuvres de Condorcet*, t. 1, (juillet 1793), p. 574
 - 13 For the reference to 'association', see the *Communist Manifesto* in Karl Marx, *Selected Writings*, ed. David McLellan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), p. 238; for the statement about labour and its relation to 'the true realm of freedom', see *Capital*, vol. 3, in Marx, *Selected Writings*, pp. 496–7
 - 14 Stuart Hampshire, 'Introduction' for Antoine-Nicolas de Condorcet, *Sketch for a Historical Picture of the Human Mind*, trans. J. Barraclough (Westport, Conn.: Hyperion Press, 1979), p. xii
 - 15 It comes as no surprise that Condorcet believed that 'the modern form of knowledge' would emphasize the study of the sciences as 'the most certain means of developing the intellectual faculties, learning to reason correctly, [and] analyzing ideas well'. These quotes from Condorcet's *Rapport sur l'organisation générale de l'instruction publique* (1792); cited by Josiane Boulad-Ayoub, 'Le moyen le plus sûr ... ou les parti-pris de Condorcet, Président du premier comité révolutionnaire d'instruction publique', in *Condorcet: Homme des Lumières et de la Révolution*, pp. 109–19; these quotes, pp. 109–10. In one of his last writings, Condorcet outlined an ambitious plan for the creation of an organization devoted to the direction and coordination of science – it was to be independent of politics, and would be a key element for human progress. See 'Fragment sur l'Atlantide, ou efforts combinés de l'espèce humaine pour le progrès des sciences', *Oeuvres de Condorcet*, t. 6, pp. 597–660
 - 16 Baker, *Condorcet: From Natural Philosophy to Social Mathematics*, p. 57
 - 17 Condorcet, *Esquisse d'un tableau historique des progrès de l'esprit humain*, this phrase, p. 92
 - 18 Condorcet, *Esquisse d'un tableau historique des progrès de l'esprit humain*, p. 595

Chapter 15 Women's Rights and Women's Liberation in Charles Fourier's Early Writings

- 1 Charles Fourier, *Théorie des quatre mouvements et des destinées générales*, in *Oeuvres complètes de Charles Fourier* [OC], 12 vols (Paris: Anthropos, 1966–8), pp. 130–3
- 2 Charles Fourier, 'Le Sphinx sans Oedipe, ou l'énigme des quatre mouvements', *La Phalange*, IX (1849), p. 197; and Brunot-Labbe, bookseller, to Fourier, 14 January 1809, Archives Nationales 10AS 25 (2)
- 3 For a more detailed discussion of the 'riddle' of *Quatre mouvements* and Fourier's response to the failure of his book see Jonathan Beecher, *Charles Fourier: The Visionary and his World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), pp. 116–39
- 4 *Bulletin de Lyon*, 11 Frimaire, Year XII (3 December 1803): PM I: OC 10:52–3
- 5 OC 1:7
- 6 Gareth Stedman Jones, 'Introduction' to Charles Fourier, *The Theory of the Four Movements* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. viii–ix
- 7 OC 1:130
- 8 OC 1:150
- 9 Michèle Riot-Sarcey, *La Démocratie à l'épreuve des femmes: Trois figures critiques du pouvoir, 1830–1848* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1994), pp. 81–3, 111–15, 160–1, 183–4, 220; and Claire Goldberg Moses and Leslie Wahl Rabine, *Feminism, Socialism, and French Romanticism* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993), pp. 37–9, 62–3, 75–6, 207
- 10 This point emerges clearly in the chapter on Fourier in Marguérite Thibert's still valuable *Le Féminisme dans le socialisme français de 1830 à 1850* (Paris: Marcel Giard, 1926), pp. 99–121. See also Claire Goldberg Moses, *French Feminism in the Nineteenth century* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1984), pp. 90–8
- 11 OC 1:132–3. Fourier's italics
- 12 OC 1:89
- 13 OC 12:622. Manuscript dating from around 1806
- 14 OC 1:117–30, 133–44
- 15 Henri Brun to Fourier, 9 May 1808, Archives Nationales 10AS 25 (3bis)
- 16 On *Le Nouveau monde amoureux* see Beecher, *Charles Fourier*, pp. 297–317
- 17 OC 7:439–45
- 18 Thanks to the heroic editorial work of Simone Debout-Oleskiewicz, *Le Nouveau monde amoureux* appeared as volume VII of *Oeuvres complètes de Charles Fourier* published by the Editions Anthropos in 1967
- 19 Long ago Marguérite Thibert posed the crucial questions with regard to Clarisse Vigoureux (1789–1865), one of Fourier's very first disciples and a woman known for her '*grande pureté de moeurs*'. How could she reconcile Fourier's amorality and his unlimited sexual curiosity with her own natural modesty and prudishness? And how could she be seized by a 'religious' enthusiasm in reading *Quatre mouvements*? The answer, it seems, is that Clarisse Vigoureux believed sincerely that if women were completely free to follow their natural instincts, they would spontaneously follow a law of modesty and fidelity. Thibert, *Le Féminisme*, p. 132. This, of course, was far from Fourier's view

Chapter 16 A Tale of Two Cities: Robert Owen and the Search for Utopia, 1815–17

- 1 Robert Owen, 'Address Delivered to the Inhabitants of New Lanark' (1816), in *Selected Works of Robert Owen*, 4 vols, vol. 1, Gregory Claeys (ed.) (London: Pickering and Chatto, 1993), p. 134
- 2 The 'religion of charity' is discussed in 'Peace on Earth – Good Will towards Men! Development of the Plan for the Relief of the Poor and the Emancipation of Mankind' in *Selected Works*, vol. 1 (1817), p. 4
- 3 The word had been invented by Coleridge to denote a society equally governed by all its members. Owen had actually met Coleridge in the mid-1790s, but this does not appear to have been amongst the topics they discussed (Owen, 'The Life of Robert Owen', *Selected Works*, vol. 4, p. 88)
- 4 Owen, 'The Life of Robert Owen', p. 283, which describes Spence as the 'advocate of an equal division of land' – nothing like Owen's own plan, in short
- 5 Their relations are discussed in Geoffrey Carnall, *Robert Southey and His Age* (London: Clarendon Press, 1960), pp. 153–5
- 6 The tract is reprinted in *Restoration and Augustan British Utopias*, ed. G. Claeys (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2000), pp. 188–205
- 7 Frank Podmore, *Robert Owen: A Biography* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1923), p. 233
- 8 Sargent stresses that Owen 'was become a fanatic' in 1817 in order to explain his assumption of a prophet-like role (*Robert Owen and His Social Philosophy*, 1860, p. 123). He also explains Owen's adoption of socialism in terms of a desire to 'extend to the world at large, the benefits he had undoubtedly conferred on the people of New Lanark' (p. xix)
- 9 For the wider context of these efforts, see Gareth Stedman Jones, 'Religion and the Origins of Socialism', in Ira Katznelson and Gareth Stedman Jones (eds), *Religion and the Political Imagination* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 171–89
- 10 *Selected Works of Robert Owen*, vol. 1, p. 130. See in particular, W.H. Oliver, 'Owen in 1817: the Millennialist Moment', in Sidney Pollard and John Salt (eds), *Robert Owen: Prophet of the Poor* (London: Macmillan, 1971), pp. 166–87, which stresses that Owen's strategy in 1817 was 'to persuade the influential to adopt his scheme for poor relief'. See also Robert A. Davis, 'Robert Owen and Religion', in Noel Thompson and Chris Williams (eds), *Robert Owen and His Legacy* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2011), pp. 91–112
- 11 For example, Arthur John Booth, *Robert Owen, The Founder of Socialism in England* (1869), p. 67: 'The movement dates from 1817'. Podmore takes Owen's description of his 'Plan' on 12 March 1817 as the starting-point for 'the beginning of modern socialism' (*Robert Owen*, pp. 217, 227). Morton takes the Report to the Committee for the Relief of the Manufacturing Poor (1817) as 'the first statement of Owen's famous Plan' (A.L. Morton, *The Life and Ideas of Robert Owen* (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1962), p. 29)
- 12 Owen, *Selected Works*, vol. 1, p. 112
- 13 William Hazlitt, *Political Essays, With Sketches of Public Characters* (1819), pp. 97–104
- 14 *New Letters of Robert Southey*, Kenneth Curry (ed.), 2 vols, vol. 2 (New York/London: Columbia University Press, 1966), p. 141
- 15 *The Life and Correspondence of Robert Southey*, 6 vols, vol. 4., Charles Cuthbert Southey (ed.) (London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1849), pp. 195–6, 204

- 16 Mark Storey, *Robert Southey: A Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), p. 276; Robert Southey, *Journal of a Tour in Scotland in 1819* (John Murray, 1929), pp. 263–4. But elsewhere Southey admitted that ‘I myself have a much stronger inclination to believe him right in the opinion, that to a community of lands we must come at last, than I should choose to avow’ (Robert Southey, *Selections from the Letters of Robert Southey*, 4 vols, vol. 3, ed. John Wood Warter (London: Longman, Green, Brown, Longmans & Roberts, 1856), p. 45, letter of September 1816)
- 17 *The Life and Correspondence of Robert Southey*, vol. 4, p. 384. This was also William Wilberforce’s main objection to Owen (*The Life of William Wilberforce*, 5 vols, vol. 5 (London: John Murray, 1844), p. 46)
- 18 Robert Southey, *Sir Thomas More; Or, Colloquies on the Progress and Prospects of Society*, 2 vols, vol. 1 (1829), pp. 132–47
- 19 The classic account of the original scheme is James Robertson McGillivray, *The Pantisocracy Scheme and Its Immediate Background* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1931)
- 20 See Owen, ‘The New Religion’ and ‘Second Lecture on the New Religion’, *Selected Works*, vol. 2, pp. 167–201
- 21 Owen, *Selected Works*, vol. 1, p. 167
- 22 Podmore, *Owen*, p. 237
- 23 Owen, *Selected Works*, vol. 4, p. 185
- 24 Podmore, *Owen*, pp. 228–9

Chapter 17 How to Change the World: Claude-Henri de Rouvroy, comte de Saint-Simon

- 1 Claude-Henri de Rouvroy, Comte de Saint-Simon [hereafter Claude-Henri de Saint-Simon], ‘L’Artiste, le savant et l’industriel. Dialogue’, in *Opinions littéraires, philosophiques et industrielles* (Paris, 1825), pp. 335–7. Page references to this edition will be given in parentheses throughout the text of this essay
- 2 For discussion of the *Dialogue*’s authorship, see Neil McWilliam, *Dreams of Happiness: Social Art and the French Left 1830–1850* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993), p. 45, n. 38
- 3 See Martin S. Staum, *Cabanis: Enlightenment and Medical Philosophy in the French Revolution* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1980), pp. 207–43
- 4 Claude-Henri de Saint-Simon, *Du système industriel* (Paris, 1821), p. xix
- 5 The use of the term *avant-garde* in this passage has attracted a good deal of comment; see *Dreams of Happiness*, p. 46, n. 40 for a critique of these interpretations
- 6 The Artist: ‘None of us, gentlemen, is happy with his position. Well! It is within our power to change it; to succeed, we have only to give a new direction to our labours, and change the nature of the relations that exist between us’ (*Dreams of Happiness*, p. 332)
- 7 Claiming that the change they wish to bring about represents a ‘moral insurrection’, the artist argues that all three are sincere in their respect for royalty and will provide more effective support than is offered by the crown’s current alliance with the aristocracy and catholic church. This qualification may simply be dictated by prudence in the restrictive atmosphere prevailing under Charles X
- 8 See, for example, Anne Vincent-Buffault, *Histoire des larmes: XVIII^e-XIX^e siècles* (Paris: Payot, 2001)

- 9 See Mona Ozouf, *Festivals and the French Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1988)
- 10 The second proposal echoes the announcement at the beginning of the publication: 'We will shortly publish, in a second volume, the *Suite de nos opinions*. This work will be the forerunner of a Journal that we propose to publish for the development and application of our doctrine'
- 11 Théodore Jouffroy, *Mélanges philosophiques* (Paris, 1833), pp. 20–1. The article first appeared in the liberal *Le Globe* on 24 May 1825, which, coincidentally, was five days after Saint-Simon's death
- 12 See Serge Zenkine, 'L'Utopie religieuse des Saint-Simoniens: le sémiotique et le sacré', in *Etudes saint-simoniennes*, Philippe Régner (ed.) (Lyon: Presses Universitaires de Lyon, 2002), pp. 33–60
- 13 See Philippe Régner (ed.), *Le Livre nouveau des Saint-Simoniens* (Tusson: Du Lérot, 1991); Neil McWilliam, *Dreams of Happiness*, pp. 78–84
- 14 Prosper Enfantin, 'Enseignements', 3 December 1831, in *Oeuvres complètes de Saint-Simon et d'Enfantin*, vol. 14 (Paris, 1868), p. 115

Chapter 18 The Utopian Organization of Work in Icaria

- 1 See *Voyage en Icarie*, 60/51. Page references to *Voyage en Icarie* will be given in parentheses throughout the text of this essay. References to Cabet's novel contain two page numbers divided by a forward slash. The first refers to Étienne Cabet, *Voyage en Icarie*, 3rd edition (Paris: Bureau de Populaire, 1845); the second refers to the English translation (of Part One only), Étienne Cabet, *Travels in Icaria*, trans. Leslie J. Roberts, intro. Robert Sutton (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2003)
- 2 Christopher H. Johnson, *Utopian Communism in France: Cabet and the Icarians, 1839–1851* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1974), p. 37
- 3 Cabet knew Buonarroti, lodged in London with the Jacobin socialist Berrier-Fontaigne, and his unpublished manuscripts confirm his interest in the 'Conjuration des Égaux' (see items 75–80 of the Étienne Cabet papers held in the International Institute of Social History (IISG) in Amsterdam). For scepticism about Owen's influence, see Jules Prudhommeaux, *Icarie et son Fondateur Étienne Cabet* (Paris: Edouard Cornely, 1907), p. 137f
- 4 Johnson, *Utopian Communism*, p. 185
- 5 Cabet's *Vrai Christianisme suivant Jésus Christ* (1846) was proscribed by Pope Pius IX in 1848
- 6 The 600 francs required to join the émigrés was equivalent to the annual wage of an unskilled labourer
- 7 On Cabet's American communitarianism, see Robert P. Sutton, *Les Icaréens: The Utopian Dream in Europe and America* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1994), chapters 4–7; Diana M. Garno, *Citoyennes and Icaria* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2005), chapters 3–12; and Jacques Rancière, *The Nights of Labor: The Workers' Dream in Nineteenth-Century France* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1989), chapter 12
- 8 Piotrowski completely ignores its literary form owing to its 'sociological' irrelevance. See Sylvester A. Piotrowski, *Étienne Cabet and the Voyage en Icarie* (Washington DC: The Catholic University of America, 1935), p. 73 n. 27
- 9 See Cabet, *Icarie*, ch. 33
- 10 See Cabet, 'Preface to Second Edition', *Icarie*, pp. iv/lix

- 11 On gender in Icaria and Icarian communities in America, see Leslie J. Roberts, 'Étienne Cabet and his Voyage en Icarie, 1840', *Utopian Studies*, 2/1-2 (1991), pp. 76–94; and Garino, *Citoyennes and Icaria*

Chapter 19 The Horror of Strangeness: Edward Bellamy's *Looking Backward*

- 1 Edward Bellamy, *Looking Backward 2000–1887*, ed. Matthew Beaumont (Oxford: Oxford World Classics, 2007), ch. 8. Page references to this edition will be given in parentheses throughout the text of this essay
- 2 Henry Demarest Lloyd, *Wealth against Commonwealth* (New York: Harper, 1894), p. 528
- 3 A. Morris, *Looking Ahead! A Tale of Adventure (Not by the Author of 'Looking Backward')*, revised edition (London: Henry, 1892), p. 38
- 4 Krishan Kumar, *Utopia and Anti-Utopia in Modern Times* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1987), p. 135
- 5 William Morris, "Looking Backward", in *Political Writings: Contributions to Justice and Commonweal, 1883–1890*, Nicholas Salmon (ed.) (Bristol: Thoemmes Press, 1994), p. 420
- 6 Krishan Kumar, *Utopia and Anti-Utopia in Modern Times* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1987), p. 151
- 7 Edward Bellamy, 'Why I Wrote "Looking Backward"', in *Edward Bellamy Speaks Again! Articles, Public Addresses, Letters* (Kansas City: Peerage Press, 1937), p. 202
- 8 Kumar, *Utopia and Anti-Utopia*, p. 151
- 9 Edward Bellamy, *Miss Ludington's Sister* (London: Reeves, 1893), pp. 96, 98
- 10 Fredric Jameson, *Archaeologies of the Future: The Desire Called Utopia and Other Science Fictions* (London: Verso, 2005), p. 227
- 11 Edward Bellamy, 'The Blindman's World', in *Apparitions of Things to Come: Edward Bellamy's Tales of Mystery and Imagination*, Franklin Rosemont (ed.) (Chicago: Charles H. Kerr, 1990), p. 45
- 12 Tom H. Towers, 'The Insomnia of Julian West', *American Literature*, 47 (1975), pp. 56, 53
- 13 Edward Bellamy, *Talks on Nationalism* (Chicago: Peerage Press, 1938), pp. 98–9
- 14 Edward Bellamy, 'A Midnight Drama', in *Apparitions of Things to Come*, p. 102
- 15 Edward Bellamy, 'The Old Folks' Party', in *Apparitions of Things to Come*, p. 54
- 16 Bellamy, 'The Old Folks' Party', p. 62
- 17 Jameson, *Archaeologies of the Future*, p. 339

Chapter 20 'The Incompatibility I Could Not Resolve': Ambivalence in H.G. Wells's *A Modern Utopia*

- 1 H.G. Wells, *A Modern Utopia*, ed. Krishan Kumar (London: Dent, 1994), p. 5. Page references to this edition will be given in parentheses throughout the text of this essay
- 2 On the open quality of Wells's utopian thinking see Justin E. A. Busch, *The Utopian Vision of H. G. Wells* (Jefferson, NC/London: McFarland, 2009); on his scientific outlook see Roslynn D. Haynes, *H. G. Wells: Discoverer of the Future. The Influence of Science on His Thought* (London/Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1980). Harvey N. Quamen, 'Unnatural Interbreeding: H. G. Wells's *A Modern Utopia* as Species and Genre', *Victorian Literature and Culture*, 33 (2005), pp. 67–84, here: 77, characterizes *A Modern Utopia* as a thought experiment

- 3 Consequently, Wells's text has been characterized as a 'meta-utopia'; cf. Patrick Parrinder, *Shadows of the Future: H. G. Wells, Science Fiction and Prophecy* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1995), p. 96 ff., and June Deery, 'H. G. Wells's *A Modern Utopia* as a Work in Progress', in Donald M Hassler and Clyde Wilcox (eds), *Political Science Fiction* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1997), pp. 26–42, here: 27 f
- 4 This point is also stressed by Deery, 'H. G. Wells: *A Modern Utopia*', p. 36 f., and Quamen, 'Unnatural Interbreeding', 74 f
- 5 On the (post-)modernist aspects in Wells's writings cf. Sylvia Hardy, 'H. G. Wells the Poststructuralist', in *H. G. Wells's Fin-de-Siècle: Twenty-First Century Reflections on the Early H. G. Wells. Selections from the Wellsian*, John Partington (ed.) (Frankfurt a.M.: Lang, 2007), pp. 113–25
- 6 Wells's essay 'Scepticism of the Instrument' was first published in 1903; it is included in Kumar's edition of 1994, which has been used for this essay
- 7 Busch, *The Utopian Vision*, p. 96
- 8 A 'new aristocracy' had already been called for by Thomas Carlyle. The idea was further developed by the followers of Friedrich Nietzsche, by the members of the Fabian Society and many others
- 9 On *Anticipations* cf. John S. Partington, *Building Cosmopolis: The Political Thought of H. G. Wells* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), p. 51 ff
- 10 See, for instance, Bruno Schultze, 'Herbert G. Wells: A Modern Utopia (1905)', in *Die Utopie in der angloamerikanischen Literatur: Interpretationen*, Hartmut Heuermann and Bernd-Peter Lange (eds), (Düsseldorf: Bagel, 1984), p. 161–75
- 11 Ernst Bloch, *Das Prinzip Hoffnung* (Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp, 1959)

Chapter 21 Utopian Journeying: Ursula K. Le Guin's *The Dispossessed*

- 1 Ursula K. Le Guin, *The Dispossessed: An Ambiguous Utopia* (New York: Eos HarperCollins, 2001 (1974)), p. 386. Page references to this edition will be given in parentheses throughout the text of this essay. For those using a different edition of *The Dispossessed*, see the detailed table comparing the paginations of English-language texts in Laurence Davis and Peter G. Stillman (eds), *The New Utopian Politics of Ursula K. Le Guin's The Dispossessed* (Lanham, Md.: Lexington Books, 2005), pp. vii–viii
- 2 See on this point Antonis Liakos, 'Utopian and Historical Thinking: Interplays and Transferences', *Historein*, 7 (2007), p. 28
- 3 Ursula K. Le Guin, 'A Non-Euclidean View of California as a Cold Place to Be' (1982), in *Dancing at the Edge of the World: Thoughts on Words, Women, Places* (New York: Grove Press, 1989), p. 81
- 4 Le Guin, 'Non-Euclidean View', p. 98
- 5 For further discussion of 'grounded' utopias, see Laurence Davis, 'History, Politics, and Utopia: Towards a Synthesis of Social Theory and Practice', *Journal of Contemporary Thought*, 31 (Summer 2010), pp. 79–94; reprinted in Patricia Vieira and Michael Marder (eds) *Existential Utopia: New Perspectives on Utopian Thought* (London and New York: Continuum Press, forthcoming 2012)
- 6 Jennifer Rodgers, 'Fulfillment as a Function of Time, or the Ambiguous Process of Utopia', in *New Utopian Politics*, pp. 181–2
- 7 Ursula K. Le Guin, 'A Response, by Ansible, from Tau Ceti', in *New Utopian Politics*, p. 306

Conclusion

- 1 Karl Mannheim, *Ideology and Utopia: An Introduction to the Sociology of Knowledge*, trans. Louis Wirth and Edward Shils (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1936), pp. 176–7. Original emphasis
- 2 H.G. Wells, *Men Like Gods* (London: Cassell, 1923), p. 158
- 3 Robert Owen, *A New View of Society: Or, Essays on the Principle of the Formation of the Human Character, and the Application of the Principle to Practice*, by One of His Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the County of Lanark [pseud.]. In *Selected Works of Robert Owen, Volume 1 Early Writings*, ed. Gregory Claeys (London: William Pickering, 1993), p. 33. Original emphasis
- 4 Owen, *A New View of Society*, p. 34. Original emphasis

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