Eighteenth-Century English Utopias

in the Context of the Enlightenment 'Science of Man'

and Travel Literature

Human Nature, 'Unsocial Sociability' and the Continuity of the Tradition

of Early Modern Utopian Writing

By
Tetiana Onofriichuk

Submitted to
Central European University
History Department

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts

Supervisor: Professor László Kontler
Second Reader: Professor Matthias Riedl

Budapest, Hungary
2009

Statement of Copyright:

Abstract:

This thesis is dedicated to the utopian discourse of the eighteenth century in the context of moral philosophy of Bernard Mandeville, Adam Smith and travel narratives of the age of Enlightenment. The author shows the evolution of the representation of the utopian citizen throughout the 18th century, taking English Enlightenment as the background for the utopists' ideas. The main argument of this research is that utopias of the 18th century are part of the discourse about human nature of the age. The utopian society of the Enlightenment had the same natural laws, human nature, and social and commercial features. Also the author argues that utopias of the 18th century continue the early modern tradition of utopian writing, contrary to the point of view of J.C. Davis and his idea that Enlightenment and utopia are not compatible.

Table of Contents

Introduction

If a man feels awkward in his own society, if there is something that distresses or makes him unhappy, he can choose one of four options. First, one can accept the situation, as it is not in his power to change anything. Second, one may individually or jointly try to change the state of things for the better, therefore to direct the life of society in a more convenient or improved (in the opinion of this very individual) direction. The third option is to leave this unsatisfactory social organization and try to find more favorable terms somewhere else. Finally, the last variant is to create a model of ideal society, and it does not really matter if it will exist only in his imagination and on a paper. It will still have the features of the author's world, though without its vices and faults. In this way it becomes possible to find one's own lost paradise, or to discover *Atlantis*, or fly to the Moon and back, where everyone lives better and is happier. Also one may introduce these ideas to many people and find supporters or like-minded persons. Utopia was always an answer to public and political defects. It introduced the idea of social organization with general Christian virtues, or with limitations of private or landed property, or with reformed manners. Such propositions always overwhelmed even the most radical political discussions or pamphleteers' suggestions. The English utopians reasoned therefore, how to combine effectively all the personal virtues of every separate individual for the good of all society, how to achieve extraordinary knowledge in order to resist the revolutionary calls of time and the moral weakness of humanity.

In this research I will argue that utopias of the 18th century are part of the discourse about human nature of the age. It was not a denial of social reality (as it was in the previous century), but wherever utopia was located (island, Moon or *neverland*), the society had the same natural laws, human nature, and social and commercial features. This basically

promotes the study of utopia not apart from 18th century political thought, but exactly as an integral part of it. If previously utopias were all different, based on the individual dreams and desires of every author, now they resembled social reality. Also I will argue that utopias of the 18th century are not just the subject for separate study, but continue the early modern tradition of utopian writing, contrary to the point of view of J.C. Davis and his idea that Enlightenment and utopia are not compatible.

My previous research touched texts of the 18th century, and studied their social, economic and political ideas in the context of the ambiguous English Enlightenment. In particular, I was analyzing *The Consolidator or, Memoirs of Sundry Transactions from the World in the Moon* by Daniel Defoe (1705), *A Voyage to Cacklogallinia, with a description of the religion, policy, customs and manners of that country* by (anonymous) Captain Samuel Brunt (1727), *A Description of Millenium Hall, and the Country Adjacent: together with the Characters of the Inhabitants, and such historical anecdotes and reflections, as may excite in the Reader proper Sentiments of humanity, and lead the Mind to the Love of Virtue* by Sarah Robinson Scot (1749), *A general idea of the college of Mirania with a sketch of the method of teaching Science and Religion, in the several Classes: and some account on its Rife, Establishment and Buildings* by William Smith (1753). These texts clearly bore the features of the genre, while at the same time highlighting ideal political and economic orders. Some of the texts had satirical notes and mocked the present political and social problems of English society (for example, the anonymous work *A Voyage to Cacklogallinia*); others had the form of political treatises and can be regarded as monuments of political ideas concerning the re-evaluation of relations between society and the ruler (*The Consolidator*). At the same time, there were utopias which contained theoretical suggestions with regard to the educational process in England (*A General Idea of the of College of Mirania*) and reflections upon gender prejudices prevailing in society (*A*

Description of Millenium Hall). One of the characteristic features is that practically all utopias, starting form the 16th century, encouraged reflection about the rights of the individual, at least a century before it was done by political philosophers. Furthermore, in works such as *A Voyage to of Cacklogallinia* and *A General Idea of the of College of Mirania* we deal with theorizing about the problem of slavery: the authors proclaim that this phenomenon must be demolished, and that every individual deserves personal freedom and education.

In my previous study I was examining anthropological features of utopias of the 18th century and comparing them to the texts of the 17th century in order to grasp possible changes or the continuation of tradition. I focused on the visions of the English utopians with regard to 'ideal' space and their visions of 'ideal' daily life: natural environment, domestic life, medical practices, the public sphere, technical inventions and innovations, ideas about leisure and the functioning of society as a whole. All that enabled me to analyze the utopians' suggestions from the practical point of view, in the context of Enlightenment and history of everyday life in England of the 17th and 18th centuries.

My conclusions were as follows. If in the utopias of the 17th century each daily practice was marked by discipline and exact scheduling – when the inhabitants of utopias visited Church, when they voted, and when they had their gatherings, in the 18th century the theme of the strict arrangement of life disappears. Now there are no specific key-moments that mark the everyday behavior of the utopian citizen. Individual virtues and desires are being emphasized, but not the public ones. In the utopias of the 18th century everyone is a master for himself – whether it is a 15-year old girl who chooses a husband by herself,[1] or whether it is a man who wanders to the Moon to study the intellectual heritage of the lunar

[1] *The Island of Content: or, A New Paradise Discovered*, in *Utopias of the British Enlightenment*, ed. G. Clayes (Cambridge University Press, 1994).

researchers.[2] It is possible to explain these aspects in the light of the arising Enlightenment discourse and its relation to freedom, the emancipation of the individual, and the toleration of individual desires. This is especially clearly visible in the following example. If in the 17th century everyone in utopia lived in harmony with one another and punishments were unnecessary, then in the 18th century punishments exist in the form of banishing the guilty from utopia. The judicial system is absent, however, there is a concept of individual responsibility for the committed crime: if you are guilty, then you will be punished, and nobody will testify for you. The appeal to the individual characteristic of man is related to the Enlightenment idea of the freedom of the individual, and now not only the Church or the State can determine and regulate life but man can decide for himself how he must live.

In the 18th century individual features are not perceived as alien and harmful, (as we know, J.C. Davis was arguing about the concept of formalized everyday life in the England of the 17th century) especially if the society can benefit from that and if it can make a man happy. Therefore, 18th century utopian works become more and more individualistic towards the end of century. In the context of the arising notion of individualism and tolerance it is possible also to examine a change in attitude towards women and clothes. If in the 17th century a woman in utopia is always on the back stage, then in the 18th century she becomes an active participant of domestic life: she has a place within society, she has her own taste and her own preferences. As for the clothes, it has not only appeared on the inhabitants of utopia, but it also appeared in all its difference, which depends upon individual taste and imagination. On the whole, it is necessary to point out, that the utopia of the 18th century was considerably 'more realistic', than texts of previous age. Most suggestions of utopists of the 17th century were simply the denial of reality in which they lived. For this reason these imaginary societies were fantastic to a certain degree.

[2] D. Defoe, *The Consolidator or, Memoirs of Sundry Transactions from the World in the Moon* (1705).

Now, in the time of Enlightenment, the situation changed. Utopists of the 18th century began to think not only about society as a whole, but about the need to achieve happiness by each member of this society in particular. Their works crucially differ from utopias of the previous period. Although the tradition of the writing of texts remained – unexpected arrival, acquaintance, discussion about the advantages of ideal society, fascination with qualities of utopian space – however, if in the 17th century a new-comer did not remain in the utopian space, then a century later the relation of inhabitants of utopia to the foreigners changed. Now they can stay in the ideal society, or come back to utopia any time, they become involved in the utopian life. Therefore a difference between the real world and the utopian one is not perceived by the wonderer in the terms of a clash. Utopia becomes closer to the real world of an Englishman. There were no wars, technical progress and trade were in action, Britain was an active participant on the European political arena in all its brilliance, the revolutionary spasms of the 17th century had become forgotten. Consequently, one (at least if one was wealthy enough) could concentrate on his life and on broadening his own possibilities as a consumer. In the utopias of the 18th century no technical perfections were mentioned. The only text where the idea of technical progress is present – the utopia by Daniel Defoe – exposes this question more in a philosophical context: allegedly some mechanism will contribute to people's possibility of gaining a sound mind and it will become the best medication against deism, atheism, skepticism, etc. This ability of 'people in the Moon' to predict and reflect will be discussed further.

In the 18th century utopists estimate the possibilities of people more soberly and rationally. The questions of organization, system, gold, labour and judicial system were not of great importance to the utopian writers any more. As part of the society of *philosophes* they were more interested in "[…] helping ordinary men and women to lead happy, useful

and virtuous life in an increasingly complex commercial society"[3]. So, utopian daily life of the 18th century is represented within the framework of realistic approaches – here we see sober perceptions of health, images of leisure activities, and detailed descriptions of housing and clothes. Also we can trace a change in the attitude towards women and an absence of any hint at technical progress. However the question of the moral and mental perfection of society remains important. Exactly this aspect forms the ideological paradigm of utopian texts of the 18th century, and for this reason basic utopian discourse is conducted round such concepts as *knowledge*, *mind*, *individualism*, and *happiness*. According to the conviction of utopists, knowledge is the unique and effective medication which will help to overcome the catastrophic consequences of the 17th century. This knowledge should be universal and reachable by everyone. Only knowledge will be able to prevail over economic backwardness and political confusions, create a single social, cultural and intellectual space, where every member of society will be able to attain his own *happiness*, and society will be transformed from a commune into a society with individual desires and persuasions.

In this research I will analyze the following utopian texts: Daniel Defoe's *The Consolidator or, Memoirs of Sundry Transactions from the World in the Moon* (1705), *The Island of Content: or, A New Paradise Discovered* (1709), *The Adventures and Surprizing Deliverances of James Dubourdieu and His Wife, Who were taken by Pyrates, and carried to the Uninhabited Part of the Isle of Paradise* (supposed author Ambrose Evans, 1719),[4] Samuel Brunt's (anonymous) *A Voyage to Cacklogallinia, with a description of the religion,*

[3] Nicholas Phillipson, "The Scottish Enlightenment," in *The Enlightenment in National Context*, eds. Roy Porter and Mikulas Teach (Cambridge University Press, 1983), 20.

[4] *The Adventures and Surprizing Deliverances of James Dubourdieu and His Wife, Who were taken by Pyrates, and carried to the Uninhabited Part of the Isle of Paradise* (London, printed by F. Bettenham for A. Bettesworth and T. Warner, in Pater-Noster Row; C. Riwington, in St. Paul's Church-Yard, 1719). Published by University of Michigan Press: http://books.google.co.uk/books?id=5I7RAAAAMAAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=The+Adventures+and+Surprising+Deliverances+of+James+Dubourdieu+and+His+Wife,+Who+were+taken+by+Pyrates,+and+carried+to+the+Uninhabited+Part+of+the+Isle+of+Paradise&source=bl&ots=ZpYKLcYfXm&sig=A05gcgXh8ZVDaCskrg5ub5imH_A&hl=en&ei=DtfvS7HSJJDxOfmV-aII&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=2&ved=0CBkQ6AEwAQ#v=onepage&q&f=false

policy, customs and manners of that country (1727), William Smith's *A General Idea of the College of Mirania; with a Sketch of the method of teaching Science and Religion, in the several Classes: and some account on its Rife, Establishment and Buildings* (1753), *An Account of the Giants lately Discovered* by Horace Walpole (1766),[5] *The Travels of Hildebrand Bowman, Esquire, into Carnovirria, Taupiniera, Olfactaria, and Auditante, in New-Zealand; in the Island of Bonhommica, and in the Powerful Kingdom of Luxo-Volupto, on the Great Southern Continent* (1778),[6] *The Modern Atlantis: or the Devil in an Air Balloon. Containing the Characters and Secret Memoirs of the Most Conspicuous Persons of High Quality, of Both Sexes, in the Island of Libertusia, in the Western Ocean* (1784) and *A Voyage to the Moon strongly recommended to all lovers of real freedom* (supposed author Aratus, 1793), and outline the visions of the human nature in the real travel accounts about distant Pacific Islands by Johann Reinhold Forster in his *Observations Made During a Voyage Round the World* (1778).[7]

The chronological scope of this research embraces virtually the whole 18th century, the period when state successfully tries to satisfy the needs (be it either industrial, communicational or political) of every individual. Particularly in this time, when political consciousness was revolutionized and changed, moralists were searching for virtues within the commercialized public. It is profitable to examine the notions of 'human nature' and 'unsocial sociability' in the texts of my primary sources – utopias – through the mirror of works by social and moral philosophers of the age, such as Samuel Pufendorf, Bernard Mandeville and Adam Smith. The pattern of 'unsocial sociability', as I will refer to it in this work, can be clarified as the idea that individual desires and their primary role in the human

[5] *Modern British Utopias, 1700-1850*, 8 Volumes, ed. G. Clayes (London: Pickering & Chatto, 1997), Vol.4, 330-340.
[6] *The Travels of Hildebrand Bowman, Esquire, into Carnovirria, Taupiniera, Olfactaria, and Auditante, in New-Zealand; in the Island of Bonhommica, and in the Powerful Kingdom of Luxo-Volupto, on the Great Southern Continent* (1778). http://www.nzetc.org/tm/scholarly/tei-EllTrav-t1-body-d2.html#n60.
[7] *Observations Made During a Voyage Round the World* (1778), eds. Nicholas Thomas, Harriet Guest and Michael Dettelbach (University of Hawai'i Press, 1996).

nature do not stand in contradiction to social harmony. Quite on the contrary, the latter arises from a rational calculation of the individual nature and by satisfying his needs. The object of this research is 18th century utopian heritage, and the precise subject therefore concerns the ideas about ideal social organization, moral superiority and improvement of the 'invented' societies and statements concerning ideal human nature of a sociable human being. This research is developed within the realm of intellectual history and history of ideas. Three utopian texts will be compared to the ideas and vision of human nature in the actual travel accounts by Johann Reinhold Forster (1778).

The objectives of the research:

- To analyze discourses and ideas stated in utopias that concern moral patterns and sociability;
- To give a precise account of the English Enlightenment as the background for the utopists' ideas and to show the evolution of the representation of the utopian citizen throughout the18th century.

Research questions:

- Is it possible to place 18th century utopias within the discourse of 'science of man' as initiated by Enlightenment thinkers?
- What is the link between utopias of the 18th century and travel accounts?
- What is the moral 'face' of utopia within the 18th century Enlightenment context?

The Overview of Sources:

I would like to start with Daniel Defoe's *Consolidator* and its chronological 'partners' *The Island of Content*, William Smith's *A General Idea of the College of Mirania* and anonymous *A Voyage to Cacklogallinia*. All these texts enter the discourse of the human nature in the first half of the 18th century. These texts grasp reflections upon the possibility that virtues of each and every individual will contribute to the general welfare of the utopian society and also give an insight to the ways of achieving knowledge (technical, philosophical, ethical) for the sake of moral improvement again of the whole society. However, apart from these ideas, popular in the age of Enlightenment, there are also the

individual visions of every author. For example, the utopian world of *The Island of Content* suggests an absolutely self-sufficient society of a plentiful nature and individual virtues, ruled by the king who protects his subjects and constructs an ideal political and social order. Satirically, the ideal English society in *A Voyage to Cacklogallinia* is contrasted to the morally and politically imperfect society of the invented country. Two texts – *The Modern Atlantis* and *A Voyage to the Moon* – represent the utopian fable of the second half of the 18th century. These works are different in the sense that they lack descriptions of 'ideal' nature, or appearance of the 'ideal' utopian citizens, or ideas about leisure time and medical practices, which were so typical for the texts of the enlightened period. These works mainly focus on society and individuals within this society, their vices and virtues and means for maintaining a perfect social order. One must observe that in all these utopian works of the first half of the 18th century a lot of attention is paid to the relations between rulers and their subjects – the latter allow their ruler to do everything as long as it makes them happy and sociable. Also, these utopias make their readers reflect upon the influence every individual has on his/her society. In these texts for the first time we can note the pattern of banishment – when a member of utopian community, who is not content and therefore may ruin the state of things in the whole society, can be expelled form his utopian fatherland or simply excluded from the society and made a beggar.

Utopian texts of the 18th century in general, despite their different ideological contexts, have a lot of things in common, especially concerning the Enlightenment background and concerning those aspects that could lead to the improvement of English society. The utopia about the ideal college in the province of Mirania (*A General Idea of the of College of Mirania*) suggests maintaining a system of education as the only means of obtaining knowledge, both in the humanities and natural science. In this utopia it is also possible to trace the idea of how education becomes a linking system, when people of different cultural

and confessional backgrounds can be connected by common knowledge. It serves also as a means for the achievement of social peace – when only good sense dominates in society, then calmness, happiness and glory become accessible. A similar picture of the importance of knowledge, especially in the achievement of political and economic stability, can be seen in *The Consolidator*. However, here we have a stress on the economic aspect, and the aspiration to go back to 'golden age', or at least, to analyze the reasons for the revolutionary fallacies of the previous century. Any suggestions for changes are absent in all these texts, in fact politics is considered cruel and unfair, generating both public and economic problems in society. The only effective medicine which will help to overcome the catastrophic consequences of the 17th century is *knowledge*. Only knowledge is able to conquer economic backwardness and political obstacles, only knowledge can create a single social, cultural and intellectual space where the emancipation of women and slaves will take place.

Such reflections of utopists upon the ideal society as a single supra-ethnic space, saturated with knowledge and rationality, which provides interests of each and every individual and of society on the whole can be found in all texts of the 18th century. This also contributes to the argument of the work – that utopias of the age of Enlightenment, despite a new emphasis on human nature and sociability, continue the tradition of early modern texts with their patterns of organization and control.

In this research I divide utopian texts into two subdivisions – the one that has the structure of the classic utopia (classic on the sense of Thomas More: utopia as nowhere land, some remote island or Moon with a morally superior social organizations), and the other that is comprised by texts that mirror travel accounts of the 18th century: the wondering of the captains, their acquaintance with new lands and peoples in the natural state. For the role model for such texts (*An Account of the Giants lately Discovered, The*

Travels of Hildebrand Bowman and *The Adventures and Surprizing Deliverances of James Dubourdieu and His Wife*) I take the travel observations written by Johann Reinhold Forster about Tahitian islands in 1778. The perception of the "other human/inhabitant" in utopia can be compared to the perception of the "other human nature" in travel literature and encountered through the Europeans' (English in particular) increasing familiarity with various human communities which are different in terms of ethnicity, customs, social, cultural and economic organization etc. In general utopia is one of the kinds of travel literature – imaginary travels. Utopia is always 'found' or 'opened' by its author/visitor, though it exists beyond any material place or time, and that is why it is always found in some invented space. However, utopia always appears to its author (and its visitor) as something material, something that is in a bodily and functional condition and which is always inhabited. In most of the cases utopian worlds are found by accident, but it does not diminish the fact that these worlds are travelers' points of destination and places of acquiring new knowledge.

Utopias of the 17th century were considerably influenced by the geographic expansion of Europe from the end of the 15th century onwards. For this reason the authors of utopias do not give detailed explanations, why some *terra incognita* can be either in Indian Ocean, or near the coast of America. "The opportunities for narrative plausibility here were vastly increased by the explosion of knowledge about the globe which took place over these years: underlying the construction of the early modern utopia was the sense of discovery and possibility afforded by the Renaissance voyages of exploration."[8] Men in the Early Modern era hoped that there could be found better worlds everywhere. Therefore, in the work *The Man in the Moone or a Discourse of a Voyage Thither by Domingo Gonsales*, which was written in 1601 by the English priest, there was a *new world* created which was far more

[8] S. Bruce, *Three Early Modern Utopias* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), x.

interesting than that of America by Columbus, and its population was more clever than the natives of the Columbian 'new' world. On the whole utopias of the 17th century can be characterized as presentations of societies, which are managed by one ruler and speak one common language that assists their peaceful life and prosperity, and makes impossible both external conflicts and internal disorders (this particular point is stressed in every text). All texts challenge political problems and religious conflicts by the means of *organization*. Also habitants of these utopian societies are clever, and therefore they are the most powerful in their unity.

"The 18th century witnessed the birth pangs of globalization, at least in the sense that it was recognized – not only by the political economists, who had long noted the phenomenon, but by the governing classes also"[9]. If the era of the spontaneous geographical openings of the 15th and 16th centuries remained in the past, utopian lands still can be found in the new worlds which are not necessarily far or remote from actual islands of the Pacific, and this is what was represented by utopian narratives of the 18th century.

This work is a continuation of the researches of English utopian literature of time of Enlightenment, focusing on the representation of human nature in them through the lens, first, of patterns of "unsocial sociability", familiar from contemporary social and moral philosophy (Samuel Pufendorf, Bernard Mandeville, and Adam Smith); and, second, the encounter with "the other", familiar from travel writing. Such aspects of the 18th century English utopias as obedience and faithfulness of the subjects to the ruler, the ruler's justice, political rights and personal freedoms, as well as the ideal private space and some aspects of everyday life, both public and private, all of them relevant to a portrait of 'human nature', can be evaluated through the paradigm of 17th and 18th century social philosophy known as

[9] Duncan S.A. Bell, "Dissolving Distance: Technology, Space, and Empire in British Political Thought, 1770-1900," in *The Journal of Modern History*, Vol. 77, No. 3, September 2005, 526.

'unsocial sociability' – to see how 'private vices' can be controlled and turned to 'public benefits'.

In utopia there is much attention paid to the institutions and the bureaucratization of society, so that it becomes able to create a total control and order in an imaginary society. In utopia a man exists to execute laws, but in no way is a law created for people. The reason for this (according to J.C. Davis[10]) is that people and nature proved their insolvency to form the ideal state of things, and that is why they can exist only within the framework of laws. Therefore a utopian human being in utopia suppresses his selfishness, individual desires and pride for the sake of the improvement in the imaginary society. This is the core argument in the utopian study by J.C. Davis and in the first chapter I will place it within the utopian discourse of ideal.

[10] J.C. Davis, *Utopia and the Ideal Society. A Study on English Utopian Writing 1516-1700* (Cambridge University Press, 1981).

Chapter I

1.1. Utopias as the Imagining of the Ideal

It is known that Diderot and d'Alambert did not create an article under the name 'Utopia' in their *Encyclopédie*. Did this indicate an insufficient attention to the existence of such a concept at that time? Or was the fate of 'utopia' similar to the concept of 'English Enlightenment', which is actively debated in academic circles? In the opinion of Francisco Fuentes, the Enlightenment devoted more attention to the real facts and events which could be traced and the practical consequences of which could be felt.[11] Consequently, the basic discourse of the Enlightenment epoch headed not towards the creation of whimsical ideas of achieving the ideal society and form of rule, but *vice versa* – it tried to reform the present ideals and remnants of the *ancien regime*. However, it is impossible to deny the fact of the appearance of an enormous amount of utopian literature in the course of the 17th and 18th centuries. In the England of the 17th and 18th centuries there was a widespread tradition of traveler's accounts about distant countries, unattainable for the majority of population, and also of ordinary fantasies of *dreamers* in relation to newly attained colonies. Slowly but steadily the first, though imaginary, projects of social and political improvement were designed. And if at first these utopian texts were the "simple transcribing of texts, written during the previous age and the quality of these transcriptions was much poorer than the originals,"[12] in the 18th century the genre of utopia began to acquire more precise and independent features, for example, those of totality, efficiency, orientation on moral perfection, and practicality of suggestions. Of course, these features were not acquired precisely in the 18th century texts, especially the one of totality, but the very meaning of

[11] F. Fuentes, *Mir Prosvescheniya*, red. V. Ferrone and D. Rosche (Moskva: Pamiyatniki Istoricheskoi Mysli, 2003), 152. Translated by the author of the thesis.
[12] Ibid., 152.

utopia in its classic 'Morian' terms begin slightly to change. It moves more to the border with real world with its natural and what is even more important human vices. In order to establish this process of driftings and shiftings of the utopian characteristics it is necessary to start from the beginning.

Utopia is the vision or imagining of an ideal or perfect state or society. This is the definition of utopia, *as a perfect society,*[13] that we encounter the most often. However, the very criteria are the subject of heated debate between scholars. Here I am going to devote some of the space exactly to this problem – can and should utopia be clearly defined, or should it stay 'in the air we breathe'? Scholarly studies on utopia mostly concern 16th – 17th and 19th – 20th century texts, meaning the traditions of More, Bacon and Harrington and socialistic visions of the modern era. Utopias of the enlightened 18th century remain either untouched or fairly viewed as 'product of the great minds of the Enlightenment' that was soaked with all the 'egalitarian' or 'progressive' ideas of the age. Therefore, here I will focus upon the theory of the 16th and 17th century utopias, which is very substantial, and will try to test their applicability to the 18th century texts. The main task of this chapter is to give a theoretical framework to utopia as a concept and to clarify its main characteristics in order to see the continuity of tradition between the early 16th century and late 18th century utopian writing.

The form of literary utopia or an imaginary trip very often appears as a dialogue in an invented, often fantastic space, where the narrator tries to find out the present failings in his society and the reasons for their existence. "Very often utopia becomes rigoristic and requires or claims new habits and manners, or the development of truly Christian virtues."[14] Such form of English literary utopias quite often served as an instrument for criticizing the present social order, and also turned public attention to such urgent needs of society as the

[13] C. W. Churchman, "The Design of the Perfect Society," in *Utopias*, eds. Peter Alexander and Roger Gill (Duckworth, 1984), 43.
[14] F. Fuentes, *Mir Prosvescheniya*, 152.

redistribution of the social goods and the protection of the deprived ones, the moral vices of the grandees and the critique of the Whigs' politics, the absence of the scientific progress and also the individual vices of every member of the society. Let us consider the most widespread interpretations of utopia as genre – why and exactly what for were the works of utopian character written, and what did their authors imply in the concept 'ideal' and 'non-existent' or 'fantastic'.

There are two extremes concerning the definition of utopia. One side is represented by the Manuels' work *Utopian Thought in the Western World* (1979), in which both authors try *not* to define utopia. They find this attempt to be intellectually unsafe because it might erase the plural meanings the term has acquired through history. Therefore, they talk about utopia as the realm of everything that is 'unreal' or 'fantastic'. F.E. Manuel's perception of utopia is somewhat romantic when he says that "[…] for utopia – may resurrect a good historical society that has been in ages past and should be again. It may idealize or romanticize an existing polity, even one's own, project the vision far into space – to a distant island, a mountain top, a hidden valley, another planet, into the bowels of the earth – or in time, into the future epoch."[15] However, this view is opposed by J.C. Davis who aims to provide a clear definition of utopia. He states that utopia should be viewed as one form of ideal society and differentiated from the others. Therefore, he determines utopia as a *dream* or *fantasy* which are the subjective visions of "man's dreams of a better world."[16] Davis goes further in his reflections in relation to utopia and its implications – focus on the *improvement* of a certain condition in a particular society. In his opinion, there are a few types of improvement, namely they are (1) mental improvement, as a form of escapism from the social reality; (2) improvement through the prism of a satiric depiction of the present

[15] F.E. Manuel, *Utopias and Utopian Thought. A Timely Appraisal* (Beacon Press, Boston, 1966), viii.
[16] J.C. Davis, *Utopia and the Ideal Society. A Study of English Utopian Writing 1516-1700* (Cambridge University Press, 1981), 12.

state of things; and (3) improvement in the interpretation of Karl Manheim – as the forming of a grand strategy, designed to provoke some changes in the life of the society.[17]

In the debate whether to define utopia clearly or leave it as a floating concept I would opt for the approach of J.C. Davis. Starting from the early 16th century utopia always remained a mental experimentation with the 'unknown'. It is possible to summarize all of the utopian criteria in the following. It is not an illumination of all public features, and it does not solve collective problems. While other forms of the representation of an ideal order (*Arcadia, Millennium, Ideal Moral Commonwealth*) also accept the *unlimited* nature of men's desires and their social appetites, utopia searches for a "golden mean" instead, where individual urges will not contradict the collective persuasions and the habits of the whole society. The main concern of utopia, according to Northrop Frye, is to control social problems, to which certain collective misunderstandings, such as crimes, poverty, revolts, wars, exploitation and other moral defects, may lead.[18] Therefore utopia appears as a set of tools for the maintaining of political order and the establishment of ideal social relations. If other works idealize man as an accomplished creature, or nature as the creator of everything that is perfect, utopia does not provide this kind of idealization. Here it is something else to be considered as ideal or perfect – mainly order, organization, and system. "The utopian seeks to "solve" the collective problem collectively, that is by the reorganization of society and its institutions, by education, by laws and by sanctions. His prime aim is not happiness, that private mystery, but order, that social necessity."[19]

Davis's work *Utopia and the Ideal Society. A Study on English Utopian Writing 1516-1700* is almost a *magnum opus* of early modern utopian studies, and I would like to devote some space to his theory. Exactly his approach is the other extreme – he opts for clear

[17] K. Mannheim, "Ideologiya ta Utopiya," in Ricouer P. *Ідеологія та Утопія* (К., 2005), 336.
[18] N. Frye, "Varieties of Literary Utopias," in N. Frye, *The Stubborn Structure. Essays on Criticism and Society*, 111.
"[19] J.C. Davis, *Utopia and the Ideal Society: in Search of Definition*, 38.

definition of utopia and argues that it should be differentiated form other forms of unrealistic visions and from republicanism with its liberal stress. In this particular study J.C. Davis states that the genre of literary utopia takes for granted the shortcomings of human beings and of nature. Therefore, utopia can improve this situation only by the introduction of an organizational control and sanctioning.[20] Stability and predictability become the value system for the utopia that helps to maintain a perfect organization of the imperfect individuals. I agree with this approach by Davis, but will argue that utopia can acquire many other characteristics of social order without actually abandoning its strict measures of order and organization.

Utopia is the 'ideal' state of sinfulness, "the best possible in the fallen world."[21] Utopia comes closer than any other form of ideal society (*Arcadia, Millennium, and Perfect Moral Commonwealth*) to history, and acknowledges the fact of man's sinfulness and its consequences for nature. Utopia is featured by its attention to "legal, educational, bureaucratic and institutional devices"[22] which are important for the creation of a harmonious society. These devices "must not follow nature, since nature itself is deficient."[23] Actually, in utopia *man is created for the law*, but in no way is law created for people, as both people and nature had proven their insolvency to form the ideal state of affairs, that is why there can be no trust in them. Concepts such as value, quality and institution are never in conflict in utopia. The most important and dangerous enemy of utopia is *pluralism*, and therefore total control must be an answer to any kind of public disorder. Totality is always the priority and the most important value; the aim of utopia is in no way happiness, but order. Even though every author "may go on to consider the

[20] J.C. Davis, *Utopia and the Ideal Society. A Study on English Utopian Writing 1516-1700*, 370.
[21] Ibid., 377.
[22] Ibid., 371.
[23] Ibid.

happiness that might be built on that order, this is not necessary."[24] Another important feature is that utopia is still an unreal construct, not tied to certain place or time; utopia exists outside the reality,[25] although it is represented in the material form of the lost island, some distant country or inaccessible Moon. As J.C. Davis observes, distance is the factor that establishes the border between the real world and the utopian one, between the 'old' world and the 'new' world ideal. Distance is an instrument for the idealization of utopia which also exists outside our knowledge and understanding: it existed before the traveler's visit and it will exist after he leaves this ideal space, which is an embodiment of all his desires, interests and needs.

Something like a mix of both views is held by Northrop Frye, who calls utopia a *fiction or a social myth* that represents the "vision of one's social ideas, not their theoretical explanation or connection of social facts together."[26] Utopia for Frye is an ideal or flawless state that is not only logically consistent in its structure but also permits as much freedom and happiness for its inhabitants as is possible to human life. This view corresponds to my vision of utopia of the 18th century. So the difference between his and Davis's theory is obvious. At the same time, Frye contradicts the Manuels' theory as well, saying that "[…] utopia should not be read simply as a description of a most perfect state, even if the author believes it to be one. Utopian thought is imaginative, with its roots in literature, and the literary imagination is less concerned with achieving ends than with visualizing possibilities."[27] Here Frye's definition is close to the one by Ruth Levitas, who is also in between Davis and Manuels, and who defines utopianism as the "imaginative construction

[24] J.C. Davis, *Utopia and the Ideal Society. A Study on English Utopian Writing 1516-1700*, 375.
[25] J.C. Davis, "Going nowhere: Travelling to, through, and from Utopia," in *Utopian Studies*, 19.1 (2008): Society for Utopian Studies, 2008: 3.
[26] N. Frye, "Varieties of Literary Utopias," in *Utopias and Utopian Thought. A Timely Appraisal*, ed. Frank E. Manuel (Beacon Press, Boston, 1966), 25
[27] Ibid., 31.

of alternative states."[28] Nonetheless, Manuel, Davis, Frye, Kolnai and other researchers overlap in defining one particular feature of utopia – the striving for good in a sense of a 'total' good, as "distinct from doubtful, 'impure' and fragmentary realizations of the good."[29] I agree with the definitions of both Frye and Levitas concerning the utopia as a generator of ideas and possibilities and therefore opened to individual visions of order, and happiness. However, at the same time I would stress that the discourse about happiness and individual freedom (in terms of non-formalized private life) arises only in the second half of the 18th century.

To complete the picture of utopia as a concept it is necessary to mention the idea of the utopian space. As was already mentioned, utopia exists outside the real space and therefore it can be idealized due to its remoteness from the 'old' world. Also utopia, in the opinion of Louis Martin, is an unlimited space which is also an embodiment of an invisible world within the nominal frontiers.[30] Therefore utopia "[…] stands as a perfect idea above any limit."[31] Aurel Kolnai finds utopia in the categories of 'placelessness' and 'nowhere country' as well and states that utopia therefore "is itself […] a symbol of freedom from the limitations and divisions inherent in ordinary mundane existence. This seems to imply perfectionism at its highest, without revealing any content independent of it."[32] Quite a contradictory statement concerning both freedom and routine of the utopia. Author presupposes that the creator of utopia from the very beginning invents a perfect country and society but places it within the limits of routine, or formality (according to J.C. Davis). The idea of freedom is therefore a bit alien for utopia. Utopists paradoxically try to define this

[28] R. Levitas, "Need, Nature and Nowhere," in *Utopias*, eds. Peter Alexander and Roger Gill (Duckworth, 1984), 24.
[29] A. Kolnai, "The Utopian Idol of Perfection and the Non-Utopian Pursuit of God," in *The Utopian Mind and Other Papers. A Critical Study in Moral and Political Philosophy*, ed. Francis Dunlop (London and Atlantic Highlands, NJ, 1995), 93.
[30] L. Martin, "The Frontiers of Utopia," in *Utopias and the Millennium*, eds. Krishan Kumar and Stephen Bann (London: Reaktion Books, 1993), 11.
[31] Ibid., 13.
[32] A. Kolnai, "The Utopian Idol of Perfection and the Non-Utopian Pursuit of God", 88.

endlessness of utopia by a harmonious and detailed totality, and as a concept of border still has to be present in utopia, it is simply "[…] pushed towards its extreme limit."[33] That is the way any utopian world is created – as a "[…] neutral place, an island in between two kingdoms, two States, the two halves of the world, the interval of frontiers and limits by way of a horizon that closes a site and opens up a space."[34]

At this stage, it is worth recalling the words of Irving D. Blum about the reasons for such a genre to originate: "(1) Utopias were permeated with the feeling that society was capable of improvement. (2) A utopia was composed, at least in part, of plans for improving society, and (3) formed of proposals that are impractical at the time of its writing."[35] However, in such a context I find it very hard to define the concept of the 'impracticability' or 'ideality' of utopian ideas. At first, all transformations: political, and social, as the abolition of the tithe or limitation of monopoly is in the 17th century can be seen as 'impracticable' and utopian, and the concept of ideality should imply solving some social dilemma. Consequently, as we can see, there is a problem in dissociating specifically utopian ideas from political projects or reforms. On this definition, Thomas Hobbes, John Locke and Oliver Cromwell can be considered as utopians who tried to improve certain conditions.

J.C. Davis disagrees with the concept of 'impracticability' as well and outlines the conception of Glenn Negley and J. Max Patrick, who consider utopia to be a "[…] fictional, it describes a particular state or community and its theme is the political structure of that fictional state or community."[36] On their persuasion, a utopian work must be fully invented or unreal, and it should, for example, describe an "[…] imaginary dialogue, the recollections of an imaginary traveler, a journey to imaginary lands or a trip to the moon, something of

[33] L. Martin, "The Frontiers of Utopia", 8.
[34] Ibid., 10.
[35] D.I. Blum, "English Utopias from 1551 to 1699: A Bibliography," in J.C. Davis, *Utopia and the Ideal Society: in Search of Definition*, 13.
[36] J.C. Davis, *Utopia and the Ideal Society. A Study on English Utopian Writing 1516-1700*, 16.

this sort."[37] However, in order to protect their theory from criticism concerning the term "imaginary", researchers set their own limitation by saying that utopia should to a certain extent resemble the present or existing state or society. But Davis denies the usefulness of their arguments, blaming them as subjective, because whatever is unbelievable and ideal for one man is not certainly the same for another. The adjective 'invented' can also be attributed to political philosophy altogether, where such notions as *sovereignty*, *institute of public opinion*, *division of goods* and *different of branches of power* can be seen as 'unreal' or 'invented' (at their initial stages).

Taking into consideration the meaning(s) and criteria of utopia, one should proceed towards the aspect of 'forming of the ideal' of both its space and order. It is self-evident that every author of utopian work strove for the ideal and unique in reference to the utopian society. However, society was always different. In the 16th and 17th century texts there were no individual selves in utopia. For the texts of this time only the society and its meeting the true human needs were central for the utopian endeavor. "[…] there would be no selves without society […] the selves to be realized are given their essential qualities by their societies, and that the process of self-realization is a process of continuous involvement with society, as society not only shapes but employs everyone's inner riches"[38] and ideals, I would add. Therefore, in utopia of the early modern period there is a focus on the "need for […] socialization experiences to maintain group cohesion in social animals such as man"[39] and most utopian writers are concerned with the meeting of needs – with preserving the ideal social organization. "The good society is that in which "true" needs are met, but which does not allow the intrusion of "false" needs to create dissatisfaction."[40] On the whole, following the conception of Karl Manheim, I find it meaningful to attribute English utopias

[37] Cited by J.C. Davis, *Utopia and the Ideal Society. A Study on English Utopian Writing 1516-1700*, 16.
[38] G. Kateb, "Utopia and the Good Life," in *Utopias and Utopian Thought. A Timely Appraisal*, ed. Frank E. Manuel (Beacon Press, Boston, 1966), 241.
[39] R. Levitas, "Need, Nature and Nowhere," cited after W.Leiss, *The Limits to Satisfaction* (London, 1978), 22.
[40] R. Levitas, *Need, Nature and Nowhere*, 23-24.

to the group of liberal-humanistic utopias, which represent the intellectual results of the theocratic world views of the past. English piety, in the opinion of Paul Ricoeur, who follows the theory of Mannheim, was able to create a certain ideal of humanity, intellectual potential, and complete knowledge, able to subordinate all state and public processes outstandingly to the power of *mind*. However, taking this into account, Mannheim remarks that this kind of utopia "denies, and sometimes very naively, the real sources of power that are represented by property, money, violence and all other types of non-mental forces."[41] This statement is very applicable for the 18th century texts, that are unified in their objection to politics, cruelty and injustice. As a counterbalance to traditionalism and suspicious innovative trends utopia offers a new order – an order in society from the beginning to the end. However by representing a totally new and detailed social order in a utopian state it "offered no process or dynamic of change."[42] Therefore utopia is not compatible with history – "[…] it presents itself as an eternally existent realm of thought only waiting for its Columbus."[43]

I can conclude that the utopist creates a society of general order, stability, welfare, but in no way of freedom and activity. Also one of the utopian features is *totality*; there is an entire world created which can be projected on the one already existing. In such a way, the reader discovers that an absolutely new environment is created, and where every day is described separately in all its completeness which provides an elimination of the utopian history on the whole. In this context it is necessary to outline the three most important features of utopia – *totality*, *order* and an ambition not only to improve but *to perfect everything by the means of order and organization*. Utopia always describes the peaceful order of things, space and means of existence, which are regulated by "the laws of a kinship

[41] K. Mannheim, Ideologiya ta Utopiya, 336.
[42] J.C. Davis, *Utopia and the Ideal Society. A Study on English Utopian Writing 1516-1700*, 379.
[43] K. Krishan, *Utopianism* (Open University Press, 1991), 44.

system, a local organization, a geographical articulation, a political system."[44] Here, in utopia, order is always total and ideal; perfection is also total and organized, etc. In order to attain all the mentioned things, utopian society must have a law for every aspect of life, as it was shown in the *City of the Sun* by Tommaso Campanella (1623).

However, Louis Martin claims that utopia is in no way designed to contrast with the real world. The utopist simply carries his reality to some unreal space, simultaneously destroying or improving the shortcomings and vices of the real world. He creates the unity of society, which is presented in harmonious geometrical and legal orders, without conflicts. The ultimate goal is therefore a life in equality and fraternity, where each and every individual will be able to develop all his potential. Therefore, he suggests quite an individualistic approach. "[…] Utopias are constructed by an *instrumentalized* reason which tries to control antisocial emotions and to harmonize the conflicts in society through well organized institutions."[45] This is the most precise description of the utopiam mechanism, I believe. The procedure of constructing of an ideal utopian world consists of two important elements: ritual and rational.[46] The ritual part comes when the protagonist of utopia is being introduced to the ideal society with the help of a guide who explains and shows him everything. At first this ritual is *irrational*, as things to which a guide acquaints a "foreigner" seem to be unreal and incomprehensible. However, afterwards, when all the structures and features are explained, this act becomes rational. In such a way, in the opinion of Northrop Frye, utopia is presented as a set of rituals with a rational explanation. However, "the utopian romance does not present society as governed by reason; it presents it as governed by ritual habit, or prescribed social behavior, which is explained rationally."[47]

[44] L. Martin, *The Frontiers of Utopia*, 14.
[45] K.L. Berghahn, *Utopian Vision. Technological Innovation and Poetic Imagination*, eds. Klaus L. Berghahn, Reinhold Grimm (Heidelberg, 1990), 8.
[46] N. Frye, "Varieties of Literary Utopias," in N. Frye, *The Stubborn Structure. Essays on Criticism and Society* (Ohio State University Press, 1966), 109-135.
[47] N. Frye, "Varieties of Literary Utopias", 27.

Following this line of the interpretation utopia might appear as a motionless place which is created only for contemplation and comprehension, instead of any appeal to action. So, when utopian ideas, in the opinion of Judith Shklar, appear to function in a society, utopia ceases to be a *utopia*.[48] It is not that simple, I would say.

In the 17th and 18th centuries there is a fundamental change of this utopian concept. In the age of Enlightenment utopia in its classic meaning of a stationary and motionless space is replaced by utopia of a new time, which foresees certain suggestions for a change. Elizabeth Hansot, following Judith Shklar, also divides utopias into *classic*, where the fixed moral canons aspire the change of individual qualities and not their social realization, and into *modern* which aim to incarnate changes in the whole society and are created exactly for their realization.[49] I support this particular transition from one type to another that takes place in the course of 17th and 18th centuries. Yet, Davis disagrees with such a classification of utopian texts, remarking that "the utopian's prior assumption has always been that man's deficient moral character could not be changed by example alone but that its deficiencies must be supplied by social sanctions and arrangements. In these terms the utopian type of ideal society has been unchanging through history."[50] Furthermore, Davis claims that the Enlightenment cannot even partially be interpreted in terms of utopia, and that anti-utopianism, A*rcadianism* and the search for a secular morality are more typical of it. However, at the same time Davis asks the question *what is the link between the Enlightenment and utopian writing?*[51] - but leaves it without an answer.

I would like to continue this discourse about utopia and Enlightenment and try to depict the connections between such slippery semantic notions as English Enlightenment

[48] J. Shklar, "The Political Theory of Utopia: From Melancholy to Nostalgia," in J.C. Davis, *Utopia and the Ideal Society*, 37.
[49] Ibid., 37.
[50] J.C. Davis, *Utopia and the Ideal Society*, 378.
[51] J.C. Davis, "The History of Utopia: the Chronology of Nowhere," in *Utopias*, eds. Peter Alexander and Roger Gill (Duckworth, 1984), 1-19.

and utopia. This will help to see the influence which this intellectual climate has brought into the utopian venture, particularly its structure and shape as even despite the obvious 'fantastic' motives in utopian novels "[…] it would still be stupid to deny the historical interpenetration of these modes of ideological activity."[52] Despite some debates whether utopia is written in contrast to reality or apart from it, it still remains a constructive literary imagination the author of which shares his visions and views of his own time with his readers. Any utopian writer aimed at much more than just to entertain the public in its search for pleasures. The utopian author had to look deep into his own society and to divide the moral from the functional, and only then to build his own world. That is where the contrast between the *real* and the *invented* took place. The author accepted the fact that his 'imaginary' world did not belong to reality, but he wished it existed. Thus, frequently enough, utopians were denounced as fools, or feared as dangerous or rebellious, whose infectious beliefs could lead people to doubt or destruction or annihilation of their realities, especially if those ideas were to be easily maintained.

Consequently, leaving the subjectivism of the utopian genre aside, let us consider the remaining features, namely – *the wide scale of changes*, their *complete penetration into the structures of the utopian society*, and also the *stability of this new order in a non-existent or unattainable environment*. It is now possible to declare that exactly these features are inherent in all utopias, starting from the early 16th century and until the end of the 18th. However, I would also argue that there are many chronological changes in the very structure and contents of utopian texts. If "Plato, Thomas More, Francis Bacon, and all other architects of Utopias had imagined societies located far away in space and cut off from the real world by impossible journeys or extravagant shipwrecks. Those worlds looked

[52] A. Kolnai, *The Utopian Mentality*, 155.

unobtainable,"[53] Mercier took another path. He created a utopia[54] that was "[…] inevitable, because he presented it as the outcome of a historical process already at work and he placed it in Paris."[55] On the British Islands there was no such utopia created – all of the literary utopian fictions remained in the unreachable domains. However, after Rousseau had "[…] carried the Enlightenment beyond the sophisticated circles to which it had been confined in the first half of the century"[56] the theme of moral indignation and practical improvements in 18th century utopias became common and shared, as contrasting to the early-modern texts, where most of the suggestions were simply the denial of historical reality. In these enlightened utopian narratives exactly happiness became the ultimate goal and if previously utopia was "of controlled passions, of discipline, patriotism, equality and justice"[57] now it is getting more and more individualistic and passionate.

[53] R. Darnton, "Utopian Fantasy", in R. Darnton, *The Forbidden Best-Sellers of Pre-Revolutionary France* (Fontana Press, 1996), 119.
[54] I am referring here to *The Year 2440* (1771) by Louis-Sébastien Mercier.
[55] R. Darnton, *Utopian Fantasy*, 120.
[56] Ibid., 115.
[57] Judith N. Shklar, "The Political Theory of Utopia: From Melancholy to Nostalgia," in *Political Thought and Political Thinkers*, ed. Stanley Hoffman (University of Chicago Press, 1998), 180.

1.2. Eighteenth Century England: Enlightenment, People, Utopia.

> Religious and moral problems were giving way to political and social ones.
> Legal problems were giving way to economic ones.
> Philosophic system gives place to the experimentation
> and Pyrrhonism to a new faith in nature.[58]

> It was the period of *Encyclopedie*, *philosophes* and the *republic of letters*.[59]

> There was neither Whiggism nor Toryism left;
> excess of riches, and excess of taxes,
> combined with excess of luxury,
> had introduced universal Selfism.[60]

The eighteenth century, before becoming the century of enlightened regimes, kings and *philosophes*, witnessed socially and politically different and variable states as well as different economies of local markets. In this ambiguous era, when the population growth went hand in hand with the beginnings of industrial revolution, "the people of the eighteenth-century Britain lived in a paradoxical society in which elegance in architecture, furniture, and sometimes in manners went hand in hand with widespread callousness and cruelty, a clamorous and abusive press, and intermittent riots."[61] The phrase 'commercial society' "had come to denote not merely one engaged in trade and commerce, but one maintained by the system of public credit and capital flow that was now seen as essential to commerce in the ordinary sense."[62] Even history began to be written with regard to these commercial realities of the time (as William Robertson has modeled historical progress according to commercial growth in his *History of the Reign of Charles V*, 1769). The rise of

[58] F. Venturi, *Utopia and Reform in the Enlightenment* (Cambridge University Press, 1971), 120.
[59] Ibid.
[60] *Anecdotes of the Life of Richard Watson, Bishop of Landaff, Written by Himself in Different Intervals and Revised in 1814* (London, Published T. Cadell and W. Davies, Strand, 1818), 193-194.
[61] William B. Willcox, Walter L. Arnstein, *The Age of Aristocracy, 1688-1830* (D.C. Heath and Company, 1983), 60.
[62] J.G.A. Pocock, *Virtue, Commerce and History. Essays on Political Thought and History Chiefly in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge University Press, 1985), 174.

commerce in this century "had vastly enhanced the human capacity for production and consumption, exchange, inter-dependence, and sympathy, and on this foundation there might be erected new ethical systems which displayed how man's love of himself might be converted into love of his fellow social beings."[63] Basically, economy, state and people were thrown within the boundaries of the terms 'commerce' and 'trade'. The influence of these patterns and their connection to further social progress and improvement was noted by Daniel Defoe in the following words: "Trade in England […] has peopled this nation with gentlemen […] the tradesmen's children, or at least their grandchildren, come to be as good gentlemen, statesmen, parliament-men, privy councilors, judges, bishops, and noblemen as those of the highest birth and the most ancient families."[64] This was the age of the new social values, virtues and philosophies.

In this chapter I will examine the main issues of the English Enlightenment, such as commerce, trade, arising rational science, individualism etc, and will place English utopias in the 18th century within this discourse. Also I will outline such features as politeness, civility and sociability that will help to develop the discourse about the 'science of man' in the following chapters.

The renaissance faith in the outstanding human capacities of Englishmen in particular, was re-evaluated in the 18th century: "Such sixteenth- and seventeenth-century phenomena as the Reformation and Counter-Reformation, the nationalistic wars of France and Sweden, the vicious commercial rivalries, and the bloody Cromwell era in England convinced the later writers [*writers of the 18th century* – T.O.] that all schemes for perfecting a basically depraved human race were visionary and hopeless."[65] It is essential to remember that no European society in the seventeenth century had gone so far as England through the fires of

[63] J.G.A. Pocock, *Virtue, Commerce and History. Essays on Political Thought and History Chiefly in the Eighteenth Century*, 147.
[64] Cited by William B. Willcox, Walter L. Arnstein, in *The Age of Aristocracy, 1688-1830*, 76.
[65] J.W. Johnson, *Utopian Literature. A Selection* (Modern Library, New York, 1968), 192.

religious enthusiasm, or seen so clearly how it could generate a revolutionary assault on the governing institutions. The concept of 'ideal' therefore had considerably lost its meaning for the Englishmen due to puritan movement in the years of the revolution. However, at the same time "[…] the English revolution did not cause that surge of ideology on the continent which accompanied all the later European revolutions"[66] but contributed to the continental philosophic realms, such as deism, pantheism, free-thinking, and perhaps even Freemasonry. Together with these notions England introduced such elements of Enlightenment, as utility of philosophical ideas, critical thinking and re-evaluation (of the role of Church in life of its society in particular), empiricism of new theories of improvement and to a certain degree the 'freeing' and secularization of thought.

England of the 18th century appears to have contradictory image that is not yet outlined, especially in relation to such paradigm of the Modern age, as Enlightenment. On the one hand, 18th century thinkers of all nations "revered English Government, society and opinion as the pure crystal of Enlightenment"[67] and English religious tolerance was considered to be a canon for the inheritance. On the other hand, English Enlightenment can be considered as 'sterile' with only separate bright blazes – works of such authors as Joseph Priestley, Samuel Richardson, Daniel Defoe, Adam Smith and David Hume. At the same time in the 18th century while talking about England learned men agreed that "the freedom spoken of is the freedom of trade. Equality concerns property and taxes. Justice consists of a better investment of capital and labour."[68] Even in France – the capital of European Enlightenment – people acknowledged that there had scarcely existed a society, where "public and private efforts are directed with so much assiduity, energy, and ability towards

[66] F. Venturi, *Utopia and Reform in the Enlightenment*, 49.
[67] R. Porter, "The Enlightenment in England," in *The Enlightenment in National Context* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1981), 1.
[68] F. Venturi, *Utopia and Reform in the Enlightenment*, 124.

the improvement of public and private condition"[69] as the English. Therefore learned men introduced Great Britain of the 18th century within the concepts of "economic and social" and *not* "constitutional, political, religious, or cultural."[70] The English "economic and social" Enlightenment was in a way conservative too, with certain features of clerical 'dizziness'. Conservative in the sense of adjusting relations between the State and Church after the shocks of the civil war and crisis of the 17th century, that resulted in the establishment of a modern commercial society and further dominance of the Empire. The words of Justin Champion in such a context are self-explanatory: "in England after 1660, as a result of the profound social and intellectual inversions of the Revolutionary decades, it is possible to speak with confidence of a society that was driven by competing ideological prescriptions for true religion and government."[71] Consequently, the English Enlightenment was a self-assured phenomenon which was not integral and monolithic, and appeared in too many spheres of social and political life that makes it impossible to bring to one unique definition and mode of evolution.

However, I would like to outline its main features following the most notable historiographical works on this subject. Franco Venturi defines Enlightenment with regard to the presence of the *philosophes* in each particular society and the political tradition of the state. By *philosophes* he means "a group of men" that "came together" and

> "who were active in discussion and in the political struggles of the day, on issues ranging from the problem of the standing army to the Protestant succession. They brought to these problems a strong intellectual and emotional commitment, which constantly carried them away beyond specific issues to the general problems of religion and freedom. […] These men saw themselves as philosophers, and not only as politicians or diplomats. They unite and blend, sometimes in a violent and unexpected form, the problems inherited from Spinoza, Locke, Newton with those which were being debated in parliament and by the makers of foreign policy in England and Europe. This is why they are difficult to define: high and low whigs, old and new whigs, real whigs, republican fringe of the whigs, deists, free-thinkers; all these terms express only half of the truth. One might consider them, with a

[69] Ibid., 5.
[70] Ibid., 124.
[71] J. Champion, *Irreligion and English Enlightenment, 1648-1789* (University of London, 1992), ii.

slight risk of exaggeration, as the first group of Enlightened intellectuals and philosophers at grips with the political problems of their age.[72]

This party of *philosophes* was neither intellectually, nor sociologically a unified group and never formed a cohesive environment. England, in Venturi's view, was not gifted with such an intellectual party and therefore it should be excluded from the range of countries that witnessed and experienced the Enlightenment dawn and dusk. Yet, Pocock offers his solution to this problem – absence of 'a philosophical vanguard – "[…] English Enlightenment was the instrument of ruling groups, aristocratic and clerical, which contrived to be relatively traditional and profoundly modern (hence, of course, the "class struggle without class")."[73] Consequently, the result of this solution is an idea about 'Enlightenment from above'. Furthermore, Pocock suggests to begin the English Enlightenment from the 1660s – "[…] the beginnings of Enlightenment […] in England are to be found among the clergy of the Church of England restored in 1660. Some of these clerics were, let us concede, High Churchmen in the sense that they declared the Church to be a mystical body distinct from the state."[74] In this context it is important to stress the attitude towards the unique character of the Church of England after 1688, particularly when "[…] nobility, gentry and clergy were convinced that the restoration and maintenance of the authority of a royally governed church offered the only way to bury the memory of the calamitous breakdown of sovereignty and governing order in the years of civil war and interregnum."[75] So, the church remained important, contrary to the widespread persuasion about the secular Enlightenment spirit and even despite the frequent conflicts between the so-called 'high-churchmen' and so-called 'latitudinarians', who had found it possible to

[72] F. Venturi, *Utopia and Reform in the Enlightenment*, 52-53.
[73] J.G.A. Pocock, *Clergy and Commerce. The Conservative Enlightenment in England*, ed. D. Ajello (Cambridge University Press, 1995), 529.
[74] J.G.A. Pocock, *Clergy and Commerce. The Conservative Enlightenment in England*, 530-531.
[75] J.G.A. Pocock, *Barbarism and Religion. Vol. 1. The Enlightenments of Edward Gibbon, 1737-1764* (Cambridge University Press, 1999), 15.

conform both before and after 1660. Anglican Latitudinarianism, which was quite an influential trend within the polite society, presented a benevolent God as the author of a harmonious universe in which earthly joys guaranteed future heavenly rewards. This is a starting point of the new concept of happiness in the 18th century – individual earthly happiness, which was not explained in hedonistic notions any more. Also, latitudinarianism contributed to the pattern of self-fulfillment that excluded self-denial from the discourse about human nature, because it became to be seen inherent in human nature and beneficial to society – to be self-sufficient. And that was one of the preoccupations of the Enlightenment – "[…] betterment of this world, without regard for the existence or non-existence of the next."[76]

In such a society, where individualism began to be appreciated and commerce praised, the concepts of *clever, polite* and *social* became the key issues. In fact, as researcher Pocock argues, all the most important principles of the Enlightenment were well known to the English society. It was used to the sense of *good* and the importance of *experience* (after theories of Locke); to the *law*, *freedom* and *justice*; to *happiness*, *humanity* and *ingenuousness*; to the idea that knowledge gives credit to progress; to the claim of *sapere aude*. Moreover, all of this, including religious tolerance and privacy of property, was fastened by the constitution of 1688. "Sociability was identified as central to the Enlightenment view of the human predicament."[77] Sociability of a citizen aimed at self-preservation, because by being sociable he excluded any possibility of being harmed by other individuals. This was the discourse of the commercial age. The words 'morals' and 'manners' were the *diminutives* of the age. As Lord Chesterfield (1694-1773) cleverly observed "Manner is all, in everything; it is by manner only that you can please, and

[76] John Robertson, *The Case for the Enlightenment. Scotland and Naples, 1680-1760* (Cambridge University Press, 2005), 8.
[77] László Kontler, "What is the (Historians') Enlightenment Today?" in *European Review of History*. Vol. 13, No. 3, September 2006: 357-371, 360.

consequently rise"[78] and many people were thinking in terms of education, virtues and politeness, as shown in Addison's *Spectator*.

Therefore the distinguishing feature of the Enlightenment in England became the pragmatic utility of mentioned notions and ideas. This can be looked as an exclusive phenomenon – while continental intellectuals were writing treatises and tried to attract more supporters for their ideas, English *philosophes*, who were sharing common notions of "reason, humanity, liberty and tolerance"[79] were creating orphanages and cultivating gardens. England appeared to be a kind of 'lost paradise', where all doors were opened for all, where everybody could get education and find a place in its commercialized and secularized society. "[…] Many Englishmen were able to share Enlightenment aspirations for amusement, social emulation, the pursuit of taste, novelty and fashion."[80] One of the primary objectives of each and everyone was saving of the social order within the existing limits of a society which was acquiring more and more features of *individualism*. This was the result of absence of discipline and subordination in English society during the previous century. However, Britain of the 18th century cannot be perceived in contradictory notions. While on the Continent everything could be seen in the terms of 'light against darkness' and 'body against soul', especially towards the end of the century, in England there was 'individual and society', 'science and religion'. Basically, Englishmen, such as Swift, Wesley, Blake, were preoccupied not with the problems of the State, but with the necessities of society and each particular individual in this State, and also by their co-operation within the boundaries of the 18th century. This was a reach soil for the applications of the theories of the 'unsocial sociability' as referred earlier and these theories found their place not only in the minds of *philosophes* and their treatises on human nature, but also in utopias of the enlightened era.

[78] William B. Willcox, Walter L. Arnstein, *The Age of Aristocracy, 1688-1830*, 83.
[79] John Robertson, *The Case for the Enlightenment. Scotland and Naples*, 1680-1760, 2.
[80] R. Porter, *The Enlightenment in England*, 12.

Generally speaking the 18th century, both in the Continent and in the Kingdom, can be viewed through the paradigms of traveler accounts, moral treatises and also so-called 'dreamers' visions, where ideal societies and states were given their literary lives. Literally utopias are "fictional creations of an ideal state, incorporating positive beliefs of the author"[81] in which authors express their personal views, very often satirical, concerning state and society, or offer their own suggestions for improvement. It was Thomas More who first stated the main principle of the utopia – its orientation against the English state system, and later utopian authors went on to develop this theme, and in their works they argued against the evil of political systems of the countries and added the shade of hope for forming of a more humane society in the nearest future. Most of the published utopian works of the end of the 17th and of the 18th centuries in no way were preoccupied with reforms and even to a lesser extent bothered by the ideas of revolution. They were mainly popular novels the main purpose of which was to entertain ladies and to encourage discussions among the public of salons. Despite the fact that 18th century did not manage to create any fundamental work which could be similar to the More's *Utopia* and which would be associated with the epoch of Enlightenment (utopia is not even mentioned in *Encyclopédie*!); we still can enjoy a heap of works to every taste, both literary and political. They started a range of new topics within the patterns of *perfection* and *happiness.*

Great Britain in no way fell abreast of these tendencies, quite on the contrary, the extraordinary ideas of non-existent societies and models of progress were popular. These works, in which such ideas were expressed "[…] often distinctively portray well-ordered and virtuous if normally still imperfect regimes, where property is held in common or limited by agrarian laws."[82] As it was already mentioned above, England in the times of Enlightenment could offer utility of philosophical ideas, an empirical application of new

[81] A. Stephens, "The Sun State and Its Shadow. On the Condition of Utopian Writing," in *Utopias. Papers from the Annual Symposium of the Australian Academy of the Humanities*, ed. Eugene Kamenka, 1.
[82] G. Claeys, *Utopias of the British Enlightenment* (Cambridge University Press, 1994), Vii.

theories of improvement and also a wonderful field for their application. Still there is a dispute concerning the practical application of utopian ideas of the 18th century texts. It is worth marking some of the sources from which utopian thought of the Enlightenment took its strength:

- Popular descriptions of travels to the new lands, the social structure of which was not always similar to the one of Britain and which in the form of utopias could develop even into the voyages to the Moon;
- The growth of the importance of science and technology, especially in the eve of a scientific and technical revolution of end of the 18th century. Here also the idea of progress originated, which can be attributed to the scientific novelties and knowledge programmed on moral development of the humanity;[83]
- Sense of poverty, which was decided to substitute with better economic organization and agrarian productivity. Also an idea that growth of commerce provoked such shortcomings of society, as corruption and religious skepticism.[84]

The genre of utopian literature in 18th century England was for a long time considered as such that existed only on the level of a few satiric works, like *Gulliver Travels.* Some researchers consider "[…] the widespread use of the utopian format primarily to lampoon existing social imperfections, rather than to recommend a superior regime."[85] The characteristic feature of the English utopias would be their differences: some of them were written as political treatises which suggested constitutional changes; others had a more literary character and expressed personal ideas and hopes for achieving the ideal of each author, some suggested alternative systems of social, cultural or political organizations and mirrored travel accounts of the 18th century. Though all kinds 'offered' a better and improved present state in the society.

The French Revolution became a key moment of the Enlightenment and all utopian tradition. In fact exactly then the basic ideas of Enlightenment – the perfectibility of the

[83] It is necessary to clarify the idea of progress as seen by the Enlightenment thinkers. They perceived their own time as the highest point of the historical development and did not go further in their reflections about the future of mankind. Here it is worth saying that utopian writers of this period went much further in their idealistic visions – they began to believe that utopia has future and aims at absolute happiness at the end when the needs of every individual will be satisfied. Therefore, the visions of progress were important for the utopian discourse of the Enlightenment.
[84] Classification is based on the articles of Gregory Claeys.
[85] G. Claeys, *Utopias of the British Enlightenment*, Vii.

institutes of power, importance of mind and knowledge and the utopian idea about an ideal human being and ideal social organization – intersected. Until 1789 neither *philosophes* nor utopians believed in the possibility of fundamental and rapid changes: for *philosophes* changes had to be gradual, peaceful and moderate and for utopians an ideal society had to remain in the limits of an impracticable and unattainable paradigm which was impossible to achieve but at the same time permissible to reflect on. However, the watershed of 1789 is far beyond the time frames of this particular research, and though *de facto* the high chronological point here is 1793, *de jure* it has nothing in common with revolutionary discourse, which I put myself aside from.

However, despite its highly intellectual contents and philosophical aspirations, "[…] utopias, by and large, are materialistic places, and while some of them do go in for plain living as well as high thinking, even for that one needs a good resource base so as to have time for the thinking."[86] Thus some utopias were discussing the reformation of morals of society, or change of gender orders in society. To the overall theme of critique of the state, such everyday subjects are gradually attached as a picture of ideal domestic life, effective medical practices, improvements of the law system (in particular, attention is concentrated on the harsher application of capital punishments), civil ethics, mutual help in a commune, regular attendance at sermons. Private moral practice is also included in the circle of the special authors' interest: sexual relations, freedom of body, death and attitudes toward dying.

Very often the rights of women in marriage and their visions of divorce were directly discussed. The question of gender equality began to be actively debated already from the middle of the 17th century. The problem of the emancipation of women in the 18th century appeared regardless of their color of skin and political prejudice, and afterwards it had an

[86] O.H.K. Spate, *The Pacific. Home of Utopias*, 22.

influence on the public sphere of the Enlightenment. Until recently the only place, where a woman could independently express herself was the household. It was a common knowledge that all humans were reasonable human beings, but their capacities differed according to biological descriptions. Taking into account this interpretation, a woman was thought unable to critically consider a great many situations, as she was far more emotional and less accurate in her actions and this psychological feature allows her to express herself only within the limits of one sphere – family. However, a lot of women very often proved their ability to engage in more global things, than simply gardening and education of children. They began to be responsible for small economic transactions, appeared to be far more educated, more talented and had broader world view in relation to arts, and translations, and quite often "in the absence of their husbands could take their seats and conduct business not worse than men."[87] Women also sometimes were more educated in state affairs than men. However, practically both the public and the political spheres were inaccessible for ladies. Beginning from the second half of the 18th century debates concerning the rights for women, which quite often was compared to the rights of barbarous slaves, became more heated, especially under the influence of Marie Jean Antoine Nicolas de Caritat, marquis de Condorcet. The equality of women and men not only in the private but also in the political sphere began to be propagated; however at that time such ideas were unreal, *utopian*. These first attempts to illuminate the rights of women had their results. In the first proto-feminist works, such as *The Description of a New World, Called the Blazing World* by Margaret Cavendish (1666), *A Description of the Millenium Hall* by Sara Scott (1732) and *The Civil Advancement of Women* by Theodor Gottlieb von Hippel (1792), women appeared to be the unique source of morality in the masculine world of 'competition, cruelty and militancy'. The female author of utopia offered the model of

[87] U. Im Hof, "The Debate on the Role of Women: On the Way to the Emancipation of Women," in U. Im Hof, *The Enlightenment* (Blackwell Publishers, 2000), 248.

common possibilities for "women, poor and sick".[88] This morality was higher than all public laissez-faire attitudes and the political cruelty of men, and in order to attain it women had to be educated.

Previously men perceived the knowledge given to women to be nothing else but an intellectual exercise which could help women to overcome loneliness and boredom, and also could be a pre-condition for moral improvement. But women did not wish to put up with the fact that they were deterred from knowledge. Margaret Cavendish already in her work of 1666 showed both an aspiration for sciences and a desire to reform society by the means of studying of medicine and natural history. A woman in this utopia, who found herself among men-animals, helped them to improve their state administration and commerce with neighbors and to enrich their architecture with the help of the knowledge of ancient Greeks.

The discourse about the reform of education was also one of the basic achievements of the Enlightenment. Enlighteners began to argue against the slogan, which was tested by ages that "scopes, set by the ancient philosophers, should not be moved."[89] Latin continued to prevail during the whole course of studies, and universities continued to produce priests, lawyers and doctors. The universities' programs, taking into account the stormy 17th century in England, were ancient partly due to the fact that practically half a century professors and researchers were busy with other issues and did not have much time for their change. Until the middle of the 18th century the process of studies resembled something like "prescribed textbooks, lectures as a basic canon, and disputes as a form of examinations. Discussions of the literature of wider critical themes were the matter of salons and scientific societies."[90] For this reason professors of the 18th century begin to re-evaluate the school program, add natural philosophy to the study of physics and mathematics, and to form an approach to history not as the history of monarchs, but as the study of the actions of all mankind.

[88] A. Johns, *Women's Utopias of the Eighteenth Century* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2003), 2.
[89] U. Im Hof, "Education, Schools and Popular Enlightenment," in U. Im Hof, *The Enlightenment*, 206.
[90] Ibid., 207.

Also some utopias about distant islands, focusing on moral perfection, praised English deism, the religion of Enlightenment, denied slavery (this aspect is especially crucial in the work *A Voyage to Cacklogallinia, with a description of the religion, policy, customs and manners of that country* (1727) and in *A General Idea of the College of Mirania; with a Sketch of the method of teaching Science and Religion, in the several Classes: and some account on its Rife, Establishment and Buildings* (1753) and demanded the abolition of the death penalty. Most of such utopian texts were contained bold references to the colonized peoples, as utopians still saw a humane attitude towards native populations possible. Therefore, in the opinion of Gregory Claeys, "many such texts can be read as part of the early history of radical and liberal humanitarianism, and of the extension of rights from propertied white males to women, slaves, labourers, foreigners, children, and, very commonly, animals of all kinds, but especially beasts of burden."[91] Generally speaking, the most important features of English utopias of the 18th century were (1) an endeavor for the ideal political and economic order, (2) reference to the individual virtues of every citizen, and last but not least (3) the Christian tradition concerning the society of a general well-being, with a stress on "the equality of mankind and universal charity."[92]

While the Enlightenment was "aiming to put human intelligence to use as an engine for understanding human nature, for analyzing man as a sociable being, and the natural environment in which he lived"[93] utopia provided public minds with the visions of perfect human personalities and better social organizations. Exactly within the Enlightenment paradigm human vices were put in a different light: they began to be seen as "aids to human advancement" and therefore to stimulate the economy by encouraging consumption. "Replacing the old moralizing vision of man as a rational being threatened by brutish appetites, they newly envisaged man as a creature sensibly programmed by nature to seek

[91] G. Claeys, *Utopias of the British Enlightenment*, Xvi.
[92] Ibid., Xviii.
[93] R. Porter, *The Enlightenment* (Macmillan Press, 1990), 3.

pleasure and to avoid pain."[94] David Hume in his time suggested that 'reason was a slave to passions' and therefore the rules of morality are not conclusions of our reason.[95] Long before Hume and Smith, "Mandeville was thus suggesting that 'private vices' would beget 'public benefits' – Mandeville looked to a legislator to effect them, Smith for his part to an 'invisible hand'."[96] It became a common sense that selfishness produced social harmony. All these economic, social and moral shifts induced people to write works in which they evidently strove for the "rejection of social reality".[97] Skeptics, meaning the satirical utopian authors, who did not believe in the possibility of establishing best orders rather tried to mock the present public or political life. A bright example of such work is a text of *Gulliver Travels* by Jonathan Swift (1726) – a brilliant 'manifesto' to the desire to go back to original simplicity. The next work that influenced the formation of a utopian tradition was an 'individualistic utopia', *Robinson Crusoe* (1719) by Daniel Defoe. The idea of the organized society and ideal imaginary power, which induces the development of individual conscience, was formulated in this work. Those utopias that contained the ideas of *development* of ideal societies took their beginnings from the republican theories, in particular from those expressed in *The Commonwealth of Oceana* by James Harrington (1656). Such works often were becoming the objects of political discussions, due to the ideas of the balance between the society and state and dissatisfaction with the presence of permanent army expressed in them. Till the end of the 18th century utopias began to acquire economic connotations and political discourse begin to be formed around such concepts, as 'independence' and 'corruption' and as we shall see, a human corruption.

Enthusiastic authors of 18th century utopias were frequently accused of stubborn refusal to accept the social reality. Having outlined the narrative of the 18th century Britain I

[94] R. Porter, *The Enlightenment* (Macmillan Press, 1990), 19.
[95] Jonathan Israel, *Enlightenment Contested. Philosophy, Modernity, and the Emancipation of man 1670-1752* (Oxford University Press, 2006).
[96] R. Porter, *Enlightenment. Britain and the Creation of the Modern World* (The Penguin Press, 2000), 175.
[97] J.C. Davis, *Utopia and the Ideal Society: in Search of Definition*, 12.

can conclude what kind of social reality they did not want to accept. It was the reality of liberal opinions about 'spontaneous order' in the society of new religion under the guidance of the small party of *philosophes*. The period of reason and politeness together with selfishness, cruelty, and preoccupation with achieving individual needs, discourses about private property and deep-seated constitutional and social reforms. Utopia of the 18th century absorbed all these novelties and contradicted to them in its own way – by creating morally perfect social organizations. It was the century of the new science of man and the way in which utopia responded will be shown in the next chapter.

Chapter II: Eighteenth Century Utopianism and the Science of Man: The Challenges of 'Unsocial Sociability'

"The Proper Study of Mankind is Man".[98]

"Thus God and Nature Linked the General Frame
And Bade Self-love and Social Be the Same."[99]

"It is a well-known principle of morality, says Mr. Godwin,[100]
that he, who proposes perfection to himself,
though he will inevitably fall short of what he pursues,
will make a more rapid progress than he,
who is contented to aim only at what is imperfect."[101]

Belief in human's natural capacity for social harmony and for preserving the contract between the state and society was shaken by 17th century. Customs, virtues, honor, obligation – all these patterns bounded society together and underwent crucial attacks and changes during the Civil War, Cromwell's Protectorate, Restoration and Glorious Revolution. After tumultuous political rivalries and puritanical exaltations, intellectuals of the beginning of the 18th century began to see human race as basically depraved, vicious and hopeless. Indeed, there were reasons for that. Thus, a more precise utopian social engineering, contrary to that of the 16th century, had to be put on the wheels. This approach resulted in the range of ideas of English intellectuals that presumed that a more perfect society can be created now, and not in the past or in the future, by the method of suppressing human weaknesses and cruelty in the age of commerce and sociability. So, if utopia is called an 'ideology of order', and the utopian authors are 'social engineers', it brings us to the point when the desire to establish perfection in a profoundly practical

[98] Alexander Pope, *An Essay on Man* (1733-1744), reproduced in *Poetical Works*, ed. H. F. Cary (London: Routledge, 1870), 225-226.
[99] Ibid., 3.
[100] William Godwin (3 March 1756 – 7 April 1836) was an English journalist and novelist. Was married to Mary Wollstonecraft and became know as proto-anarchist of his time.
[101] Thomas Northmore, *Memoirs of Planetes, or a Sketch of the Laws and Manners of Makar (1795)*, Vii.

society (such as Britain in the age of Enlightenment was[102]) was completely acceptable, as it was expressed in one of the best-selling genre of the 18th century: utopias. However, the 18th century also brought something else to the essence of utopian visions. Apart form the long-lasting wish for order, utopia tried to maintain social justice, civility and individualism. At this stage treatises of moral philosophy of the first half of the 18th century became of a great use (by Mandeville, Hume, Smith), because not technological or scientific visions were discussed and speculated upon in utopias, but moral, religious and social issues of individuals that had to help creating a more sociable and benevolent community in the terms of the Enlightenment era. The result of all the transformation was the debate over *solitary self* and *social self*. David Hume, John Locke, Daniel Defoe, Bernard Mandeville were reflecting over this problem of either connecting these two roles of the individual on the ground of their mutual dispersion, or departing them from each other. They believed that *self-preservation* was the most important original law that contributed to the maintenance of the whole society. Self-preservation in the works of such thinkers as Defoe and Locke was seen as "the motive and sole purpose of association indicated a threat as well as a constitutive benefit."[103] John Locke sees self-preservation as the result of struggle between the indulgence of passion and rational self-restraint.[104] In circumstances where people cannot see the outcome of actions they perform and where they cannot consider the present state of things as the result of past actions, they simply can become confused – they can see no sequence and no relation between private and public affairs, no relation between private interest and public improvement (or decline). We can refer here to Bernard Mandeville and to his notion of 'necessary ignorance' which results, as Jonathan Lamb argues, in an absorption of self-preservation. It may be said then that the theory of preservation of the

[102] *Modern British Utopias, 1700-1850*, 8 Volumes, ed. by G. Clays (London: Pickering & Chatto, 1997), Vol.1, Xv.
[103] Jonathan Lamb, *Preserving the Self in the South Seas, 1680-1840* (University of Chicago Press, 2001), 17.
[104] Ibid., 25.

individual *self* within the paradigms of honor, obligation and civil virtues results in a foreseeing of the benefits for the society as a whole. We can trace a similar idea in Hume's reflections upon *self-interest*. He argues that it is psychologically impossible to act voluntarily against one's own interests because all actions in the individual's reality are motivated by self-interest. Exactly this relation between self-interest and public outcomes was the subject of discourse in the Enlightenment era. It became an axiom of the time that "men were, and always would be, driven by their commonly shared passions, whose individual intensities were shaped by their inborn temperaments […] Persons would always and only seek to act in ways they believed would best serve their individual interests."[105] Self-love was believed to be a passion from which all others were deriving and developing. At the same time it was suggested that self-love contributed to social harmony by regulating individual wishes and actions which promoted social stability by the means of seeking approval of fellow-beings.

The endeavor of self-preservation as a central feature of human nature already distinguished in the thought of 17th century philosophers, such as Hugo Grotius and Samuel von Pufendorf. The latter in 1662 occupied a Chair as Professor of the Law of Nature and of Nations at Heidelberg[106] and made a lasting impact on the social theories of the Enlightenment. In his work *On the Duty of Man and Citizen* (1672), which became highly appreciated not only on the continent, he articulated ideas which were already in the air at that time – about the character of human nature and the nature of law. He claimed that "[…] among men there are as many humors as there are heads, and each man loves his own."[107] Man for Pufendorf is an "animal with an intense concern for his own preservation, needy by

[105] Hundert, E.G. *The Enlightenment's Fable. Bernard Mandeville and the Discovery of Society*. (Cambridge University Press, 1994), 20.
[106] Basil Willey, *The Eighteenth-Century Background: Studies on the Idea of Nature in the Thought of the Period* (London: Ark Paperbacks, 1986), 14.
[107] Samuel Pufendorf, *On the Duty of Man and Citizen*, ed. James Tully (Cambridge University Press, 1991), 35.

himself, incapable of protection without the help of his fellows, and very well fitted for the mutual provision of benefits."[108] Thus, man appears to be dependant upon society and his actions, ideas and perception of what is right is acquired through the general manner of life of society, or from habit, or from the authority of superiors.

On the whole, the individual enters society by accepting its values and collective goals, and interacts with other individuals using his human nature in the *search for good*. But the *good* here is completely a self-regarding category, in the sense that a man first of all is in search for good for himself alone and only then he does think about other members of the society. However, he understands that without the help from this very society he cannot completely accomplish his intentions or goals. Pufendorf emphasizes that man is "malicious, aggressive, easily provoked and willing to inflict harm on others. The conclusion therefore is: in order to be safe in the social environment, it is necessary for him to be *sociable*; that is to join forces with men like himself and to conduct himself towards them that they are not given even a plausible excuse for harming him, but rather become willing to preserve and promote his advantages."[109] So, man's existence and well-being within society and under the government is based on the natural laws which are the laws of *sociality* – "laws which teach one how to conduct oneself to become a useful member of human society" and every man "ought to do as much as he can to cultivate and preserve sociality"[110] as by doing it he preserves himself. This is the foundation of the interaction of the individual within society: if man wants to achieve something, he should stay within society and pursue its laws, and habits and this will result in the progress of society in general and his own self-preservation in particular.

The calamities of the 17th century were over. Britain stepped into the new era with a new Monarch, Queen Anne (1702-1714), and new philosophy of the nature of men. "[…]

[108] Ibid.
[109] Samuel Pufendorf, *On the Duty of Man and Citizen*, 35.
[110] Ibid., 35.

the first half of the century witnessed neither a political overturn, nor an explosion in population and nor a revolution in industry. The mood of the age was more favorable to individual achievement and self-assertion in war, trade, and politics than to ready popular subordination to some national master plan."[111] Consequently, contrary to the previous age, in the 18th century people started obeying rather than resisting. This obedience can be explained as a response to the puritanical revolution of the 17th century, as people already got exhausted by its extremism. This was a big change in the consciousness and perception of the government by its subjects in the 18th century – they started to define their right for happiness by placing themselves under the guidance of government. Some also attribute this change in the attitudes to the large scale of warfare as rulers were trying hard to maintain their people for the great warfare, and also by the slight demographic growth that took place at the 30-s of the 18th century. From the philosophical point of view, this age was defined by Mandeville's chef d'oeuvre *The Fable of the Bees* (1714) where he emphasized the importance of individual vices for the economic development of a commercial and sociable people. Eighteenth century thinkers developed new theories of the nature of man and of society in general in axiomatic terms – they defined human nature through a set of self-evident truths (self-regard, self-preservation, benevolence, search for good, sympathy and politeness) that was already speculated upon by Spinoza and Hobbes.

It was a common knowledge that humans were rational beings and it meant that they were expected to accumulate and to discern reasons *why* and *for* applying their sense of reason. Nature was also reasonable; this was not an invention of the Enlightenment *philosophes*. The belief that nature can be explained and that the individual can be rationalized came together with the Newtonian explanation of the concept of science and his vision of the laws of nature. Newtonian vision of Universe found its place in the

[111] William B. Willcox, Walter L. Arnstein, *The Age of Aristocracy, 1688-1830* (D.C. Heath and Company, 1983), 61.

introduction to the behavioral science of David Hume in his *A Treatise on Human Nature* (1739-1740). Enlightenment thinkers moreover introduced the idea that a man could be understood, as he was part of the same Nature. As a result, Enlightenment thinkers created a new science, a science of man – "the study of how man learns, human motivation, social relationships, and the foundation of political and economic institutions."[112] Eighteenth century in particular provides a new background for a new way of reasoning: "One meets everywhere a sense of relief and escape, relief from the strain of living in a mysterious universe and escape from the ignorance and barbarism of the Gothic centuries."[113] This new philosophy was in search for explanations for "'natural' interest between the individual and society" when *self-love* and *social* began to be seen as one, so "that each man in following his own interest is in fact thereby promoting that of the whole."[114] It is a clear reference to Mandeville. Moreover, such notions as c*lever*, *social* and *polite* framed the commercial society of 18th century Britain. The civil war of the 17th century left behind an awful memory – religious fanaticism and a beheaded king. Therefore, "the Enlightenment idea searched for method how to replace the state of war by the state of civil and political order. This process required civility and politeness."[115] Consequently, the ethos of politeness and civility in such a context became required from everyone and at the same time – accessible for everyone. As the result of the formation of new human values "politeness, taste, sympathy, and the moral sense are the alleged attributes of a continuous and sociable personal identity, bent on the joint accomplishment of individual and social standards of good."[116] Yet, this tradition only started in the 18th century and only began to be popularized by *philosophes* who viewed sociability of a self in the 18th century through the paradigm of

[112] *The Enlightenment. The Proper Study of Mankind*, ed. Nicholas Capaldi (Capricorn Books, New York, 1967), 25.
[113] Basil Willey, *The Eighteenth-Century Background: Studies on the Idea of Nature in the Thought of the Period*, 1.
[114] Ibid., 94.
[115] R. Porter, "The Enlightenment in England," in *The Enlightenment in National Context* (Cambridge University Press, 1981), 14.
[116] Jonathan Lamb, *Preserving the Self in the South Seas, 1680-1840*, 19.

self-preservation and through the duty and obedience of a citizen in a community. Every individual, by preserving his self-interest and unsocial pleasure-seeking behavior, was still in need for the society that could help him achieve his goals. Therefore, by being sociable, he advances and the society does together with him. As it was already mentioned, self-love contributed to social harmony by regulating individual wishes and actions and therefore promoting civility and politeness among individuals.

These were self-evident truths for the intellectuals of the first half of the century and this is exactly what utopists were showing, or better to say, architecting, in their imagined communities. As soon as the nature of man was to be brought up in the social and moral philosophical treatises of the age, it became the main point in utopia texts as well – not a specific utopian place, land or technical innovations but the ideal human nature and society. Of course, utopians were preoccupied with these patterns long before the 18th century, but exactly in this time they introduced references to the outcomes of the 'science of man'. Utopist wanted to apply those new 'discoveries' and formulations of the science of man to the particular conditions of their own place and time. Quite often they ended up by unintentional critique of their own society while 'architecting' the more ideal one, or by changing the classic notion of utopia (in terms of Thomas More and Francis Bacon) as a nowhere place and shifting it more to the edge of *eutopia* and Arcadia, *eutopia* and Perfect Moral Commonwealth and Millenarian visions of better societies.

The main task of this chapter is to explore the ideas about human nature, sociability and the perfectibility of the social organization, as it was hinted in the citations at the beginning of the chapter, in the English utopias of the 18th century, and what particular model of society these utopian works portray in the context of the ideas expressed by Bernard Mandeville, David Hume and Adam Smith. The voyage to a remote and unknown country was the standard model of the utopian narratives especially in the age, when "the

market was redoubling the needs of navigation and fantasy."[117] England in the age of Enlightenment could offer the utility of philosophical ideas, the empirical application of the new theories of improvement, and a broad field for their infiltration. One of the supposed resources for the utopian idea of social improvement is considered to be the growing importance of science and discovery, especially towards the second half of the 18th century. Here we can search for the idea of progress (that can be attributed to different technical discoveries) and also the idea of knowledge as means for moral improvement. Works, where such ideas were expressed, "very often portrayed well-ordered and virtuous if normally still imperfect regimes".[118] I am going to look at how ideas of sociability, human nature and improvement are shown in utopias of the 18th century, mainly in Daniel Defoe's *The Consolidator or, Memoirs of Sundry Transactions from the World in the Moon* (1705), in *The Island of Content: or, A New Paradise Discovered* (1709), in Samuel Brunt's *A Voyage to Cacklogallinia, with a description of the religion, policy, customs and manners of that country* (1727), in William Smith's *A General Idea of the College of Mirania; with a Sketch of the method of teaching Science and Religion, in the several Classes: and some account on its Rise, Establishment and Buildings* (1753), in *The Modern Atlantis: or the Devil in an Air Balloon. Containing the Characters and Secret Memoirs of the Most Conspicuous Persons of High Quality, of Both Sexes, in the Island of Libertusia, in the Western Ocean* (1784) and in *A Voyage to the Moon strongly recommended to all lovers of real freedom* (supposed author Aratus, 1793).

To begin with Daniel Defoe's ideas about the man in the Lunar Country it is worth mentioning that this whole work is written from the satirical point of view. The author has a philosophical picture of how our world functions looking from *The World in the Moon*. Defoe shows all the human vices and misfortunes in the real world and on the contrary he

[117] Jonathan Lamb, *Preserving the Self in the South Seas, 1680-1840*, 45.
[118] G. Claeys, *Utopias of the British Enlightenment* (Cambridge University Press, 1994), Vii.

shows how citizens of a Lunar country deal with these problems in their world by using different kinds of machines that help people to understand themselves and their wishes by seeing the wrong things in our world: "strange things, which pass in our World for Non-Entities, is to be seen, and very perceptible; for Example: State Polity, in all its Meanders, Shifts, Turns, Tricks, and Contraries."[119] It is necessary to mention that the inhabitants of this Lunar World are "Men, Women, Beasts, Birds, Fishes, and Insects, of the same individual Species as Ours, the latter excepted: The Men no wiser, better, nor bigger than here; the Women no handsomer or honester than Ours: There were Knaves and honest Men, honest Women and Whores of all Sorts, Countries, Nations and Kindred's, as on this side the Skies."[120] This *other* world is not marked by a great difference from the world the traveler lives in, apart from more regard to *public faith*. The author draws an example of public faith in his own world: "I saw plainly an Exchequer shut up, and 20000 Mourning Families selling their Coaches, Horses, Whores, Equipages, &c. for Bread, the Government standing by laughing, and looking on".[121] The traveler, who saw his country previously as the *country of commerce and constant improvement* now, by the help of Magnifying Glasses, sees "huge Fleets hired for Transport-Service, but never paid; vast Taxes Anticipated, that were never collected; others collected and Appropriated, but Misapplied […] huge Quantities of Money drawn in, and little or none issued out."[122] His own earthly world occurred to him as a corrupted mixture of tricks and lies, where millions of contributions were raised but no taxes licensed and where ships were fitted out at the rates of 2 millions per year but they left the harbor once in 3 years. This was the world he lived in and was planning to come back to and where he saw "Confederations without Allies, Allies without Quota's, Princes without Armies, Armies without Men, and Men without Money,

[119] Daniel Defoe, *The Consolidator or, Memoirs of Sundry Transactions from the World in the Moon*, 1705.
[120] Ibid.
[121] Ibid.
[122] Daniel Defoe, *The Consolidator or, Memoirs of Sundry Transactions from the World in the Moon*, 1705.

Crowns without Kings, Kings without Subjects, more Kings than Countries, and more Countries than were worth fighting for".[123] Also, observing the affairs in his earthly world together with his Old Men guide they saw:

> "[…] Protestants fight against Protestants, to help Papists, Papists against Papists to help Protestants, Protestants call in Turks, to keep Faith against Christians that break it: Here we could see Swedes fighting for Revenge, and call it Religion; Cardinals deposing their Catholic Prince, to introduce the Tyranny of a Lutheran and call it Liberty; Armies Electing Kings, and call it Free Choice; French conquering Savoy, to secure the Liberty of Italy."[124]

So, the earthly society is all about individual desires and public mistreatments, and it results in a total dysfunction of countries and confederations. On the contrary, in this fantastic *Lunar Country* laws are invented for the "general Safety and Satisfaction of their Subjects."[125] How do individuals in this lunar society interact? It is one of the first questions the traveler asks his guide. He observes that people in the Moon have "Absolute undisputed Obedience" and that it "was due from every Subject to their Prince without any Reserve, Reluctance or Repining; that as to Resistance, it was Fatal to Body, Soul, Religion, Justice and Government; and though the Doctrine was Repugnant to Nature, and to the very Supreme Command it self, yet he that resisted, received to himself Damnation, just for all the World like our Doctrine of Passive Obedience".[126] This notion of *obedience* is worth a closer insight. As it was already mentioned, obedience became an important issue of the 18th century social reality. But utopian obedience has rather peculiar foundations. The reason for the obedience of the lunarians is their ability to detect the "Imperceptibles of Nature" – "the Soul, Thought, Honesty, Religion, Virginity, and an Hundred other nice things, too small for humane Discerning". They do it with the help of a special machine – the one I was referring to already – and this machine brings man "into vast Speculations, Reflexions, and regular

[123] Daniel Defoe, *The Consolidator or, Memoirs of Sundry Transactions from the World in the Moon*, 1705.
[124] Ibid.
[125] Ibid.
[126] Daniel Defoe, *The Consolidator or, Memoirs of Sundry Transactions from the World in the Moon*, 1705.

Debates with himself".[127] Defoe states that human's actions are results of thinking and therefore:

"There never was a Man went into one of these thinking Engines, but he came wiser out than he was before; and I am persuaded, it would be a more effectual Cure to our Deism, Atheism, Scepticism, and all other Scisms."[128]

The importance of this machine is crucial for the Lunar Country. It is the fact that this society possesses this apparatus that makes this country a utopian one (there are very few references to the natural felicity, or the ideal person of the ruler, or any individual virtues of its citizens). This machine

"[…] prevents abundance of Capital Disasters in Men, in private Affairs; it prevents hasty Marriages, rash Vows, Duels, Quarrels, Suits at Law, and most sorts of Repentance. In the State, it saves a Government from many Inconveniences; it checks immoderate Ambition, stops Wars, Navies and Expeditions; especially it prevents Members making long Speeches when they have nothing to say; it keeps back Rebellions, Insurrections, Clashings of Houses, Occasional Bills, Tacking, &c."[129]

This 'artificial anatomy of human actions', as I would call this Cogitator-machine (as Defoe calls it) operates over the slightest wishes and emotions of the utopian individuals, and helps to project the future influence of every individual action for the whole community. This concept can be partly compared to Mandeville's visions of interpersonal relationships that evolved to discount the risk of social clashes. However, this has a 'smell' of individual manipulation and definitely of social engineering when "this science of socialized man would seek to map the unintended consequences of self-interested action and have as its primary objective the discovery of stabilizing social mechanisms inherent in communal expressions of self-regard."[130] The introduction of this machine needs a bit more speculation. Its function can be compared to the Mandeville's idea that men are calculating

[127] Daniel Defoe, *The Consolidator or, Memoirs of Sundry Transactions from the World in the Moon*, 1705.
[128] Ibid.
[129] Ibid.
[130] E.G. Hundert, *The Enlightenment's Fable. Bernard Mandeville and the Discovery of Society* (Cambridge University Press, 1994), 60.

their actions. This helps men, pleasure-seeking animals, to stay within the sociable limits in the society. They foresee the outcomes of their actions and therefore stay sociable. Here this kind of sociability can be treated as the result of human selfishness. At the same time, this machine is a bright example of the 18th century endeavor for the enhancement of technical instruments in the 'new science'. The invention of many technical novelties helped at this time physically imperfect men to improve and extent their sense perception. With the help of this machine, therefore, lunar citizens could see the souls of their dead relatives, and not only to perceive the results of their doings.

Citizens of this country "were ready at any time to show such Proofs, and give such Demonstrations of their Loyalty, as would satisfy any reasonable Prince, and for more they had nothing to say."[131] Thus, *Lunar* society co-exists as one stable organism, acts according to the general rule of obedience and loyalty and has but one religion. It can be an example of perfect sociability. The interest of every individual comes before everything and therefore creates the atmosphere of a complete benevolence and sociality, which should be an example to follow for the society where "Conscience without Good Works and Good Works without Charity" prevail.

It is interesting to compare this particular utopia by Daniel Defoe to another satirical text of the end of the 18th century, *A Voyage to the Moon*, which is inhabited by reptiles of different character and nature. Some of them "serve no God but self-interest; and to give him his due, he is firmly devoted to that."[132] As to honor, justice, humanity, truth, which we would normally expect utopian citizens to have, unfortunately, these reptiles have always been "at open variance with them" and only a few possess these virtues. This society is also very obedient, but the reason for this is different – they are suppressed by a powerful monarch and they accept obedience as a must. However, there is a range of different

[131] E.G. Hundert, *The Enlightenment's Fable. Bernard Mandeville and the Discovery of Society*, 60.
[132] *A Voyage to the Moon Strongly Recommended to All Lovers of Real Freedom* (Aratus), 1793, 304.

individuals – meaning, that society is not comprised of a stable mass of individuals whose wishes are correlated by the common model. Here every individual (reptile) is different, and serves different purposes. They can be beggars, rich aristocrats, poor teachers, but they still do not contradict to the general social model. Citizens here might have different opinions and private vices, but they behave accordingly to the rules, established by the monarch. Therefore, in order to promote the development and improvement of the government and therefore insure his own, a man must obey and live within the moral duties. In Defoe's Lunar Country we could see the effect of this – perfection of the government in the Moon was the result of individual 'modified' self-interest that contributed to general well-being and fellow-feeling.

Furthermore, English-speaking philosopher Bernard de Mandeville (1670-1733) in his work *Fable of the Bees* evaluates people's nature and mechanism of the society's functioning and states that it is not "[…] more beneficial for everybody to conquer than indulge his appetites, and much better to mind the public than what seemed his private interest."[133] He was the first one who insisted that public benefits existed not in spite of but because of private vices. Society functions due to self-interested and pleasure-seeking individuals, who in return for their contribution to the commercial development hope to get some kind of equivalent that they might enjoy for their "trouble of self denial". The reason for this is of course man's pride which is "[…] so inseparable from his very essence that without it the compound he is made of would want one of the chiefest ingredients."[134] According to Mandeville a man pursuits his unsocial private interests and by the help of *flattery* introduces himself into society in order to get as much as possible at the same time contributing to the public benefits. Man want to be flattered as flattery puts one in a better light within society. The notion of flattery and its mechanism needs to be clarified here.

[133] Bernard Mandeville, *The Fable of the Bees*, ed. E. G. Hundert (Indianapolis: Hackett), 36.
[134] Bernard Mandeville, *The Fable of the Bees*, ed. E. G. Hundert (Indianapolis: Hackett), 38.

Flattery arises in Mandeville's discourse because he believes that men are self-reflective and knowingly anticipate the rewards of their behaviour. That is why flattery introduced – as the mean for control and manipulation. Exactly this case of man's (or better to say 'reptile's') pride and self-interest was presented in *A Voyage to the Moon*, where one of the features of the society was a constant flattering to its ruler and who gave his subjects offices instead. The visions of virtues by lunar inhabitants is very similar to that of Mandeville and therefore – unattainable. Mandeville defines virtue in the terms of self-conquest, altruism and rational behavior. He in addition believes that individuals had only to accept and to let natural causes produce their natural effects, in order to arrive at a very tolerable state of affairs. Basically, to get a good society you need only to "go on being as wicked as you like",[135] and this is what the Moon society successfully apprehends.

In the anonymous work *The Island of Content* (1709) we have rather a different representation of the man-state-society interaction. In this work the idea of people contributing to the improvement of the whole society is very explicit. This utopia actually starts with the author's words "[…] for you must know we dread nothing so much as the subversion of our government and the change of our constitution; for having a due sense of our own happiness, we are well assured […] that nothing but misery would attend the revolution."[136] This particular society exists due to the ability of self-control of each individual and control of the whole community over itself: "We hold our lusts in such an absolute subjection, that there is not one Great Magistrate among us, that keeps a harlot under his lady's nose, nor one smock-faced flatterer in all our dominions, that ever made himself a great man by committing adultery."[137] The model of self-restraining here also contributes to the self-representation of each particular individual and doesn't allow it to fell

[135] Basil Willey, *The Eighteenth-Century Background: Studies on the Idea of Nature in the Thought of the Period*, 99.
[136] *The Island of Content: or, A New Paradise Discovered* (1709) in *Utopias of the British Enlightenment*, ed. Gregory Clayes (Cambridge University Press, 1994), 4.
[137] *The Island of Content: or, A New Paradise Discovered*, 5.

out of the general frame. However, on this Island of Content people differ in their appearance though have no hierarchy: "Neither is any person here distinguished by their dress, because every body has the liberty, without the least expense of choosing such apparel as shall best humor their own fancy."[138] This also contributes to self-restrained behavior (contrary to clothes of the 17th century utopias, where some of the citizens could wear tones of jewelers and fabrics of different colors and built houses of precious stones). The atmosphere of a complete easiness in manners, politeness and everyday life without exaggerations prevails in this island, where social interactions depend upon personal merits. The stress upon individual virtues is very unequivocal in the *The Modern Atlantis: or the Devil in an Air Balloon* (1784), which is inhabited by "beautiful ladies and gentlemen" and where it is not enough for the individual to be merely virtuous, but also necessary to "avoid even the least appearance of vice, or he will find too late that shadows are often as destructive to honor, as the most full conviction of repeated guilt."[139] Here we can spot Smith's idea that man want not only to be 'praised' but also to be 'praiseworthy'. The human nature here is considered to be liable to inconsistencies and therefore it should be always controlled and supervised as "the most brilliant parts are often obscured by the most gross defects."[140] Here it is worth mentioning the theory of different passions, social and unsocial, according to Adam Smith. "It is the construction of the human passions or the sentiments, which is given to us, that determines morality."[141] In these two works, *A Voyage to the Moon* and *The Modern Atlantis*, the lives of inhabitants are defined by their passions of anger, grief, hatred, mean-spiritedness, envy as well as by love, gratitude, benevolence,

[138] Ibid., 8.
[139] *The Modern Atlantis: or the Devil in an Air Balloon. Containing the Characters and Secret Memoirs of the Most Conspicuous Persons of High Quality, of Both Sexes, in the Island of Libertusia, in the Western Ocean,* (1784), 252.
[140] *Modern Atlantis: or the Devil in an Air Balloon. Containing the Characters and Secret Memoirs of the Most Conspicuous Persons of High Quality, of Both Sexes, in the Island of Libertusia, in the Western Ocean,* (1784), 270.
[141] Adam Smith, *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, cited by James E. Alvey, "Moral Education as a Means to Human Perfection and Social Order: Adam Smith's View of Education in Commercial Society," in History *of Human Sciences* Vol. 14 No. 2, pp. 1-18, 2.

generosity, humanity, kindness, compassion, friendship and esteem.[142] This is the reason why particularly these utopian societies are different from the ones form the beginning of the century. In these texts people can act differently, they have names, they are *individuals* but still they "[…]may generally depend upon the sincerest sympathy of all […] friends, and, as far as interest and honor will permit, upon their kindest assistance too."[143]

Again, the nature of every individual should be guarded in order to preserve the general well-being of the utopian society. In both these works society functions with regard to the general rule of *happiness*. *The Island of Content* is the one text which speaks straightly about happiness (as a category pursuit by the Enlightenment philosophy) but similar references to happiness as the goal of the utopian society are present in all utopian works of the 18th century. This is a crucial difference do Davis's argument that the aim of utopia is not happiness, but order. Contrary to early modern texts, where order was really crucial for social life of the utopian society, in the utopias of Enlightenment era individuals not only contribute to general improvement, but to general prosperity and happiness. Happiness in this particular utopia of 1709 is the means for balance and it also creates a common platform upon which citizens are unified and some of them are excluded from the community. "The dread of melancholy and the fear of death make them adore their physicians as their life safe-guard"[144] – utopian society functions in the paradigm of a complete happiness, but it is not supposed to be achieved or improved as everything exists in its *perfection*. Another contradiction to the classic utopia with its visions of nature as incomplete and imperfect than in most of the 18th century texts nature is abundant, rich, and helpful for every individual who wants to achieve happiness (to a certain extent this profusion and wealth of a utopian land was influenced by travel accounts of the age, but it

[142] Adam Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*, eds. D.D. Raphael and A.L. Macfie (Liberty Fund, Indianapolis, 1976), 34-40.
[143] Ibid., 43.
[144] *The Island of Content: or, A New Paradise Discovered*, 9.

will be discussed later). All of the comforts of life were created by nature in this island and people "[…] have nothing else to do, besides eating, drinking, and sleeping, but to fiddle away our time, sing, dance, laugh and be merry."[145] Thus, the state of felicity already exists in this island, and people just have to accept it and be happy, otherwise they will be expelled "[…] for whoever here finds the least fault or shows himself discontented upon any occasion, immediately forfeits his residence, and is banished the island."[146] There were a couple of precedents in this island when people simply did not fit in the state of a complete happiness: "We had a theatre and a company of comedians for a little time, but they always were quarreling about their mistresses, or who should have most wages; so we furnished then with a large canoe, and turned them out of the land."[147] Again, this very fact can be treated within two models of social understanding – public interest in building the perfect society and also as a contradiction to Mandeville's model 'private vices-public benefits', when people, who cannot restrain themselves are forced to leave the 'conformed' society. This very fact of exclusion of the group of people from utopia on the basis of their non-conformity to the rest of the society can be interpreted within the discourse of limits in the early modern utopian works. Despite all the freedom and abundance that The Island of Content so generously suggests to its inhabitants, the life there is still very much regulated and controlled by the good old means of organization.

The idea of each individual working for the benefits of society but at the same time preserving his self-interest is a red line in every analyzed utopia. However, it is different in two utopias – *The Modern Atlantis* (1784) and A *Voyage to the Moon* (1793) which I would argue were very much influenced by Adam Smith's *Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1759) and *Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (1776). He states that man is always in need for help of other people and "it is in vain for him to expect it from their

[145] *The Island of Content: or, A New Paradise Discovered,* 10.
[146] Ibid., 10.
[147] Ibid., 10.

benevolence only."[148] Therefore a man can get whatever he needs only if he can indulge self-love of the rest of the people and only if he can prove them that "it is for their own advantage to do for him what he requires of them. […] give me that what I want and you shall have this which you want"[149] – this is an accurate and precise model of the society for Smith. This mechanism works perfectly in a reptile world, where each individual will not do anything if it is not profitable for him and in the Lunar society, where every moral sentiment is controlled among handsome men and women in order not to show and not to act more than it is required. Smith's famous summary of the human's interactions within society and the model for the unsocial sociability is that "it is not from the benevolence of the butcher, the brewer, or the baker, that we expect our dinner, but from their regard to their own interest. We address ourselves not to their humanity but to their self-love and never talk to them of our own necessities but of their advantages".[150] Particularly in these two mentioned utopian texts there are poor utopian citizens – people, who cannot provide society with anything and therefore are left apart of the rest of the citizens. Moreover, in these two utopian societies flattery rules the world and creates social differentiation. Smith, Hume and Mandeville wanted to see their society progressive, virtuous and polite. Their discourse upon human sociability resulted in recognizing the "importance of passions that led individuals to bond together in a community"[151] and to gain individual profits from the public affairs and individual interaction. Mandeville's view upon passions that were given to every individual to achieve particular ends was already mentioned. However, it is necessary to remember that Adam Smith was dissatisfied with Mandeville's theory of self-interest and flattery, and argued for sympathy and understanding and mutual help among

[148] Adam Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, eds. R.H. Campbell and A.S. Skinner (Indianapolis: Liberty Classics, 1976), 26.
[149] Adam Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, 26.
[150] Ibid., 27.
[151] *Sociability and Society in Eighteenth-Century Scotland*, eds. John Dwyer and Richard B. Sher (The Mercat Press, Edinburgh, 1993), 12.

individuals and he also argued for the individual passions and moral sentiments as resulting in better cooperation. Smith contradicts Mandeville's selfish model of sociability by stating that people seek sympathy from others still and that "[…] sympathy produces standards of behavior that are prerequisites for the survival of society and – as humans must live in society – the human species."[152] So, sympathy helps to preserve the peaceful coexistence between individuals and also helps to project personal actions by using the mechanism of an impartial spectator. Precisely this pattern of Smith's moral philosophy – the impartial spectator – is one of the most important for the utopian works of the second half of the 18th century. Utopian citizens perceive their own possible vices by being impartially involved in the judgment and by projecting the consequences of their actions. This notion of impartial spectator works as a mechanism of social restriction as well as behavioral modeling for the utopian societies.

The utopian society of *The Island of Content* also struggles to preserve its peace and tranquility and that's why it experiences "no learning above writing and reading to be taught among us; by which means we preserve our peace, prevent the growth of blockheads and defend our ancient constitution from all manner of innovations."[153] These abstract 'innovations' is the only reference to the aspect of the utopian lack of motion as in the early modern texts. All of the conflicts and controversies "[…] which, as they happen but seldom, are always punished with the utmost severity, least others should be corrupted by their evil example, and the content of our island be unhappily impaired. The loss of the tongue, or perpetual banishment, is the usual sentences pronounced by the judge upon such offenders."[154] Previously, in the 17th century texts, utopian citizens could not break laws because these laws were controlling every scene of utopian everyday life and because

[152] James E. Alvey, "Moral Education as a Means to Human Perfection and Social Order: Adam Smith's View of Education in Commercial Society", 4.
[153] *The Island of Content: or, A New Paradise Discovered*, 11.
[154] *The Island of Content: or, A New Paradise Discovered*, 12.

humans were not perceived in individual terms. However, there is a place for mercy in this island – any kind of evil-doer can be accepted into the community again as long as he undergoes "an open penance, a sincere repentance, and a public recantation."[155] In this perspective, the questions of virtues are very crucial for its citizens. "No person is dignified or distinguished here upon any other account, than for their wisdom, piety and virtue."[156] The main *virtue* here that keeps society function is *loyalty* which they give to their monarch "since his only care and ambition were his own just glory and his subjects' happiness".[157] Here society deals with all sorts of delinquencies – physical, mental – by the help of strong control over the community and its members and that is the reason why the unsocial elements of the society do not disturb the general state of things: they are removed as being harmful for the rest of the *system*. In this particular utopia any kind of unsociability is not tolerated at all – people have to either accept the rules or leave the island where happy people live "[…] not at all addicted to either pride, lust or avarice."[158] So, the theory of complete obedience, mutual sympathy and suppression of individual wishes for the sake of the whole community is unambiguous. Not much but still something on sociability can be also found in the work *The Voyage to Cacklogallinia.* Here society functions upon the concept of mutual help and it results in constant increasing of *happiness*. The citizens of this lunar country spend their "days without labor, without other anxiety […] and the longing desire we have for our dissolution, makes every coming day increase our happiness.[159] They do not need servants and they just help each other whenever they need help. Here we see the arising discourse about "give me that what I want and you shall have this which you want" that will be later articulated by Smith. However, this society is the most individualistic –

[155] Ibid., 11.
[156] Ibid., 21.
[157] Ibid., 20.
[158] Ibid., 14.
[159] *A Voyage to Cacklogallinia, with a description of the religion, policy, customs and manners of that country* (Columbia University Press, 2005). Reproduced from an original edition: London, 1727, 65.

here we see different clothes, different houses, and different kinds of amusement. Also theory of Hume can be applied here speaking of all men that are sensible of the necessity of justice to maintain peace and order and that all men are aware of the necessity of maintaining peace and order for the general preservation of society.

A relatively different society exists in the utopia of *A General Idea of the College of Mirania*, especially concerning the attitudes towards learning and knowledge. People of different origins created this school and this particular community based on mutual consent. They were coming to this place and "ever since their first settlement" enjoyed "peace with their neighbors, unrivaled in their trade, and blessed in the administration of a succession of mild and just governors, who had the real interest of the province at heart."[160] Encouraging circumstances of this land attracted a vast numbers of foreigners, who wanted to live "under the protection of wise and equal laws, and far beyond the reach of priestly domination, and the rapacious minions of scepter robbers."[161] The patterns of *commercial society* and *moral improvements* are very much speculated upon in this utopian text. The idea and intention of the whole society, not its chosen members, to find "[…] the only method of making these natural advantages of lasting use to themselves and posterity",[162] which would be also the source of "tranquility, happiness and glory" explains the constant strive for improvement. This particular method was finally found and it was to "contrive and execute a proper scheme for forming a succession of sober, virtuous, industrious citizens, and checking the course of growing luxury."[163]

Members of this society created their own model for *sociability* – they did not want to depend on anything blindly so they "were convinced that without a previous good

[160] W. Smith, *A General Idea of the College of Mirania; with a Sketch of the method of teaching Science and Religion, in the several Classes: and some account on its Rife, Establishment and Buildings* (New-York, 1753), 9.
[161] Ibid.
[162] W. Smith, *A General Idea of the College of Mirania*, 10.
[163] W. Smith, *A General Idea of the College of Mirania*, 10.

education, the best laws are little better than *verbaminantia*".[164] People of the province of *Mirania* were aware of the fact of their different cultural backgrounds – cosmopolitan accent – and that "[…] nothing could so much contribute to make such a mixture of people coalesce and unite in one common interest, as the common education of all the youth at the same public schools under the eye of the civil authority."[165] Therefore, commercial circumstances of the foundations of this utopia contributed to the future moral education of the younger generation. Here the traditional stress on moral education is very much clear. Adam Smith also considered "moral education of the young" to be "almost automatic effect of living in a commercial regime, which is another example of natural harmony."[166] They faced the problems of "passion, prejudice, custom, malice, pride, ignorance and different opinions in the province" that they were struggling against for the sake of improvement and the only solution for them was "to follow the unbiased dictates of their own good sense, conscious that […] they should acquit themselves to God, and the uncorrupted Judgment of Posterity, by rendering it as perfect as they could, and delivering it down in a condition of being improved as often as circumstances might alter, and experience discover defects in it."[167] This social model is supposed to contribute to the society's improvement as "[…] God chiefly expects of us here […] to repair the ruins of our nature, by improving and enlarging our faculties, and confirming ourselves in habits of virtue […] and be advanced from stage to stage of perfection and bliss, through all the endless periods of our being"[168] and to practice strict justice, integrity, honor, and all the other precepts enjoined by our religion. Citizens of Mirania are completely content with their state of things but still presuppose a future development and spreading of their ideas. They are confident that their approach towards education will provide a unified paradigm of virtues for the whole society

[164] Ibid.
[165] Ibid., 10.
[166] Ibid., 7.
[167] W. Smith, *A General Idea of the College of Mirania*, 13.
[168] Ibid., 12.

and will become the model for "others" as the only "venerable and august" approach and that "the whole wisdom and experience of a community thus using every human effort, to train up, and secure to the state, a succession of good men and good citizens to the latest generations".[169] In such a society, where education is seen in terms of a divine work, the whole zeal of the improvement is directed towards the younger generation that is supposed "with a noble emulation and divine heroism to excel each other in every thing that does honor to their nature."[170] *Mirania*, in my view, is thus the most morally peaceful and rational utopia. It is also can be explained in Smith's terms that "as the society increases in size and diversity, it becomes easier to achieve a vision of the ideal, impartial spectator"[171] and the result of this is that a good citizen wishes to promote, by every means in his power, the welfare of the whole society and not only to obey.

By reviewing the works of 18th century *philosophes* we can conclude that politeness, sociability and self-preservation were the role-models of the 18th century society. Organization was also celebrated, as in pseudo-utopia "Idea of a Perfect Moral Commonwealth" by David Hume (1752), which I omitted on purpose due to its abundant reflections about government and very arid speculations about moral and social organization. Each thinker (Mandeville, Hume and Smith) focuses on the fact that a man is dependant upon society and his actions are determined by the pattern of 'unsocial sociability' in order to make society function as a sole mechanism based on the concepts of mutual help and sympathy and also at promoting its own private vices for the sake of general improvement. In all these writings men are portrayed as selfish and pleasure-seeking animals whose imperfect nature aims in search for good and perfected life within society and its improvement. By preservation of self and conquering his individual appetites and

[169] Ibid., 60.
[170] Ibid., 60.
[171] James E. Alvey, "Moral Education as a Means to Human Perfection and Social Order: Adam Smith's View of Education in Commercial Society", 6.

desires men cultivate and preserve sociality. However, to this general scheme of a voluntarily suppression of self Hume and Mandeville add some rules of the society functioning – expectation of particular rewards for sacrificing self-interest. The final emphasis is put by Adam Smith when he talks about gaining particular advantages by indulging each others interests and self-love and by referring to human passions as different but crucial for the social interactions.

Such framework of unsocial sociability can be applied to all 18th century texts. Each utopia has its particular model of society and human nature and statement of J.C. Davis that in utopia every individual suppresses his own vices is very much relevant in this context, though, this mechanism acquired many more distinctive features in comparison to 17th century works. In Defoe's *Consolidator* every individual is taken as part of a larger society and his actions and desires are seen as voluntarily (though with the help of 'mechanic moral projector') abandoned for the sake of peace and order and for native liberty. In this particular utopia one does not see the words "citizen" or "individuals" and even "society". There are only *people*, and such notions as self-interest or pursuit of individual happiness are alien to them as they find the absolute obedience to the ruler necessary for maintaining peace and order in their Lunar world. Similar picture of the human sociability as imposed from above can be seen in the works *The Voyage to Cacklogallinia* and *The Island of Content*. However, the emphasis on the self-restraint and the preservation of self differs in these utopias. If in the World in the Moon we see again the passive representation of the ambivalent and obscure society based on mutual help and aiming at increasing of happiness, then the society of the *Island* is shown as individualistic enough where every member teaches each other how to become a useful member society and how to preserve sociality and fidelity. The main task of this society is not to be shaken by inappropriate or unsociable feelings and deeds of the discontent people and they are prepared to do anything in order to

remain in the environment of loyalty, piety and happiness. But again, in these two latter works all the virtues of sociable citizens are imposed from above and have to be accepted as necessary evil in order for the state of things to be preserved in these imaginary worlds. Relatively different societies are introduced in Smith's utopia *A General Idea of the College of Mirania*, in *A Voyage to the Moon* and *The Modern Atlantis*. In the former the individual eagerness for suppressing desires overlaps with indulging individual virtues built upon the common education, and is thought to promote improvement of the whole community. In this particular case of the college we can apply the theory of Adam Smith about moral education for the perfection of the social organization. Therefore, such kind of sociability as expressed through a desire of further development by means of individual progress through education can be estimated as a required virtue – people understand what they need and work towards these ends. They do not only accept and obey – they also act, create and therefore this utopia is not motionless and stable world, but the world that aims at further improvement. Concerning the two latter texts, it is worth mentioning that their worlds are individualistic, obedient and selfish, but also predisposed for Smith's social and unsocial passions, that are "regarded as necessary parts of the character of the human nature". [172]

Enlightenment of the 18th century focused its intellectual zeal on the man himself in order to solve the existing problems of social civility and politeness. Despite the theories of human selfishness and self-regard "eighteenth century thought well of human nature, and it was generally believed that men were by nature sociable, sympathetic and benevolent"[173] and contributing to general fellow well-being. Utopian individuals served as 'experimental rabbits' for modeling socially benevolent world in the light of moral axioms of moral philosophers. Utopian writers considered possible to modify personal passions by social

[172] Adam Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*, 34.
[173] Basil Willey, *The Eighteenth-Century Background: Studies on the Idea of Nature in the Thought of the Period*, 96.

engineering and by suppressing the initial human desires for power, wealth, and sexual freedom.

Chapter III: Reinhold Forster, Hildebrand Bowman, James Dubourdieu and Captain Byron: depictions of the ideal human nature in real travel accounts and utopias

"The rule for traveling abroad is to take our common sense with us,
and leave our prejudices behind us.
The object of traveling is to see and learn;
but such is our impatience of ignorance,
or the jealousy of our self-love,
that we generally set up a certain preconception beforehand
(in self-defense, or as a barrier against the lessons of experience)
and are surprised at or quarrel with all
that does not conform to it."[174]

"... I had ambition not only to go farther than any one had been before,
but as far as it was possible for man to go ..." .[175]

The first words were written in the first half of the 19th century; however, something very similar was said by George Forster after his first voyage with his father, Johann Reinhold Forster, in 1772. The 18-year old boy already knew from the previous reports of Cook's voyages what he was going to witness – affluent nature and wild peoples. Yet, what he and his father witnessed were also sophisticated societies, physical beauty, sexual freedom and human's nature, which fascinated them to the greatest extent and became the prime topic in their accounts on the lands they visited. The second quotation, I suppose, suits perfectly both real and imaginary traveling, when personal fantasies of the author take him as far as man has never been before and will never go.

What does it mean writing about previously unknown and non-witnessed lands and nature, peoples and their manners? How did Captain James Cook, Louis-Antoine de Bougainville or Johann Reinhold Forster get acquainted with the "other" and how did they try to bring this new knowledge back home, in order to contribute to the Enlightenment

[174] W. Hazlitt, *Notes on a Journey through France and Italy* (1826), in A. Maczak, *Travel in Early Modern Europe* (Polity Press, 1995), 295.
[175] Captain James Cook, before his second voyage, 1772.

visions of science, happiness and human nature that could further result in utopian visions? In order to introduce the atmosphere of the newly-explored lands and peoples to the sophisticated but still traditional public of the political pamphlets, coffee places and salons, it was important to do this in the familiar discourse of the political and social philosophy of the time, as everything distant becomes closer if told via voices of already familiar theories, as new knowledge can be acquired through the common one. Therefore, by examining new objects a man of science "not only comes to know them as identifiable objects in a given situation, but also to connect them with his own experienced world, to transform them into something familiar."[176]

Already in the second half of the 17th century England began to experience an excitement of the new knowledge and strove for further intellectual advancement. "The laws revealed in Isaac Newton's *Principia*, published in 1687, became a subject fit for Anglican pulpit oratory."[177] This Newtonian science[178] soon began to influence certain sections of the English educated society, contributing to the science of man and quite unexpectedly encouraging new kinds of sociability among learned men, travelers and naturalists who endeavored at detailed description and precise experimentation. It is important to mention that already in the middle of the 17th century *knowledge* in particular was seen responsible for the further development and improvement of the society: "[…] Bacon, Plattes, Hobbes, and the Oxford virtuosi – agreed on one thing, that "the advancement of learning" should alter and improve men's behavior toward one another and toward the state, that the increase, spread, and application of knowledge should make men not only wiser and richer but also

[176] J. Stagl, *A History of Curiosity. The Theory of Travel, 1550-1800* (Harwood Academic Publishers, 1995), 2.
[177] Margaret C. Jacob, *Strangers Nowhere In the World. The Rise of Cosmopolitanism in Early Modern Europe* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), 18.
[178] I am referring to Isaac Newton as the first man of science who considered Nature and place of a man in it rationally.

better, at least (as for Hobbes) more obedient subjects."[179] At once, educated people developed an eagerness for knowledge about the natural world, its lands and peoples, animals, plants and minerals. This phase in natural and scientific education to a certain extent was influenced by Locke's empiricism in his *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, first published in 1690, and where the connection between the world and the self was expressed through the argument that "the stimuli in the external world were crucial to the developments of one's intellectual powers."[180] Though Locke, while writing about passively and actively acquired complex ideas did not have in mind the broadening of geographical horizons and travel experiences of the men of his time, still his call for the increasing of human knowledge through experience is undeniable. The spirit of Enlightenment – all its *progress, improvement, new kinds of science, sociability, civility, sensitivity, benevolence and commerce* – resulted, among the other things, in enormous curiosity and interest in taxonomies, measurements, order, structures and nomenclatures of the natural world. All these led to the scientific discourse of the 18th century, where "[…] the binomial nomenclature of Linnaeus put order into the profusion of plants and animals; the chemical nomenclature of Lavoisier not only named known chemical substances but also identified their main characteristics and the relations among them; and the metric system expressed the connections between units of weight, length, area, volume, and others."[181] So, the world came to be seen as quantifiable, orderable and foreseeable.

In this new world, full of new knowledge and new observations, it was crucial for people to find the place for the "others" – for those peoples and natural worlds, of which they just began to hear and which they could see mainly on the pictures done by naturalists. Now, when the notion of Western civilization as a zenith of historical evolution became the

[179] James R. Jacob, "The Political Economy of Science in Seventeenth-Century England," in *The Politics of Western Science, 1640-1990*, ed. Margaret C. Jacob (Humanities Press, New Jersey, 1994), 38.
[180] C. Blanton, *Travel Writing. The Self and the World* (Routledge, New York, 2002), 11.
[181] D. R. Headrick, *When Information Came of Age. Technologies of Knowledge In the Age of Reason and Revolution, 1700-1850* (Oxford University Press, 2000), 17.

most unyielding, "[…] the sense of the other as unattainable, a romantic desire for difference, also grew."[182] The endeavor for classified knowledge was responsible for the study of man in the 18th century, which is more commonly referred to as 'science of man' – "[…] study of human nature, engaging with the mechanics of understanding as much as with debates on morality, politics, luxury, propriety and manners."[183] Certainly, the citizens of Enlightened Europe were not the first ones who were introduced to the 'new' and who struggled to make sense of diversity: "Many early modern Europeans […] sought new ways of understanding their worlds, and especially of coping with what they often perceived as 'strange' and 'foreign' influences."[184] However, previously only a few (sailors, some merchants, pirates) established dialogues with new environments by means of trade and warfare. It remained a new, wonderful world for them and without a doubt these accounts penetrated into utopian discourse and made it more unrealistic and more fantastic. In the 18th century together with desire to comprehend the world rationally and together with more precise and scientifically more accurate travel observations – 18th century bestsellers – the story of the unknown and unattainable for most became sentimentalized and told within the context of the already experienced and understood. As some researches notice, "[…] not only merchants and philosophic dreamers, but even Jesuit missionaries to Paraguay, Brazil, Canada, China, and elsewhere agreed to praise the virtues of the unspoilt natural man, whose physique and whose morals everywhere, it seemed, put those of Christendom to shame"[185] even despite their outward sexual behaviour. Geography books and travel accounts of the second half of the 18th century were not just simple descriptions of the manners or appearance of the indigenous peoples. They were also part of the Latitudinarian

[182] *Voyages and Visions: Towards a Cultural History of Travel*, eds. Ja's Elsner and Joan-Pau Rubiés (London, Reaktion Books, 1999), 23
[183] C. Knellwolf, "The Science of Man," in *The Enlightenment World*, eds. Martin Fitzpatrick, Peter Jones, Christa Knellwolf and Iain McCalman (Routlege, London and New-York, 2004), 194.
[184] A. Cooper, *Inventing the Indigenous. Local Knowledge and Natural History in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge University Press, 2007), 2.
[185] Basil Willey, *The Eighteenth-Century Background: Studies on the Idea of Nature in the Thought of the Period* (London: Ark Paperbacks, 1986), 12.

tradition of the English Enlightenment (however, this Latitudinarian Anglican tolerance, for which Pocock argues to be the driving force of the English Enlightenment, influenced travel narratives just at the end of the 18th century), part of the political discourse about race and equality and imperialistic connotations, and played an important role in cultivating an open-minded attitude towards the newly acquired lands and peoples, and reflected on human nature of savages as well as Europeans.

I decided to divide the 18th century utopian narratives in two groups. The previous chapter was completely devoted to the discourse about human nature and sociability in 18th century utopias in the light of the moral and social philosophy of the age. The texts discussed there were describing perfect states of peoples and worlds that did not differ a lot from Englishmen and had their own states, ideal governments, perfect social organizations and sometimes plurality of passions. In this chapter I shall focus on a second group out of texts containing travel accounts of the 18th century, meaning, remote islands, and savages in the perfect state of nature. They represented difference between various kinds of utopian inhabitants as it was shown in travel observations as well. The question of utopian distance, as was raised in the theoretical chapter, remains crucial for these texts. Despite the fact that their narratives are accessible for the eighteenth century reader due to his familiarity with travel accounts, still these imaginary ideal societies are remote and unreachable, though they present comprehensible world. Even in the savage societies of the imagined islands it remains hard for the writers not to write about need for socialization or about the self realization of every individual within the community. So, as we can see, some notions of the 17th century utopias remain unshaken in the enlightened era. These travel accounts were one of the possible visual (or better to say imaginable) implementations of the moral improvements.

In this chapter I am going to inquire into the visions of human nature in 18th century imaginary travels, such as anonymous *The Travels of Hildebrand Bowman, Esquire, into Carnovirria, Taupiniera, Olfactaria, and Auditante, in New-Zealand; in the Island of Bonhommica, and in the Powerful Kingdom of Luxo-Volupto, on the Great Southern Continent* (1778)[186], *An Account of the Giants lately Discovered* by Horace Walpole (1766)[187] and *The Adventures and Surprizing Deliverances of James Dubourdieu and His Wife, Who were taken by Pyrates, and carried to the Uninhabited Part of the Isle of Paradise* (supposed author Ambrose Evans, 1719)[188] and compare them to the visions of the human nature in the real travel accounts about distant Pacific Islands by Johann Reinhold Forster in his *Observations Made During a Voyage Round the World* (1778) .[189]

Each one of these works, imaginary or real (together with one's 'objective' impressions), tells about paradises, monsters, outrageous sufferings and to a certain extent – wonders, which were new for a European traveler. Utopias, as well, as travel accounts, "handle the scarcely expressible intensity of sensations experienced by a single voyager alone in the presence of things utterly new and unparalleled"[190]. Utopian fantasies also were bestsellers of the 18th century and their proliferation was indebted not only to the multiplicity of reports from different *terra incognita* or *terra nulla* "but because opportunities for self-assertion were multiplying inside the impenetrable medium dividing

[186] *The Travels of Hildebrand Bowman, Esquire, into Carnovirria, Taupiniera, Olfactaria, and Auditante, in New-Zealand; in the Island of Bonhommica, and in the Powerful Kingdom of Luxo-Volupto, on the Great Southern Continent* (1778). http://www.nzetc.org/tm/scholarly/tei-EllTrav-t1-body-d2.html#n60.
[187] *Modern British Utopias, 1700-1850*, 8 Volumes, ed. G. Clays (London: Pickering & Chatto, 1997), Vol.4, 330-340.
[188] *The Adventures and Surprizing Deliverances of James Dubourdieu and His Wife, Who were taken by Pyrates, and carried to the Uninhabited Part of the Isle of Paradise* (London, printed by F. Bettenham for A. Bettesworth and T. Warner, in Pater-Noster Row; C. Riwington, in St. Paul's Church-Yard, 1719). Published by University of Michigan Press: http://books.google.co.uk/books?id=5I7RAAAAMAAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=The+Adventures+and+Surprising+Deliverances+of+James+Dubourdieu+and+His+Wife,+Who+were+taken+by+Pyrates,+and+carried+to+the+Uninhabited+Part+of+the+Isle+of+Paradise&source=bl&ots=ZpYKLcYfXm&sig=A05gcgXh8ZVDaCskrg5ub5imH_A&hl=en&ei=DtfvS7HSJJDxOfmV-aII&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=2&ved=0CBkQ6AEwAQ#v=onepage&q&f=false
[189] *Observations Made During a Voyage Round the World*, eds. Nicholas Thomas, Harriet Guest and Michael Dettelbach (University of Hawai'i Press, 1996).
[190] Jonathan Lamb, *Preserving the Self in the South Seas, 1680-1840* (University of Chicago Press, 2001), 23.

private interest from public good, allowing fantasy to short-circuit the narrative of social progress"[191]. So, utopias presented visions of social improvements that relied on travel accounts and pursuit public good using the people's fantasies. I am going to focus mainly on the imaginary accounts of *Hildebrand Bowman*. In the other texts it is claimed that "Natural philosophers cannot discover their nature"[192] [i.e. utopian savage!], though they still contain lots of useful references that will further be used. It is necessary to mention, that both *Hildebrand Bowman* and Forster witnessed two kinds of societies – more advanced and improved ones as well as ones that are much inferior due to the roughness of nature and their lack of intellect. *Hildebrand Bowman* during his voyages first gets to the land of Taupinierans, where he suffers miserable conditions due to the harshness of climate and the backwardness of the inhabitants. He calls them *creatures*, as inhabitants of this strange country had nothing in common with people. The visitor even calls them "stupid animals" and weeps for his happy life outside this wretched country: "For what society could I have with such stupid and nasty animals? Whose language, seemed to differ little, from the simple and uniform sounds, with which nature has endued many brutes; and whose habitations were not to be endured by a human creature, bred in decency and cleanliness."[193] These creatures live in caves, without light or any other convenience; eat uncooked fish and sleep most of the time. Impolite, degenerative, narrow-minded – what can be said more in order to show the most unsociable society in the world? The only thing that eases *Bowman's* mind is that they do not seem to be "fierce or dangerous" and this is the reason why he establishes a close contact with these creatures.

Something similar we can read in Forster's account of the southern lands where "[…] human nature is really debased in the savages, who inhabit the frozen extremities of our

[191] R. Koselleck, *Critique and Crisis. Enlightenment and the Pathogenesis of Modern Society*, 170.
[192] Horace Walpole, *An Account of the Giants lately Discovered* (1766), 336.
[193] "The Miserable Condition of the Author in Taupiniera. An account of that extraordinary People," in *The Travels of Hildebrand Bowman*, 51.

globe, and […] their present situation is as it were, a preternatural state."[194] Forster claims that "the mildness of the climate contributes greatly to soften the manners of mankind"[195] and thus the extremities of the globe make bodies harsher and this "undoubtedly operates upon the mind, and the heart, and almost destroys all social feelings."[196] As an example he gives an account of the savages of Tierra del Fuego and the barbarians of New Zealand whose "favorite passions" are independence, licentiousness, and revenge and who are so narrow minded that they have no wish of self-improvement with the help of Englishmen (**!**) and who "[…] think themselves happy, nay, happier than the best regulated nation, and every individual of them is so perfectly contented with his condition, that not even a wish is left in his breast for the least alteration."[197] It is worth mentioning that Forster's account about climate and its influence on human nature differs from that expressed by Montesquieu in his famous work *The Spirit of the Laws* (1748) that the peoples of the north are more disciplined and have better laws in comparison to those who live in the mild climate, which makes them lazy and selfish. At the same time, Forster points out the role of education in the upbringing of such backward societies – their development depends a lot on the wish to be educated and this is what makes their physical, mental, moral, and social faculties perpetuated and increased by the new ideas. In the utopia, *Bowman* explores the backward culture of the natives and acts as a Prometheus by bringing fire into their lives. With the time citizens of this strange country "conceived a great respect" for their visitor, having taught them basic cultural attainments, had left them to pursuit more abundant lands and peoples. This is a novelty of this utopia – the traveler knows and aims at finding some

[194] J.R. Forster, "Various Progress which the Nations We Saw Have Made From the Savage State towards Civilization," in *Observations Made During a Voyage Round the World* (1778), 192.
[195] Ibid., 198.
[196] Ibid.
[197] J.R. Forster, "Various Progress which the Nations We Saw Have Made From the Savage State towards Civilization," in *Observations Made During a Voyage Round the World*, 199.

society somewhere in these islands. This first encounter did not fulfill his expectations, so he decided to search another part of the isles.

The next land that *Bowman* visits is called the *Island of Bonhommica* and here it is that the actual *utopia* takes place. This country is situated in the mild climate zone and its nature is abundant. Under the influence of these circumstances, the natives of *Bonhommica* are "[…] brave, generous, and virtuous people; but their courage is only shown in serving their country, and their virtue does not make them morose or self-sufficient."[198] The inhabitants are strongly attached to liberty and try hard to preserve themselves as an independent nation. The mild character of these people makes them compassionate and helpful towards others and "a virtuous man is not despised because he is poor, nor a rich man respected merely because he is such, without any other recommendation."[199] Therefore, the main feature of this country that strikes the visitor is that "you do not see a beggar; either occasioned by the virtue and industry of the lower class of people, or by the private charities of the rich; for there is no poor-tax."[200] So, inequality does exist in this island, but is treated differently. Very clear reference to Rousseau, who had famously observed in his *Discourse on the Origin and Foundation of Inequality among Men* (1755) that "civilization is the source and motor of inequality, which is to say that the less sophisticated a society is, the more equal are its members."[201] Nevertheless, Forster was one of the critics of Rousseau and his ideas about "what they perceived as his excessively negative portrayal of the consequences of the evolution of the human society."[202] Forster did not support the theory about 'corrupted hand of civilization' and stated that even though these barbarous societies live in an abundant nature that makes them happier than Europeans, still they are not preserved from common

[198] "A Description of the Island of Bonhommica, and its Inhabitants. Their moral Sense. Manners, Customs, Laws, Government, Religion, etc. etc." in *The Travels of Hildebrand Bowman*, 220. http://www.nzetc.org/tm/scholarly/tei-EllTrav-t1-body-d6.html#n232.
[199] Ibid., 222.
[200] "A Description of the Island of Bonhommica, and its Inhabitants. Their moral Sense. Manners, Customs, Laws, Government, Religion, etc. etc." in *The Travels of Hildebrand Bowman*, 213.
[201] C. Knellwolf , "The Science of Man", 205.
[202] *The Anthropology of Enlightenment*, eds. Larry Wolff & Marco Cipolloni (Stanford, 2007), 157.

human vices and unsocial feelings. However, *Bowman* is much more closer to Rousseau's theories about savages and he emphasizes that "in their dealings and intercourse betwixt man and man, they are perfectly upright; and so far from taking an advantage of another, that if they find they have made a mistake to their own benefit, they are never easy in their minds till it is rectified."[203] Such a state of a perfect conscience is achieved due to the fact of existence of the sixth sense – "the sense of conscience, or the moral sense;[204] and they would much rather be without any of the others, even the sight or hearing, than destitute of it."[205] Natives of the *Bonhommica* spend a lot of time developing this sense by the means of studies and by the help of parents. Before they begin to think for themselves they have to learn "[…] all the physics, metaphysics, logic, and other writings of an old author, called Aristorow, whom they look on as infallible"[206] and only then they can enter mature life. The result of such a long education is that "the Moral sense is what they are chiefly to be valued for; and surely in the scale of human happiness, it vastly outweighs all our boasted acquisitions."[207] This discourse about education is close to the same speculations about the *College of Mirania* and Smith's visions of a more benevolent society with the help of studies. The people of *Bonhommica* enjoy their righteous lives and with the help of their education can reflect upon the nature of things. These utopian citizens are very close to what Carl von Linnaeus stated in his introduction to *The System of Nature* (1735) – that "Man […] finds himself descended from the remotest creation; journeying to a life of perfection and happiness, and led by his endowments to a contemplation of the works of nature."[208]

[203] "A Description of the Island of Bonhommica, and its Inhabitants. Their moral Sense. Manners, Customs, Laws, Government, Religion, etc. etc." in *The Travels of Hildebrand Bowman,* 224.
[204] Moral Sense is the centre of the philosophy of Adam Smith's teacher, Francis Hutcheson (1694-1746).
[205] Ibid., 215.
[206] Ibid., 219.
[207] "A Description of the Island of Bonhommica, and its Inhabitants. Their moral Sense. Manners, Customs, Laws, Government, Religion, etc. etc." in *The Travels of Hildebrand Bowman,* 220.
[208] Carl von Linne, "The God-Given Order of Nature," in *Race and the Enlightenment : a Reader*, ed. Emmanuel Chukwudi Eze (Blackwell Publishers, 1997), 10.

Also, citizens of this utopian *Bonhommica* were open to novelties the traveler was reporting to them, and ready to see *Bowman's* fatherland.

The moral dignity of the citizens of this utopian land makes it impossible for them to cheat or deceive their country and "[…] scarcely one instance is known of an attempt to defraud the government by smuggling; it being looked upon as a kind of sacrilege against their country."[209] Apart from this high moral competence, everything else in this perfect country resembles England. What is interesting is that we do not find any description of these utopian citizens. Supposedly, it can mean that the writer of this utopian work was trying to bring this utopian society as close to the 'normal' Europeans, as was possible, without emphasizing much the possible physical differences and paying attention only to moral ones. However, it also raises a question about the moral superiority of the Englishmen in their pursuit of the new lands and peoples. May be the anonymous author was giving a hint here – all those strong moral ideals that British empire were ready to export to these 'wonderlands' appeared not as strong as they thought, in comparison to the moral standards of natives. In utopias there are many references to the excessive politeness and moral perfectibility of the savages. *Captain Byron* is struck by the politeness of the Giants - "[…] never once, as any still more polite people would have done, attempted to force him."[210] *James Dubourdieu* grasps the nature of the savages he happened to live with for 3 years and says that "[…] it follows, that we are obliged to do nothing that may injure that happiness which he designed his creatures should enjoy; but the surest way of avoiding whatever may disturb our tranquility, is to love one another; for whilst we love one another, we can never do any thing to hurt our selves; for hurt is the effect of hate, and not of love."[211] Basically, almost all of such 'untouched' societies live their lives in praise of God and love for each

[209] "A Description of the Island of Bonhommica, and its Inhabitants. Their moral Sense. Manners, Customs, Laws, Government, Religion, etc. etc." in *The Travels of Hildebrand Bowman,* 231.
[210] Horace Walpole, *An Account of the Giants lately Discovered* (1766), 334.
[211] *The Adventures and Surprizing Deliverances of James Dubourdieu and His Wife*, 89.

other, which is exactly what distinguishes them form the 'civilized people'. The only use that British people can bring to these societies is to make them "enslaved" and then "due care will undoubtedly be taken to specify in their Charter that these Giants shall be subject to the Parliament of Great-Britain, and shall not wear s Sheep's Skin that is not legally Stamped."[212] This is of course, a harsh note upon the imperialistic politics and utopias were perfect narratives for criticizing such approaches.

Johann Reinhold Forster does not compare the peoples from the islands in the South Seas to Englishmen. On the contrary, he sees natives of the Savage State as somewhat unique and therefore worth studying comprehensively. His whole work can be characterized as a 'philosophical' insight of a natural historian into the "economies of nature, the forces that shaped the globe, its productions and its human inhabitants, and how they might be best disposed to fulfill the moral advancement of the human species."[213] In Tahitian society Forster recognizes one of the ancient stages of the development of civilization on the whole, and tries to envisage the way European society has undergone a sequence from the primitive stages to the present state of mankind. Another reference is to Rousseau, who placed the indigenous peoples of his time in an intermediary stage between this original state and modern civilization. However, as it was mentioned before, Forster distinguishes the inhabitants of the South Pole from the peoples who live in the North Pole regions by saying that:

> The inhabitants of the islands in the South Sea, though unconnected with highly civilized nations, are more improved in every respect, as they live more and more distant from the poles. Their food is more varied, and abundant; their habitations are more roomy, neat, and adapted to the exigencies of the climate; their garments more elegant, improved, and ingenious; their population is greater; their societies better regulated; their public security against foreign invaders more firmly established; their manners more courteous, elegant, and even refined; their principles of morality better understood, and generally practiced; their minds capable of, and open to instruction; they have ideas of a supreme

[212] Horace Walpole, *An Account of the Giants lately Discovered* (1766), 335.
[213] M. Dettelbach, "A Kind of a Linnaean Being": Forster and the Eighteenth Century Natural History," in *Observations Made During a Voyage Round the World*, eds. Nicholas Thomas, Harriet Guest and Michael Dettelbach (University of Hawai'i Press, 1996), Lxxi.

being, of a future state, of the origin of the world; and the whole contributes greatly to increase their happiness, in its natural, moral and social branches, both as individuals and as a nation.[214]

Thus, natural circumstances make people more benevolent and friendly and that is why Forster gets so puzzled at them: "In short, their character is as amiable as that of any nation that ever came unimproved out of the hands of nature."[215] For both, the utopian and Tahitian societies, politeness, taste, sympathy and moral sense are "are the alleged attributes of a continuous and sociable personal identity, bent on joint accomplishment of individual and social standards of good."[216] Specifically this very openness of their nature and the ability to meditate serve as a starting point for their understanding of the conveniences of civilization. Forster explains, that these natives are very flexible and very soon become aware of the fact that "[…] happiness and contentment founded on mere sensuality is transitory and delusive; […] that a man in his senses cannot but think himself happy that he was born in a civilized nation, educated in a country where society is as much improved as is possible; that belongs to a people who are governed by the mildest laws, and have the happiest constitution of government, being under the influence of civil and religious liberty."[217] So, we have two different societies in utopia and in *Observations* – the one, that managed to survive in the harsh circumstances and so has lost any ability of socialization among them, and another that was nourished by the rich and plentiful environment and therefore can enjoy all the pleasures of a benevolent human nature and what is even more – is opened to improvements (another contradiction to Rousseau). For Forster this means that savages, particularly natives of the South Pole Islands, can be made *happy* as their nature is

[214] J.R. Forster, "Various Progress which the Nations We Saw Have Made From the Savage State towards Civilization, " in *Observations Made During a Voyage Round the World*, 191.
[215] J.R. Forster, "On the Varieties of the Human Species, Relative to Colour, Size, Form, Habit, and Natural Turn of Mind in the Natives in the South Sea Isles," in *Observations Made During a Voyage Round the World*, 155.
[216] Jonathan Lamb, *Preserving the Self in the South Seas, 1680-1840*, 19.
[217] J.R. Forster, "Various Progress which the Nations We Saw Have Made From the Savage State towards Civilization, " in *Observations Made During a Voyage Round the World*, 199.

capable of improvements "[…] if man only knew how to proceed in order to effectuate this great and noble purpose."[218] The next step after realizing, that they are capable of improvement, would be the realization that their "[…] own happiness procured by the assistance of the united efforts of other human beings, depend likewise upon their happiness. […] it must therefore be the interest of each individual who wishes to be happy, to promote the prosperity of the whole community to which he belongs."[219] This very phase, as Forster is persuaded, every inhabitant of the South Pole will reach sooner or later under the influence of "sciences, arts, manufactures, social life, and even morality" of that of a civilized world which will help them to socialize and create a perfect state of civility.

Forster does not praise this new society, but the nature of the Southern savage amuses Forster to a great extent. First of all, people are *happy* in these new lands. Everywhere James Cook went "[…] from the poles to the equator, he and his companions found human happiness to be in proportion to the degree of physical and mental activity."[220] This is happiness that results from a fertile climate. So, happiness, as we see, can be of different kinds – state of natural happiness, undisturbed with civilizational expediencies, and happiness as a result of social improvements, that we have already noticed in the previous chapter. Secondly, in comparison to "our mixed and degenerating societies", the hearts of savages are capable of the "warmest attachment, of the most generous friendship, and of the most tender connections"[221] and therefore, the whole society is bond by tender, disinterested and generous love. The same love that was talked about by *James Dubourdieu* and *Hildebrand Bowman* in their imaginary societies. Furthermore, Forster begins to

[218] J.R. Forster, "Various Progress which the Nations We Saw Have Made From the Savage State towards Civilization, " in *Observations Made During a Voyage Round the World*, 199.
[219] J.R. Forster, "General Principles of National Happiness – Increase of Population – Causes of Union – Cultivation – Property – Society – Government," in *Observations Made During a Voyage Round the World*, 218.
[220] Harry Liebersohn, *The Travelers' World. Europe to the Pacific* (Harvard University Press, 2006), 56.
[221] J.R. Forster, "General Principles of National Happiness – Increase of Population – Causes of Union – Cultivation – Property – Society – Government," in *Observations Made During a Voyage Round the World*, 222.

sentimentalize the nature of the savages by saying that all the virtues and morality of the Europeans were much more outdone by these "innocent people, so much our inferiors in many other respects."[222] For him, the Tahitian society "represents the highest form of civility encountered in the Pacific"[223] and he believes that benevolent nature that he found on these isles is universal and inherent to all nations in Europe. Here I can refer to the statement of Enlightenment philosophy (partly expressed by Kant who argued for the unity of human species) that human nature is similar and "unites humankind both as objects of study by the sciences, and subjects capable of enlightenment."[224] Forster wishes that civilized Europeans would learn this "spirit of benevolence, and real goodness, which these my new acquired friends so eminently possessed."[225] The similar viewpoint is expressed by *James Dubourdieu* when he is giving account of his fatherland to the utopian savages. He states, that "[…] envy, malice, ambition, avarice and lust, ruled absolutely in our parts of the world; and that he who was not in some measure a slave to any of them, was looked upon either as contemptible, or indeed, very miserable."[226] Again, a critique of the 'enlighteners' is what brings all these texts under the same scope. If *Hildebrand Bowman* found his utopia in some Pacific Island and Rousseau was worshipping some natural man in the past, Johann Reinhold Forster combined two in one – he found his utopian society in Tahiti. However, at the end of his *Observations* Forster says, that these "innocent" people are also capable of being selfish, which brings them close to the rest of the people, "whose actions are a

[222] J.R. Forster, "General Principles of National Happiness – Increase of Population – Causes of Union – Cultivation – Property – Society – Government," in *Observations Made During a Voyage Round the World*, 223.
[223] Nicholas Thomas, "On the Varieties of the Human Species": Forster's Comparative Ethnology", Xxxii-xxxiii.
[224] C. Knellwolf, "The Science of Man", 195.
[225] J.R. Forster, "General Principles of National Happiness – Increase of Population – Causes of Union – Cultivation – Property – Society – Government," in *Observations Made During a Voyage Round the World*, 223.
[226] *The Adventures and Surprizing Deliverances of James Dubourdieu and His Wife*, 77-78.

compound of selfish and humane, benevolent behavior."[227] Here Forster places societies of the Pacific not above the Europeans or outside them, but in one line with them. Consequently, it can be repeated, that he does not fully idealize Tahitians, as for him they remain not only happy due to climatic richness, but also corrupted by this very affluence. Slowly until the end of the century Forster was becoming more skeptical about the nature of the Tahitians.

Forster's vision of Tahitian society can be compared to the one by Dr. Philibert Commerçon, who considered Tahitians to be "sons of their soil". This statement, as Harry Liebersohn suggests, could be treated in two different ways, one, "favoring Europeans, implying that they were placed in just the right climate zone to develop hardy, energetic characters"[228] and another, "that the Tahitians were racially superior to Europeans, since their lineage was pure and undisturbed by migrations, and socially superior since they continued to live according to nature's original design."[229] Here the theme of race and superiority arises. Travel writings significantly contributed to the image of Europe as 'civilized' and 'enlightened' while peoples located outside Europe were granted an image of 'strange' and 'others'. As was already mentioned, the idea of the unity of human species and consequently, similarities in human nature was quite popular in the second half of the 18th century within the science of man that united human nature. Georges-Louis Leclerc, Comte de Buffon in his *Natural History, General and Particular* (1748-1804) stated that "mankind are not composed of species essentially different from each other; […] there was originally but one species, who, after multiplying and spreading over the whole surface of the earth, have undergone various changes by the influence of climate, food, mode of living, epidemic

[227] J.R. Forster, "General Principles of National Happiness – Increase of Population – Causes of Union – Cultivation – Property – Society – Government," in *Observations Made During a Voyage Round the World,* 242.
[228] Harry Liebersohn, *The Travelers' World. Europe to the Pacific*, 30.
[229] Ibid., 30.

diseases, and the mixture of dissimilar individuals"[230] and as a result now various specificities can be witnessed around the globe. However, such universalistic theories were confronted, for instance by David Hume, who argued that changes in human nature and "stature and force of body, length of life, even courage and extent of genius, seem hitherto to have been naturally, in all ages, pretty much the same"[231] and therefore there are moral and physical reasons for different national characters. On the example of two works – imaginary travel and real observations – the racial theory can also be outlined, though this is a topic fur further studies and investigation. I would just say that both Forster and Bowman idealize societies that live in the mild climate and find their northern counterparts as hopeless and incapable of further development. This was the reference to racial inequalities expressed by both travelers and based on the presumption that these societies have another human nature. Forster outlines every slightest wish of the human nature of the savages for self-improvement and gives a precise account about the state of affairs, their capability to be polite and their eagerness to develop commerce.

Eighteenth century was the time of intellectual curiosity, new discoveries, various theories of human nature, of diversities and specificities of the globe. Freud in his work *Civilization and Its Discontents* summarizes the reasons for the mankind to be depressed. Precisely, he blames religion, psychoanalysis and what is more astonishing – the 18th century voyages of discovery. In Freud's view, explorers and anthropologists of the 18th century – represented by Cook and Bougainville among many others – brought from overseas their theories of happiness and primitive concepts of pleasure that appeared to be contagious and harmful for the Europeans' minds. The result of this 'implantation' was that Europeans of the end of the 17th – 18th centuries began to be acquainted with new and

[230] Georges-Louis Leclerc, Comte de Buffon, "The Geographical and Cultural Distribution of Mankind," in in *Race and the Enlightenment : a Reader*, ed. Emmanuel Chukwudi Eze (Blackwell Publishers, 1997), 27.
[231] David Hume, "Negroes … Naturally Inferior to the Whites," in *Race and the Enlightenment : a Reader*, ed. Emmanuel Chukwudi Eze (Blackwell Publishers, 1997), 30.

strange peoples throughout the globe and they developed new theories of identity by the means of geography and travels. Travelers in the 18th century were reporting about happiness and freedom that were present on Earth, but not in Europe: "Tahiti seemed to provide hard evidence that happiness was something more than an idea, that it could actually be attained and experienced. Happiness was not a concept but a place."[232] The main proof for this was the human nature of the "other", living in this place – especially, of those, living in the mild climate, both in the utopian land of *Bonhommica* and in the Islands of the Pacific. The enlightened discourse about 'sociability', 'utilitarianism', 'civility', 'politeness' and 'benevolence', influenced the practice and results of travel, which began to be constructed not only around the natural, but also around human environments in the pursuit of an ideal human nature. *Hildebrand Bowman's* and Forster's accounts have a lot in common. We could notice that traveler's descriptions were utopian in a sense that he was trying to present a world, where the right to personal pleasure was not in conflict with social structure. "Travel narratives took on a role that had previously belonged typically to imaginary voyages instead of authentic ones – that is, they initiated a reflexive form of writing in which the values of the mother country were no longer applied and rigorously defended; on the contrary, they became subject to open dispute",[233] a dispute about the equality, civilization, sociability and happiness of the 'other' human nature, which, as we could read, was very similar.

[232] Andy Martin, "Introduction: Surfing the Revolution: The Fatal Impact of the Pacific on Europe," in *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, vol. 41, no. 2 (2008). Pp. 141-147. (Project Muse. Scholarly Journals Online), 142.
[233] D. Carey, "Anthropology's Inheritance: Renaissance Travel, Romanticism and the Discourse of Identity," in *History and Anthropology*, vol. 14 (2), (2003), p. 111.

Conclusions

This research was devoted to the analysis of particular utopian texts against the background of the moral philosophy of Pufendorf, Mandeville, Hume and Smith, and that of travel literature in the enlightened era. The main conclusion that can be immediately drawn is that utopias of the 18th century are anchored in contemporary English social realities, and are embedded in the political discourse concerning sociality, politeness and unsocial sociability among *philosophes*.

Every author of utopian works strove for the ideal and unique in reference to the utopian society. In the 16th and 17th century texts there were no individual selves in utopia. For the texts of this time only the society and its meeting the true human needs were central for the utopian enterprise. Therefore, in utopia there was a focus on the process of socialization in order to maintain group cohesion among the human social animals, and most utopian writers were concerned with the meeting of needs. In the first chapter, following the conception of Karl Manheim, I found that it was meaningful to classify English utopias as *liberal-humanistic utopias*, which are intellectual outcomes of the past theocratic world views. English piety, in the opinion of Paul Ricoeur, who follows Mannheim, was capable of creating a certain ideal of humanity, intellectual potential, and complete knowledge, and of subordinating all state and public processes predominantly to the power of *mind*. However, utopias in no way coincide with liberalistic notions of the republicanism. The utopist creates a society of general order, stability, welfare, but in no way of freedom and activity. Another feature of utopia is *motionless totality*: there is an entire world created which can be projected on the one already existing. In this way, the reader discovers that an absolutely new environment is created, where the history and the future are eliminated through the description of one single day with formalized activities. In

this context it is necessary to outline the three most important features of utopia – *totality*, *order* and an ambition not only to improve but *to perfect everything by the means of order and organization*.

As a counterbalance to traditionalism and republicanism with its concern with liberty, utopia offers a new order – an order in society from the beginning to the end. However, by representing a totally new and detailed social order in a utopian state, at the same time there was no dynamic of change. One of the main characteristics of utopia in the early modern period was stability, due to the law and order, and predictability. Contrary to what J.C. Davis says, 18th century accounts of the ideal society do continue the tradition of early modern texts. The Enlightenment changed utopian discourse in the direction of *arcadianism* or *moral commonwealths*, added some individualization and moral philosophers' conceptualization of human nature and the foundations of sociability. Despite all these novelties connected to the abandoning of formalized patterns, however, utopias of the 18th century remain within the frames of the classic utopian genre, where organized control and ordering are as much important as in classical utopias. Also 18th century utopian works do not adopt the theory of 'spontaneous order' that was common for the 18th century 'science of man' and though there is a heavy discourse about achieving of individual happiness going on, still control and organization are needed.

In two research chapters I introduced the discourse about utopia and Enlightenment and tried to depict the connections between such slippery semantic notions as, on the one hand, English Enlightenment and its patterns of sociability, politeness, happiness, progress, travel experimentations and of course philosophic conclusions of the science of man and, and on the other hand, utopia. In the debate whether to define utopia clearly or leave it as a floating concept I would opt for the approach of J.C. Davis and conclude that utopia does not solve neither individual nor collective problems. Utopia searches for a 'golden mean'

instead, where individual urges will not contradict the collective persuasions and the habits of the whole society. Consequently, the main features of the utopian genre are: *the wide scale of changes,* their *complete penetration into the structures of the utopian society,* and also the *stability of this new order in a non-existent or unattainable environment*. It is now possible to declare that exactly these features are inherent in all utopias, starting from the early 16th century and until the end of the 18th. The theme of moral indignation and practical improvements in 18th century utopias became common and shared, in contrast to the early-modern texts, where most of the suggestions were simply the denial of historical reality. If previously utopia controlled passions, supervised discipline, introduced equality and justice, now it is getting more and more individualistic and passionate, presupposes progress, and aims at absolute happiness for each and every utopian citizen.

The utopias of the 18th century provided the on-going discourse about the society, the impact of travel explorations and individual shortcomings with visions of perfect human personalities and better social organizations. Utopia also partly responded to the challenges of the 'science of man' and the dilemma whether man was as a sociable being or a pleasure-seeking animal or both. Exactly within the Enlightenment paradigm human vices were given another light – Mandeville treated them as aids to public benefits, while Hume's and Smith's philosophy was shaped in contradiction to the *Fable*. It became common sense knowledge that selfishness produced a social harmony. Utopias of this time were also modeling regimes where a productive common order could originate out of colliding individual wills. Therefore it is possible to place utopia within the discourse of the science of man of the 18th century.

The enlightened discourse about 'sociability', 'utilitarianism', 'civility', 'politeness' and 'benevolence' influenced the practice and results of travel, which began to be constructed not only around the natural, but also around the human environments in the

pursuit of an ideal human nature. *Imaginary* and real travel accounts have a lot in common. Travelers' descriptions were utopian in the sense that they were presenting a world, where the right to personal pleasure was not in conflict with the social structure. Travel narratives took on a role that had previously belonged typically to imaginary voyages. They initiated a reflexive form of writing in which the values of the mother country were no longer applied and thoroughly defended; on the contrary, they became subject to an open dispute, a dispute about the equality, civilization, sociability and happiness of the 'other' human nature, which, as we could read, was very similar to the utopian narratives.

The 'moral' face of utopia of the 18th century lay in following. Despite the theories of human self-preservation, selfishness and self-regard (all these features had to be controlled by utopian means of organization) it was also showed that utopian citizens were by nature sociable, compassionate and benevolent, and contributing to general well-being. Utopian individuals created a socially benevolent world in the light of moral axioms of moral philosophers. At the same time, due to chronological shifts from theories of Mandeville to theories of Smith and his visions of sympathy against self-interest, there were differences in representing citizens in the various utopian narratives. By the end of the 18th century the utopian discourse becomes more and more individualistic and concerned not with general features (of abundant nature, benevolent and disciplined society that was able to counteract its asocial elements), but with the problem how to maintain the passions of every individual in every aspect of the ideal social organization.

Bibliography

Published Primary Sources:

"The Island of Content: or, A New Paradise Discovered" (1709) In *Utopias of the British Enlightenment*, ed. Clayes G. Cambridge University Press, 1994.

"A Voyage to the Moon Strongly Recommended to All Lovers of Real Freedom" (1793) In *Modern British Utopias, 1700-1850*, 8 Volumes, ed. Clays, G. London: Pickering & Chatto, 1997.

Smith, A. *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, eds. R.H. Campbell and A.S. Skinner. Indianapolis: Liberty Classics, 1976.

A Voyage to Cacklogallinia, with a description of the religion, policy, customs and manners of that country. Columbia University Press, 2005. (Reproduced from an original edition: London, 1727).

Defoe, D. *The Consolidator or, Memoirs of Sundry Transactions from the World in the Moon* (1705).

Pufendorf, S. *On the Duty of Man and Citizen, ed. James Tully*. Cambridge University Press, 1991.

Smith, W. *A General Idea of the College of Mirania; with a Sketch of the method of teaching Science and Religion, in the several Classes: and some account on its Rife, Establishment and Buildings.* New-York, 1753.

"The Modern Atlantis: or the Devil in an Air Balloon. Containing the Characters and Secret Memoirs of the Most Conspicuous Persons of High Quality, of Both Sexes, in the Island of Libertusia, in the Western Ocean" (1784) In *Modern British Utopias, 1700-1850*, 8 Volumes, ed. Clays, G. London: Pickering & Chatto, 1997.

Northmore, T. *Memoirs of Planetes, or a Sketch of the Laws and Manners of Makar* (1795)

Walpole, H. "An Account of the Giants lately Discovered" (1766) In *Modern British Utopias, 1700-1850*, 8 Volumes, ed. Clays, G. London: Pickering & Chatto, 1997.

Nicholas Thomas, Harriet Guest and Michael Dettelbach, eds. *Observations Made During a Voyage Round the World* (1778). University of Hawai'i Press, 1996.

"The Adventures and Surprizing Deliverances of James Dubourdieu and His Wife, Who were taken by Pyrates, and carried to the Uninhabited Part of the Isle of Paradise". – London: printed by F. Bettenham for A. Bettesworth and T. Warner, in Pater-Noster Row; C. Riwington, in St. Paul's Church-Yard, 1719. Published by University of Michigan Press.

"The Travels of Hildebrand Bowman, Esquire, into Carnovirria, Taupiniera, Olfactaria, and Auditante, in New-Zealand; in the Island of Bonhommica, and in the

Powerful Kingdom of Luxo-Volupto, on the Great Southern Continent" (1778) In *Modern British Utopias, 1700-1850*, 8 Volumes, ed. Clays, G. London: Pickering & Chatto, 1997.

Secondary Sources:

Alvey, J. E. "Moral Education as a Means to Human Perfection and Social Order: Adam Smith's View of Education in Commercial Society." In *History of Human Sciences*, Vol. 14 No. 2, 1-18.

Anecdotes of the Life of Richard Watson, Bishop of Landaff, Written by Himself in Different Intervals and Revised in 1814. London: Published T. Cadell and W. Davies, Strand, 1818.

Armitage, D. *Greater Britain, 1516-1776*. USA: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2004.

Bell, D.S.A. "Dissolving Distance: Technology, Space, and Empire in British Political Thought, 1770-1900." In *The Journal of Modern History*, Vol. 77, No. 3, September 2005.

Berghahn, K.L., Reinhold Grimm, eds. *Utopian Vision. Technological Innovation and Poetic Imagination*, 7-130. Heidelberg, 1990.

Blanton, C. *Travel Writing. The Self and the World*. New York: Routledge, 2002.

Bruce, S. *Three Early Modern Utopias*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Carey, D. "Anthropology's Inheritance: Renaissance Travel, Romanticism and the Discourse of Identity." In *History and Anthropology*, 107-126, vol. 14 (2), (2003).

Champion, J. *Irreligion and English Enlightenment*, 1648-1789. University of London, 1992.

Churchman, C. W. "The Design of the Perfect Society." In *Utopias*, ed. Peter Alexander and Roger Gill, 43-49. Duckworth, 1984.

Claeys, G. *Utopias of the British Enlightenment*. Cambridge University Press, 1994.

Cooper, A. *Inventing the Indigenous. Local Knowledge and Natural History in Early Modern Europe*. Cambridge University Press, 2007.

Darnton, R. *The Forbidden Best-Sellers of Pre-Revolutionary France*, 115-137. Fontana Press, 1996.

Davis, J.C. "Going nowhere: Travelling to, through, and from Utopia." In *Utopian Studies* 19.1 (2008): Society for Utopian Studies, 2008, 1-23.

_____. "The History of Utopia: the Chronology of Nowhere." In Utopias, ed. Peter Alexander and Roger Gill, 1-19. Duckworth, 1984.

_____. *Utopia and the Ideal Society. A Study of English Utopian Writing 1516-1700*. Cambridge University Press, 1981.

Frye, N. "Varieties of Literary Utopias," In *Utopias and Utopian Thought. A Timely Appraisal*, ed. Frank E. Manuel, 25-50. Boston: Beacon Press, 1966.

_____. "Varieties of Literary Utopias." In *The Stubborn Structure. Essays on Criticism and Society*, 109-135. Ohio State University Press, 1966.

Fuentes, F. "Utopia." In *Mir Prosvescheniya*, eds. V. Ferrone and D. Rosche. Moskva: Pamyatniki Istoricheskoi Mysli, 2003.

Headrick, D.R. *When Information Came of Age. Technologies of Knowledge In the Age of Reason and Revolution, 1700-1850*. Oxford University Press, 2000.

Hundert, E.G. *The Enlightenment's Fable. Bernard Mandeville and the Discovery of Society*. Cambridge University Press, 1994.

Im Hof, U. *The Enlightenment*. Blackwell Publishers, 2000.

Israel, J. *Enlightenment Contested. Philosophy, Modernity, and the Emancipation of man 1670-1752*. Oxford University Press, 2006.

Jacob, J. R. "The Political Economy of Science in Seventeenth-Century England." In *The Politics of Western Science, 1640-1990*, ed. Margaret C. Jacob, 19-46. New Jersey: Humanities Press, 1994.

Jacob, M. C. *Strangers Nowhere In the World. The Rise of Cosmopolitanism in Early Modern Europe*. University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006.

Ja's Elsner and Joan-Pau Rubiés, eds. *Voyages and Visions: Towards a Cultural History of Travel*. London: Reaktion Books, 1999.

Johns, A. *Women's Utopias of the Eighteenth Century*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2003.

Johnson, J.W. *Utopian Literature. A Selection*. New York: Modern Library, 1968.

Kateb, G. "Utopia and the Good Life." In *Utopias and Utopian Thought. A Timely Appraisal*, ed. Frank E. Manuel. – Boston: Beacon Press, 1966.

Knellwolf, C. "The Science of Man." In *The Enlightenment World*, eds. Martin Fitzpatrick, Peter Jones, Christa Knellwolf and Iain McCalman, 194-207. London and New-York: Routlege, 2004.

Kolnai, A. "The Utopian Idol of Perfection and the Non-Utopian Pursuit of God." In *The Utopian Mind and Other Papers. A Critical Study in Moral and Political Philosophy*, ed. Francis Dunlop, 37-107. London and Atlantic Highlands, NJ, 1995.

_____. "The Utopian Mentality." In *The Utopian Mind and Other Papers. A Critical Study in Moral and Political Philosophy*, ed. Francis Dunlop, 155-176. London and Atlantic Highlands, NJ, 1995.

Kontler, L. "What is the (Historians') Enlightenment Today?" In *European Review of History*, 357-371. Vol. 13, No. 3, September 2006.

Koselleck, R. *Critique and Crisis. Enlightenment and the Pathogenesis of Modern Society*. Oxford: Berg, 1988

Kumar K. and Bann S., eds. *Utopias and the Millennium*. London: Reaktion Books, 1993.

Kumar, K. *Utopianism*. Open University Press, 1991.

Lamb, J. *Preserving the Self in the South Seas, 1680-1840*. University of Chicago Press, 2001.

Larry Wolff and Marco Cipolloni, eds. *The Anthropology of Enlightenment*. Stanford, 2007.

Levitas, R. "Need, Nature and Nowhere." In *Utopias*, eds. Peter Alexander and Roger Gill, 19-31. Duckworth, 1984.

Liebersohn, H. *The Travelers' World. Europe to the Pacific*. Harvard University Press, 2006.

Maczak, A. *Travel in Early Modern Europe*. Polity Press, 1995.

Manuel, F.E. "Introduction." In *Utopias and Utopian Thought. A Timely Appraisal*, ed. Frank E. Manuel, vii-xxiii. Boston: Beacon Press, 1966.

Martin, A. "Introduction: Surfing the Revolution: The Fatal Impact of the Pacific on Europe." In *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 141-147, vol. 41, no. 2 (2008).

Martin, L. "The Frontiers of Utopia." In *Utopias and the Millennium*, eds. Krishan Kumar and Stephen Bann. London: Reaktion Books, 1993.

Mayhew R.J. "Enlightenments and Geography: Continuity and Change in the Politics of Early-Modern British Geography, 1550 – 1850." In *Enlightenment Geography. The Political Languages of British Geography, 1650-1850*, 246-257. Macmillan Press, 2000.

Modern British Utopias, 1700-1850, 8 Volumes, ed. Clays, G. London: Pickering & Chatto, 1997.

Phillipson, N. "The Scottish Enlightenment." In *The Enlightenment in National Context*, eds. Roy Porter and Mikulas Teach. Cambridge University Press, 1983.

Pocock, J.G.A. *Barbarism and Religion. Vol. 1. The Enlightenments of Edward Gibbon, 1737-1764*. Cambridge University Press, 1999.

_____. *Clergy and Commerce. The Conservative Enlightenment in England*, ed. D. Ajello. Cambridge University Press, 1995.

_____. *Virtue, Commerce and History. Essays on Political Thought and History Chiefly in the Eighteenth Century*. Cambridge University Press, 1985.

Pope, A. "An Essay on Man" (1733-1744) In *Poetical Works*, ed. H. F. Cary. London: Routledge, 1870.

Porter, R. "The Enlightenment in England." In *The Enlightenment in National Context*. Cambridge University Press, 1981.

_____. *Enlightenment. Britain and the Creation of the Modern World*. The Penguin Press, 2000.

_____. *The Enlightenment*. – Macmillan Press, 1990.

Race and the Enlightenment: A Reader, ed. Emmanuel Chukwudi Eze. Blackwell Publishers, 1997.

Ricoeur, P. *Ideologiya ta Utopiya*. Kyiv: Dukh I Litera, 2005.

Robertson, J. *The Case for the Enlightenment. Scotland and Naples, 1680-1760*. Cambridge University Press, 2005.

Shklar, J.N. "The Political Theory of Utopia: From Melancholy to Nostalgia." In *Political Thought and Political Thinkers,* ed. Stanley Hoffman, 160-180. University of Chicago Press, 1998.

Sociability and Society in Eighteenth-Century Scotland, eds. John Dwyer and Richard B. Sher. Edinburgh: The Mercat Press, 1993.

Spate, O.H.K. "The Pacific. Home of Utopias." In *Utopias. Papers from the Annual Symposium of the Australian Academy of the Humanities*, ed. Eugene Kamenka. Oxford University Press, 1987.

Stagl, J. *A History of Curiosity. The Theory of Travel, 1550-1800*. Harwood Academic Publishers, 1995.

Stephens, A. "The Sun State and Its Shadow. On the Condition of Utopian Writing." In Utopias. Papers from the Annual Symposium of the Australian Academy of the Humanities, ed. Eugene Kamenka. Oxford University Press, 1987.

The Enlightenment. The Proper Study of Mankind, ed. Capaldi N. New York: Capricorn Books, 1967.

Venturi, F. *Utopia and Reform in the Enlightenment*. Cambridge University Press, 1971.

Willcox, W. B., Arnstein, W. L. *The Age of Aristocracy, 1688-1830*. D.C. Heath and Company, 1983.

Willey, B. *The Eighteenth-Century Background: Studies on the Idea of Nature in the Thought of the Period*. London: Ark Paperbacks, 1986.