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Utopia, state and democracy[*]

1. *"Staatsromane"*

In 1855, Robert von Mohl[1], a liberal German professor of law at the University of Heidelberg, coined the term *Staatsromane* in reference to a series of historical works

> "which endeavour to answer the question of the most just and effective way to organise a state and how to order society in a beneficial way by depicting a fictitious ideal" (Mohl 1855, p. 167).

But, added Mohl, "with the sole exception of Utopia by Thomas More," there is scarcely or never a mention of these books nowadays. One could assume "total ignorance" of the reading public (ibid.). The subject of *Staatsromane* is "the depiction of an ideal society and political life" and the aesthetic form can be "a journey, a statistical account or a life story" (ibid., p. 170)

Mohl starts the list of *Staatsromane* with Thomas More and excludes antiquity, considering that Plato's *Politeia* was not a *Staatsroman* because it did not include any "specific contrived state" and it offered no "poetic representation" (ibid., p. 172). This division has been followed throughout literature. There have been "utopias" only since the publication of Thomas More's *De optimo reipublicae statu deque nova insula Utopia* in 1516, which was dedicated to Erasmus of Rotterdam. The first German language "utopia" was the translation published eight years later in 1524 under the title *Von der wunderbarlichen Insel Vtopia genant, das ander Buch* ("Of the wonderful Island called Vtopia, the other Book").[2] The translation was made by the humanist Claudius Cantiuncula[3] from Basel and, as the title suggests, only covers the second book of the first *Staatsroman*[4].

Social utopias in the sense of the *Staatsromane* have been around since the early modern period. In his time, Mohl discussed fourteen of these works, which are all structured quite similarly. They portray journeys to faraway islands or continents, create social counterworlds which could be placed even in ideal cities, they describe a harmonious society

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[1] Robert von Mohl (1799-1875) was Professor of Political Science at Tübingen University from 1827 to 1846. He was relieved from his post after criticising the government and then left civil service. In 1847, he accepted an appointment at Heidelberg University. Mohl coined the term *Rechtsstaat* (constitutional state). In 1848, he was a member of the Frankfurt Assembly.
[2] The first English translation appeared only in 1551, by Ralph Robinson (1520-1577). A second, revised edition was published in 1556.
[3] The Catholic humanist Claudius Cantiuncula (c. 1495 – before 1565) taught law in Basel from 1517 and remained there until 1524. He then fulfilled high positions for his native city of Metz and for the Empire. By 1542, he had become head of the Chancellery of Ensisheim in Upper Alsace, where he oversaw the business of the Austrian government.
[4] A complete translation only appeared in 1846.

and are organised along predominantly socialist lines; and this applies equally to the education of children. There is almost never any private ownership, not even of children. The counterworlds are often small and isolated. The world learns of them from visitors who can observe the society, but are not integrated and ultimately have to leave the paradise.

This vision of a completely different world in a faraway place is a fascination that actually goes back to antiquity. In other words, utopias were around *avant la lettre*. But Mohl's classification of *Staatsromane* still resonates today at least in the German speaking world. Texts dating from before More do not belong to the genre, and after More the number is limited. In France, the *utopie* or *le roman utopique* only became an accepted literary genre around the end of the 18th century (Funke 1983, p. 96); before that they may have been neutrally referred to as traveller's tales, political or heroic novels or merely chimaeras (ibid., p. 95). The name of the genre gave rise to the problem of classification, and hence also to the question of numbers and completeness. How many utopia are there? Only fourteen?

Mohl (1855, p. 170ff) commented that he could not guarantee that the bibliography he cited was "absolutely complete", not least because he did not have access to all titles. This was the case, for instance, for the satire *Mundi celesti, terresti et infernale*, which was published in Venice in 1552, and in which Anton Francesco Doni[5] used the technique of literary reflection to attack the customs of his country. Doni, who was referred to as "bizarro", portrays - in the footsteps of Dante - a journey through the seven worlds that lead to a utopian city, which must be interpreted as being a counterworld to then infamous Venice. Today, Doni is considered a mannerist. First and foremost, however, he was a composer and musician, one of many with utopian interests.

Another title that Mohl was also not able to consult was called *La République des Cessarès*, which is thought to have been published in London in the 18th century (ibid.). What was meant was James Burgh's *An Account of the First Settlement, Laws, Form of Government, and Police, of the Cessares*, an epistolary novel about a fictional people in the far south of South America between Chile and Patagonia, which was published in 1764. The author was the teacher and political writer James Burgh[6], who in the mid 18th century espoused the right to free speech, a democratic society and equal rights for both sexes. Burgh's widow Hannah was a great support for the young Mary Wollstonecraft (Johnson 2002, p. 125).

But these two were not the only titles missing from Mohl's collection of *Staatsromane*. In 1941, the scholar of English and later Editor-in-Chief of Webster's Third New International Dictionary, Philip Babcock Gove[7], counted 215 titles of imaginary journeys in various languages in the 18th century alone (Babcock Gove 1941, p. 295-300). Depending on the definition of utopia, current bibliographies count thousands of titles (Utopie 2000, Heyer 2009), and from antiquity to the early 21st century the number has only continued to grow. It is apparently a genre that is not waning in literary or political significance. And given current research, "total ignorance" is surely not the right description.

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[5] Anton Francesco Doni (1513-1574) was originally to become a priest, but he had to leave the monastery while still a novice and became a renowned writer. In 1548, Doni wrote the foreword to the Italian translation of More's *Utopia*. The translation itself was by Ortensio Lando (c. 1510 – c. 1558) (Heyer 2009, p. 187).
[6] The Scot James Burgh (1714-1775) was a lecturer at various dissenting academies and a well-known publicist. Along with Joseph Priestley and Benjamin Franklin, he was one of the group of "Honest Whigs".
[7] From 1924 to 1927, Philip Babcock Gove (1902-1972) was Instructor in English at the Rice Institute and subsequently at New York University until 1942. His work *The Imaginary Voyages in Prose Fiction* looks at European studies and in 1941 was accepted by Columbia University as a dissertation.

Mohl's *Staatsromane* have the common feature that they are static in their conception. They describe a state of society which never changes, because the social order in the place is considered to be perfect. Even if like Karl Marx in the 19th century, who linked utopia with class struggle, you add dynamics and relate it to a historical process, there is still an expectation of a certain final state that desires or allows no further development. The teleology of history has been fulfilled, or in other words: in the end, the Hegelian dialectic gives rise to something supreme that finished dialectic itself.

2. *History and finality*

Ralf Dahrendorf, later famous rector of St. Anthony's College in Oxford, referred to the problem of finality in his dissertation work on *Der Begriff des Gerechten im Denken von Karl Marx* (The Concept of Right in the Thought of Karl Marx), Hamburg, 1952. For Marx Communist society is simultaneously the objective and the outcome of history (Dahrendorf 1953, p. 91), which then continues - Marx is not a chiliast (ibid. p. 95) - or even just starts, but which no longer changes the new society. All prior history, as it is famously formulated in the *Communist Manifesto* of 1848 is "pre-history", i.e. that of class struggle.

- In the new society, man is free from exploitation of every kind,
- the means of production have been socialised,
- bourgeois ownership has been abolished (ibid. p. 99/100)
- and the "all-round development of individuals" has become a reality (ibid. p. 105).

History can achieve no more. More precisely, the prior history changes its character and becomes a function of society. Many intellectuals believed in the last and perfect society, Dahrendorf was 23 years old when he wonders:

"Marx appears not a moment to have considered the idea that even Communist society could disintegrate into a new, substantially different form, that it too could give rise to inner contrasts that develop to become contradictions" (ibid. p. 95/96).

Darwin's theory of evolution emerged at the same time, offering an entirely different vision: a general theory of life that professes nothing more than continual change by adaptation; this would rule out history having any objective. Every species, and therefore also every social species or every society can be overcome by adapting to new circumstances, and will either develop further or die out.

The new Communist society is the last one in history, and the first to be there only for man. The "universally developed individual" that Marx wrote about in *Das Kapital* is ironically the Crown of Creation[8], as anyway the non-contradictory Communist society that represents the "true realm of freedom" and sustainably aligns social existence with the freedom and needs of the individual, resembling Christian creation in which there is also no longer any change after the creation, only that in communism the revolution represents creation and God is no longer needed.

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[8] Psalm 8, 6.

For Marxists, the endless evolution of life is a grim notion, no matter how much Marx may have admired Darwin because of the consequences of his theory for Christian theology. Yet the theory of evolution is based on assumptions that undermine any concept of a final history. The history of society can similarly have no objective and it does not end at an ideal place, yet this is exactly what the social utopia served to do since the readings of Thomas More in the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries. Where Marx differed on this was only the concept of dialectic. Communist society is not simply given, but emerges from the class struggle and the realm of freedom comes about through historical necessity. With the proletariat, history has a final subject that liberates itself through struggle and has no pursuit other than communist society.

The prize is that then a final situation must be conceived that can be filled either with notions of paradise or its demise. *Utopias* have always implied *dystopias*, without changing the fundamental model of thinking. In terms of political ideology, "demise" is merely the opposite of "progress"; in both cases, the social movement ends in its final state, only in one case at a pinnacle of history and in the other at the lowest point. "Growth" in economic terms has no end, but only rises and fluctuations, whereas positive and negative utopias must describe a *final* place in which history can never change society again.

Elizabeth Hansot (1974), American historian of education, commented that there can be two modes of utopian thought: perfection and progress. In one case, the perfect world will already exist and must only be discovered, in the other case it will have to pursued by gradual progress or created through revolution. More precisely, the Marxist revolution only creates the preconditions for the emergence of the new society through the socialisation of property. The revolution is then transferred into communist education; it is education that creates "new man", conceived in a process that would last generations and have no completion date. It is a new form of endlessness and one of the reasons why "real socialism" ended in 1989. No promise of the future will pass generations without being tested.

The link between utopia and history is only made in the 18th and 19th centuries (Manuel/Manuel 1979), with concepts of historical progress, on the one hand, and Hegelian philosophy of history on the other. The humanistic utopias in the two centuries after More portray perfect societies that can be held up in contrast to the real world. This motif of a place of hope to be found somewhere long defined the utopian novel (Gnüg 1999) and also characterised utopian pedagogy, which wanted only to see the best education being provided in the best of all worlds.

The idea of eternal order and endless stability fascinated intellectuals at a time when no social order existed. Thomas More's England was not a "society" in our sense but an order of permanent disorder caused by poverty, hunger, a high death rate, illiteracy and a ruling class that did not know any common good. So in a way modern utopia is a fantasy about order and righteousness at times when no legal state existed. It was Robert von Mohl who coined the term "Rechtsstaat" (constitutional state) in German history of law.

The term "dystopia" can be traced back to John Stuart Mill, who, in an address to the British House of Commons on 12 March 1868, described the British government as a bunch of "dys-topians" in reference to their Ireland policy.

> "What is commonly called Utopian is something too good to be practicable; but what they (i.e. the government) appear to favour is too bad to be practicable" (Mill 1988, ch. 88).

In fact, dystopias go back further than this, and Mill's formulation of "too bad to be practicable" missed the religious core of the problem which is concerned with the concept of the beginning and end.

Expectations of the end of the world at a given point in time are characteristic of antiquity and the Middle Ages, both the Christian and the pre-Christian eras (Cohn 1997; Carozzi 1996). The motif of final salvation at the Last Judgement is not exclusively Christian. The Book of Revelations is based on various older sources, which together agree that there must be an end if there was also a beginning. Creation and demise are thought of as birth and death, except that the Last Judgement neutralises death itself and offers everlasting life to the Chosen People which will be few and not all.

Utopia is a counterweight to this. It promises redemption from evil in *this* world without having to wait for the intermediate state and the resurrection. In the Christian versions of Utopia the promise is an assurance of being better placed to make it to the afterlife. The demand for a better world is closely related to the consciousness of life and death, and can be answered religiously or secularly. The answer must not be given worldly and spatially, because - as Augustine showed - the best world can also be connected with mercy and therefore understood as being unattainable. Yet the unattainability is not the central motif in utopian literature, which seeks to educate that there are better worlds and one can find them.

Notions of a better world beyond the one that is known have been around not only since More coined the term "utopia" in 1516. Counterworlds were also recorded in the literature of antiquity, for instance, the Elysian Fields in the Odyssey, the Elysium in Hesiod's Theogony[9], or journeys to other worlds which Pliny the Elder described.[10] Also better societies were created with the aim of revealing the shortcomings of the world in which one lives, and creating the longing of the better. This literature was originally not intended to have a political message in the modern sense.

3. *The historical development of utopia*

In around 300 B.C., the Greek philosopher and writer Euhemerus of Messina described in his work *Sacred History* ("hiera anagraphe") a journey to the island of Panchaea at the eastern end of the known world, where he claimed to have discovered a sacred inscription and a utopian society. It was inspired by Plato's description of Atlantis. Euhemerus turns this into a manifesto of materialism. The inscription in the temple exposes the gods as "deified men" (Braunert 1980, p. 261) and therefore as mortals; belief in them is nothing more than a form of domination. There was no private ownership in this society, the children were common good and the island has therefore repeatedly been mentioned in connection with communism of antiquity (e.g. Pöhlmann 1901, p. 55-70).

Another example is the autobiography of the Greek merchant Iambulos, which has survived in fragments in the work of the Greek historian Diodorus Siculus. Here again, a

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[9] The Island of the Blessed was thought to be at the western edge of the Earth. The darlings of the gods were sent to the island without having to suffer death.

[10] *Historia Naturalis*, second book: Kosmologie (Cosmology). Pliny the Elder (23-79 A.D.) was a renowned Roman writer, who also held civil and military offices.

journey to an island is described. Iambulos and a companion were taken captive by thieves in Arabia, they then ended up in the hands of Ethiopians and are taken to the Ethiopian coast. Because they did not fit in with the strictly measured fabric of the generations, they are sent out into the Indian Ocean by boat. They are told they must sail to the south where they will happen upon a paradise island inhabited by honourable people who would offer them a blessed existence (Didorus Siculus II/55).

After months of odyssey, the pair finally reached an unknown island and discovered a completely different type of society. Gradually it becomes clear that the society has spread to various islands. The primary distinguishing characteristic was their physical constitution; all islanders had flexible bones, and the exact same height. Their proportions made them beautiful and much stronger than the strangers. The island dwellers were giants and could live for 150 years[11]. They had two tongues and could converse with two people at the same time (II/56). They lived in abundance and had more food than they could eat. No more than 400 relatives formed a social community, living together peacefully with all the others.

The communities were engaged in the sciences, especially astrology, the islanders developed their own writing system, the alphabet was sorted by sound and although it had only seven letters, they could each be used in a variety of ways. Writing was not in horizontal lines, but vertical from top to bottom. The islanders were largely free from illness and ailments, although anyone who became crippled or suffered long-term pain was forced into suicide, as prescribed by an irrefutable law, that was something of an antique law of eugenics. The length of life was exactly limited, and anyone who grew older would, as the law prescribed, have to lie themselves down under the tree of death to die (II/57).

They inhabited a total of seven islands in community of goods, there were no rules on marriage and therefore no compulsion to remain monogamous. Men and women could freely exchange partners, children belonged to the community and not to the parents, and their education was public. There was no private space. Often, the women did not know whether the children they raised in the community were their own or not. Because everything, even the children, belonged to everyone, the community was free of rivalries. The inhabitants never experienced social disorder and never ceased to stress the meaning of the inner harmony of their community (II/58).

In each group, the eldest male was the leader; when he died, he was succeeded by the next elder. In spite of the abundance, the islanders had a simple life in harmony with their needs. They had no enemies, and even the giant snakes on the islands presented no danger (II/59). The inhabitants worked according to their abilities, and served the needs of others in an exact cycle that was in tune with nature. Their religious feasts and festivals worshipped the God of the sun, who also gave his name to the islands (II/59). It was Rousseau who revived the idea of living according to the natural needs without being disturbed by civilization.

Christian Paradise has not a door but a way out. And this is also true for the story of Iambulos. After seven years, he and his companion were forced to leave the island against their will; they were held to be sinners and stood accused of corrupting morals with their evil influence. They were guilty of promoting a negative education that can only be ascribed to outsiders. So the strangers had to make another dangerous voyage by sea. The story ends with a shipwreck in India, the death of the companion and a happy return of Iambulos home to Greece (II/60). The island itself remains as it is, the strangers left no traces.

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[11] It refers to Theopompos of Chios (c. 378/377 – between 323 and 300 B.C.) and his description of the island of Meropis, where a good society lived alongside a corrupt society.

Thomas More may have known the *Bibliotheca historica* of Diodorus Siculus, as this work of universal history written in the first century B.C. was an important and often quoted source in the 16th century. The analogies to *Utopia* are so evident that the genre of utopian literature cannot simply be ascribed to More, as usually assumed (Vosskamp 1982, Claeys 2010). What distinguishes More's *Utopia* is the explicit criticism of society and hence the political links that had been sought long before Marx. Yet More did not originate the criticism of private ownership and socialism as a model of society.

Utopian works were also produced in the Middle Ages to justify heretical movements (Seibt 1969), for instance, or to illustrate the Christian faith, as in *Le Purgatoire de Saint Patrick* in 1186.[12] This work describes the desire for a place to absolve sins and hence attain salvation; the place for that was found at the end of the world, in the northern part of Ireland, where pilgrims could find a purgatory that will not burn but save them. Christian visions of the "other world" were numerous (Easting 1997), but worldly experiences could also be transcended into utopian worlds. The much renowned *Roman de la Rose* by Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meung, which was finished in 1270, relates the story of a long dream about love, which ends almost misogynously. That led to the first literary debate on a utopian work, as Christine de Pizan accused the portrayal of women in the second half of the work (*Le Débat sur le Roman de la Rose*, 1977).[13]

Travellers' tales have also been found from the 14th century, for instance, the *Itineraria* or *Livre des merveilles du monde* by John Mandeville[14], which gives an account of a fantastical journey spanning decades, across the known world to China; it was written between 1355 and 1357 in Liège (Mandeville 2000). Finally, the salvation of the soul from all worldly dependencies, and also the salvation of the soul from every form of domination, which was described by Marguerite Porète around 1295 in her *Miroir des âmes simples,* does not stem from the modern period. Even the risks of utopia are not modern; following a long trial, Marguerite Porète was publicly burned on 1 June 1310 as a heretic (Porète 1986).

After the Reformation, the question of church authority was newly raised. The question was: do we really need churches and hierarchies? The merchant and mystic Henry Niclaes (Hendrik or Heinrich Niclaes, Nicolas de Munster) from the town of Emden conceived his "family of love" or the "land of Pietas" (of the true faith) in his book *L'Evangile de Royaume* (1540)[15]; this land, he believed, could be achieved throughout the world because it was not a place but just a harmonious relationships. It was the first "utopia" that described an order of emotions.

- Niclaes had numerous followers, particularly in Britain, who referred to their community as the "family of God".
- God was reached purely on a spiritual level,
- the Bible was read allegorically,

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[12] *Tractatus de Purgatorio Sancti Patraciii*, by the Cistercian monk Henry of Saltry in Huntingdonshire. In 1624, a print was found in Paris. 150 copies of the manuscript still exist.

[13] This debate resulted in a utopia: *Le Livre de la Cité des Dames*, which Christine de Pizan (1365 – after 1430) had completed around 1405.

[14] John Mandeville (Jehan or Jean de Mandeville) (d. 1372) was a doctor from Liège.

[15] *L'Evangile des Royaume; la terre de paix* (published in the Opuscula of 1540). Henry Nicholis (Henri Nicolas or Heinrich Niclaes), an Anabaptist from Münster, founded the "Maison d'amour", a sect that wished to found its faith purely on love and compassion. Nicolas also represented the concept of the "homo novus".

- and heaven and hell were not considered to be real places, quite different to the Christian eschatology (Marsh 1993).

The social utopia in its modern sense refers to a better world in the future, which can be seen as a political option of the present. This was not possible in antiquity simply because the concept of "future" for the Greeks and Romans did not span very far. Their spatial knowledge of the world was also limited. It is only the notion of the future as indefinite and distant, yet influenceable from today, which allows a move away from static models of the best of all worlds. Neither in antiquity nor in the Middle Ages were there notions of a utopian city (Kruft 1989) or a utopian society that was linked with the expectation of a distant and better future. This only became possible with the link between utopia and history.

The travellers' tales of antiquity have didactic intentions, their utopian worlds are not conceived as an objective of history, but they rather portray an ideal society with the aim of teaching or educating the reader. Plato's *Politeia* on the theory of the state, which was written around 370 B.C., does not describe a counterworld, but designs an ideal for the existing society. But in many respects, *Politeia* is the benchmark for utopian literature, whose authors read Plato not with the eyes of antiquity, but with the eyes of the early modern period. A precondition of this, which Plato of course could not have known, was the Christian faith and its claim of redemption, which was gradually conferred on the future of society. It was only in this way that the "future" in the current sense could actually come about, as an extended horizon that can constantly regenerate itself, yet nevertheless allowing continuities that point beyond the present.

From a literary point of view, the utopias of the early modern period are the consequence of discoveries, particularly the exploration of the world thanks to new maritime routes that had been mapped out exactly, in contrast to antiquity and the Middle Ages. The growing knowledge of the world was reflected in countless works, ranging from travellers' tales to the discovery of new societies. Anglo-Saxon literature alone counts more than 400 works in the space of two centuries that can be described as "utopian" in the narrower sense. Works of this type appeared in all civilised languages and always described not only social but also educational utopias. The concept of "utopia" is closely linked with ideas of better education.

4. Utopian society and education

One of the earliest German examples is Johann Eberlin von Günzburg's description of the "land of Wolfaria", which appeared as a pamphlet in the late summer of 1521, immediately after the beginning of the Reformation[16]. A former Franciscan friar, Günzburg was a lecturer and preacher in the city of Ulm and had converted to the teachings of Luther. He was so articulate, eloquent and sharp of tongue that he became known as one of Luther's best propagandists.

"Wolfaria" is the old German word for "welfarestate". Günzburg describes the well-organised model state of the new faith where idleness is forbidden, all are compelled to work and begging in any form has to be punished. Catholic feast days should be curtailed, even the

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[16] The description of the social and religious order in the "land of Wolfaria" was related in a total of fifteen pamphlets written by Johann Eberlin von Günzburg (c. 1470-1533) to evaluate the consequences of the Reformation. The pamphlets propose "15 allies" in the struggle for the new order.

misdemeanours of the preachers are punishable, marriage is no longer a divine sacrament, but clandestine marriages without public testimony are annulled by drowning. Monastic benefices were rescinded and handed to the hospitals, preachers could only preach in places where at least 500 followers of the new faith resided, and worship of any deity other than Our Father was punishable by decapitation. Anyone who travelled to Rome was considered to be bound for Sodom and Gomorrah and to avoid this all schools were to hold two lessons each day on proper thinking and behaviour according to the new faith. "Wolfaria", a place meaning "prosperity" (*Wohlfahrt*), would only be possible in this structure (Günzburg 1521).

Utopias emerged also in the context of the Catholic Renaissance, for instance, the "new world" of Anton Francesco Doni, mentioned previously, which described an egalitarian society in which labour is divided rationally for all, money does not exist and governance is modelled on the family. One year later in 1553, Francesco Patrizis published *La città felice*, the example for all utopias which described the perfectly organised city with a limited number of citizens who are never unknown to each other. Education was considered greatly important, prudish on the one hand, but intended for practical benefits on the other. Grammar, music and drawing are among the practical arts and serve to propagate happiness.

In 1555, Caspar Stiblin (Gaspar Stiblinus) from Würzburg, later a lecturer at a *gymnasium* there, described a Catholic *Coropaedia*, including a theory of the state. The *Coropaedia* is an early theory of girls' education provided at convents; the state is considered a eudaemonistic republic based on collaboration and therefore autarkic. Stiblin emphasises the ability of women to learn, albeit under the condition of a closed world; journeys outside the convent were forbidden (Coropaedia 1555). Girl education did not remain "utopian" very long. In 1574 in his role as General-Superintendent of the March of Brandenburg, the Reformist Andreas Musculus[17] (Andreas Meusel) announced a girls' school (*Jungfraw-Schul*) that provided a programme of education, albeit not restricted to convents, which after the Reformation became schools. Of particular importance was the daily singing, something which is scarcely mentioned in social utopias. What Musculus intended was not so much the best of all worlds, but something approaching already existing girls' education (Musculus 1574).

The social utopias of the late 16th and early 17th century were visions not of the religious world, but of the naturally organised world. Arcadia, for instance in Philip Sidneys' widely read novel *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia* (1590) has the God of nature on its side, which can only be good. To quote Sydney: "Nature promises nothing but goodness", and this also applied to children's education (*The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia* 1891, p. 15f.). Rousseau also later adopted this idea. On the other hand musician and composer Ludovico Agostini saw the absolute necessity of a Christian confession of faith in his Catholic *Repubblica immaginaria* in 1580. His country of nobles is a spartan state in which public education is based on religion and morals, which are considered to be more important than schooling (Agostini 1957; cf. Rawson 1991, p.172f.). In a way Rousseau again adopted this idea.

The totally different concept of a cooperative-based society stems from the Dutch author Peter Cornelius van Zurick-Zee (sometimes cited as Plockhoy or Plockboy). In 1659 in England, he published the work *A Way Propounded to Make the Poor in these and other Nations Happy*, in which he developed the concept of the "little commonwealth" which would make the people self-sufficient. They would come together voluntarily in cooperatives and

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[17] The militant reformer Andreas Musculus (Andreas Meusel) (1514-1581) taught theology in Frankfurt (Oder).

work for the common good without any coercion. A special source of income would come from the schools, whose quality was so high that the rich would send their children there, and who would also come into contact with cooperative thought ("Genossenschaften") in this way. Education would therefore have a subversive effect. No particular religion was taught, but alongside the natural sciences and art, saints were held up as role models (Plockhoy 1659).

Classical utopias have always required the best - albeit closed - place, access to which could be controlled so that only a limited number could enter. And there is only *one* such place, not many, certainly not many identical places around the world. This also holds true of the Christian utopias which no longer have faraway islands as their theme, but the city of God, which should be understood as a bastion in the 17th century.

- Tommaso Campanella's *Città del Sole* of 1602 is organised in this way,
- as is Johann Valentin Andreae's *Christianopolis* of 1619.

They use their social utopias to articulate a widespread religious vision. Redemption on entering the *one* heavenly Jerusalem in imitation of Christ can be seen in many depictions from the Middle Ages. Yet in the early 17th century, there was more to this than merely a pictorial affirmation of faith. The heavenly city was brought to earth and interpreted as a social model colony of Christianity, Catholic for Campanella and Reformed for Andreae. They are educational states that both prescribe a utopian place (Oelkers 1993).

Tommaso Campanella was a Dominican monk and a close pen friend of Galileo Galilei. His work on the *City of the Sun* was written in captivity in Spain in 1602[18], a Latin version appearing in 1623 in Frankfurt. The German translation did not appear until 1789.

- The City of the Sun depicts a communist state with no private ownership,
- economic production is not for profit, but is designed solely to meet the needs of the society, which are calculated exactly in the form of plans,
- the institution of the family is abolished because it protects private ownership,
- women and children are common property, the state is solely responsible for education
- and political power lies in the hands of a clerical oligarchy based on the concept of a universal papal monarchy
(Campanella 1964).

The *City of the Sun* is therefore a Catholic theocracy with a communist society, which, given the subsequent history, could almost be regarded as irony. But in 1602, the notion of the ideal society was not led by materialistic criticism of religion, as in the 19th century. The pope and communism were considered compatible, by Campanella at least.

The frontispiece of the 1619 Strasbourg edition shows *Christianopolis* as an island city, apparently in heaven, while it is purported to be a real, existing state. You can see wide moats surrounding the fortress with a bridge on each side of the square city (Andreae 1975, p. 25) and one exactly at the centre. The bridges lead to the gates, controlling entry and exit. The

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[18] Tommaso Campanella (1568-1639) was variously accused of heresy and, in 1600, for participation in a conspiracy in southern Italy with communist objectives, after severe torture, he was condemned to life imprisonment. Campanella was only released on 26 May 1626, and on 6 April 1629 his name was removed by the Vatican from the index of prohibited books.

way in and out can be closed or opened at will; once inside, you can be sure that anyone else seeking entry can be precisely controlled. The opposite is also true, as no one can leave the Christian city unchecked, but of course no one would want to leave either.

Exactly at the centre of the heavenly city is a temple to which all entrances lead, taking you directly to the inner sanctum. The temple is the Christian church and the Christian crucifix is visible for everyone over the city. The houses are community quarters, there are no individual houses, only quarters arranged in rows, like the block of flats in early 20th century socialist architecture. There are towers at each end that serve as outward and inward boundary markers. The rows are tapered inwards and the temple is surrounded by a gigantic square to fully express the power of the temple. Protruding into the water on each corner are Christian hearts that are clearly recognisable as embankments. They are so pointed that they could even be spears, as the might of God should be seen as love and sword alike. And they point in all directions.

The tale then repeats the tried and tested utopian formula of a shipwreck and a strange world. Christianopolis is arrived at by a shipwrecked voyager, who is portrayed as a wanderer of the world who, albeit involuntarily, reaches his final destination. The city itself is depicted as "perfect" for the shipwrecked voyager, who enters by passing various controls; "perfect" in the sense of exactly the same:

"The appearance of things is the same everywhere, neither ornate nor wretched, and planned for the enjoyment of the open and fresh air. There are about 400 citizens living here, perfect in religion and perfect in civility" (ibid. p. 25/26).

Their entire life, work, sociability, religion and not at least education is precisely ordered. Work aside from education and morality is always the central factor in utopias. On work it is noted:

- The citizens of Christianopolis preferred to speak of "exercise of the hands", as labour was neither pain nor suffering.
- The city was a "single workshop" where one hand passes to the next.
- Each problem was solved with the "wealth of ingenuity" of the citizens, who were given to cooperation and applied their "spirit" for the common good.

A Utopia like this still influences popular thinking on education, which favours the "exercise of the hands", the school as a "workshop", the joy of working, the cooperation of all children and the "spirit for the common good". My task today is not to comment on the language of education but is striking how many popular metaphors of education survived from history.

In many respects, the limited diversity in these utopias is surprising. The basic expectation is always of a strictly egalitarian republic of virtue where equal distribution is intended to negate any egoism. Egoism (the self-love of Augustine) is the exact opposite of the love of God, so that the love of God (morality and piety) promotes what egoism repudiates. This occurs essentially through working and nurturing with a sense of public spirit i.e. through education. The purpose of working is to do good works in and for the community and not in order to achieve profit or personal wealth. All property is common property; everything belongs to everyone but nobody may make use of their share individually.

In contrast, very early on dystopias were written which presented the ideal of the new world as an escape from the old one; the new world existed without any new education. In his satire *Mundus alter et idem* (1605/1607) the English bishop Joseph Hall[19] describes the "terra australis", which is so remote that the inhabitants are able to laugh at their enemies. The new world is made up of the lands of Crepulia, Viraginia, Moronia and Lavernia and their inhabitants are described as gluttons, nags, fools and thieves. Through this the reader learns that at the end of the world, nothing remains but the familiar old London (Mundus alter et idem 1609).

Henry Nevilles' *Isle of Pines* (1668) tells of the re-establishment of society by castaways on faraway islands in East India. George Pine and four women are shipwrecked, Pine has sexual relations with all the women to whom children are born who, over the years, produce distinct tribes who gradually break away from the laws of the patriarch and become increasingly primitive. The people do not have to work as they live from nature but, because of this, they forget the technologies brought with them from England and regress. Neville thus describes a dystopia, a negative utopia; the island is discovered by Dutch explorers who do not see this as a superior world but rather as a primitive race which is on the brink of civil war and has a foretaste of its own demise (The Isle of Pines 1668).

Dystopias are never associated with education. When Rousseau wrote in *Emile* about "éducation négative", he was referring to the protection of the child's nature against society and not to an education leading to demise. In contrast, utopias are linked to education and have continually influenced pedagogic thought since the Reformation. The ideal-typical relationship between utopia and education consists of the following elements:

- the first utopian location is clear and manageable.
- Only a few chosen individuals are allowed to enter it and receive the new education.
- These chosen few spread the spirit of their education throughout the world.
- Many different locations touched by this new education create a common effect and reshape the world.
- The old world disappears as the new one emerges.

The central element in all this is education. Only education guarantees the continuity of the "New Man". In the famous utopias of the 17th century from Samuel Hartlib's republic of scholars in *A Description of the Famous Kingdom of Macaria* (1641) to James Harrington's civil republic in *The Commonwealth of Oceana* (1656) and Antoine Legrand's utopian kingdom *Scydromedia* (1669), "education" is never considered to be independent. It is a function of the new society which is meant to reproduce itself perfectly without contributing to its transformation which must be ruled out. Education simply serves to reproduce society and, because the latter is perfect, education can be nothing but positive.

Even those, like Francis Godwin in *The Man in the Moon*, who locate utopia outside the Earth do not have any other model to follow.[20] His novel was published posthumously in 1638. The bishop tells of how an astronaut named Domingo Gonsales flies in a chariot pulled

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[19] The English edition appeared in 1609, translated by John Healy. Joseph Hall (1574-1656), who was bishop of Exeter from 1627 and of Norwich in 1641, was the first English satirist to follow the classical standards (*Virgidemarium*, 6 books 1597/1598). In 1642 he was one of the 13 bishops to be captured and arrested by parliament. His cathedral was destroyed. Hall was forced to become a beggar but nevertheless survived until 1656.

[20] Francis Godwin (1652-1633) was bishop of Hereford.

by trained geese to the moon where he discovers a new society with perfect education. Godwin (1985) was working on the assumption that the moon was inhabited by intelligent beings. John Wilkins, bishop of Chester and secretary of the Royal Society, toyed in his work *Mathematical Magic* with the theoretical possibility that an earthly vehicle could be driven by internal forces and raised from the ground (Wilkins 1648, ch. XVI). This inspired, among others, Cyrano de Bergerac's *Histoire comique des états et empires de la lune et du soleil* (1655) and Daniel Defoe's satire *The Consolidator* (1705).

Gabriel de Foigny's *La terre australe connue,* which was first published in 1676 in Geneva, presents a communist social utopia. It describes a society of androgynes, called the "Australians", who are far more advanced than European culture because no religion has hindered them in their development. This is reflected in their technological superiority and an egalitarian society which is organised on the basis of 15,000 identical citizens (*seizans*) with no distinctions caused by personal refinement. All forms of governance and institutions are unknown and everyone receives the same amount of education. Conflicts are settled spontaneously as on-going differences do not exist.

The major social utopias from More to Fourier and 19th century socialism were neither democratic nor did they predict a specific political role for the people. *Utopia* itself is a socialist vision of order with no democratic legitimation, without any voting or participation. Social Order, not the people, creates justice and for this reason order is inviolable. Democracy means necessary change, which is not incorporated in the utopian models. They cannot be changed for their own sake. On the other hand, democracy is itself a utopia, or at least a utopian requirement, and this will be the subject of my next and last discussion: why is there this demand for democracy and where does it come from? And what has it to with education?

5. *The utopian requirement for democracy*

It is generally well known that the first theoretical justification of a connection between education and democracy stems from Montesquieu. In his major work, *Esprit des loix* of 1748 he presented a typology in which the form of education was dependent on the form of government. According to this work, the laws of education correspond to those of government and cannot be determined independently. Governments vary as does education which cannot be unified but on the contrary must be understood from a functional point of view.

The basic premise is summarised as follows at the beginning of book 4:

> "Si le peuple en général a un principe, les parties qui le composent, c'est-à-dire les familles, l'auront aussi. Les lois de l'éducation seront donc différentes dans chaque espèce de gouvernement. Dans les monarchies, elles auront pour l'object l'*honneur*; dans les républiques, la *vertu*; dans le despotisme, la *crainte"*
> (Montesquieu 1950, p. 54).

A monarchistic or despotic government does not require any virtue in order to exist; it simply requires genealogy and power and the symbols of honour on the one hand and the authority of terror on the other. The opposite is true of an "état populaire"; this can only exist if education provides for virtue, which for Montesquieu is tantamount to abiding by the laws (ibid., p. 26/27). Education is therefore fundamental in terms of preserving democracy. The

idea of a connection between education and the state was originally put forward by Aristotle, but related to Greek policy rather than the people. [21] For Aristotle, democracy in its pure form meant the authority of the poor which needed to be replaced by a mixed government.

What democracy is *not* is described by Montesquieu with a daunting example from the previous century. Up until the "glorious revolution" of 1688/1689 and the introduction of the Bill of Rights, the English had tried unsuccessfully to establish a democracy. However, they were lacking in the most important element, namely virtue. Governments were constantly changing, parties fought against one another and the most courageous were astonished by their successes which never lasted for long. The consequence was clear:

"Le peuple étonné cherchoit la démocratie, & ne la trouvoit nulle part"
(ibid., p. 27).

Eventually, they had to go back to the form of government which had previously been removed; the king replaced the king with the Puritan Oliver Cromwell as a revolutionary interlude (ibid.). Cromwell had the English king Charles I executed in 1649 and died from malaria in 1658 as Lord Protector. He was so hated by the royalists that they exhumed him and subsequently hanged him when they returned to power in 1660 and Charles II became king of England.

This was only the French perspective however. Montesquieu, who after all was a member of the Horn's Tavern Masonic Lodge in Westminster, simply focused on the form of government and ignored the political process which in no way restored the status quo. The revolutionary movement was too entrenched for that to happen. An important step was taken with the "Levellers" manifesto of 1649, whose aim was to associate political democracy not simply with virtue but with the approval of the people. The eight-page manifesto on the equality of all citizens was written in the Tower of London. Its authors were

- John Lilburne,
- William Walwyn,
- Thomas Prince
- and Richard Overton,

all four of whom were authors and pamphleteers who advocated "freeborn rights" and thus questioned the privileges of birth and as such were controversial.

The name "Levellers" can be traced back to a calculated defamation which the English journalist Marchamont Needham had initiated in order to caricature "freeborn rights". Needham was the publisher of the royalist *Mercurius pragmaticus*, a newsbook, in which the term "leveller" was coined in 1648 (Raymond 2005, p. 169). In their manifesto of 14 April 1649, which was taken as a defence, the four pamphleteers defended themselves against the suspicion that they were striving "to level men's estates" and stressed that their democratic requirements were obvious. The acceptance by the people of a government's policy can only stem from the people themselves, who have to learn to articulate their opinions accordingly (A Manifestation 1649). It was not yet totally clear as to how this was to come about.

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[21] The role models for Montesquieu (1950, p. 27/28) were the "politiques Grecs", who followed no other power than that of virtue. "Ceux d'aujourd'hui ne nous parlent que de manufactures, de commerce, de finances, de richesses;&de luxe même".

The Levellers stemmed largely from the New Model Army, the parliament's army which was against the king and was established at Cromwell's behest in 1645. Cromwell commanded the cavalry and thus emphasised his solidarity with the troop. The New Model Army was dissolved in 1660 in the wake of the Restoration. Its officers had previously been on the side of Cromwell's republic. This explains the revolutionary requirements as well as the discovery of the people as the subject and supporters of democracy.

Its list of requirements, the "Agreement of the People" of 1647, whose final version was adopted in May 1649, is a central document for the development of parliamentary democracy.

- It was proposed that free, equal voting rights be introduced from the age of 21.[22]
- The Levellers forbade army officers, chamberlains and lawyers from becoming members of parliament.
- A central concern was equality before the law, culpability was to be abolished and the death penalty was limited to cases of murder.

The document did not even mention education. It was far more concerned with levying taxes in relation to property and thereby doing away with the existing privileges of the rich. But education soon became a topic.

John Lilburne was a Quaker at the end of his life. The term "Quaker" used with reference to the "Children of the Light" is again a polemical attribution. The members of the sect were said to shiver or "quake" in the presence of the divine light and their opponents judged them to be ridiculous.[23] Quakers were non-conformists and as such were opponents of the Anglican Church. In 1662 the parliament passed the Act of Uniformity which stipulated that all rituals and ceremonies should be carried out according to the *Book of Common Prayer*[24] of the high church and only ordained priests were allowed to lead church services.

- However, around 2,000 priests did not follow the law and established their own communities.
- The basic premise was referred to by the Quaker William Penn in 1681 as "true spiritual liberty",
- including the freedom to decide on the education of one's own children.

Roger Williams, who founded the first American Baptist Church in 1639 in Rhode Island, called this position "soul liberty", which was linked to the requirement for a radical separation between the state and the church. The famous manifesto published by Williams in 1644, *The Blovdy Tenent of Persecution*"[25], accused the persecution of heretics by the state, criticised the united church, pleaded for religious diversity and considered that it was possible that "true *civility* and *Christianity* may both flourish in a state or *Kingdome,* notwithstanding

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[22] Including women, excluding civil servants, beggar and royalists.

[23] The founder of the "Society of Friends", George Fox (1624-1691), was summoned before the court on 30 October 1650 in Derby for blasphemy. He wrote in his journal that the judge called his movement "Quakers" "because we bid them tremble at the word of God" (A Journal 1808, Bd. I/p. 130). This relates to different parts of the Old Testament (e.g. Ezra 9,4 and Isaiah 66, 2) and was meant to be patronising.

[24] The *Book of Common Prayer* was written in 1548 by Thomas Cranmer the Archbishop of Canterbury; the first edition appeared a year later. This was due to the rapid proliferation of the English mass during the Reformation.

[25] Written as a dialogue between "Truth" and "Peace" based on twelve principles which are disclosed at the beginning.

the *permission* of divers and contrary *consciences*, either of *Iew* or *Gentil'*" (The Blovdy Tenent 1644, p. 4).[26]

One of the non-conformist groupings was the Congregationalists who established the principle of communal autonomy. Their *Savoy-Declaration of Faith and Order* of 1658 refuted all religious and political hierarchy outside of and beyond the community.

- Each community is an individual church which administers itself and does not require a general priesthood.
- God has granted each of these churches all the power and authority required to maintain order and to distribute the different offices between them.
- Pastors are teachers who are appointed and proclaim their teachings publicly.

Ordination *without* selection and the prior approval of the community was refused. The acceptance of new members was also dependent on a consensus. No other authority existed apart from the self-governing communities (A Declaration 1659).

The preacher William Bridge (1654, p. 3) said: "*Christ as God*, could have been merciful unto us, … *but not as our high priest*." Education is thus considered to be of utmost importance: "Take a civil man, and though he may have moral vertues, what is there in him lies beyond the reach of Nature, with the dye of Gospel-Education" (ibid., p. 9). John Owen's Theory of Communion of 1657 states that: "Our Communion with God … cannot be natural. It must be voluntary and by consent. It cannot be in the same actions upon a third party, but in return from one to another" (Owen 1792, p. 11). The things that bind man to God are "faith, love, trust, joy" (ibid., p. 15), rather than organised church. Jesus is the "mediator" of believers (ibid., p. 84) and nobody can proclaim the Holy Spirit except the Spirit himself. Education must therefore also remain within the community.

William Penn, the son of Admiral Sir William Penn, fell out with his father who was one of the richest men in England because of this proximity with the Quakers. William Penn the son had studied theology at Oxford and had been chastised and rejected by his father because of his non-conformist beliefs. Quakers believed uncompromisingly in equality between all people; they refused to pay homage to noblemen and did not pay any tithes in the form of taxes to landlords or the church. It was in this spirit that Penn married the Quaker woman Guilelma Springett in 1673, two years after his father's death. In 1677, he went with her and a group of Quakers to America and founded communities in present-day New Jersey which strictly followed the principle of equality.

On returning to England in 1682, William Penn wrote the first constitution (frame of government) of the Province of Pennsylvania, according to which the free citizens elected their government, a representative general assembly was established and a provincial council was formed which promoted science and supported public schools (The Frame 1682, Art. XII). This provincial council was established under the leadership of the governor in the same year and remained in existence until 1776. William Penn had visited Holland and Germany in 1677. His idea of public schools was influenced essentially by Dutch models, a fact which is seldom mentioned.

- The first public schools were established in Holland in the 16th century.

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[26] Religious freedom was generally understood as freedom of opinion and this freedom formed the basis of the first amendment to the American constitution which was adopted in 1791.

- The teaching staff received fixed salaries from 1574 onwards.
- Teachers' examinations were introduced in 1581.
- In 1583 the first school law in the province of Zealand justified school attendance on the grounds of it being beneficial for the republic.

"Public schools" were established in a similar way in Pennsylvania (Wickersham 1886, p. 4ff.). As was the case in Holland, these were schools in individual communities which were subsidised by their own funds and were accessible to all the children in the community. When Penn arrived in America, there were no more than two thousand inhabitants in the Quaker province of "Pennsylvania"[27] which was named after him. A year later, on 26 October 1683, the first public teacher to receive a fixed annual income was appointed in Philadelphia.

Penn had offered his justification in the introduction to the constitution: a government is more than a "correction"; it must lead the business of the state so that it is far more dependent on the citizens than the opposite.

- "Let men be good, and the government cannot be bad;
- if it be ill, they will cure it".

Wisdom and virtue do not develop spontaneously or out of natue but "must be carefully propagated by a virtuous education of the youth" (ibid., intro). This is a public task as this is the only way to secure the existence of the community in the long term. Citizens cannot simply consider their private heritage if their government is to be sustained and social continuity is to be secured.

I should have closed here. But there is an aftermath. The puritan motive, which the young Michael Walzer (1963) rightly referred to as "revolutionary", was to release different social utopias in England in the 17th century, including Samuel Gott's *New Jerusalem* and Gerrard Winstanley's *Restoration of True Magistracy*,[28] neither of which was created as a discovery of the existing perfect world; rather the powers of social change were to be unleashed (Davis 1981, p. 142-203). The existing society was to be radically changed without having to abandon the ancestral world. In other words, utopia was no longer to be sought and found but had to be created.

Samuel Gott's visionary work *Nova Solyma* of 1648 paved the way for his *Essay of the True Happiness of Man* of 1650. The vision of the ideal society (meaning the Holy Land of Jerusalem after victory over the Turks) provided an introduction to the change in society itself. Two Englishmen visiting the newly acclaimed country learned of the conditions for a truly Christian society in which the reorganisation of education had to be borne in mind above all. Education is the third greatest force of social control after law and administration; anyone wishing to change society upon their return will therefore have to deal with a pedagogical revolution with stronger puritanical morals and education of the individuals who are beginning to understand how to resist political power. One of the main chapters is entitled "Honours for Schoolteachers" (Gott 1902).

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[27] "Penns Woods": the Latin word "Sylvania" means *Woods*. King Charles II of England had bequeathed land to William Penn on 4 March 1681 to balance out his debt with Penn's father.

[28] Gerrard Winstanley: *The Law of Freedom in a Platform: or True Magistry Restored* (London 1652) (Winstanley 1988, p. 152-277). The piece is dedicated to Oliver Cromwell.

A similar argument was put forward by Winstanley (1988, p. 247ff.), one of the great English rebels of the 17th century.[29] In his first work[30] he put forward the theory of universal salvation which substantiated the primacy of individual spiritual experience over all forms of parochial institutions or doctrine. Redemption would be granted not to individual souls but to the country of England which was considered to be a "tenth of Babylon". In other words, the religious motif was transformed into a social revolutionary one which was to remain until the days of Gustav Landauer or Ernst Bloch.

- The true government is one based on belief and freedom.
- Freedom means that every individual is free to make use of the Earth's resources (ibid., p. 176ff.).
- This would create a free republic without any authorities which would put all official positions to the vote and would subject the legal system to conciliators.
- There would be no bureaucracy.

On the basis of his theories, Winstanley came to the conclusion that only practical experiments with society could provide evidence of how a new social order in the spirit of brotherly community could be possible. The first modern settlement experiment began on 1 April 1649 with the "Diggers", a settlement group which wanted to secure livelihood by clearing the land. This joint activity was taken as a guarantee that equality and fraternity could be truly experienced and no longer be "utopias".

The experiment failed, probably due to the opposition of neighbours who had no understanding of these foreign masses of ambitious sectarians. The new world did not simply develop alongside the old one. In 1650 Winstanley's experiments were rejected all over England with the greatest possible unforbearance (Davis 1981, p 173f.) on the basis of experience and belief, as what was not meant to be must not be. The resistance had not undermined the attractiveness of "concrete utopia", the term used by Ernst Bloch to describe the experiments. Regular failure also offered incentives to try again.

By way of conclusion, I would say that the utopian motif aims to overcome the present whist fostering an expectation of future improvement and a means of reaching that aim. The classical social utopias are based on the fulfilment of an aim and thus on the completion of a journey. It may be that dystopias are stronger today in literature than utopias because the latter's political significance seems to have been exhausted. However, we can neither develop nor live together in a democratic society if we focus on destruction. A society needs freedom as well as education and a desire for justice. The basic premise, therefore, is that democracy is not a utopia but rather a living reality which can even win over its critics.

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[29] Gerrard Winstanley (1609-1676) was an apprentice in the clothing trade and became a freeman in the Merchants Taylors' Company in 1637. He married Susan King in 1640 and moved to Walton-on-Thames. The civil war destroyed his business and he became destitute. In 1648 four pamphlets were published against social exploitation and political arbitrariness which brought him instant fame. He founded the Diggers a year later. The aim was to create a society without money and wages which would be able to organise itself spontaneously without administration and official positions at a local level. Wintstanley moved to Cobham in 1660 and later became a Quaker without seeing the expansion of his ideas.

[30] Gerrard Winstanley: *The Mysterie of God Concerning the Whole Creation and Mankinde* (London 1648).

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