

Utopian fictions: Before and after revolution

ARTUR BLAIM

*Received 14.10.2017,
received in revised form 4.12.2017,
accepted 11.12.2017.*

Abstract

The paper explores the ways in which the ideal order is introduced in utopian fictions prior to and after the French Revolution. Despite an apparent variety of different methods, the key role is most often ascribed to the figure of the founding father who both designed and successfully implemented his plans for a radically better state and society. The fictional pattern is then compared to corresponding discursive practices of revolutions and revolution-like activities that have managed to overthrow the existing socio-political systems.

Key words

utopian fictions, utopianism, revolution

Literackie utopie sprzed i po rewolucji

Abstrakt

Artykuł omawia różne sposoby ustanawiania idealnego porządku społeczno-politycznego przedstawiane w utworach utopijnych przed i po Rewolucji Francuskiej. Pomimo pozornej wielości proponowanych metod, główną rolę odgrywa w nich postać ojca-założyciela, któ-

ry nie tylko zaplanował model radykalnie lepszego państwa i społeczeństwa, ale też wprowadził go z powodzeniem w życie. Dominujący w literaturze utopijnej model konstituowania idealnego świata jest następnie skonfrontowany z praktykami dyskursywnymi ruchów rewolucyjnych i quasi-rewolucyjnych, którym udało się obalić istniejący porządek.

Słowa kluczowe

utopie literackie, utopianizm, rewolucja

What is the object of Revolution? Surely to make people happy. Revolution having brought its foredoomed change about, how can you prevent the counter-revolution from setting in except by making people happy?

(William Morris, *News from Nowhere*)

The question “what would happen on the Morrow of the Revolution” appearing in the opening paragraph of William Morris’s *News from Nowhere* (1890) perfectly embodies the relationship between utopia and revolution in utopian fictions. Seen from the perspective of utopian discourse, rather than empirical reality, revolution is simply one of the historically variable modes of instituting the ideal socio-political and economic order. In fact, as many as five basic models of implementing the utopian system can be distinguished:

- The supernatural intervention in human affairs.
- The founding father(s), and, especially, since the second half of the nineteenth century, the founding mothers.
- The exodus model: a group of people dissatisfied with the existing conditions decides to depart from their native country, or is forced to leave by the oppressive government or foreign invaders.
- The parliamentary way: the changes are effected by the existing parliament or especially appointed general assembly of elected representatives.

- The revolutionary way: the radical change is brought about by the masses, spontaneously, or inspired by a charismatic leader.

In actual practice, as shall be seen from what follows, these five types only very rarely appear in a pure form. In most cases, at least two of them appear side by side, so that supernatural intervention assists the founders, the parliament passes the laws suggested by an exceptionally wise leader, exodus is led by a future charismatic lawgiver etc.

1. The supernatural intervention

In *The History of the Sevarambians* the perfect order has supernatural origins, associated with the second creation of man and the relocation of Earthly Paradise followed by the establishment of an alternative world on the other side of the globe:

And because there was no man then fit to inhabit so blessed a place [Paradise after the expulsion of Adam and Eve], of the Sons of Noah, a new couple were formed, not out of the slimy Earth as the former, but out of a purer and more delicate substance, out of some Metal mixed with Gold and Silver: hence it is, that their bodies are so clean, pure, glorious, and splendid as you shall see. This couple, named Chericus and Salmoda, are the Parents of all the Sevarites; from their loins proceed the numbers of beautiful men and women, which you shall see on the other side of the River. They had an hundred Sons and as many Daughters, and lived, by our Records, two thousand years; afterwards he was buried in the City of Sevarinde, where you shall see his Sepulchre. When men and women began to increase, his eldest Son Sevarias appointed Laws for men to govern their actions, and to avoid all kind of confusion. These Laws we can shew you in our Registers, subscribed by all the men of those days. (*The History of the Sevarambians* 66–67)

In *The Adventures and Surprizing Deliverances of James Du-bourdieu* an alternative creation of man and women also takes

place and the perfect world exhibiting all the characteristics of the biblical Earthly Paradise is reserved for those who preserved their original innocence and followed the dictates of reason:

God infus'd reason into man; who by that reason was likened to its divine cause, and has this difference from its body, that it never dies, but is eternal [...] This new made man having likewise a woman joyn'd unto him, begot their like; whose race for many years kept up to that purity and innocence in which they were first made, and which they preserved by keeping up to the directions of reason; but afterwards they began to neglect that duty, and follow the direction of their passions; which gaining head, soon depos'd reason, and with it lost all knowledge of God, and their own original. They lest their delicious abode, being driven out indeed by angels, or some ministers of the great spirit who made them, and from that time call'd them the children of wrath, but yet his children; and those who remain'd innocent, who were in all but four, he call'd the children of love; and to keep them from being reduc'd by the children of wrath, he sunk all the ground about this place, or happy abode, and surrounded it with vast unpassable waters; here they encreas'd to the number which you now find. (*The Adventures and Surprizing Deliverances of James Dubourdieu* 93)

On the other hand, the establishment of a new utopian Israel depicted in *Nova Solyma* is part of the realization of the divine plan, as it involves the conversion and the subsequent reunification of the Jewish nation, who at the time of action, are “very close on the fiftieth year since our long and widely scattered nation was restored to its present wonderful prosperity” resulting from conversion to Christianity:

Certainly that condition of the Jewish race has always been an assurance that the ardent desire that Christians have so long conceived for our return was not an impossibility, and gave them firm faith in its fulfilment, long before there were any signs of it. But when indeed, by the sudden flash of divine light, that stubborn mental darkness was removed, and, prompted by a heavenly

impulse, we acknowledged the true Messiah, and became His disciples with unwonted zeal, then it was that to us of that same race that had been sunk so long in the lowest depths of misery there came, as it were, life from the dead, and our exaltation to the highest by divine mercy. And as formerly we alone of all tribes of the earth followed after righteousness in the perfect fear of God, so now also we strive for the pre-eminence. (*Nova Solyma* 88-90)

Divine intervention in human affairs is also responsible for the miraculous introduction of Christianity to New Atlantis, marking the completion of ideal order:

About twenty years after the ascension of our Saviour, it came to pass, that there was seen by the people of Renfusa, (a city upon the eastern coast of our island,) within night, (the night was cloudy, and calm,) as it might be some mile into the sea, a great pillar of light; not sharp, but in form of a column, or cylinder, rising from the sea a great way up towards heaven; and on the top of it was seen a large cross of light, more bright and resplendent than the body of the pillar. (*New Atlantis* 159)

Obviously, the establishment of the ideal social and political system as a result of direct supernatural intervention practically eliminates the practical implications of the depicted models of utopian states as the inhabitants of the utopian state play no role in designing its shape and their efforts are reduced to strictly obeying the divine commands.

2. The founding fathers

The oldest and in many ways predominant model of instituting the ideal order in utopian fiction depicts it as the act of a single individual, the founding father, the planner and the chief executor of the all-encompassing change. Such is the method presented in Thomas More's *Utopia* (1516):

But Utopus, who as the conqueror gave the island its name [...] and who brought the rude and rustic people to such a perfection

of culture and humanity as makes them now superior to almost all other mortals, gained a victory at his very first landing. He then ordered the excavation of fifteen miles on the side where the land was connected with the continent and caused the sea to flow around the land. He set to the task not only the natives but, to prevent them from thinking the labour a disgrace, his own soldiers also. (*Utopia* 113)

This short passage characterizes well the relationship between the individual initiating the change, the radical character of the change itself, and the status of the people actually implementing the change, who appear here as a barely mentioned instrument of accomplishing one person's designs. The ultimate agency of king Utopus is additionally emphasized by the symbolic act of renaming the island.

Perfect founding fathers proliferate in later utopias. The implementation of the ideal order in Francis Bacon's *New Atlantis* (1627) was initiated by King Solamona, who had "a large heart, inscrutable for good; and was wholly bent to make his kingdom and people happy", and having achieved this goal, decided "to give perpetuity to that which was in his time so happily established" (*New Atlantis* 166) by drastically restricting all contacts with the outside world.

James Harrington's *The Commonwealth of Oceana* (1656) is dedicated to Oliver Cromwell, whose hoped-for future actions are performed by his fictional avatar Lord Archon, who deposes the parliament and, having been made "by the universal suffrage of the army [...] sole legislator of Oceana" (61), becomes, alongside Moses and Lycurgus, "the first legislator [...] to have introduced or erected an entire commonwealth at once" (*The Commonwealth of Oceana* 65).

At the opposite end of the political spectrum, the dedication to R.H.'s *New Atlantis. Begun by the Lord Verulam* (1660), a sequel to Bacon's *New Atlantis*, addressed to King Charles II, calls for the adoption of the proposed model and suggests the intended founding father of this utopia-come-true:

to whom more properly could this Atlantic Scheme of a well-composed Government make its Adresse, then to your self, the Fountain of all Law and chief Nomothetes in your Kingdoms? [...] Now, that You may really become out Solomona, our second Justinian and Restauratour of our almost-lost Laws and Liberties: to the re-enthroning your self in full Glories, the Re-establishment of our despised Church, and to the advance of the Publique Peace, welfare and prosperitie of all Your faithfull subjects [...]. (*New Atlantis. Begun by the Lord Verulam A4*)

The original law-giver of the ideal Pygmy kingdom in *Gerania* (1675), at first thought to be an Indian Brachman, turns out to be Homer himself who, apart from providing the natives with a detailed set of laws regulating all aspects of life, upon his departure back to Greece, prophesised the downfall of Heathen Gods and declared that “the true God manifesting himself to the World, should teach Men a way to serve him” (*Gerania* 58).

In *The Free State of Noland* (1696), the new superior order is initiated by “the Excellent Aristaus” who, having been elected the new king, refuses to accept the crown and successfully calls for the establishment of a parliamentary republic. Jacobus Veritas, the law-giver in *The Island of Veritas* (1790), having become “displeased with the vices of the people”, left Europe to find a different way of life. In the course of his voyages he landed upon an Island where, “from a superstitious custom of the people”, he was chosen their king:

Finding their manners simple, their tempers docile, their genius quick and inquisitive, he determined to put in force the scheme he had entertained from his youth; and on his Death-bed he had the satisfaction of knowing himself beloved by a nation, whose happiness was received from him. (*The Island of Veritas* 2)

In *Peter Wilkins* (1751) and *Crusoe Richard Davis* (1756), the ideal order based on the purified and simplified model of European civilization is introduced by two castaways, who impose it upon societies existing in the state of nature, literally in the latter case, as the feathered inhabitants of the Land of Ascen-

sion do not even possess a proper language. In Thomas Spence's *An History of the Rise and Progress of Learning In Lilliput*, sequel to *Gulliver's Travels*, the ideal order is instituted by two children, Billy Hiron and the king, who, with the co-operation and support of the people, manage to nationalise landed property, forests, mines, etc., all of which are taken over by parishes. The application of these measures leads to the institution of the perfect order:

New Liberty sprung up and displayed itself like the Tree of Life in Paradise; the Dewes of Heaven came upon it, and the Earth offered all her Nourishments; its Trunk was reared in Strength and Beauty; its Branches spread over the Land, its Root was deep in Virtue, on its Leaves were the Sciences written, the People were happy also who dwelled under its Shade, and the Fruit of Glory dropped upon them. (*An History of the Rise and Progress of Learning In Lilliput* 39)

A similar revolution takes place in the country of Mercolia, adjacent to Lilliput. Here, Jurvilo, a boy of fourteen, manages to convince his countrymen to leave all their money in heaps, so that all the evil people will kill each other for it, and so open the way to the institution of the perfect system based on common property.

Karl Kautsky explains the predominant tendency of giving the task of inventing and implementing the ideal order to a single powerful individual by referring to the emerging alliance between post-feudal princes and kings and the rising bourgeoisie. He provides a more elaborate explanation when discussing Thomas More as a utopian socialist:

As yet there was no party, no class to champion Socialism; the decisive political power, on which the State seemed to depend, were the princes, then a young, and in a sense a revolutionary element, without defined traditions, why should not one of them be converted to Communism? If such a prince desired, he could enforce Communism. If no prince so desired, the poverty of the people was unalterable. So thought More, and from this standpoint

he was impelled to make an attempt to convert a prince. But he was by no means deceived as to the hopelessness of this task. He knew the princes of his time too well. (Kautsky 1927: 249)

Alternatively, however, the introduction of the figure of the founding father of the utopian state can be seen as a manifestation of the tendency, originated in the Renaissance, of constructing the second world as a fictional/hypothetical alternative to the existing one, as exemplified, for instance, by Robert Burton's "playing the part of the Creator" delineated in the preface of Democritus Junior to *The Anatomy of Melancholy*:

I will yet to satisfie & please my selfe, make an *Vtopia* of mine owne, a poetically commonwealth of mine owne, in which I will freely domineere, build citties, make lawes, statutes, as I list my selfe. And why may I not? *Pictoribus atque poetis, &c.* You knowe what liberty Poets haue euer had, and besides my predecessor *Democritus* was a Polititian, a Recorder of Abdera, a law maker, as some say, and why may not I presume as much as he did? Howsoeuer I wil aduenture. (*The Anatomy of Melancholy* 56)

A very similar position in relation to constructing utopian worlds was later adopted by Immanuel Kant:

It is certainly pleasant to think up state constitutions that correspond to the demands of reason (especially in matters of right). But it is inappropriate to propose them seriously, and it is punishable to incite the people to do away with an existing constitution. Plato's Atlantis, More's Utopia, Harrington's Oceana, and Al-lais's Sevarambia have all eventually been put on stage but have never been tried in reality (with the exception of Cromwell's failed monstrosity of a despotic republic). The creation of these states is much like the creation of the world: no one was present when it happened, nor could anyone be present, for otherwise he would have to have been his own creator. To hope that a state constitution of the kind of which we are speaking here could ever, after however much time, be completed, is a sweet dream. But to continually approach such a state is not only thinkable, but rather, to the extent that it is consistent with the moral law, a duty, not for

the citizen of the state, but for the head of the state. (Kant 2006: 161–162)

3. The exodus model

Very often closely connected with the key role of the founding father is the exodus model in which the origins of the utopian state replicate the motif of the flight from the sinful and oppressive world, patterned after the biblical narrative of Exodus.

The citizens of Tommaso Campanella's *City of the Sun* (1602) "came from India, many of them being philosophers, who fled before the depredations of the Tartars and other plunderers and tyrants, and they resolved to live in a philosophic community" (37–39). The ancestors of the inhabitants of Heliopolis described in *A Voyage to Tartary* (1689) left Athens after the death of Alexander, when his courtiers gained the power and began to govern contrary to his intentions. They took "their Families along with them, to settle themselves in some part of the World, which they could find more commodious for them, and there to live under Laws, of which themselves were the first Founders" (92–93), because they were unable to endure the Tyranny of the new rulers. The ideal community depicted in *The Island of Content* (1709) was established by:

a good old Gentleman, who forsook his native Country, with his Children, Friends, and Relations, to save their Lives in a Time of Rebellion and Cruelty, when their Prince was murder'd, the Constitution torn to Pieces, Religion made a Mock of, their Estates sequester'd into the Hands of Traytors [...] and rather chose to trust themselves to the Mercy of unbridl'd Winds, and the tempestuous Ocean, than to the ruder Malice and more ungovernable Rage of a poyson'd Rabble, and a fanatic Enemy, who were made the Instruments of God's Justice upon a sinful Nation. (*The Island of Content* 24).

New Athens visited by the protagonist of *A Voyage to New Athens* (1720) was established by refugees from Greece threatened

by the attacks of barbarians. They were led by a highly respected Demophilus, who persuaded one hundred thousand people to follow him in search of a new habitation. The Mezzoranians, headed by their ruler, abandoned their native Egypt to escape enslavement and extermination at the hands of the wicked invaders, and to established a utopian country in an unexplored part of Africa (*The Memoirs of Gaudentio di Lucca* [1738]). The country of the Cessaes was established as a colony in South America by a group of Protestants, who left their native Holland fearing the Spanish invasion and persecution at the hands of the Roman Catholic clergy. The plan was initiated by two individuals who personally selected “150 poor laborious, and industrious families”, “some husbandmen, bricklayers, carpenters, and blacksmiths”, 200 orphans of both sexes and different ages, and two ministers, “persons of great piety, and extensive virtue, affable, and humble, of universal charity and benevolence” (*An Account of the First Settlement, Laws, Form of Government, and Police, of the Cessaes, a People of South America*, [1764]: 22). The text presents the process of instituting the ideal order, including a detailed account of the proceedings of the original assembly which democratically adopted the constitution. The inhabitants of Soteria depicted in *The Capacity and Extent of the Human Understanding* (1745) came from the province of Xantung, near Korea. Converted to Christianity by the disciples of St John, persecuted by pagans, they abandoned their native country in search of a better place. The exodus was organised by a worthy Christian mandarin, Hiaa, who purchased twenty ships to carry three hundred families, two bishops, three presbyters, and one deacon. In a series of texts describing the country of Spensonia, the ideal republic is established by the sons of a rich merchant who wanted the people to live like brothers, sharing all property in common.

4. The parliamentary way

Although the parliamentary method of implementing the ideal order is far less common in utopian fiction, its use often foregrounds the pragmatic function by describing in detail the actual legislative process of passing the laws of the utopian state, which are presented *in extenso*, as in *A Voyage to Tartary*, *The Commonwealth of Oceana*, *The Free State of Noland*, and *Memoirs of Planetes*.

In the author's preface to *Macaria*, an appeal is made to the English Parliament to adopt his proposals: "I humbly desire that this honourable Assembly will be pleased to make use of any thing therein contained, if it may stand with their pleasures, and to laugh at the rest, as a solace to my minde being enclined to doe good to the publick". Also, a part of the dialogue is devoted to the discussion of the ways in which England may take advantage of the superior laws and measures adopted in *Macaria*:

Traveller: Well, what will you doe towards the worke?

Scholar: I have told you before, I will publish it in my next Sermon, and I will use means that in all Visitations and Meetings of Divines, they may bee exhorted to doe the like.

Traveller: This would doe the feat, but that the Divines in England, having not he skill of Physic, are not so highly esteemed, nor beare so great a sway as they doe in *Macaria*.

Scholar: Well, what will you doe toward the worke?

Traveller: I will propound a book of Husbandry to the high Court of Parliament, whereby the Kingdome may maintain double the number of people, which it doth now, and in more plenty and prosperity than now they enjoy.

(*Macaria* 10–11)

Such is also the character of the political and economic transformation described in Thomas Spence's *A Supplement to the History of Robinson Crusoe*. When the island became very

densely populated, the laws of primogeniture and private property made it impossible for “the better Half of the rising Generation” to get a “vacant Spot to live on”, which led to serious disturbances, until the problem was solved by a general assembly of all inhabitants, who decided to abolish private property.

The proposed mode of implementing the ideal system by means of majority vote is, at least theoretically, applicable to the author’s world, contrary to the method suggested in the majority of other utopian texts, in which the ideal system is imposed “from above” by an enlightened ruler, or begins with the establishment of a small community by a group of refugees. Although the exodus model can be regarded as practicable, especially considering the rise of colonization in the early modern period, it ultimately produces an alienating effect, as it can hardly be applied to the existing European conditions, and the idea of a new beginning elsewhere appears, at best, as an opportunity for the select few.

5. Revolutionary model

Providing a critical account of utopian socialism in *The Communist Manifesto*, Marx and Engels (1969 [1848]: 32) maintain that it is a result of the undeveloped state of the class struggle. Consequently they “want to improve the condition of every member of society, even that of the most favoured” so they “habitually appeal to society at large, without the distinction of class; nay, by preference, to the ruling class”. The fantastic images of future society which they depict correspond to “the first instinctive yearnings” of emerging proletariat, but the main value of utopias consists in their critical element as they “attack every principle of existing society”, which contributes to “the enlightenment of the working class” (1969 [1848]: 33). However, all the practical measures proposed in them such as “the abolition of the distinction between town and country, of the family, [...] and of the wage system, the proclamation of

social harmony, the conversion of the function of the state into a mere superintendence of production”, which “point solely to the disappearance of class antagonisms which were, at that time, only just cropping up” (1969 [1848]: 33) are of a purely Utopian character.

The importance of utopias decreases with the development of class struggle, to the extent that “this fantastic standing apart from the contest, these fantastic attacks on it, lose all practical value and all theoretical justification” (1969 [1848]: 33). Consequently, even though “the originators of these systems were, in many respects, revolutionary, their disciples have, in every case, formed mere reactionary sects” (1969 [1848]: 33). Whilst Marx and Engels’s observations may well apply to actual experiments with intentional communities, they do not seem particularly relevant to many utopian fictions.

The first English text to present the utopian state brought about by a popular revolution is *Memoirs of Planetes* (1795). The work depicts the happy land of Makar in the aftermath of a revolution, overthrowing monarchy and aristocracy and introducing the republican system based on community of property. Here again the figure of the founding father appears as the indispensable leader of the revolution: Euthus, a man “whose purity of morals and uprightness of conduct can only be equalled by his judgment, experience, and sagacity” (*Memoirs of Planetes* 36), which qualities are reflected “in the lines of his countenance” revealing “the effects of deep study and penetrating discernment” as well as “that gravity in his demeanour that brought to my mind the inflexible Cato” (*Memoirs of Planetes* 40).

A strikingly different approach, echoing Marx’s and Engels’s views on the character of revolution, appears in many late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century utopias, in which the introduction of the ideal order is presented as a result of a violent revolution, or a series of revolutions, occasioned by the acute awareness of the dispossessed social groups or classes

of their true position, without, however, associating it with any figure of the founding father or mother. Such is the case in the most important utopias of the period: William Morris's *News from Nowhere*, Mary E. Lane's *Mizora*, Edward Bellamy's *Looking Backward*, or Charlotte Gilman's *Herland*, although with the exception of Bellamy's book, the economic factors play at best a secondary role.

Paradoxically, in the self-descriptive discourses generated by real-life revolutions in the twentieth-century, the figure of the founding father returns with a vengeance, overshadowing Marxist theories, dialectical materialism, the predominance of mind over matter, the class struggle, the role of the masses, or the incompatibility of the base and the superstructure, so that we are ultimately left with Lenin, Stalin, Mao, Kim Il Sung, Fidel Castro, and a host of other *patres minores*.

References

- Anonymous (1696). *The Free State of Noland*. London.
- Anonymous (1709). *The Island of Content; or, A New Paradise Discovered. In a Letter from Dr Merryman of the same Country, to Dr Dullman of Great Britain. By the Author of the Pleasures of a single Life*. London.
- Anonymous (1756). *The Life and Surprizing Adventures of Crusoe Richard Davis*. London.
- Anonymous (1790). *A True and Faithful Account of the Island of Veritas; Together with the Forms of Their Liturgy; and a Full Relation of the Religious Opinions of the Veritasians, as Delivered in Several Sermons Just Published in Veritas*. London.
- Bacon, Francis (1999 [1626]). "New Atlantis". In: *Three Early Modern Utopias. Thomas More: Utopia/Francis Bacon: New Atlantis/Henry Neville: The Isle of Pines*. Ed. Susan Bruce. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Barnes, Joshua (1675). *Gerania: A New Discovery of a Little sort of People Anciently Discoursed of, called Pygmies. With a lively Description Of their Stature, Habit, Manners, Buildings, Knowledge, and Government, being very delightful and profitable*. London.

- Bellamy, Edward (1888). *Looking Backward, 2000-1887*. Boston: Ticknor & Co.
- Berington, Simon (1737). *The Memoirs of Signor Guadentio di Lucca. Taken from his Confession and Examination before the Fathers of the Inquisition at Bologna in Italy. Making a Discovery of an Unknown Country in the Midst of the Vast Deserts of Africa, as Ancient, Populous, and Civilized, as the Chinese. With an Account of their Antiquity, Origine, Religion, Customs, Polity, &c. and the Manner how they got first over those vast Deserts. Interspers'd with several most surprizing and Curious Incidents. Copied from the original Manuscript kept in St Mark's Library at Venice: With Critical Notes of the Learned Signor Rhedi, late Library-Keeper of the said Library. To which is prefix'd, a Letter of the Secretary of the Inquisition, to the same Signor Rhedi, giving an Account of the Manner and Causes of his being Seiz'd. Faithfully translated from the Italian by E.T. Gent*. London.
- Burgh, James (1764). *An Account of the First Settlement, Laws, Form of Government, and Police, of the Cessares, a People of South America: In Nine Letters, from Mr Vander Neck one of the Senators of that Nation, to his Friend in Holland. With Notes by the Editor*. London.
- Burton, Robert (1621). *The Anatomy of Melancholy, What It is. With all the Kindes, Causes, Symptomes, Prognostickes and Severall Cures of It. In Three Maine Partitions with their seuereii Sections Members and Subsections. Philosophically, Medicinally, Historically, Opened and Cut Up. By Democritus Iunior*. Oxford.
- Campanella, Tommaso (1981 [1602]). *The City of the Sun: A Poetical Dialogue*. Trans. Daniel J. Donno. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Evans, Ambrose (1719). *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, Contain- ing A Description of that Country, its Laws, Religion and Customs: Of Their being at last Releas'd; and how they came to Paris, where they are still living. Also, The Adventures of Alexander Vendchurch, Whose Ship's Crew Rebelled against him, and set him on Shore of an Island in the South-Sea, where he liv'd five Years, five Months, and seven Days; and was at last providentially releas'd by a Jamaica Ship*. London.

- Gilman, Charlotte Perkins (1979 [1915]). *Herland*. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Godwin, Francis [1638], *The Man in the Moone; or A Discourse of a Voyage Thither. By Domingo Gonsales*. London.
- Gott, Samuel (1902 [1648]). *Nova Solyma. The Ideal City, or Jerusalem Regained. An Anonymous Romance Written in the Time of Charles I. Now First Dawn from Obscurity, and Attributed to the Illustrious John Milton*. Rev. Walter Begley (ed.). London: John Murray.
- H. R., Esquire (1660). *New Atlantis. Begun by the Lord Verulam, Viscount St Albans: and Continued by R.H. Esquire. Wherein is set forth a Platform of Monarchical Government. With A Pleasant intermixture of divers rare Inventions, and wholsom customs, fit to be introduced into all Kingdoms, States, and Common-Wealths*. London.
- Harrington, James (1656). *The Common-wealth of Oceana*. London.
- Kant, Immanuel (2006). "The Contest of the Faculties, Part 2" In: *Toward Perpetual Peace and Other Writings on Politics, Peace, and History*. Ed. Pauline Kleingeld. Trans. David L. Colclasure. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.
- Kautsky, Karl (1927). *Thomas More and His Utopia, with a Historical Introduction*. Trans. H.J. Stenning. New York: International Library.
- Killigrew, Thomas (1720). "A Description of New Athens in Terra Australis incognita. By One who resided many years on the Spot". In: *Miscellanea Aurea: or the Golden Medley*. London.
- Kirkby, John (1745). *The Capacity and Extent of the Human Understanding; Exemplified In the Extraordinary Case of Automathes; A Young Nobleman, Who was Accidentally left in his Infancy, upon a desolate Island, and continued Nineteen Years in that solitary State, separated from all Human Society. A Narrative Abounding with many surprizing Occurrences, both Useful and Entertaining to the Reader*. London.
- L'Epy, M. Heliogenes de (1689). *A Voyage into Tartary. Containing a Curious Description of that Country, with part of Greece and Turkey [sic]; the Manners, Opinions, and Religion of the Inhabitants therein; with some other Incidents*. London.
- Lane, Mary Bradley. (1890). *Mizora: A Prophecy: A Mss. Found Among the Private Papers of Princess Vera Zarovitch: Being a True and Faithful Account of her Journey to the Interior of the Earth, with a Careful Description of the Country and its Inhabitants, their Cus-*

- toms, *Manners and Government, Written by Herself*. New York: G W Dillingham.
- Marx, Karl, Frederick Engels (1969 [1848]). "Manifesto of the Communist Party". In: *Marx/Engels Selected Works, Volume One*. Moscow: Progress Publishers.
- More, Thomas, (1965 [1516]). *Utopia*. In: *Complete Works of St Thomas More*. Volume IV. Ed. Edward Surtz, S. J., J. H. Hexter. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Morris, William (1890). *News from Nowhere, or An Epoch of Rest, Being Some Chapters from A Utopian Romance*. Boston: Roberts Brothers.
- Northmore, Thomas (1795). *Memoirs of Planetes, or a Sketch of the Laws and Manners of Makar*. By Phileleutherus Devoniensis. London.
- Paltock, Robert (1751). *The Life and Adventures of Peter Wilkins, A Cornish Man: Relating particularly, His Shipwreck near the South Pole; his wonderful Passage thro' a subterraneous Cavern into a kind of new World; his there meeting with a Gawry or flying Woman, whose Life he preserv'd, and afterwards married her; his extraordinary Conveyance to the Country of Glums and Gawrys, or Men and Women that fly. Likewise a Description of this strange Country, with the Laws, Customs, and Manners of its Inhabitants, and the Author's remarkable Transactions among them. Taken from his own Mouth, in his Passage to England, from off Cape Horn in America, in the Ship Hector. With an Introduction, giving an Account of the surprizing Manner of his coming on board that Vessel, and his Death on his landing at Plymouth in the Year 1739. Illustrated with several Cuts, clearly and distinctly representing the Structure and Mechanism of the Wings of the Glums and Gawrys, and the Manner in which they use them either to swim or fly*. By R. S. a Passenger in the Hector. London.
- Plattes, Gabriel (1641). *A Description of the famous Kingdome of Macaria; shewing its excellent Government: Wherein The Inhabitants live in great Prosperity, Health, and Happinesse; the King obeyed, the Nobles honoured; and all good men respected, Vice punished, and Vertue rewarded. An Example to other Nations: In a Dialogue between a Schollar and a Traveller*. London.
- Spence, Thomas (1782). *An History of the Rise and Progress of Learning In Lilliput And the Changes it produced there in the Manners and Customs. Brought over in the Ship Swallow, by Master Ramble*

In: *A Supplement to the History of Robinson Crusoe, Being the History of Crusonia, or Robinson Crusoe's Island, Down to the Present Time. Copied from a letter sent by Mr Wishit, Captain of the Good-Intent, to an intelligent Friend in England, after being in a Storm in May, 1781 driven out of his course to the Said Island. Published by the said Gentleman, for the agreeable Perusal of Robinson Crusoe's Friends of all Sizes.* Newcastle upon Tyne.

Swift, Jonathan (1970 [1726]). *Gulliver's Travels*. Ed. Robert A. Greenberg. New York and London: Norton.

Veiras, Denis (2006 [1675]). *The History of the Sevarambians: A Utopian Novel*. John Christian Laursen and Cyrus Masroori (eds.). Albany: State University of New York Press.

Artur Blaim
Instytut Anglistyki i Amerykanistyki
Uniwersytet Gdański
ul. Wita Stwosza 51
80-308 Gdańsk
Poland
angab@ug.edu.pl