LITERATURE AND UTOPIAN POLITICS IN SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLAND

Hundreds of writers in the English-speaking world of the seventeenth century imagined alternative ideal societies. Sometimes they did so by exploring fanciful territories, such as the world in the moon or the nations of the Antipodes; but sometimes they composed serious disquisitions about the here and now, proposing how England or its nascent colonies could be conceived of as an "Oceana," a New Jerusalem, a "City on a Hill." *Literature and Utopian Politics* provides a comprehensive view of the operations of the utopian imagination in England and its nascent colonies from the accession of James VI and I in 1603 to the consolidation of the Restoration under Charles II in the late 1660s. Appealing to social theorists, literary critics, and political and cultural historians, this volume revises prevailing notions of the languages of hope and social dreaming in the making of British modernity during a century of political and intellectual upheaval.

ROBERT APPELBAUM is a post-doctoral Fellow in English at the University of San Diego. His articles have appeared in a number of journals, including *Shakespeare Quarterly*, *Modern Philology*, *Textual Practice*, *Prose Studies*, and *Utopian Studies*.

LITERATURE AND UTOPIAN POLITICS IN SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLAND

ROBERT APPELBAUM



CAMBRIDGE

| Cambridge University Press |
|--|
| 978-0-521-00915-7 - Literature and Utopian Politics in Seventeenth-Century England |
| Robert Appelbaum |
| Frontmatter |
| More information |
| |

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town, Singapore, São Paulo, Delhi, Dubai, Tokyo, Mexico City

> Cambridge University Press The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 8RU, UK

Published in the United States of America by Cambridge University Press, New York

www.cambridge.org Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9780521009157

© Robert Appelbaum 2002

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

> First published 2002 First paperback printing 2010

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication data

Appelbaum, Robert, 1952– Literature and utopian politics in seventeenth-century England / by Robert Appelbaum. p. cm. Includes bibliographical references and index. ISBN 0 521 00915 4 (hardback)

 English literature – Early modern, 1500–1700 – History and criticism.
Politics and literature – Great Britain – History – 17th century.
Great Britain – Politics and government – 1603–1714.
Utopias in literature.
Utopias.
I. Title.
PR438.P65 A67 2002

ISBN 978-0-521-81082-1 Hardback

ISBN 978-0-521-00915-7 Paperback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party Internet Web sites referred to in this publication, and does not guarantee that any content on such Web sites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

> To the memory of Sandy Solomon, a man who tried

And to my loving and beloved mother

Acknowledgments

| Cambridge University Press | |
|--|---------|
| 978-0-521-00915-7 - Literature and Utopian Politics in Seventeenth-Century | England |
| Robert Appelbaum | |
| Frontmatter | |
| More information | |
| | |

Contents

| | Introduction | I |
|---|--|-----|
| I | The look of power | 12 |
| | 1. New beginnings, 1603 | 12 |
| | 2. The Columbus topos: how to hope | 24 |
| | 3. The look of power | 35 |
| | 4. Baconian hope | 49 |
| 2 | Utopian experimentalism, 1620–1638 | 64 |
| | 1. The world in the moon, the news on the ground | 64 |
| | 2. Varieties of subjective idealism | 73 |
| | 3. New Plymouth and early Massachusetts | 76 |
| | 4. A "utopia of mine owne"; or, "all must be as it is" | 81 |
| | 5. The Man in the Moone | 88 |
| | 6. New Atlantis | 93 |
| 3 | "Reformation" and "Desolation": the new horizons | |
| | of the 1640s | 102 |
| | 1. "That new Utopia" | 102 |
| | 2. Babylon's fall | 109 |
| | 3. The rhetorical situation of a sitting Parliament | 112 |
| | 4. Amelioration: Macaria and A Discoverie of Infinite Treasure | 116 |
| | 5. The war breaks out | 125 |
| | 6. The Leveller movement: "we are the men of the present age" | 129 |
| 4 | Out of the "true nothing," 1649–1653 | 140 |
| | 1. Ruining the work of time | 140 |
| | 2. Fifth Monarchy economics | 145 |

| | 3. Winstanley the Digger | 153 |
|---|---|-----|
| 5 | From constitutionalism to aestheticization, 1654–1670 | 172 |
| | 1. In retrospect, 1654 and beyond | 172 |

page ix

CAMBRIDGE

| Cambridge University Press | |
|--|------------|
| 978-0-521-00915-7 - Literature and Utopian Politics in Seventeenth-Centu | ry England |
| Robert Appelbaum | |
| Frontmatter | |
| More information | |

| viii | List of contents | |
|-------|---|-----|
| 2. | After the Rump, the search for "substance" | 176 |
| 3. | Harrington and the commonwealth of Oceana | 178 |
| 4. | First principles and the crisis of 1659: "Utopian Ragusa" | 188 |
| 5. | Restoration and aestheticization | 197 |
| 6. | Margaret Cavendish and the Blazing World | 200 |
| 7. | The Tempest redivivus | 210 |
| Notes | | 217 |
| Index | | 252 |

Acknowledgments

The idea for this book was hatched one afternoon while I was in the midst of working an eighteen-hour shift, harried and cranky, as a limousine driver in the San Francisco Bay Area. The final draft but one was completed while I was unemployed, hopefully "between jobs," and living on the dole in Cincinnati, Ohio. It has not been easy to complete this project. But along the way I have been the beneficiary of many, many kindnesses and a good deal of direct and indirect institutional support.

Early support for the project was supplied by a Bancroft Library Research Award, a Mellon Dissertation Fellowship, and Research and Dissertation Fellowship awards from the Graduate Division of the University of California, Berkeley. Additional support was provided by the National Endowment for the Humanities. During my period of unemployment Russell Durst and Tom Leclair of the English Department of the University of Cincinnati made sure I had office space, a computer, and a printer to use; they provided, together with Wayne Hall and Stanley Corkin, much needed moral support as well. In this spirit, I think, I should also state, as this book is after all a study of the social and institutional determinants of civic life, that even with these grants and favors my work would not have been possible had I not been able to take advantage of the Direct Loan and other student loan programs sponsored by the Federal Government of the United States, as well as the unemployment compensation program administered by the State of Ohio. It turns out that Ohio is one state that did not (unlike, say, California) dramatically cut back its compensation program during the Bush and Reagan years of austerity for the poor, so that while I was "between jobs" and grants I was for a few months able to live and, living, to write.

I am grateful to people who probably hardly remember me, but who in doing their job made it possible for me to do what would come to be my job; these include Judith Breen, Geoffrey Greene, and Gib Robinson, who got me started as a literary critic, and also Steven Knapp, D. A.

х

Acknowledgments

Miller, Carolyn Dinshaw, and Catherine Gallagher, who showed me at Berkeley what a dedicated literary critic could be. James Turner, another model, helped to orient me to the world of seventeenth-century England and guided the project along during its earliest stages. Stephen Greenblatt inspired me from afar to become a Renaissance scholar; later he did me the kindness of understanding what I was trying to do, and volunteering to be my dissertation director. Donald Friedman and Randolph Starn were there as well, rounding out my dissertation committee and keeping my work on track, giving me invaluable, painstaking guidance. In addition, Hugh Richmond was both a mentor and a patron. And I am further obliged to Nigel Smith, Michael C. Schoenfeldt, and Anna Nevsky, who helped me with various stages of the manuscript and provided me with models of scholarly commitment, friendship, and generosity. I am grateful, too, to the gang at NEH Summer Seminar at the University of Michigan, including Valerie Traub, and the gang at the NEH Summer Institute at the Folger Library, beginning with Karen Kupperman, Kathleen Lynch, Carol Brobeck, and Constance Jordan. Nor can I omit the valuable friendship and intellectual stimulation given to me by Marty Wechselblatt, Kathy Smits, Andrew Keitt, Robert Cassanello, Cassandra Ellis, and Peter Herman.

I was assisted in my research by the helpful staffs at the Bancroft Library, the Rare Books Room at the Manuscript and Rare Books Collection at the University of California, San Francisco, the Huntington Library, the British Library, and the Folger Shakespeare Library. As I sat amid old books, notebooks, and laptops in these venerable institutions, I knew that I had come a long way from that road overlooking the San Ramon Valley, where I had sat in my limousine, astonished at the spectacle below me of the brand new research headquarters of the Pacific Telesis Corporation - a huge gorgeous monstrosity of reason, directly related, I was sure, though only by a pathological genealogy, to the utopian visions of the pre-modern period of which I was beginning to be aware. (In fact, the building resembles Andreae's Christianopolis.) In these institutions, with the support of the academic community and friends, I was returned to something more than an origin, more than a beginning of a process which seemed to have ended in the technocrat sprawl of the new San Ramon Valley; I was returned to the meaning of hope.

Ray Ryan and Cambridge University Press were my final benefactors. Whatever the strengths and weaknesses of this book, it is because of the dedication to literature of people like Ray and the institutional commitment of organizations like the press at Cambridge that books like this

Acknowledgments

have any chance at all of being published and circulated these days. I am grateful too to Rachel de Wachter and Jan Chapman for taking my amateurish manuscript in hand and making it into a professional book. In addition, I would like to thank Frank Cass Publishers for permission to reprint material from *Prose Studies* that now appears in chapter four. Some of the ideas that show up in chapter two originally appeared in the *George Herbert Journal*, and some of the ideas in chapter five in *Utopian Studies*.

If I could, I would like to conclude by noting once again the importance of the indifferent, impersonal, social domain of the institutional system in our lives, for it is the institution, for better or worse – the unemployment bureau, the foundation, the university, the publishing house – that nurtures our lives as creative workers. But I cannot. I have to conclude by expressing my deepest thanks to Terri Zucker and Meredith Appelbaum, the two loves and twin pillars of my life.

xi