Thinking the Human in the Era of Enlightenment

7-9 July 2010

Sir Roland Wilson Building, McCoy Circuit

The Australian National University, Canberra

Convenors

Dr Ned Curthoys, School of Cultural Inquiry, RSHA, ANU
Dr Alex Cook, School of History, RSSS, ANU
Dr Shino Konishi, Australian Centre for Indigenous History, RSSS, ANU

Administration

Leena Messina, Humanities Research Centre, RSHA, ANU

A Conference hosted by the Humanities Research Centre, Research School of the Humanities and the Arts, in association with the Research School of Social Sciences, ANU College of Arts and Social Sciences
## PROGRAM

**WEDNESDAY 7 JULY 2010**

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| 9.00-9.30am | **Welcome**  
Dr Debjani Ganguly  
Director of the Humanities Research Centre, RSHA |
| 9.30-11.00am| **Keynote Address**  
Associate Professor Vanessa Agnew, University of Michigan  
_Songs from the Edge of the World_ |
| 11.00-11.30am| **Morning Tea**                                                      |
| 11.30-1.00pm| **1. Literary and Social Worlds**  
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- Peter Tregear (Monash), ‘Nicht im Spanien!’ Representations of The Human in Goethe’s _Erwin und Elmire_  
- Gillian Russell (ANU), ‘The ticket of his name’: Frances Burney at the Trial of Warren Hastings  
- Lisa O’Connell (Queensland), Ethnographical Humanism and the English Marriage Plot |
| 1.00-2.00pm | **Lunch**                                                              |
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- Alex Cook (ANU), Nature, History and Humanity in the Political Thought of the French Revolution  
- Jon Mee (Warwick), Turning Things Around Together: Conversation and Enlightenment |
| 3.30-4.00pm | **Afternoon Tea**                                                      |
3. Orients of the Enlightenment Era

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Hsu-Ming Teo (Macquarie), The Despot and the Harem: Gender, Sexuality and Reform in the Orientalist Culture of the Enlightenment

John Docker (Sydney), Disorienting Europe and the West: Thoughts on World History and Enlightenment Universal History

Kader Konuk (Michigan), The Sacred and the Secular: Ottoman and Turkish Debates

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Conference Reception

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Registration

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4. Aufklärung, Bildung and Humanität

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Ned Curthoys (ANU), Moses Mendelssohn, the Radical Enlightenment, and their Impact on Liberal Judaism

Ian Hunter (Queensland), Humanity and Man in Kant’s Ethical and Political Thought

Ron Sulman (Melbourne), Enlightened Self-Formation

11.00-11.30am

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Keynote Address

Associate Professor Sankar Muthu, University of Chicago

Commercial Humanity: Global Connections, Citizens of the World, and Anti-Slavery Activism in Enlightenment Political Thought

1.00-2.00pm

Lunch
2.00-3.30pm  

5. Human Variation and Discourses of Race

Chair: Barry Higman

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Bronwen Douglas (ANU), Philosophers, Naturalists, and Antipodean Encounters, 1748-1803

Nicole Starbuck (Adelaide), Measuring the Race, Observing the Human: ‘Les Papous’ in Louis Freycinet’s *Voyage autour du monde*

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6. Representing Difference in the Wake of Cultural Contact

Chair: Maria Nugent

Jack Turner (Washington), John Locke, Christian Mission, and Colonial America

Kate Fullagar (Sydney), Joshua Reynolds and the Problem of Human Difference

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Shino Konishi (ANU), ‘The disposal of their dead’: an Australian Case Study in Eighteenth-Century Ethnography

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Vanessa Agnew

**Songs from the Edge of the World**

The second half of the eighteenth century can be thought of as music’s anthropological moment, when collecting and comparing music gained new urgency. For perhaps the first time, the periphery became important not only as a figure of opposition, but as a site for the active articulation and delimitation of a national musical culture grounded at some archaic point in time. "Songs from the Edge of the World" examines the way in which the encounter music—practiced and collected by travellers—figured in emerging ideas about historiography, autochthonous culture, and human difference.

**Vanessa Agnew** is Associate Professor of German Studies at the University of Michigan, where she works on the cultural history of music, travel, natural history, and historical reenactment. She is the author of *Enlightenment Orpheus: The Power of Music in Other Worlds* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), which received the 2009 Oscar Kenshur Prize for Eighteenth-Century Studies and the American Musicological Society's Lewis Lockwood Award. *Settler and Creole Reenactment* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), coedited with Jonathan Lamb, came out in 2010; they have in preparation a volume on *Affective Cognition*. She is also working on a book with Tony Dold about a 1925 collecting expedition in Southern Africa, *Overland to Lobito Bay*. 
Commercial Humanity: Global Connections, Citizens of the World, and Anti-Slavery Activism in Enlightenment Political Thought

In modern European political thought generally, and especially by the time of the ‘long eighteenth century’ in particular, there was a striking awareness of the global reach of social, commercial, and political institutions and practices, and a belief that traditional moral categories might have to be re-thought and transformed for the purposes of attending to such global connections. Along these lines, Immanuel Kant acknowledged the historical circumstances that made the idea of cosmopolitan justice politically relevant, rather than absurdly utopian, and he suggested that “the community of nations of the earth has now gone so far that a violation of justice on one place of the earth is felt in all”. These interconnections were often theorized in terms of the concept of commerce. The Latin concept of commercium, and the French, English, and German understandings of commerce that derive from it, referred not only to market trade and economic arrangements, but also to communication, exchange, and interaction more generally. I will first examine the views of some modern political thinkers about why commerce across vast distances is ethically important. Given many Enlightenment thinkers’ belief in the fundamental sociability of human beings and, hence, the constitutively human desire for communication and exchange, commerce both within and across societies was thought to put into practice a core feature of what it means to be human. Thus, in those cases when commerce was corrupted, the effects upon societies could be seen not only as inefficient or destructive, but also as dehumanizing. Second, I will go on to discuss why the emergence of transcontinental connections was thought to be deeply problematic among many of the very thinkers who supported the idea of a global interactive community across borders. I will analyze, then, some of the deep ambivalence about global commerce and communication in the eighteenth century. Finally, I interpret writings by British anti-slavery activists in the late 1780s and 1790s. The pamphleteers of this movement defended a reformed system of global commerce, and they argued not only that European states, wealthy merchants, and trading companies were responsible for many global injustices, but also that European consumers of globally produced and traded goods should be seen as the prime movers of global commerce. Anti-slavery activists were concerned that European governments were corrupted by their ties to slavery and so they believed that “the people”, to use their language, should take direct action. This view led many anti-slavery activists to call for one of the first mass consumer boycotts (of sugar) in an effort to destroy the slave trade and eventually, they hoped, to destroy the institution of slavery itself. Yet, as I will conclude, despite the democratic and inclusive character of much of the anti-slavery movement, the limits to the egalitarianism of anti-slavery activists’ ideas in the late eighteenth century ultimately evince the fragility of the ideal of the universal community of humankind across borders and illustrate how this ideal could be transformed into a domineering (and ultimately imperial) ideology.

Sankar Muthu is an Associate Professor of Political Science at the University of Chicago. He received his PhD from Harvard University, and he previously taught at the New School for Social Research in New York and at Princeton University. His research and teaching interests include Enlightenment political philosophy and its legacies; modern theories of international justice, global commerce, moral universalism, cultural pluralism, and cosmopolitanism; and historic debates about conquest, occupation, and just war. He is the author of Enlightenment Against Empire (Princeton University Press, 2003) and the editor of (and contributor to) Empire and Modern Political Thought (Cambridge University Press, forthcoming). He is currently writing a book about global connections in Enlightenment political thought.
1. Literary and Social Worlds

Peter Tregear

‘Nicht im Spanien!’ Representations of the Human in Goethe’s Erwin und Elmire

The self-conscience attempts to reconceive German literature in the 1770s encompassed not just poetry, plays and novels but also opera. In the absence of a percuiary German operatic tradition, the task took on not just nationalist overtones but also became the vehicle for much loftier ambitions. In 1769, for instance, Herder had declared it t be a ‘noble purpose! Grand task’, for the new German opera was to be ‘conceived on a human basis’ and integrated ‘with human music, and declamation, and ornamentation, yet with sentiment.’[1] Such a vision of a remodelled operatic stage reflected the influence of the two broader political/aesthetic currents in Germany at the time: so-called ‘Sturm und Drang’ and the cult of sentiment. J. W. von Goethe’s early writing shows the profound influence of both currents, above all in the work which brought him early fame: Die Leiden des jungen Werther (1774). Arguably a more sophisticated rendering, however, is to be found in the stage works that he wrote immediately following; the first of which being the now almost entirely forgotten Singspiel Erwin und Elmire (itself based on a ballad from Oliver Goldsmith’s novel, The Vicar of Wakefield). Here the conflicting forces not just between head and heart, but also between pragmatic social engagement and idealistic withdrawal now appear in the form of a comedy, and a musical comedy at that. Erwin und Elmire presents a satirical investigation into, and ultimately a celebration of, the possibility of a life well-negotiate (and thus well-lived). This paper explores these aesthetic and political contexts and suggests that through the use of such gentle satire (staring with his instructing that the work was to be set “not in Spain!”) Goethe offers us a highly nuanced, and thus arguably more humane, representation of the possibilities for self-realisation in the Age of Enlightenment.

Peter Tregear is a graduate of the Universities of Melbourne and Cambridge, and was for many years a Fellow and Lecturer in Music at Fitzwilliam College Cambridge. He is currently an Honorary Research Fellow of the University of Melbourne and a Senior Advisor at Monash University. Tregear’s academic interests include the musical culture of the Weimar republic, Australia Music History, and Music & Sociology, and he has lecturer and published widely in these fields. In 2009 Peter conducted the modern revival of Erwin und Elmire in the historic ‘Ekhof Theater’ for the Gotha Festival, Germany. His critical edition of the score will be published by Furore Verlag, Germany in 2010.
‘The ticket of his name’: Frances Burney at the Trial of Warren Hastings

The quotation in the title of this paper comes from a speech made by Edmund Burke during the impeachment trial of Warren Hastings, the governor-general of Bengal. Burke was alluding to how ‘banyans’, Indian merchants or brokers, were able to use, and in Burke’s view exploit, the authority granted to them by Englishmen who were new to the country. The metaphor was appropriate because many people had lent their names to tickets for the impeachment. As an assembly of the elite the Hastings trial was a social as well as a political occasion and, like other similar events in recent British history such as the Handel commemorations, tickets were important in both regulating access and also signifying the prestige and desirability of the event. Westminster Hall, the venue for the trial, was awash with tickets in February 1788 and they continue to circulate to this day. As a key event in British history, the Hastings impeachment has been analysed from a range of perspectives, most notably imperial history, and also more recently postcolonial literary studies and the cultural history of theatre and theatricality. This work in progress paper will take a different approach by exploring the trial in terms of the history of sociability in the late eighteenth-century, using Frances Burney’s detailed accounts of her experience in Westminster Hall. Her writing about the trial adapts a discourse of sociability, also apparent in her fiction, in which tickets, the negotiation of material space, spectatorship and conversation have charged meanings. My discussion of Burney will attempt to suggest a new perspective on the Hastings trial and its importance for Enlightenment culture.

Gillian Russell is an Australian Research Council Professsorial Fellow in the College of Arts and Social Sciences, ANU. This paper relates to her project: ‘Sociability, Print and Public Culture in Romantic Period Britain and Australia’.
Lisa O’Connell

Ethnographical humanism and the English marriage plot

Marriage played a key role in enlightened theorisations of natural law. It did so precisely as an institution capable of grounding familial and civil life in an emerging concept of human nature. Pufendorf’s influential treatise, The Law of Nature and Nations (1672), devoted a lengthy chapter to ‘Matrimony’ in which he asserted that ‘mankind’ ought ‘not to be propagated but by Marriage’. ‘Who is there’ he asked, ‘that can pretend to be insensible how little Difference would be left between Beasts and Men, should the Ordinances of Marriage be universally cancelled and repealed?’ Pufendorf posited marriage as a human universal, albeit one that manifests itself in a rich variety of positive forms. It was precisely in these terms that marriage became a leitmotif of European travel and ethnological writing in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, before becoming the central plotting device for the English novel. This paper enquires into the relation between the English novel’s marriage plot and enlightened humanist models of marriage. By concentrating on Samuel Richardson’s Sir Charles Grandison, it makes the case that the novel is only partly imbricated in the secular humanism that is being developed by Pufendorf and similar theorists.

Lisa O’Connell teaches English at the University of Queensland. Her current research focuses the 18thc history of the novel and in the emergence of world literature in the period. She is completing a manuscript for a monograph entitled Proper Ceremony: the political origin of the English marriage plot.
2. Improvement, Perfectibility and Civil Society

Julia List

Humanity, Religion and Revolution in Richard Payne Knight’s The Progress of Civil Society and Erasmus Darwin’s The Temple of Nature

During the late Enlightenment, two major British didactic poets looked back to Lucretius when framing their most ambitious poetic attempts to account for the nature and role of mankind in a world increasingly full of possibility for the development of society, but also increasingly unstable. Richard Payne Knight’s The Progress of Civil Society (1796) and Erasmus Darwin’s The Temple of Nature (1803) capture a moment in the midst of the turmoil following the French revolution in which Enlightenment ideas about the perfectibility of mankind and the power of human reason were under sustained attack, with both poems using their classical model to reassert the power of rationality and education in the formation of civil society, and the power of new scientific methods and discoveries to ameliorate the human condition. At the same time, both poems register a deep anxiety about the possibility of human improvement. In The Temple of Nature, this is expressed through a Malthusian awareness of competition for resources and the inevitability of war between competing populations, a concept that Darwin has difficulty reconciling with his still ultimately positive view of biological and intellectual evolution as a progression towards a more perfect, almost utopian state. Payne Knight more closely follows Lucretius in his less optimistic conception of the systemic limitations posed on human development by “superstition” and oppressive religious and political institutions. However, both authors attempt to walk a tightrope between acknowledging the problems contemporary political developments provide for their theories about the nature of humanity and retaining substantially the idea of the human race as inherently perfectible. These works and their mixed reception provide a window into the shifting conception of humanity in British culture at a time when Enlightenment ideals were under increasing attack.

Julia List is a PhD candidate at the University of Melbourne, working on the reception of Erasmus Darwin’s scientific poetry.
Alex Cook

Nature, History and Humanity in the Political Thought of the French Revolution

The French Revolution has long been associated with the apotheosis of an abstract concept of Universal Man – a bearer of rights, and a subject of sovereignty, whose character was immutable and anchored in natural law. For critics of the Revolution, from the 1790s until today, the failures of the Revolution have often been linked to that apotheosis. Against this story, this paper argues that Revolutionary concepts of human nature, and its relationship to history, were more varied than is often recognized. It claims that, within the philosophical culture of the Revolution, debates about human nature and its history provided a terrain in which competing visions of social order were outlined and in which factional conflicts were played out. By mapping some of those debates, this paper seeks to provide a more historically-informed account of revolutionary political thought and to highlight neglected aspects of the practical politics of philosophy at the end of the eighteenth century.

Alex Cook is a Lecturer in History at the Australian National University. His research focuses on the intellectual and cultural history of Europe and its colonies from the eighteenth century. He has published in journals such as History Workshop Journal, Criticism and Sexualities, and he is completing a book on the French Revolutionary philosopher and politician C.F. Volney.
Jon Mee

**Turning things around Together: Conversation and Enlightenment**

In his essay 'On Conversation,' the novelist Henry Fielding identified conversation rather than language or sociability as the thing that distinguished human beings from 'brutes'. He defined conversation as 'to turn round together' or 'that reciprocal interchange of ideas by which truth is examined, things are, in a manner, turned round and sifted, and all our knowledge communicated to each other'. Conversation was essential to Fielding's idea of human culture as it was to many of his time. Indeed, the priority given to conversation is a defining aspect of the culture of the British Enlightenment contrary to those definitions that identify it with rational reflection, free-thinking, or, more negatively, some form of the knowledge-power nexus. In fact, questions of what constituted ‘conversation’ as opposed to ‘talk’, as the poet William Cowper put it, meant that the familiar dialectic of power in the Enlightenment was never far away from his aspect of the eighteenth-century human. How and when conversation could be sustained in the face of difference was a continuing anxiety for those who trailed its potential for extending for increasing knowledge and the social virtues. Increasing, in the face of these anxieties, conversation came to be validated through various sorts of displacement that defined it less in terms of communication than a form of communion cordoned off from what Terry Eagleton has called ‘trouble with strangers’. This paper looks at the literary career of conversation over the course of the long eighteenth century, insisting on the transformative potential it was deemed to have, while also looking at the way definitions often sought to insulate it from the very liberating promise it seemed to hold.

**Jon Mee** is Professor of Romanticism Studies at the University of Warwick. He is currently completing a book called *Conversible Worlds: Literature and the Idea of Conversation in the Later Eighteenth Century and Romantic Periods* for Oxford University Press.
3. Orients of the Enlightenment Era

Hsu-Ming Teo

The Despot and the Harem: Gender, sexuality and reform in the Orientalist culture of the Enlightenment

The Age of Enlightenment saw the proliferation of European ‘Orientalist discourse’, as Edward Said has pointed out. Sparked by growing trade with, and travel to, the Ottoman empire as well as the publication of Antoine Galland’s Les milles et une nuits (1704-1717), the culture of the Enlightenment intersected with eighteenth-century ‘turcomania’ or turquerie which ushered in a vogue for Orientalism in European literature, art, theatre, fashion, food, and material culture. The dominant Oriental motif of eighteenth-century European culture, however, was the harem or the seraglio. One of the most famous literary representation of the Oriental harem occurs in Montesquieu’s Lettres Persanes (1721), an epistolary novel comprising 161 letters exchanged between two Persian travellers visiting Paris and their wives and the eunuch overseers of their harems in Persia. Montesquieu’s Persian Letters are well-known for their satirical Enlightenment critique of French government, laws, religion, education, social customs and gender roles – all expressed from the perspective of the Persian travellers. Interwoven with these observations are the letters in which the drama of the domestic sphere – the sexual politics of the Persian harem – are played out. The two scenarios – Parisian and Persian – are initially presented in stark contrast against each other but each increasingly becomes a metaphor for the other and the critique of one becomes the critique of the other. Although Orientalist stereotypes are iterated and reiterated in this and other Enlightenment cultural texts, the primary agenda was not so much about the extension and justification of European colonial power over ‘the Orient’ as about the reform of European despotism through the excision of all that was ‘Oriental’ about European political and public life. This paper explores the popular culture of Enlightenment ‘reformist Orientalism’ in works such as Montesquieu’s Persian Letters, Jean-François Marmontel’s ‘Soliman II, Le Scruple’ (in Les Contes Moraux, 1761) and Charles-Simon Favart’s adaptation of this tale in his opéra comique, Soliman II, ou les trois sultanes (1761), Lady Mary Wortley Montagu’s ‘Turkish Embassy’ letters (published in 1763), and Mozart’s 1782 opera Die Entführung aus dem Serail (The Abduction from the Seraglio). Although Enlightenment reform agendas have often been associated with the formation of the public sphere, in these tales, political reform was inextricably intertwined with ‘private sphere’ concerns of sexual and gender relations – exemplified in the figure of the Oriental despot and his harem of enslaved concubines. In these texts, there was no strict ‘Orientalist’ dichotomy between Europeans and Muslims; rather, they argued that for Europeans to become fully ‘human’ (and also, for humans to become truly ‘European’), what was needed was a de-Orientalizing of existing European culture, politics, and personal life.

Hsu-Ming Teo is a novelist and historian. She is a lecturer in the Department of Modern History, Macquarie University (Sydney, Australia) where she teaches European history and the history of travel and tourism. She is the editor of Cultural History in Australia (UNSW Press 2003) as well as the author of a range of academic articles and book chapters on the history of travel and tourism, Orientalism, and popular fiction. She is currently completing on a book about historical representations of Arabs and Muslims in western women’s popular culture.
John Docker

Disorienting Europe and the West: Thoughts on World History and Enlightenment Universal History

In the context of the resurgence of world history, or ‘universal history’, in the last decade, there has been a particular interest in the history and culture of Moorish Spain, al-Andalus or Andalusia. One example is my book, 1492: The Poetics of Diaspora (2001), focussing on 1492, the year of the final defeat of Moorish Spain in the fall of Granada and the expulsion of Jews from Spain, as an iconic date in world history. Another is Maria Rosa Menocal’s The Ornament of the World (2002), its subtitle, How Muslims, Jews and Christians Created a Culture of Tolerance in Medieval Spain, pointing to the long and remarkable history, from the eighth to the fifteenth centuries, of Andalusia as a multi-religious and multi-ethnic part of Europe itself.

In this paper, with recent cultural histories of Andalusia like Menocal’s in mind, I explore the thinking about Moorish Spain and the medieval Middle East of Enlightenment historians such as Gibbon, Hume and Robertson. My exploration is prompted in part by an idea in Edward Said’s essay, “Raymond Schwab and the romance of ideas” in The World, the Text, and the Critic (1991), where Said intriguingly refers to the “sheer folly and derangement stirred up by the Orient in Europe”. Said here proposes a counter history to Orientalism. In Romantic writers and artists like Beckford, Byron, and Delacroix, he contends, the Orient actively disoriented Europe, destabilising the very idea of ‘Europe’ as a self-sufficient unity that can comfortably be opposed to ‘non-Europe’. Said’s idea, I think, can be fruitfully related to important strands of cultural and intellectual history in the Enlightenment, including its historiography.

To what extent, I ask, does Enlightenment historiography as in Gibbon, Hume and Robertson admire Cordoba and Moorish Spain or Middle Eastern figures like Saladin? Do they essay their histories in an ‘Andalusian’ spirit? How critical is this historiography of the Crusaders as barbaric, and more broadly of Europe? To what extent do these historians present a counter-history in Said’s sense, registering and welcoming the impact of the medieval Orient on Europe, and in the process destabilizing the idea of ‘Europe’ as a self-sufficient entity altogether?

John Docker is in the department of history, University of Sydney. He is working on a book entitled Sheer Folly and Derangement: Disorienting Europe and the West. He has also, with Ann Curthoys, written a new chapter, “Is a History of Humanity Possible?” for the second edition of their book, Is History Fiction?
Kader Konuk

The Sacred and the Secular: Ottoman and Turkish Debates

During its age of expansion, Ottoman society was structured as a community consisting of various millet, religious communities. In order to defy the decline of Ottoman power, however, Westernization reforms were implemented in the early nineteenth century, followed by the introduction of secular law codes in 1856. The reforms were part of a broader agenda that reorganized, centralized, and secularized parts of Ottoman society in the name of progress. This paper investigates the debate concerning the distinction between the sacred and the secular and its legacy for modern Turkey.

Kader Konuk is Associate Professor of Comparative Literature and German Studies at the University of Michigan. Her next book *East West Mimesis: Auerbach in Turkey* will be published with Stanford UP in October 2010.
Reason and Its Other: Male and Female? The Development of the Bourgeois "Geschlechtscharakter"

The general principle that both the feminine and the masculine should be refined and absorbed into a higher humanity is incontestable [...]. What is uglier than the excessive femininity, what more repulsive than the exaggerated masculinity that dominates our customs, our opinions, even our finer works of art? [...] Only femininity with independence, only masculinity with gentleness can be good and beautiful. [...] Plato ... immortalised a woman who fulfilled both his delicate sensitivity and the high ideas of his reason: Diotima, in whom the charm of an Aspasia and the soul of a Sappho are wedded to genuine independence, and whose noble spirit is an image of perfect humanity.

- Friedrich Schlegel, On Diotima (1794)

The complete separation and isolation of human qualities which can only retain their health in free union with one another is the true original sin of modern culture. The widespread and appalling nonsense of the cold apostles of a rationality without sense, feeling or discrimination is everywhere obvious, and even our greatest thinkers are susceptible to this idolatry.

- Friedrich Schlegel, On F.H. Jacobi's Woldemar (1796)

In two seminal essays, Barbara Duden¹ and Karin Hausen² charted the development of the bourgeois Geschlechtscharakter with its polarities of male and female, reason and feeling, public and private, and its contradictory persistence within the emancipatory rhetoric of enlightenment. They argued that the "new" gender roles, while adulating the feminine, brought about its effective exclusion from the public sphere and its confinement within a domestic "shrine" as Angel in the House. This paper extends their argument to include the ambiguous relation between bourgeois authors and the female aristocrats who were often their patrons, between "middle class virtue" and feudal libertinage. Within the brief flowering of German early romanticism and the Berlin salons, Schlegel opposed the separation of what belonged together and warned of the dangers of a triumph of cold rationality. In this space “between the warring epochs” (Adorno), the enthronement of woman as the natural ideal stands in the way of any real liberation. It is not Mozart’s Zerlina or Goethe’s Lotte or all the other sisters of Rousseau’s Sophie who point the way to the future, but those brave women of the Romantic circle who adopted the three articles of faith from Schleiermacher's "Catechism of Reason for Noble Women":

1. I believe in an infinite humanity, which existed before it took on the guise of male and female.

2. I believe that I live not to obey nor to divert myself, but in order to be and to become; and I believe in the power of the will and of education to bring me close to the infinite once more, to save me from the bonds of a false socialisation and to make me independent of the limitations of gender.

3. I believe in enthusiasm and virtue, in the dignity of art and the delights of science, in the friendship of men and the love of my fatherland, in past greatness and future ennoblement.

John Milfull is Emeritus Professor of European Studies, University of New South Wales, former Professor of German Studies and Dean of Arts and Social Sciences. He has published widely on many aspects of German literature and society, the German-Jewish experience, the literature and culture of the GDR, and the process and impact of German and European unification.
Ned Curthoys

Moses Mendelssohn, the Radical Enlightenment, and their Impact on Liberal Judaism

It has long been a commonplace of German-Jewish social and intellectual history that the terms of German-Jewish emancipation from the ghetto were determined by the discourses and attitudes of the Enlightenment era. Eminent historians of German Jewry such as George L. Mosse and David Sorkin have influentially argued that the eighteenth century German humanist discourse of Bildung, the education of character through diverse learning and social experience, was eagerly adopted by German Jews seeking a meritocratic ideal by which they could integrate themselves into the emerging German bourgeoisie. The effects of the humanist universalism of the Enlightenment on German-Jewish history are, however, intensely controversial, with many post-Holocaust scholars blaming the German provenance of Bildung and its purely cultural and aesthetic focus as inviting Jews to assimilate to Christian Germany or to substitute a vague humanist optimism for communal solidarity and a politically coherent Jewish identity. This paper challenges critical analyses of the effects of Bildung on German-Jewish identity formation and argues that the vocabulary and ethos of German-Jewish Bildung were shaped by the first highly educated German-Jew to emerge from the ghetto, Moses Mendelssohn. It was Mendelssohn who argued for Judaism itself as a subject of Bildung, absorbing and creatively reworking diverse cultural influences and encouraging the progressive unfolding of human personality unfettered by sectarianism or dogma.

Ned Curthoys is a research fellow in the School of Cultural Inquiry at the Australian National University. His research interests include post-colonial literature, German-Jewish intellectual history and the thought of Hannah Arendt. He is the co-editor, along with Debjani Ganguly of Edward Said: the Legacy of a Public-Intellectual (Melbourne University Press, 2007) and is currently working on a book entitled Ernst Cassirer, Hannah Arendt, and the Fate of Liberal Judaism.
Ian Hunter

**Humanity and Man in Kant’s Ethical and Political Thought**

The East-Prussian university metaphysician Immanuel Kant is often credited with facilitating the philosophical recovery of man’s essential humanity, and thereby contributing to an enlightened and cosmopolitan respect for human dignity and rights. In keeping with his bifurcated metaphysical anthropology, however, for Kant ‘humanity’ (*Humanität*) refers to a different and far more elevated kind of being than ‘man’ (*Mensch*). This paper explores the grounds of Kant’s distinction between humanity and man in the history of German university metaphysics, and discusses its consequences for Kant’s ethical and political thought.

**Ian Hunter** is an Australian Professorial Fellow in the Centre for the History of European Discourses at the University of Queensland. He is the author of several studies of early modern political, juridical and philosophical thought, including *Rival Enlightenments* (2001) and *The Secularisation of the Confessional State* (2007).
Enlightened Self-Formation

In the twenty-first century, when, through biological and genetic engineering, ‘we’ can either be manufactured or artificially enhanced, the notion of autonomy and self-fashioning takes on a different hue than in earlier periods. The ‘critical ontology of ourselves’ is now ‘open’. Further, within the ‘normal’ boundaries of the ‘naturally grown’ there is increasing awareness that judgement that informs intelligent action requires more than reason. Research has shown that emotions are essential elements of human intelligence. Emotions provide the animal (in this case human) with a sense of how the world relates to its own set of goals and assumptions: they are intelligent responses to the perception of value. The inseparability of this ‘body/brain/culture network’ means that, in William Connolly’s words: ‘the classical distinction of kind between culture and nature becomes translated into interacting layers of biocultural complexity’.

This perception is not new. In late Enlightenment Germany the development of the cultural sciences was stimulated by exactly this appreciation and in reaction to scientism. Although by the mid-nineteenth century this epistemological ‘advance’ had resulted in a split of knowledge into that derived from humanities or ‘spirit’ studies (Geisteswissenschaften) and that from science studies (Naturwissenschaften), at the beginning of the nineteenth century the research project was one of creating a whole-science of humanity. For Wilhelm von Humboldt, nature and human culture were intertwined: there were no isolated entities, everything related to everything else; human self-formation (Bildung) required the harmonious development of reason, intuition, imagination, and ‘sensuality’. For von Humboldt “the true end of humanity” was “the highest and most harmonious development of its powers to a complete and consistent whole”.

This paper will discuss the epistemological context for Wilhelm von Humboldt’s concepts and ideas and consider their relevance today. What, for us, might purposeful direction and intelligent action mean?

Ron Sulman completed his doctorate in 2009 at the University of Melbourne and is currently an honorary research fellow in that university’s School of Historical Studies. His thesis explored the status of history as a form of knowledge and its place within the research university. Central to that exploration was investigation of the genealogy of notions of the research university and fundamental knowledge. This paper will draw on that research.
5. Human Variation and Discourses of Race

Mark Dawson

Colouring Human Difference: The London Press and Plebeian Complexions, c.1650-1750

As the grouping of people according to perceived contrasts in bodily appearance, contrasts which are believed to be inherent and therefore mark disparities in physical ability, mental agility, or moral aptitude, race is often considered to have its beginnings in the Enlightenment era. Historians of the Anglophone world frequently correlate the advent of modern racial paradigms with the earliest application of chromatic descriptors to groups of people and their skin. When exactly did the English start to consider themselves, and perhaps other Europeans, “white(s),” completing a racial binary which, insidiously, had already denigrated Africans as “black(s)”?

Accounts differ. Some favour the mid-seventeenth century, others the mid-eighteenth. They otherwise tend to agree that humoral physiology was, coincidentally, in terminal decline. With its stress on the dynamic combination of four vital fluids, phlegm, choler (yellow bile), melancholy (black bile), and the sanguine, humoral physiology is usually assumed to have made for unstable, permeable selves, impeding the advent of a bounded or innate personhood which was durable in a manner that any racial typology would itself seem to require. My paper will outline ways in which we might extend our understanding of these developments. Rather than rely so heavily on the observations of the social elite, we should also consider the view from below. Evidence for the somatic perceptions of ordinary folk can be found in newspaper notices for wanted persons. Though not solely reliant on skin pigmentation, they indicate that humoral physiology did indeed permit the typing of people as essentially distinct, and would continue to do so across this pivotal period. Ultimately they suggest that the Enlightenment’s racialization of humanity was not so much a shift de novo as the result of a gradual, incomplete remodulation of the ways in which human variation was understood to signify social inequality.

Mark Dawson is Lecturer in Early Modern History, Research School of Social Sciences, ANU, and author of Gentility and the Comic Theatre of Late Stuart London (CUP, 2005).
Philosophers, Naturalists, and Antipodean Encounters, 1748-1803

This paper addresses a complex nexus of discourse and praxis: competing Enlightenment visions of 'Man', emergent ideas about human differences, and the diverse intellectual and material legacies of encounters between European scientific voyagers and indigenous people in New Holland and Van Diemen's Land during the late eighteenth century. Discursively, I trace two strands of thinking on man, both indebted to Montesquieu. One, philosophical and economic, is epitomised in Scottish stadial theory. The other, naturalist, culminated in Buffon's natural history of man with its novel focus on Variétés dans l'espèce humaine ('Varieties in the human species'), attributed to the concurrence of three extrinsic causes – climate, diet, and lifestyle. Around 1800, especially in France, these divergent strands were co-opted by an embryonic science of race which conceived human diversity as biologically inherent, fixed, perhaps original, but also historical and hierarchical. The coupling of congealed racial and stadial theories consigned certain 'races' – notably the Australians and the Tasmanians – to permanent occupation of the lowest rungs of the human ladder. With respect to praxis, I chart the reciprocal impact of metropolitan theory and antipodean experience by focussing comparatively on the written and visual legacies of Flinders's and Baudin's Australian sojourns of 1801-1803. Paying particular attention to the traces of local agency embedded in voyagers' representations, this empirical investigation highlights important differences in the national vocabularies used by British and French travellers to refer to Indigenous people. It also shows how old or emerging conceptions of human differences were confirmed, or challenged, or constituted anew in practice. From this perspective, the textual corpus of Baudin's voyage straddled the discursive transition under way in France at the end of the eighteenth century: from the deeply Eurocentric universalism of both main strands of the Enlightenment study of man to the racialist materialism which dominated nineteenth-century anthropology.

Bronwen Douglas is a senior fellow in Pacific and Asian History at The Australian National University. Her major research interests are the history of ideas of human difference globally and in Oceania (including Australia and maritime Southeast Asia); and the ethnohistory of race, place, and encounters in the region. She is the author of Across the Great Divide: Journeys in History and Anthropology (1998) and the co-editor of Foreign Bodies: Oceania and the Science of Race 1750-1940 (2008) and Tattoo: Bodies, Art and Exchange in the Pacific and the West (2005).
Nicole Starbuck

Measuring the Race, Observing the Human: ‘Les Papous’ in Louis Freycinet’s *Voyage autour du monde*

In the *Voyage autour du monde*, the official account of his scientific voyage aboard the *Uranie* from 1817 to 1820, Louis Freycinet contributed to the study of man an immense quantity of information concerning the characters, intellects, physiques and lifestyles of South Pacific peoples including, of especial significance, the inhabitants of New Guinea and the Papuan Islands. French scientists had long been struggling to decide just how to categorise *les papous*, or alternatively the *Oceanic negroes*, within their human taxonomies; indeed, the Papuans were generally the subject of considerable speculation. However, while the information that Freycinet published was certainly detailed, it presented a less than consistent view on the nature of the Papuan people. In line with nascent “scientific” theories, it presented data regarding the physical characteristics of the Islanders that was unarguably influenced by the developing science of race. It is this aspect of the expedition’s account of the Papuans that historians have tended to focus upon – quite naturally, as it marks an important turning point in the history of anthropology. Nevertheless, the application of new anthropological theories by scientific voyagers was a very gradual process and Enlightenment concepts of human variety and stages of civilization were still clearly in evidence aboard the *Uranie*. While, as captain of the expedition, Freycinet ordered his officers to carry out “scientific” work and later chose to publish these details, his narrative reveals an empathy and cultural relativism at odds with the racial theory behind such methods. These competing visions of the Papuan thus provide important insight into the changing but still varied and sometimes paradoxical concept of humanity towards the end of the long eighteenth century.

Nicole Starbuck currently teaches History at the University of Adelaide. She specialises in the late eighteenth to mid nineteenth-century history of French scientific exploration in the South Pacific, and is particularly interested in the culture of imperialism and discovery, as well as in the development of anthropology as it was practised by scientific voyagers. In 2009, through the ARC funded “Baudin Legacy Project”, she completed her PhD thesis entitled “Constructing the “Perfect” Voyage: Nicolas Baudin at Port Jackson, 1802”. Nicole has also presented papers at Australian and international conferences, one of which was recently published in *French History and Civilization: Papers from the George Rudé Seminar*, vol. 3, 2009.
6. Representing Difference in the Wake of Cultural Contact

Jack Turner

John Locke, Christian Mission, and Colonial America

John Locke was keenly interested and actively involved in the promotion of Protestant Christianity among American Indians and African slaves, yet this fact goes largely unremarked in Locke scholarship. The evidence of Locke’s involvement in Christian mission sheds light on his understanding of “the human.” Locke believed that the more developed human reason became, the more inexorably it gravitated toward monotheism. Though Locke respected other monotheistic religions, he believed Protestant Christianity was the most conducive to reason and virtue. His involvement in Protestant Christian mission in colonial America therefore marked an effort not only to promote “correct” religious belief, but also to assist American Indians and African slaves in their intellectual and moral development, which he saw as coterminous with the achievement of full “humanity.” This paper surveys evidence of Locke’s interest and involvement in colonial Christian mission and shows how it reveals Locke’s implicitly Protestant Christian understanding of “the human.” In addition, the paper examines the surprising interconnections between Locke’s support Christian mission and his theory of religious toleration. It also analyzes the more concrete colonial aims implicated in the Christian missionary project, such as the advancement of Anglo-Indian diplomacy and the amelioration of African slavery. Filling out an important dimension of Locke’s career that until now has barely been sketched, the essay contributes to a broader understanding of Enlightenment conceptions of the human in the wake of European colonialism.

Jack Turner is Assistant Professor of Political Science at the University of Washington. His essays on Tocqueville, Emerson, Thoreau, and Ellison have appeared in such journals as Political Theory, Raritan, and Polity. He is working on a book entitled Awakening to Race: Individualism and Social Consciousness in the American Tradition. He is also the editor of A Political Companion to Henry David Thoreau (2009).
Joshua Reynolds and the Problem of Human Difference

As well as being the most fashionable painter in Britain for the latter part of the eighteenth century, Joshua Reynolds was, as inaugural president of the Royal Academy, the most influential theorist on art in his day. His fifteen Discourses, delivered between 1769 and 1790, famously advocated the “general and intellectual” over the “vulgar and strict historical truth” in order to promote a national “refinement of taste” which in turn would result in the virtuous contemplation of “universal rectitude and harmony.”

Reynolds’ own favoured genre of portraiture, however, was an especially fraught medium for the so-called grand style, given its necessary attention to (and typically its financial reliance on) particular subjects. In 1776, Reynolds developed an important clause in his theory to deal with the problem. Artists could include certain “single features” if they were minor or “innocent” enough to provoke neither “disquisition nor any endeavour to alter them”. To illustrate, Reynolds gave the examples of a Cherokee and a Tahitian. The Cherokee’s “yellow and red oker” facial markings are only “fashions of [a] country”, significant enough to be respected but too superficial to disturb the ideal of universal integrity. Indeed, “whoever despises ... this attention to the fashion of [another’s] country ... is the [true] barbarian”. The Tahitian’s penchant for tattooing, however, is another story: tattoos cut into human bodies, altering them forever; whoever would condone them also condones a disaggregated theory of humanity. It follows that whoever would represent them helps to compromise the philosophy of universalism.

My paper explores the development of Reynolds’ musings on difference in relation to his personal involvement with the visits to Britain of a Cherokee called Ostenaco in 1762 and a (pseudo)-Tahitian called Mai in 1774.

Kate Fullagar is a lecturer in the Department of Modern History at Macquarie University. Her first book is forthcoming from the University of California Press, entitled The Savage Visit: Native Americans, Native Oceanians, and British Culture, 1710-1795. She was assistant editor of The Oxford Companion to the Romantic Age: British Culture, 1780-1832, Gen. Ed. Iain McCalman (OUP, 1999).
The Enlightenment and the Pacific: Projection and Paradox

What could be more peripheral to Enlightenment Europe than the distant lands of the Pacific so little exposed to European gaze? Yet they came to play a significant part in the Enlightenment quest to understand better the nature of humankind and the roots and fruits of civilization. By the late eighteenth century the geographically peripheral Pacific had assumed a number of different roles in the central areas of Enlightenment debate and discourse. Particularly important was the way in which the Pacific began to assume another form of centrality as its first hand accounts of societies which differed so profoundly from those of Europe were absorbed by those working on the central Enlightenment project of applying to the problems of human societies the methods and insights that had been so spectacularly successful in the scientific study of the natural order.

Whether imagined or closely observed the distant world of the Pacific formed part of the central terrain on which the Enlightenment was constructed.

John Gascoigne was educated at Sydney, Princeton and Cambridge Universities and since 1980 has taught at the Univ. of New South Wales, Sydney. His publications include a two volume study of Joseph Banks and, most recently, Captain Cook. Voyager between Worlds (Continuum, 2007).
During the Enlightenment period (c. 1650-1800) a certain notion of war came to prominence in European thought. This notion, which I here refer to as ‘civilized war’, centred on the idea that European war-making in the eighteenth century was characterised by humanity and honour. This image of European war-making was sustained by a variety of intellectuals and even some military practitioners who reflected not only on the practice of war in Europe in this period, but on the practice of war among supposedly less ‘civilised’ peoples in other parts of the world and in Europe’s barbaric past. In these other places, among other peoples, and at other times, warfare was characterised as altogether less ‘civilised’, less ordered, less humane and honourable, and was thus considered more ‘savage’. I will argue in this paper however, that there are at least two dimensions to the Enlightenment concept of civilised war, the first dimension stressing the moral qualities of civilised war, its honour and humanity above all; the second dimension emphasising its technical or rational qualities that gave European war-makers a decisive military advantage over non-European war-makers. These two dimensions applied to conventional or symmetrical war between sovereign militaries contending by massed fire power on the field of battle. They were less easily applicable to petite guerre, that is unconventional, asymmetric or partisan war. Here, the two dimensions of the idea of civilised war were shadowed by a persistent anxiety that unless properly disciplined, the questionable moral status of petite guerre threatened to undermine the effectiveness of European war-making.

Bruce Buchan is a political theorist whose research investigates the historical articulation of concepts integral to the experience of European state and empire formation in the Early-Modern and Enlightenment periods. Among his recent publications are studies of Australia’s colonisation and ideas of civilisation, colonial concepts of society, and ideas of warfare. He is currently working on an Australia Research Council Future Fellowship (2010-2014) on the conceptual history of asymmetric warfare.
In *The New Science* Giambattista Vico observed that ‘all nations, barbarous as well as civilised, though separately founded because remote from each other in time and space, keep these three human customs: all have some religion, all contract solemn marriages, all bury their dead’. These ‘three eternal and universal customs’ distinguished human society from the ‘bestial wilderness’, and influenced European observations of ‘savage’ peoples. This paper will focus on this last ‘custom’, and explore ethnographic accounts of how Australian Aboriginal people disposed of their dead. I will examine François Péron’s speculative meditation on how the inhabitants of Maria Island came to practice cremation, and David Collins’ accounts of burial practices in Port Jackson.

**Shino Konishi** is a research fellow in the Australian Centre for Aboriginal History at the Australian National University. Her research interests include the histories of cross-cultural encounters in Australia, and representations of Aboriginal masculinity. She co-edits the journal *Aboriginal History*, and is writing a monograph, *Embodied Encounters: European Explorers and Aboriginal Men in the Age of Enlightenment*. 
‘Did Anco and Giom lose their humanity?’ Ethnographic Interrogations of Two Northern Australian Castaways of the Mid-Nineteenth Century

When the castaways Barbara Thomson and Narcisse Pelletier were ‘rescued’ — in 1849 and 1875 respectively — from the north Australian Indigenous communities with whom they had been living for lengthy periods, they were seen to offer exciting opportunities for local and metropolitan Europeans who were interested in the burgeoning new field of ethnography (or ethnology). Each castaway was subsequently interrogated by relatively sympathetic investigators, yet the differences in their narratives and in their treatments on returning home reveals a marked shift in the climates of racial theorizing between the 1840s and 1870s, a shift in which the ‘humanness’ of Indigenous Australian peoples seems to have come under new ‘scientific’ question. In this paper I will compare these castaway interrogations, as well as the relative success of Thompson and Pelletier in reintegrating with their home ‘civilizations’.

Iain McCalman was born in Nyasaland, Africa and now lives in Sydney, where he is a Research Professor at the University of Sydney. He has held numerous visiting research fellowships in Britain and the United States, most recently at Duke University, North Carolina. In 2007 he was made an Officer of the Order of Australia for services to history and humanities. His most recent book, Darwin’s Armada, has been published in Australia, USA and the UK and was made into a three-part documentary, Darwin’s Brave New World.
8. Sensibility, Salvation and the Utopian Imagination

Tom Ryan

Knowing the First ‘Australians’: The Fantastic Anthropology of Gabriel de Foigny, 1676

Early records of Gabriel de Foigny tell of how his drunkenness and debauchery caused him to be defrocked by the Catholic Franciscans in northern France in 1666, and then three years later to be banned from school teaching in Protestant Switzerland. Forced to survive by writing, Foigny published anonymously in 1676 his most ambitious work, *La Terre Australe connue* [The Southern Land, Known], which led to his imprisonment by the Genevan authorities on charges of “falsehoods, impertinences, fables, impieties, and other stupidities”. In his – ultimately successful – legal defence, Foigny claimed that his narrative had come from a travel journal he had been given by the recently deceased ‘Jacques Sadeur’ regarding the latter’s real-life adventures in the ‘Great South Land’. While subsequent scholars have tended to interpret his text as following in the tradition of fiction writing that links back to Thomas More’s *Utopia* and Jonathon Swift’s *Gulliver’s Travels*, my paper will focus on its ‘anthropological’ dimensions.

In particular, I will be concerned with Foigny’s account of the austral continent’s 144 million inhabitants, of their highly organized society, of their ultra-rational belief system, of their very practical language, of their generalized sexual hermaphroditism. Likewise I will consider his work as having been inspired less by utopian literary genres than by proto-ethnographic accounts of peasant European and native American cultures, and by explorers’ narratives of fleeting contacts with the indigenous inhabitants of Patagonia, New Holland, and New Zealand. Finally, I will interpret Foigny’s text as an early Enlightenment reflection on the human condition, rather than on the physical world – a reality illustrated by the portentous name ‘Australiens’ he invented for the beings his hero encountered in the antipodes, and the fact that he did not adopt a resonant cognate for their homeland, opting instead to stay with Ptolemy’s ancient ‘La Terre Australe’.

Tom Ryan is president of the New Zealand Tertiary Education Union and a research associate in Anthropology at the University of Waikato. In recent years, too, he has been a visiting professor at Georgetown University, Washington DC, and at École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, Paris and Marseilles. As an ethnographer, Tom’s main fieldwork site has been the Polynesian island of Niue. He also has published widely on the history of anthropology and Enlightenment-era representations of Pacific peoples, including definitive pieces on Captain Cook and the French savant Charles de Brosses.
Barbara Pauk

Conceptions of human nature and life in Paul et Virginie

The pastoral novel Paul et Virginie, a representation of a utopian society on the island Mauritius, was first published in 1788 as part of Etudes de la nature. In his Etudes, Henri- Jacques Bernardin de Saint-Pierre aimed to rationally explain the world through scientific investigation, inserting the novel as an illustration of his philosophical ideas. Paul et Virginie was later published separately and became the most widely read fictional text in French literature. Bernardin de Saint-Pierre’s philosophical ideas have thus become widely known and exercised a considerable influence on contemporary French thought as well as nineteenth-century ideas.

This paper investigates Bernardin de Saint-Pierre’s conceptions of human beings, men and women, their relationship with nature as well as ideal ways of living. It focuses particularly on several aspects which appear to be inconsistent or contradictory in the novel and have never been fully explained: Bernardin de Saint-Pierre presents those characters who are not corrupted by society, as inherently good but at the same time introduces the idea of original sin in the context of Virginia’s puberty. His position remains similarly ambiguous in relation to book learning: the two protagonists are raised in almost complete ignorance of the world and are unable to read or write, while the narrator and mouth piece of the author insists on the value of books in mastering life. These seemingly inconsistent aspects of the work and the underlying conceptions of human nature are investigated in the context of Bernardin de Saint-Pierre’s other works, namely Etudes and Discours, an essay on the education of women, as well as works of philosophers in the age of Enlightenment, most importantly Bernardin de Saint-Pierre’s friend Jean-Jacques Rousseau.

Barbara Pauk is an Honorary Research Fellow and Casual Teacher in the School of Humanities at the University of Western Australia. She has published on cross-cultural exchanges in nineteenth-century France and England.
Jonathan Lamb

Salvation of the Soul

In J.M. Coetzee’s reflections on realism in fiction he returns frequently to three interrelated topics: empiricism, passion and sympathy, all buoyant in the century when one of his two great models of realism, Daniel Defoe, was writing. Coetzee’s character Elizabeth Costello associates the adjustment of empiricism and passion with sympathy for all creatures that share, as she puts it, ‘the substrate of life.’ Getting this adjustment right she calls saving her soul. Using Daniel Heller-Roazen’s recent magisterial survey of the history of the sensitive soul, I want to explore what the eighteenth century and Costello mean by the word soul and by its unlikely cognate: realism.

Jonathan Lamb has taught English Literature at Auckland, Princeton and Vanderbilt, where he is currently the Andrew W. Mellon Professor of the Humanities. His most recent books are The Evolution of Sympathy (2009) and (co-edited with Vanessa Agnew) Settler and Creole Reenactment (2009). The Things Things Say, a discussion of the autonomy of things (eg commodities that have fallen out of the market, humans who have fallen out of civil society, books that remain in manuscript and authors that never parted with their rights) is in press with Princeton University Press. He is currently preparing a book on scurvy called Scurvy: The Disease of Discovery.
Philosophical Anthropology and the Sadean Moral “System”

A contextual historical reading of Sade’s *oeuvre* demonstrates the manner in which Sade’s thought is continuous with his own period and so forces reconsideration of major Enlightenment themes particularly the extent to which the Enlightenment was in fact continuous with humanism.

This paper will argue that Sade’s philosophical anthropology underpins his moral vision. Firstly, Sade holds that humans do not occupy a privileged position at the “centre of the universe” and that laws, such as those against murder, rely on an unjustified arrogance. This is largely a metaphysical argument, and in this aspect Sade’s work can be read as fundamentally continuous with d’Holbach’s materialism. Secondly, Sade holds that nature shows that we ought to privilege our own desires vis-à-vis those of others: nature makes us inherently self-interested and we ought to then act accordingly. Coupled with idiosyncratic treatments of eighteenth-century notions of sensibility and of Condillac’s sensationism, this aspect of Sade’s thought operates in conjunction with an epistemology of embodied intensity. These two movements can be seen to be both continuous, insofar as sensationism does imply materialism, and contradictory, insofar as they both deny and privilege the validity of “first person perspective.” This paper will not proceed in terms of a simple Sadean contradiction, rather I shall speak of a “double movement”, one which, I shall argue, is key to understanding the Sadean *oeuvre* and illuminating the French Enlightenment.

**Martyn Lloyd** is a doctoral candidate at the University of Queensland working at the nexus of Intellectual History and the History of Philosophy. He is building a research profile in the History of French Philosophy and in Eighteenth-Century Philosophy. His dissertation is on the Enlightenment foundations of the philosophy of the Marquis de Sade. He also works on the philosophy of Michel Foucault with a particular emphasis on the relationship between the “middle” and “late” periods. Martyn is strongly involved in The Centre for the History of European Discourses at the University of Queensland.
Peter Cryle

Fairytales Humanity in French Libertine Fiction of the Mid Eighteenth Century

Libertine fiction of the kind produced in France by such authors as Crébillon fils, La Morlière, and Voisenon is populated with genies, fairies, and sylphs. Typically, these beings do not simply inhabit a separate, non-human world, but intervene at telling points in the lives of human characters. They play enabling and blocking roles in the manner of classic folk tales, although their power in libertine stories is usually directed quite narrowly at the play of desires and pleasures. One of the narrative roles most often played by genies corresponds to what canon lawyers called *maleficium*: the circumstantial production of impotence as “enchantment”. A number of questions arise from the cohabitation of different types of beings. Firstly, when genies appear as fictional characters, what qualities distinguish them from humans? Secondly, what does it mean for the understanding of human behaviour that it is so regularly said to be inflected by magic? These are clearly playful, ironic stories, but what exactly is the philosophical point of their irony? Is it simply that religion has been displaced as a privileged interpretive framework? What does the distinction between fairies and humans signify in philosophical terms, if anything? How does the presence and activity of fairies serve to demarcate the space of the human?

**Peter Cryle** is Professor of French and Director of the Centre for the History of European Discourses at the University of Queensland. Since 1990, his research has been focussed on erotic literature in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, especially in France. More recently, he has been researching the history of sexual medicine. He has published a series of articles and book chapters on eighteenth-century libertinism, and on the intersection of medical and literary texts in the nineteenth century.
Les Liaisons Dangereuses and the Dark Side of the Enlightenment

Often lauded as the luminous Age of Reason in which the fogs of religious superstition lifted to reveal a new world of human rights, tolerance, and progress, the Enlightenment also possessed what one might call its “dark side”. A small number of writers and visual artists, while fully endorsing Enlightenment objectives, recognised that the new-found paths of Reason could at times lead in unexpected directions and reveal aspects of “the human” that were very much at odds with cherished Enlightenment ideals.

Three names that spring readily to mind in this context are Goya, Sade, and Choderlos de Laclos, author of Les Liaisons dangereuses. All three were enthusiastic supporters of Enlightenment ideals, but all three discovered that, alongside these ideals, Reason could also give birth to desolate and forbidding worlds of coercion, cruelty and torture – of inhumanity.

The paper will focus on Les Liaisons dangereuses and in particular on the work’s central characters, the Marquise de Merteuil and the Vicomte de Valmont, who pursue a career of deception and psychological cruelty with few equals in European literature.

Building on ideas in a landmark essay on Laclos by André Malraux, the paper will argue that Merteuil and Valmont cannot be adequately understood simply in terms of the eighteenth century tradition of libertinage (as critics have often suggested). Paradoxical though it may seem, the key to their characters, and to the disturbing impression they leave on readers of the novel, lies in their profound commitment to a life of Reason – to what they themselves proudly describe as their “principles”. Merteuil and Valmont, it will be suggested, reveal one of the eighteenth century’s strange and disturbing dilemmas: once established as sovereign power in the domain of individual psychology, Reason – Kant’s sapere aude! – can give birth not to “Man” but to monsters.

Derek Allan has published a number of articles on aspects of André Malraux’s works, and on the theory of art and literature. His book, Art and the Human Adventure: André Malraux’s Theory of Art, was published by Rodopi in November 2009. He is currently researching aspects of eighteenth century literature and philosophy. Dr Allan is a Visiting Scholar in the School of Humanities at the Australian National University.
10. Enlightenment Histories

László Kontler

Mankind and Its Histories: William Robertson, Georg Forster, and a Late Eighteenth-Century German Debate

The Scottish historian William Robertson’s works on European encounter with non-European civilizations (History of America, 1777; Historical Disquisition ...of India, 1791) received a great deal of attention in contemporary Germany, a process in which – through correspondence with Robertson, as well as through reviewing and translating his texts – Johann Reinhold and Georg Forster took an active part. At the same time, especially the latter also took an active part in a debate which was unfolding on the German intellectual scene simultaneously with the reception of Robertson, and concerned the different or equal “value” (Wert) of the various “races of mankind” (Menschenrassen), engaging especially the relevant views advanced by the Göttingen historian Christoph Meiners and Immanuel Kant. The debate was firmly embedded in the context on an emerging “science of man” in the German Enlightenment, to which Forster contributed an almost incomparable richness of empirical knowledge as well as theoretical sophistication. At the same time, Forster’s direct engagement with Robertson’s work during the same period (mid-1780s to the early 1790s) creates another context, through which the Wissenschaft vom Menschen in the Aufklärung and the Scottish version of the science of man – built on the neighbour disciplines to which Robertson’s historiography was crucially indebted – is set in an interesting comparative light. The paper, part of a comprehensive project tracing the German reception of Robertson as an instance of inter-cultural transfer in the Enlightenment, will exploit the opportunities presented by one particular and documented case for a general comparison of enlightened “sciences of man”.

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William Marsden and his *History of Sumatra*: Empirical encounters and Enlightenment stereotypes

William Marsden (1754-1836) is best known as the author of *The History of Sumatra*. It is rarely remembered that Marsden’s paper, “Remarks on the Sumatran and cognate Language”, published in 1782, was the first British scholar to identify the language family known today as Austronesian. The paper’s findings underpinned all his subsequent scholarship.

The 1783 *History of Sumatra* was a history of Sumatrans. It was intended as a scholarly work that would explain and provide evidence for Marsden’s linguistic theories. He wanted to add “to the general knowledge of the age … and more especially to furnish those philosophers whose labors have been directed to the investigation of the history of Man, with facts to serve as data in their reasonings”. This paper aims to explore some of the ways in which the *History* was expressive of the philosophies of the Enlightenment.

The *History* was organised around the concept of National character mediated by Marsden’s selection of Measures of Civilisation. It was structured to illustrate the first the physical and then the moral causes of National character, but the central concern of the work both literally and intellectually was the idea of civilisation and ranking of nations.

Although Marsden was profoundly influenced by Robertson’s portrayal of the naked savage in *History of America*, his use of the concept was highly nuanced. Henry May has suggested that we understand certain aspects of the Enlightenment better if we begin with religion. Marsden’s assessment of the role and purpose of the great received religions of the world influenced his perceptions and expectations of the pagan Sumatrans as opposed to the Islamic Malays. Marsden found the Austronesian Sumatran nations fitted two Enlightenment stereotypes. The degenerate Malay Sultans of Minangkabau fitted the model of the typical dissolute, cruel and capricious tyrant while the pagan nations were unregenerate childlike savages.

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Empiricism and 'Improvement' in James Mill's *History of British India*

The paper suggests that a careful reading of the concluding chapter of Book III of James Mill's *History of British India* suggests that the claims of Javed Majeed and others regarding a contradiction between Mill's empiricism and a rationalist philosophy of history should be reconsidered, and claims that Mill's understanding of 'Improvement' is consistent with, rather than in contradiction with, his empiricist epistemology, even if his empiricism paradoxically asserts the ontological primacy of experience even as it denies the epistemological value of 'ocular experience' of India. It further suggests that Mill's work both depends upon, and exposes, a contradiction within what might be considered the 'spontaneous philosophy of the historians', with his work taking up a position that ultimately imposes a dogmatic 'science of human nature' in place of a naive empiricism of 'experience' that was based, ultimately, on the social 'station' of authors as establishing their right to bear witness to India. Furthermore, it argues not only that Mill's empiricism displaced the Orientalist hypothesis of a 'degeneration' of the Hindus since ancient times, but also that Mill's epistemology – grounded in the discipline of the imagination – can be said to derive from the late-eighteenth century Orientalist delegitimation of their Indian 'informants'. Finally, it outlines Mill's alternative account of the conditions of 'Improvement', based in historical knowledge and the fear of insurrection, and the relation between that theory and his arguments for parliamentary reform and the secret ballot.

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