

LEISURE AND LEARNING IN RENAISSANCE UTOPIAS

If a utopia is a near perfect, or even a demonstrably superior, society, is there anything that endangers that society as soon as it is achieved? Yes. Prosperity! I have shown in “More’s *Utopia* and the New World Utopias: Is the Good Life an Easy Life?”,¹ that the actually existing, “real” New World utopian communities were severely challenged by success. For example, the vigor of the Jansonite community in Bishop Hill, Illinois (1846-1860) sharply declined when that community met their survival needs and had to deal with surpluses and comfort. As soon as communal efforts and group sacrifices produced prosperity, the attractiveness of communism faded.

George Rapp was astute enough to notice the threat of comfort and ease. Indeed; Rapp managed two very different adjustments to prosperity. His first strategy was to avoid it. When the Rappites flourished at Harmonie, Pennsylvania (1805-19814) he moved to

¹ See Dooley, “More’s *Utopia* and the New World Utopias” and also “Theory in *Utopia* vs. Practice in Utopias”.

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Harmony, Indiana. He skilfully exploited the sense of emergency, joint effort and sacrifice which accompany those who begin a large project. When the new Rappite town of Harmony, Indiana (1814-1824) permitted a measure of relaxation, leisure and prosperity, Rapp contrived another emergency situation. He moved them again to begin a third town, Economy, Pennsylvania (1824-1916).

By the time Economy was a success, Rapp and his Rappites were too old to start a fourth time. Rapp responded with a different tack. He preserved a contented and unified society with an indolent lifestyle, material comforts and five meals a day.

The striking lesson of the New World “real” utopian communities was that the attainment of all the hallmarks of utopias—comfort, plenty, ease and leisure—undermined rather than bolstered their ventures. Practical experience contains specific warnings for utopian ventures. First, among New World utopias, the societies which accentuated leisure and learning, the Transcendentalists of Fruitlands and Brook Farm and the Owenites of New Harmony, were spectacular failures. Secondly, and conversely, the successful groups, notably the Shakers and the Separatists of Zoar, Ohio, had strict work regimens, no-frills living conditions and little leisure.

What, therefore, is to be done *when* a utopian venture works through the survival crisis; *when* next after, as Charles Nordoff observed of the Zoarites in 1875, “they have achieved comfort and wealth... they are relieved from severe toil, and they have driven the wolf permanently from their doors.” (109)

What ought a utopian community do when it accomplishes its initial goals? In fictional utopias, prosperity, plenty, ease and comfort are thought to be non-problems. It is assumed that when basic necessities are met, communities would simply cut back on work thereby freeing up additional leisure time.

My interest is in Renaissance utopian theories of leisure. How did they plan for a wholesome social equilibrium, including the suitable use of leisure? How did they anticipate avoiding, on the one hand, frivolity and dissipation and, on the other, stagnation and boredom?

In what follows I compare and contrast More’s *Utopia*, Campanella’s *The City of the Sun*, Andreae’s *Christianopolis*,

Bacon's *New Atlantis*, Harrington's *Oceana*. I am interested in specifics. How much leisure was available, to whom it was extended, how was the economy arranged to purchase leisure.

I also examine whether some or all the available leisure was reserved for learning and what sort of learning, liberal or utilitarian, was encouraged. Suppose citizens of a utopia have abundant leisure and as a result of universal education, these men and women use their leisure for study, what do they seek to learn? If their learning is utilitarian, as opposed to liberal (in the classical sense of learning enjoyed for its own sake), and if their research is fruitful, discoveries will result. If and when discoveries are made, the vexing problem of change in a perfect society will inevitably occur. Accordingly I analyze the utopian authors' strategies to deal with change.²

More and Campanella saw much value in leisure and learning. They proposed a curious hybrid of pure and applied study in what they assumed would be closed, static societies. Andreae's citizens also had substantial leisure and they were learned. However, because Christianopolitans were absolutely committed to fixed dogmas of Christianity, their learning *could not* generate any discoveries which might alter beliefs or behavior in their perfect society. On the other hand, Bacon and Harrington envisaged dynamic, growth-orientated societies energized by scientific, pragmatically applicable research, and learning. As a result, Bacon and Harrington attempted to meet, head on, the anomaly of change in "perfect" utopian societies.

A. LEISURE AND LEARNING IN MORE'S *UTOPIA*

Saint Thomas More (1478-1535) lawyer, humanist, statesman, Lord Chancellor of England, and martyr, began his masterpiece *Utopia* when leisure was forced upon him in the middle of a diplomatic mission for Henry VIII. *Utopia* diagnoses a problem

² A discussion of the central or peripheral role of science in the utopian societies of More, Campanella, Andreae, and Bacon (Harrington is not treated) can be found in Bierman, "Science and Society in *New Atlantis* and Other Renaissance Utopias". For a full-length treatment of this topic see Eurich, *Science in Utopia*. She contends, "primarily as publicists, they [Campanella, Andreae and Bacon] served science, or more accurately, the scientific attitude", p. 143.

and prescribes a solution. In Book Two, written in Belgium and the Netherlands in 1515, More presented an ideal society as the solution. Later, upon his return to England in 1516, More wrote Book One in which he describes the problem: enclosure, excessive punishment for thieves, abuses of private property, and other ills confronting English society. Erasmus supervised the first publication of *Utopia* in Louvain, late in 1516. Since the general outline of More's ideal society is well-known, I will concentrate on specific features of the Utopians' leisure and learning.

More's Utopians have both abundance and leisure because everyone works and because only basic necessities are produced. More's Utopians are frugal and hard-working with the result that their communistic economy is efficient enough to support comprehensive social services: clothing, homes, meals, hospitals, schools, nurseries for the young and old, libraries, lectures, and concerts.

Everyone has leisure because everyone works everyday; not quite everyday—there are 26 holidays, but for 329 days of the year Utopians spend their days as follows. They rise before dawn, and after a morning meal, they work for three hours until midday dinner; after dinner there is a second three-hour work-shift, followed by supper. Utopians go to bed at 8 o'clock for eight hours of sleep. Sleep, meals, and work take up seventeen hours of the day and the rest are free, "the intervals between the hours of work, sleep, and food are left to every man's discretion, not to waste in revelry or idleness..." (127/38-39).³

Exactly how many hours are left for free time is unclear because More does some double counting. He says that most Utopians attend a pre-dawn lecture, that there is a two-hour rest period after dinner, and that for an hour after supper Utopians garden in the summer, or during the winter, they stay in the dining hall, diverting themselves with music or talk. Counting the lecture hour, Utopians have at least four and as many as seven hours a day for leisure.

Everyone has leisure, because everyone works. In Utopia 99% of the population must ply a trade every workday. The remaining 1%

³ As is customary, references to *Utopia* will cite page and line numbers from the critical edition, *The Complete Works of St. Thomas More*, eds. Edward Surtz, S.J. and J.H. Hexter.

made up of magistrates, priests, and intellectuals are by law exempt from manual work.⁴

A work ethic is pervasive in Utopia. If one wants to go travelling outside his district he needs a passport. If caught without one, he is made a bondsman. When visiting another district, after one day's vacation, the Utopian must ply his trade in the new place. A simple walk in the country requires permission. One may take food on a walk provided that the hiker has worked the previous morning or afternoon shift.

More's Utopians work at least six hours a day; those not intellectually inclined work even more hours at their chosen trades or in the gardens. Those who work "overtime" are honored, "...if anyone should prefer to devote this [free] time to his trade...he is not hindered; in fact, he is even praised as useful to the commonwealth" (129/8-12). Perhaps they choose work for there are no attractive alternatives:

Nowhere is there any license to waste time, nowhere any pretext to evade work—no wine shop, no alehouse, no brothel anywhere, no opportunity for corruption, no lurking hole, no secret meeting place.⁵ On the contrary, being under the eyes of all, people are bound either to be performing the usual labor or to be enjoying their leisure in a fashion not without decency. This universal behavior must of necessity lead to an abundance of all commodities. (147/21-30)

It is not clear how many Utopians work when they do not need to do so, however, it must be assumed that the clear majority of More's Utopians conform to his ideal: an educated, cultured tradesman. Though Utopians are well educated, More says almost nothing of the educational process. At the age of five, children leave the nurses' quarters and, rejoining their families, are taught by parents and priests, "to the priests is entrusted the education of

⁴ Calculations of Utopia's population and the size of its leisure class are presented in Dooley, "More's *Utopia* and the new World Utopias", p. 39-42.

⁵ Stilgoe, *Common Landscape of America*, relates that in 1835 a Connecticut manufacturer boasted of his mill-town, "in our village there is not a public house, or grog-shop, nor is gaming allowed in any private house", p. 331 and Hinds, *American Communities*, said of the Shaker settlements in 1876, "the streets are quiet; for here you have no grog-shop, no beer-house, no lock-up, no pound...every building, whatever may be its use, has something of the air of a chapel", p. 83.

children and youths.” (229/9) However, the mainstay of education in Utopia is abundant leisure used correctly for self-improvement. This bootstrap education works so well that Utopian officials and scholars rise from the ranks of ordinary workers:

... not seldom does it happen that a craftsman so industriously employs his spare hours on learning and makes such progress by his diligence that he is relieved of his manual labor and advanced into the class of men of learning. It is out of this company of scholars that they choose ambassadors, priests, tranibors, and finally the governor himself. (133/2-8)

In Utopia, leisure correctly used means intellectual pursuits, reading, lectures, music, conversation, and two chess-like games. Still, More’s ideal of at least four and as many as seven hours of leisure for “freedom and culture of the mind” (135/22) did not involve the classical pursuit of knowledge for its own sake. The learning pursued by Utopian intellectuals and ordinary citizens was decidedly utilitarian. They preferred pragmatic disciplines: arithmetic, classical (but not modern) logic, geometry, meteorology, moral philosophy, and medicine. More stressed that Utopians used their study of nature, soil, rain, wind, and tides to better their farming and navigation techniques.⁶

The only non-utilitarian learning pursued by the Utopians was the study of languages. Although their own language was more than adequate, “copious in vocabulary and pleasant to the ear and a very faithful exponent of thought”, (159/16-17) a few general lectures by visitors enabled the Utopians to master both Latin and Greek. Thus they became fond of Greek literature, but they found that “in Latin there was nothing, apart from history and poetry, which seemed likely to gain their great approval”. (181/5-6). Though More mentions the Utopians’ skill in papermaking, printing, and that their libraries have many thousand volumes, he is quite explicit that the Utopians prize books, leisure, and learning not for pure enjoyment but for their eventual use, “trained in all

⁶ For an excellent comparison of More with Bacon on the application of utilitarian learning to improve the material bases of human happiness, see Adams, “The Social Responsibilities of Science in *Utopia*, *New Atlantis* and After”. In this connection, Johnson, “The Argument for Reform in More’s *Utopia*”, contends that “the Utopians follow the logic of utility” to the point of “dehumanization”, p. 131.

learning, the minds of the Utopians are exceedingly apt in the invention of the arts which promote the advantage and convenience of life". (183/25-27).

More's traveler-informer Hythlodæus glowingly describes Utopia as a place where "the people in general are easy-going, good-tempered, ingenious and leisure-loving", (179/36-39), he also reports a society which studiously pursues *useful* learning. There is no obvious need for change in Utopia, yet because "...their devotion to mental study [is]... unwearied", (181/2) Utopians will eventually invalidate the *status quo*. More's *Utopia* thus depicts both a "perfect" society and the disturbing but inevitable prospect of change.

B. LEISURE AND LEARNING IN CAMPANELLA'S *THE CITY OF THE SUN*.

Tommaso Campanella (1569-1639), a Dominican monk, wrote his utopia, *The City of the Sun*, while in prison. His interest in science and his liberalism led to difficulties with the Spanish Inquisition. Charged with heresy and conspiracy, he was confined for twenty-seven years. Initially he was imprisoned and then later he was subject to house arrest at Naples.⁷ *The City of the Sun* was written about 1602, circulated in manuscript form as early as 1607 and published in 1623. Campanella's religious republic is Catholic in spirit. The great leader of the City of The Sun is a universal papal monarch; Solarians live in dormitories and their eating arrangements are monastic, "On one side sit the women, on the other the men; as in the refectories of the monks, there is no conversation. While they are eating, a young man reads a book from a platform, intoning distinctly and sonorously..." (173).

... with them all the rich and the poor together make up the community. They are rich because they want nothing, poor because they possess nothing; and consequently they are not slaves to circumstances, but circumstances serve them. (179).

⁷ For details on Campanella's trials and incarceration see Grillo, *Tommaso Campanella in America* 21-31 and for general treatments of Campanella see Bonansea, "The Political Thought of Tommaso Campanella" and *Tommaso Campanella* p. 249-301.

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Campanella's citizens (unlike More's) are very eager to work. Recall that in Utopia, citizens are, "easy-going, good-tempered, ingenious, and leisure loving... They patiently do their share of manual labor when occasion demands, though otherwise they are by no means fond of it." (179/38-181/2). In fact, the Syphogrants of Utopia have as their main task making the workers work: "The chief and almost only function of the Syphogrants is to manage and provide that no-one sits idle, but that each apply himself industriously to his trade..." (127/23-26). Campanella reports that in the City of the Sun all Solarians work, "duty and work being distributed among all," (179) and that both men and women share most occupations. Campanella repeatedly emphasizes that all trade work is deemed honorable:

... they laugh at us in that we consider our workmen ignoble, and hold those to be noble who have mastered no pursuit..., (169). No one thinks it lowering to wait at table or to work in the kitchen or field. All work they call discipline, and thus they say it is honorable to go on foot...every man who, when he is told [to go] off to work, does his duty, is considered very honorable. It is not the custom to keep slaves. (178).

While in Utopia slaves (and the zealots) do the hardest, dirtiest work, in the City of the Sun,

The occupations which require the most labor, such as working in metals and building, are the most praiseworthy among them. No one declines to go to these occupations, for the reason that from the beginning their propensities are well known...(187).

It is not just that they are assigned a job they are suited for, they actually *like* to work, "they have an abundance of all things, since everyone likes to be industrious, their labors being slight and profitable". (190)

Campanella does not merely say that Solarians like to work, he convincingly illustrates his contention with two examples. First, the occasional malefactor is punished by removing him from the daily routine of work and leisure and by depriving him of his companions at the common table. Second, heroic soldiers are rewarded with laurels of grass or oak leaves and, "he who kills a tyrant dedicates his arms in the temple and receives from Hoh [the

great leader of the City of the Sun] the cognomen of his deed". (184) Sometimes it turns out whole armies are given an unwelcome reward:

After the battle...the greatest chief, Hoh, crowns the general with laurel and distributes little gifts and honors to all the valorous soldiers, who are for some days free from public duties. But this exemption from work is by no means pleasing to them, since they know not what it is to be at leisure, and so they help their companions. (185)

However, ordinary citizens of the City of the Sun do prize leisure. Solarians have even more leisure than More's Utopians; the former work four hours a day, the latter, six. There are other differences. Campanella's description of the day-order is not as detailed as More's account, still it is known that after they arise at dawn,

... they comb their hair and wash their faces and hands with cold water. Then they chew thyme or rock parsley or fennel, or rub their hands with those plants. [After prayers and other civic observances] they meet at the early lectures, then in the temple, then for bodily exercise. Then for a little while they sit down to rest, and at length they go to dinner. (192).

In the middle of all this, they "work for about four hours every day". (179) So with four hours of work and eight of sleep, Solarians have twelve hours for leisure activities:

The remaining hours are spent in learning joyously, in debating, in reading, in reciting, in writing, in walking, in exercising the mind and body, and with play. They allow no game which is played while sitting neither the single die nor dice, nor chess, nor others like these. But they play with the ball, with the sack, with the hoop, with wrestling, hurling at the stake. (179)

The ideal Solarian is then a literate artisan who works efficiently and eagerly, and who wisely spends his leisure on wholesome mental and physical activity.

Campanella's happy balance of mental and physical culture extends to the whole society. It is not leisure that the soldiers, mentioned above, do not appreciate, they object to *too much* leisure. Physical training begins at the age of three for both boys and girls. At the age of twelve gymnastics are replaced by military

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exercise. Young men are given infantry and cavalry training, young women are drilled in artillery:

The women are also taught these [martial] arts under their own magistrates and mistresses...the women know well also how to let fly fiery balls, and how to make them from lead; how to throw stones from pinnacles and to go in the way of an attack. (181)

Even though soldiers place greater emphasis on physical exercise, they, too, hear lectures, read and debate. In fact, each day after practice at arms they hear,

... lectures of Moses, of Joshua, of David, of Judas Maccabeus, of Caesar, of Alexander, of Scipio, of Hannibal, and other great soldiers... And then each one [of the soldiers] gives his own opinion as to whether these generals acted well or ill, usefully or honorably, and then the teacher answers and says who are right. (181)

Ordinary citizens have less physical training and different sorts of literature and reading.

Above all else the City of the Sun excels at efficient, even effortless learning. Children learn to read before the end of their third year, before the sixth year they are taught natural sciences, and the mechanical sciences, “after their seventh year, when they have already gone through the mathematics *on the walk*, they take them to the readings of all the sciences.” (168) Between the ages of eight and twelve they are introduced to a trade or they are assigned to the military. Especially bright children are admitted to the inner five circles of the city where they are given theoretical training in addition to practical experience. The City of the Sun is in fact one grand monument to learning. The city is made of seven concentric walls. The innermost building is a “Temple of Learning”,⁸ and on the first wall which surrounds it, there are beautiful frescos illustrating what has been discovered about the solar system, the stars, the earth, the oceans, and the skies:

They have but one book, which they call wisdom, and in it all the sciences are written with concise and marvellous fluency of

⁸ Blodget, “Bacon’s *New Atlantis* and Campanella’s *Civitas Solis*: a Study in Relationships” argues that Campanella’s “Temple of Learning” was the inspiration for Bacon’s “College of the Six Days’ Work” and that Campanella strongly influenced Bacon on other important matters.

expression. It is Wisdom who causes the exterior and interior, the higher and lower walls of the city to be adorned with the finest pictures, and to have all the sciences painted upon them in an admirable manner. (162)

Therefore in addition to the inner wall and its Temple of Learning, the remaining six walls teach wisdom by summary and illustration. Starting with the largest and longest, the outermost wall, on it are written languages, mathematics, and geography; on the second wall, geology and engineering; the third, what is known about plants and fish; the fourth, birds and insects; the fifth, horses and large mammals; finally, the sixth is devoted to biographies of inventors, prophets, legislators, generals and, “in the most dignified position...a representation of Jesus Christ and the twelve Apostles”. (164) Learning is nearly automatic for walking anywhere in the city exposes one to synopses of mankind’s significant discoveries. Like More’s Utopians, Campanella’s Solarians emphasize practical, applied disciplines. They excel at “scientific” astrology, medicine, dietetics, and eugenics. They too eschew the study of law, literature, and poetry (with the exception of literary celebrations of military exploits), and philosophy. Rather than theologize, priests astrologize: “their work is to observe the stars and to note with the astrolabe their motions and influences upon human things, and to find out their powers”. (199) These very reliable and very accurate astrological predictions are used to determine times for breeding, sowing, and reaping. Astrology is also the basis for setting policy in state and military affairs.

Campanella underscores the Solarians’ predilection for the practical rather than the theoretical disciplines. Indeed, the Solarians have even narrower preferences. They seek better and better methods of conveying and applying what has *already* been discovered; technology, not science is their goal. Given the important scientific discoveries of the past, the role of the learned is confined to a more precise *application* of those discoveries. The Solarian’s society is static. Advances in knowledge are limited to gains in precision and modes of more efficient communication of the established truth. No large-scale revolutionary breakthroughs are sought, expected or even welcomed. The most that can be readily accommodated are minor, fine-tuning adjustments. In such an unchanging, closed society of moderation, discipline, and

prudence, where “no one wants either necessities or luxuries”, (176) one wonders why “everyone likes to be industrious [since] their labors [are] slight and profitable [and]...they have an abundance of all things”. (190) What would be the challenge? One wonders also why, having worked a four-hour stint, “the remaining hours are spent in learning joyously, in debating, in reading, in reciting, in writing”. (179) What would be the incentive if there were not a possibility of discoveries and thereby, of change?

More and Campanella failed to appreciate that in combining universal literacy with superabundant leisure and by emphasizing utilitarian, applied (as opposed to liberal) arts, they were unwittingly cultivating the most serious threat to utopia, change. When utopian societies are perfect, progress and improvement are anomalous, and change is dangerous. Like More and Campanella, Andreae imagined a perfect society; however, he anticipated the need to insulate his society from the shocks of discovery and change. Andreae sought to keep his society both perfect and static.

C. LEISURE AND LEARNING IN ANDRAEAE'S *CHRISTIANOPOLIS*

In 1619, Johann Valentin Andreae wrote a Protestant version of a utopian society, *Christianopolis*.⁹ Andreae (1586-1654) was a well-traveled, influential, and wealthy teacher, preacher, and reformation activist. Several influences upon his work are clear. He knew More's *Utopia* and he had read Campanella's *The City of the Sun* in manuscript form.¹⁰ Andreae had lived in numerous towns in Germany, Switzerland, France, Austria, and Italy.

Calvinism impressed him and his admiration for Geneva is unrestrained, “what a glorious adornment—such purity of morals—for the Christian religion”.¹¹ Still he thought the atmosphere of Geneva oppressive, and he found some of Calvin's means of control heavy-handed. Ironically Andreae himself was not beyond making sin difficult by removing temptation. In his

⁹ In addition to the complete Latin text and the English translation of *Christianopolis*, editor Held has included a long introduction. Hereafter this introduction will be cited as *Held*.

¹⁰ See *Held* 18.

¹¹ Andreae's *Vitae* as quoted in *Held* 27.

city of Christianopolis the officials “do not allow the night to be dark, but brighten it up with lighted lanterns, the object being to provide for the safety of the city and to put a stop to useless wandering about”. (172) Nevertheless, the chief inspiration behind *Christianopolis* was not Calvin but Luther. After an honorary citation to “our hero Doctor Luther” (134), Andreae describes the wholesome effects of reformed, Lutheran Christianity:

The light of a purer religion dawned upon us; in accordance with it, the administration of public affairs has been regulated, and the brilliancy of letters and arts has been restored; we may be able entirely to triumph over many conquered enemies—superstition, dissoluteness and rudeness. (134)

Hence *Christianopolis* dramatized for 17th-century readers the piety and progress Luther sought to bring to Europe. Andreae’s traveler reports that in their church services “I saw nothing foreign to our so-called Augsburg Confession”. (252)

Christianopolis is a lengthy utopia divided into 100 chapters which describe the island-country of Caphar Salama (village of peace) and its sole city, Christianopolis. Despite the narrator’s disclaimer, “It is not my business here to teach what I think, but to rehearse what I saw” (250), the book contains dozens of pietistic sermonettes. Virtually every chapter begins by describing life in the island of Caphar Salama, and ends with editorial comments on the difference between the exemplary arrangements in Christianopolis and the corrupt, unreformed practices of 17th-century Europe. For example, in Caphar Salama,

... they have preferred government by aristocracy to other forms, because this approaches more closely to the Christian society. In this they establish three good qualities of man: equality, the desire for peace, and the contempt for riches, as the world is tortured primarily with the opposites of these. (236-237)

The ideal of human excellence in Christianopolis provides Andreae with another natural homily topic,

their first and highest exertion is to worship God with a pure and faithful soul; the second, to strive toward the best and most chaste morals; the third, to cultivate the mental powers—an order, reversed by the world. (209)

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No mere slogan, in Christianopolis, cleanliness is next to godliness! Not satisfied with a special section (Chapter VC) on the sanitation system, Andreae makes dozens of references to hygiene: clean streets, spotless kitchens, neat farmyards, baths, washing, cleaning, fresh clothes, and fine soaps. On the all-important matter of education, Andreae can marshal no more effective argument than a comparison between the world, “the dirtiness of the schools, the uncleanness of the food, and beds”, (209) and the model academies of Christianopolis:

... the most upright preceptors, men as well as women, are placed over them...They see to it carefully that the food is appetizing and wholesome, that the couches and beds are clean and comfortable, and that the clothes and attire of the whole body are clean. The pupils wash often and use linen towels for drying. The hair is also combed to prevent anything unclean from collecting. (208-209)

I will return to education and learning later; now, I take up the matter of leisure in Christianopolis.

Although, as noted above, Andreae provides details on most things, unfortunately he fails to state how long Christianopolans work and how many hours of leisure they enjoy. He says only that “they have very few working hours”, (161) and that “reinforced by a perfect balance of work and leisure...they never approach a piece of work without alacrity”. (155)

Unlike More’s Utopians, but like Campanella’s Solarians, Andreae’s citizens enjoy their work. All work is honorable, “a fitting place of honor is preserved for labor and respectable occupation”. (267) Everyone “physically strong” (272) is expected to work. One’s regular occupation is determined on the basis of aptitude and training. Everyone also takes his turn at public works, “such as watching, guarding, harvesting of grain and wine, working roads, erecting buildings, draining ground”. (168) Andreae concludes:

Hence all work, even that which seems rather irksome, is accomplished in good time and without much difficulty, since the promptness of the great number of workmen permits them easily to collect or distribute the great mass of things. (168)

Like other communistic utopias, Andreae’s citizens alleviate unnecessary work because they have “temperate habits in

everything”, (152) and because they are “exceptionally economical”. (172) Further, competent, respected officials engineer an efficient economy. Houses (nearly one dwelling for every two citizens) are well provided; furniture, food, work materials, household goods, clothes, and tools are available at a central storehouse: “if you need any instrument other than what is in daily use, you may get it at the supply house. For there are enough implements on hand, both private and public, since the whole state is one of artisans”. (171) Andreae’s equation is familiar: moderation plus planning equals abundance with leisure.

On a day to day basis, it appears that Andreae’s citizens have fewer hours of leisure than More’s or Campanella’s. However, Andreae provides what Campanella omitted and what More expressly forbade: vacations.

It will not be unprofitable for us to see how the inhabitants of Christianopolis spend their leisure time, or to name it more properly, the breathing spell which is allowed one. When they have cheerfully done enough to fill the requirements of piety, patriotism, and literature, and have exercised their bodies in the mechanical arts according as the season admits, they take longer or shorter periods of quiet. This vacation, they say, they owe not so much to the flesh as to the spirit, not less to the soul than to the body. (162)

Andreae explains that vacation periods, as distinguished from daily leisure periods or religious and civil holidays, are “to revive the wearied faculties of the soul and sharpen our wits”. (162) Contrary to the world, Christianopolitans do not abuse time-off with “the sporting of fools [or]... aimless wandering, the result of this national rest...[is] a relaxation of the mind”. (162) Universal education has made this possible.

Andreae’s citizens are trained both physically and mentally, “they say neither the subtleness of letters is such, nor yet the difficulty of work, that one man, if given enough, cannot master both, [as a result] their artisans are almost entirely educated men”. (157) Andreae devotes more than a third of his utopia to educational matters. The college of Christianopolis, “the innermost shrine of the city...the center of activity of the state”, (173) is given special emphasis. All children leave home at the age of seven to live

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at the college. For the boys, mornings are spent in recitations, afternoons in mechanical and physical training; for the girls, mornings are devoted to the household arts and afternoons are given over to recitation. Gradually the students progress through all eight halls of the college (grammar, logic, arithmetic, music, astronomy, natural science, ethics, and finally, theology) and then most graduates return to work alongside the other educated artisans of Christianopolis. A few exceptional students remain at the college as researchers in the several laboratories of mathematics, astronomy, and science or, as scholars, busy at literature and history, especially church history. More elite than researchers and scholars, the select citizens of Christianopolis are the teachers of the college:

Their instructors are...the choice of all the citizens, persons whose standing in the republic is known and who very often have access to the highest positions in the state... The teachers are well advanced in years... [they] excel others in reverence toward God, uprightness toward their neighbor, and in firmness and moderation in their own lives. (207)

The fact that these highly regarded teachers are more noted for moral excellence than erudition, highlights the distinctive contribution of Andreae's utopian vision.

Although upon graduation from college Christianopolitans are equipped for letters as well as for work, they do not become life-long students. Little, if any, learning for enjoyment's sake occurs. Recall that leisure was characterized as a "breathing spell...that we may restock...revive...and sharpen...a relaxation" (162). Two favorite restorative activities are gardening and painting. Each home has "a garden, kept with much care and nicety, inasmuch as the gardens are conducive to health and furnish fragrance", (169) and there are also extensive public gardens with multiple varieties of herbs, flowers and vegetables. Painting, Andreae reports, is "an art in which this city takes the greatest delight". (202) There is art everywhere in the city, numerous large outdoor paintings and smaller paintings in individual rooms of the homes. Because almost everyone is an accomplished artist, good art is appreciated:

How much more happily the others' practice with the brush, so that wherever they enter, they bring along their experienced eyes, their hands adapted to imitation, and what is of greater importance, a judgment equal to and already trained for things, not unfruitful or mean. (202-203)

Additional, officially sanctioned, leisure activities are reading and conversation. Precisely because Christianopolitans, when they study and converse, prefer to deliberate about God, the Church and the afterlife, the proper term for these citizens is, suggests Andreae, "Christians".

Andreae's well-educated "Christians" prefer to read the Bible, "private copies of the Bible are owned by individuals in their own languages" (194) or treatments of Church history, "since the inhabitants of Christianopolis make everything in this world second to the Church, they are concerned in its history more than with any other". (233) So, though they have a large well-stocked library, "the citizens seem...not to consider the use of it very highly, and they were satisfied with fewer books". (191) Their favorite topic of discussion, especially during the extended conversations possible during vacation periods, is the future life:

So during these free hours it is common to see the greatest calmness among the citizens, many devoting themselves to some special service to God, or to some neighbor bearing a cross, or especially instructing each other mutually in Christian conversations. (162)

Now we know the fundamental reason why Andreae's utopians are disciplined, contented, temperate, economical, and calm—their gaze is firmly on the next world.

Andreae effectively demonstrates their otherworldliness. First he explains that in Caphar Salama, the most feared and most effective punishment is excommunication:

Against backsliders, especially those who remain stiffnecked after the vain warnings of brothers, fathers, and civil authorities, they pronounce the wrath of God, ban of the church, disgust of the state, and abhorrence of every good man, with such success that it seems as if they have been shut off from the universe, that is, all the creatures of God. They consider this more severe than death. (257)

Second, Andreae's account ends with a chapter on death and burial in Caphar Salama. Funerals are simple, relatives attend wearing their ordinary work clothes. Burials are matter of fact, graves have only temporary markers, a cross inscribed with the deceased's name, "it is not surprising that they are somewhat careless in these matters, since they count this life of least value and long for the other". (277)

Clearly Christianopolis is a decidedly unworldly paradise. Although, for example, Christianopolis's college anticipates some of the elements of the research teams in Francis Bacon's *New Atlantis*' Salomon's House,¹² yet for Andreae's "Christians", knowledge and mastery of the material world are securely fixed within a religious perspective. Andreae takes great pains to emphasize the primacy of the religious perspective. He recounts a conversation with Abida, director of learning of Christianopolis's college:

When I inquired as to the sum of all learning, he mentioned Christ and Him crucified, saying that all things pointed toward Him. He seemed at one time contemning the earth and praising the heavens; and then again he seemed to be estimating the earth highly, and the heavens as of less value. For he insisted that a close examination of the earth would bring about a proper appreciation of the heavens, and when the value of the heavens had been found, there would be a contempt of the earth. At the same time he entirely disapproved of all that literature which did not bring one nearer to Christ, if it tended to separate one from Christ, he cursed it (187)

Because Andreae's "Christians" are *absolutely* committed to Christianity, all fundamental decisions regarding the importance of experience, the value of scientific research, and the worth of letters and arts had been settled *a priori*. No insight, discovery or reappraisal could ever displace the conclusions of Christian faith, therefore *Christianopolis* depicts a static, perfect society. Change cannot threaten it. Change had been precluded because the Truth of Christ will not pass away.

Quite the contrary of More and Campanella hoping against

¹² For more on Andreae's College and Bacon's House of Salomon see Hansot, *Perfection and Progress: Two Modes of Utopian Thought*, p. 80-86.

change, or Andreae forestalling change, the utopias of Bacon and Harrington present societies which easily accommodate, even eagerly cultivate change.

D. PROGRESS AND CHANGE IN UTOPIA: FRANCIS BACON AND JAMES HARRINGTON.

Francis Bacon (1561-1626) was, like Thomas More, a lawyer, statesman, and Lord Chancellor of England. But while More's avocation was humanistic studies, Bacon's was natural science. And there was no danger of expecting any sainthood of Bacon: he was found guilty of bribing a litigant, and as a result he was dishonorably discharged from all his royal offices. His *New Atlantis* was written in 1624 and posthumously published in 1627.

In numerous ways Bacon's *New Atlantis* lacks utopian qualities.¹³ He gives almost no information about the social structures, economy, daily routine or preferences of the people of the utopian city of Bensalem. We know little more than that family solidarity is highly valued and that neither homes, real property nor material wealth are held in common. Details on the economy are glossed over. If there is any communism in New Atlantis, it is only a communism of knowledge. Bacon saves his praise for "Salomon's House" (227) also called the "College of the Six Days' Works", (228) and his detail for a lengthy account of the ostentation, dress, manner and pomp which accompany the "Fathers" of Salomon's House.¹⁴ The upshot is clear. New Atlantis is a utopia in the sense that it depicts an advanced, opulent and leisured society whose chief priority is scientific investigation geared to *changing* man's condition:

The end of our foundation is the knowledge of causes, and secret motions of things; and the enlarging of the bounds of human

¹³ For a discussion of Bacon's sketchiness about his ideal society and for details about when *New Atlantis* was written see Davis, *Utopia and the Ideal Society*, p. 105-137.

¹⁴ For an extended discussion of the number and color symbolism in *New Atlantis* see White, *Peace Among the Willows*, p. 191-96. White offers reasons for each color mentioned in the Salomon's House procession—paying special attention to the shoes of peach-colored velvet.

empire, to the *effecting* of all things possible (240, emphasis added).¹⁵

In addition to its awesome technology, New Atlantis is noteworthy for its surfeit of consumer goods, the abundance of its delicate food and the variety of its fine drinks, and for its wealth of diversions and entertainment. In Bensalem, through science, longevity has been made both possible and pleasant.

Progress, even profoundly revolutionary discoveries are anticipated in Bensalem. For Bacon, change is an ally, not an enemy. His college of scientists will make possible bigger, better, and more engrossing products to dazzle, comfort, and entertain the populace.

In Bacon's short work there is nothing sketchy or superficial about the value of innovation. Science's impressive achievements are enumerated and Bensalem's endorsement of novelty is unmistakably emphasized. For example, the first mentioned and most numerous of Bacon's research teams are the "merchants of light." Twelve offices (instead of the usual three) are devoted to research teams engaged in scientific espionage; knowledge-spies "sail into foreign countries under the names of other nations (for our own we conceal), who bring us the books and abstracts, and patterns of experiments of all other parts [of the world]." (248) Earlier Bacon reported that New Atlantans outfit special ships to search the world for inventions. These special ships contain only food stores for the crew and "a good quantity of treasure...for buying such things, and rewarding such persons, as they should think fit". (229)

Bacon ends *New Atlantis* with a noteworthy encomium to change for change's sake. Like other utopias, Bensalem has a special place of official honor, "for our ordinances and rites, we

¹⁵ Morrison, "Philosophy and History in Bacon", argues that Bacon not only equated knowledge with power, he also sought to convert restorative leisure into productive leisure: Works—the fruit of knowledge—are produced by the activity of work. Knowing is not the fulfillment of the free exercise of leisure but the laborious making of new inventions. The "liberal arts" are reduced to the "servile arts". Bacon's transformation of *scientia* into *potentia* thus entails a fundamental change in some of the traditional conceptions of *virtue* and the good life. Man's happiness no longer consists in free contemplation pursued for its own sake, but rather in a laborious theoretical-practice pursued for the sake of utility and works: "the relief of man's estate", p. 592.

have two very long and fair galleries". (249) Unlike other ideal societies, the *only* thing New Atlantans celebrate is innovation, "in one of these [galleries] we place patterns and samples of all manner of the more rare and excellent inventions; in the other we place the statues of all principle inventors". (249)

Bacon is not unaware that too much change can too often create turmoil. Accordingly he mentions two precautions: the need to consciously control the pace at which changes are introduced and the need to patrol the flow of information. Both are accomplished by self-censorship by Bensalem's scientific aristocracy:

We have consultations, which of the inventions and experiences which we have discovered shall be published, and which not; and [all scientists] take an oath of secrecy for the concealing of those [discoveries] which we think fit to keep secret; though some of those we do reveal sometimes to the state, and some not. (249)

"We" refers to a scientific elite who paternalistically control the non-scientist ordinary citizens who make up the vast majority of Utopia's population. In *Oceana*, James Harrington suggested a positive, progressive and democratic remedy for the inevitability of change.

James Harrington (1611-1677) noted scholar and member of a prominent family in Lincolnshire traveled extensively on the Continent as a young man. Upon his return to England he sought to mediate the conflict between the Royalists and the Parliamentarians. His efforts failed, civil war broke out, and Harrington's friend Charles I was executed in 1649. Harrington resolved to prevent similar occurrences in the future. After extensive study he proposed a blueprint for an imaginary perfect republic in his *The Commonwealth of Oceana*, published in 1656.¹⁶

Oceana's resemblance to England is thinly concealed: London becomes *Emporium*; Scotland, *Marpesia*; Ireland, *Panopea* and, Hobbes is renamed *Leviathan*; Oliver Cromwell, *Olphaus Megaletor*, and Francis Bacon, *Verulamius*. Harrington's book is long, his style is prolix, and frequently his attention to detail is

¹⁶ The standard work on Harrington is Blitzer, *An Immortal Commonwealth*. Blitzer's Chapter 5, "The Commonwealth of Oceana" 207-274 is especially helpful. For a recent edition of *Oceana* and extensive commentary on Harrington see Pocock, *The Political Works of James Harrington*.

grandly excessive—for example, he devoted more than twenty five pages to the physical details of voting in Oceana: the color and composition of the suffrage pellets, the size of the urns, the shape and fabric of the voting booths, the order of the procession and the sequence of ballots. *Oceana*, set in the future, describes how after decades of international turbulence, domestic strife, civil wars and constitutional crises, an immortal commonwealth was achieved on English soil.

Like Bacon, Harrington addressed the inevitability of change. And like Bacon, except for minutiae about voting, Harrington offers no information about the citizens of Oceana, their customs, behavior or preferences. Instead, Harrington's exclusive intention was to structure a political system stable and resilient enough to handle change. His overall position stressed that a sound, responsive government is based on a trust of laws and not of men. In addition, he makes two specific suggestions. First, since political power is tied to economic power and, it, in turn, is tied to property, he urges reform of inheritance laws to insure the widest possible distribution of property, including land, among the citizens of Oceana. Second, corruption is best avoided, change made least disruptive, and government made most responsive by means of a rapid turn-over of officials. Harrington recommends short terms of office with an extensive rotation of duties. Therefore he proposes:

Wherefore the fundamental laws of Oceana, or the center of this commonwealth, are the agrarian and the ballot. The agrarian by the ballot of dominion preserving equality in the root, and the ballot by an equal rotation conveying it into the branch, or exercise of sovereign power. (94)

Change presented a real challenge to the Renaissance utopias. Bacon and Harrington did not consider change a disruptive force which had to be evaded. Bacon sought to mollify its impact by censorship and by monitoring its pace. Harrington granted change to be relentless, and he recommended political structures able to engineer stability in the midst of inevitable change.¹⁷ The societies of New Atlantis and Oceana are not “perfect” completed societies

¹⁷ For a generous estimate of the value of Harrington's proposals see Russell Smith, *Harrington and his Oceana: A Study of a 17th Century Utopia and Its Influence in America*.

but they are utopian societies sharply attentive to the need to handle change.

The other utopian writers, More, Campanella and Andreae, were unclear about what to do with change. Their uncertainty is dramatically illustrated by their treatment of visitors to their imaginary societies.

Christianopolis's "Christians" are wary of strangers. Visitors to the island of Caphar Salama are interrogated by three prefects. Andreae's visitor-narrator had to prove that he did not have corrupt morals or dissolute habits, that he was not a spy, and that he *was* a Christian. Having passed all three tests he was given "very savory food and drink...different clothes, not at all extravagant, but easily procured and comfortable", (146) and he was allowed to explore the island at will.

Needy foreigners who fail Christianopolis's entrance examinations are treated with Christian charity but they are not permitted free access to the city, "they are careful that the citizens [of Christianopolis] do not contact any contagious disease as a result of too great liberty on the part of guests...[so] they keep a guest frugally for a day or two". (272) Andreae's visitor-narrator was different. He posed no danger of physical or moral contamination; more significantly because he, too, was a "Christian" he posed no threat to erode the barrier of fixed Christian dogma erected to insulate Christianopolis from change.¹⁸

Campanella's attitude toward strangers is ambiguous. On one hand, in the City of the Sun elaborate preparations have been made to repel foreigners. The city is a fortress whose concentric walls would have to be stormed seven times to take the city and the well-armed Solarians routinely practice military drills. Because the City of the Sun shares its island with four other kingdoms, Solarians stress military preparedness. Guards are kept in the towers and outside the city day and night. Regular commerce is carried out with foreigners but, "they are unwilling that the State

¹⁸ Dooley's "More's *Utopia* and the New World Utopias", pp. 42-46 shows how successful New World utopian communities, in addition to dogmatism, used contrived exigency, enforced illiteracy and severe work regimens to sustain vigor and sense of purpose.

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should be corrupted...therefore they do business at the gate". (188)
On the other hand, in the midst of all those precautions, Campanella reports:

To strangers they are kind and polite; they keep them for three days at public expense; after they had first washed their feet, they show them the city and its customs, and there are men whose duty it is to take care and guard the guests. (188)

Finally, the conditions aliens must satisfy in order to gain citizenship are minimal. Aliens' sincerity and ability to contribute to the society are tested by a month of work on a farm and a month in the city, after that, "they decide concerning them, and admit them with certain ceremonies and oaths". (188) Campanella, suspicious of hostile foreigners, casually admits friendly visitors, apparently on the belief that they will not change Solarian society. Perhaps, as suggested above, Campanella simply *assumes* that his utopian society is perfect as well as static, immune to mutation from learning or visitors.

More, in *Utopia* is even more cavalier. Utopia has an open-door policy for strangers:

Whoever, coming to their land on a sight-seeing tour, is recommended by any special intellectual endowment or is acquainted with many countries through long travel, is sure of a hearty welcome, for they delight in hearing what is happening in the whole world. (185/3-6).

In Utopia, visitors are regarded as a resource and an opportunity for harmless diversion!

Attitudes towards change in the Renaissance utopias widely differ. More's Utopians and Campanella's Solarians tenaciously believe that their way is best. Therefore they rest assured that any changes suggested by outsiders or discovered by research will be benign or superficial. Andreae's "Christians" are less naive. Suspicious of change, Christianopolitans safeguard a perfect, static society by making both learning and strangers pass the muster of Christian dogma. Bacon and Harrington are realistic about change—it was inevitable! Accordingly, New Atlantans monitor and meter out change, Oceaneans give free reign to novelty with political structures which normalize. In sum, the stance of

Renaissance utopian writers toward change, itself changed: first they slighted it, then they thought it subversive, and finally, they welcomed it as an ally.¹⁹

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¹⁹ Portions of this paper were read at Villanova University's International conference on Patristic, Mediaeval, and Renaissance Studies, Conference IX, 23 September 1984 and Conference X, 22 September 1985.

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