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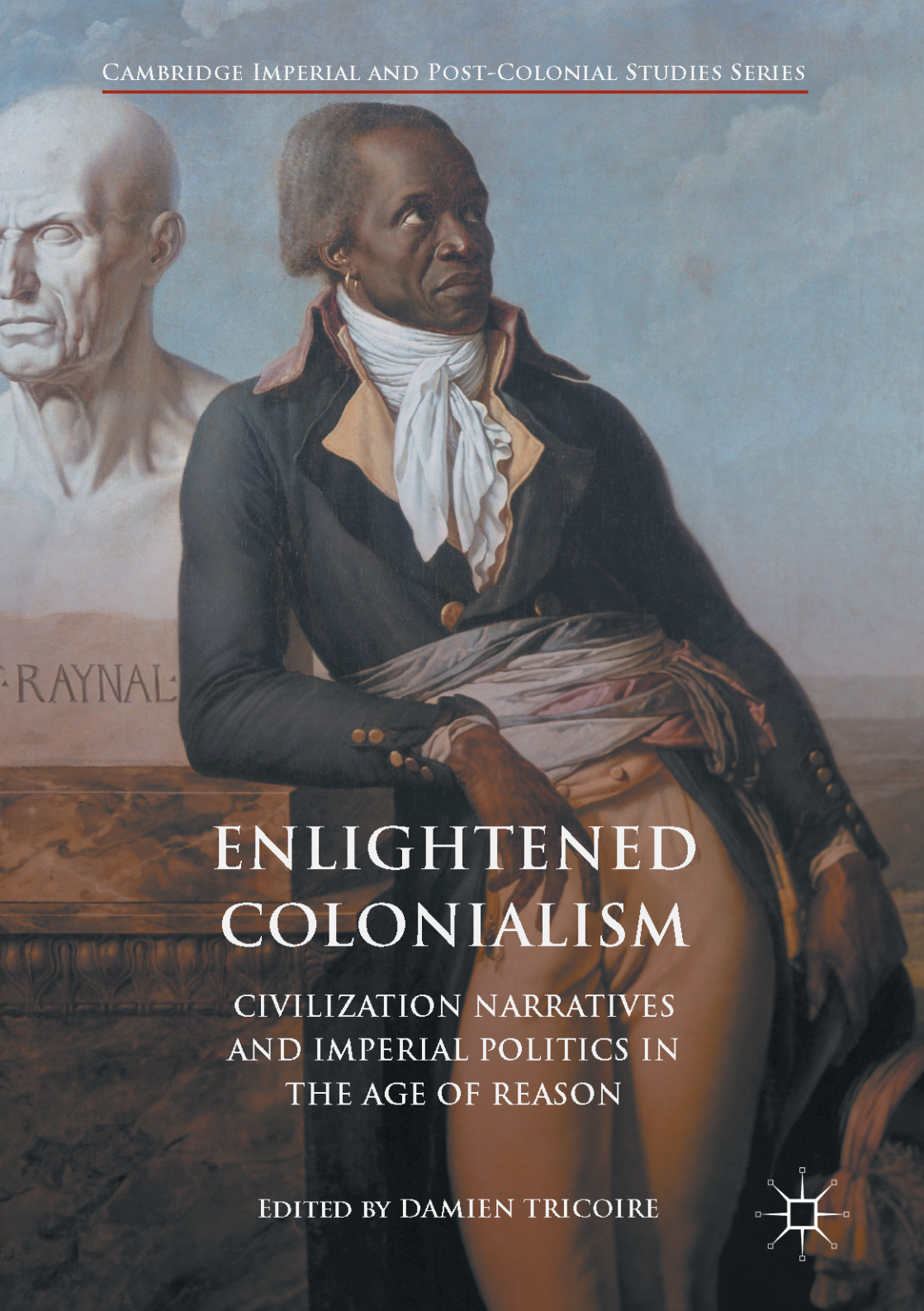

Enlightened Colonialism

Civilization Narratives and Imperial Politics in the Age of Reason

Edited by Damien Tricoire

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Damien Tricoire
Editor

Enlightened Colonialism

Civilization Narratives and Imperial Politics in the Age of Reason

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Preface

Enlightened Colonialism seeks to bring together eighteenth-century political and intellectual history in a truly global framework. This bringing together of several continents, empires, and fields of research would be a Herculean task for a single scholar. Consequently, it seemed to me a logical step to seek the expertise of specialists from different continents and disciplines. I was happy to win over to this project eminent and creative scholars from Europe and the Americas. In order to discuss our mutual ideas, I organized a workshop in Halle, Germany, in June 2015. This book is largely – but not exclusively – the result of this collaboration, which took place in both a relaxed and concentrated atmosphere.

This project would not have been possible without the generous funding of the research program of the state of Saxony-Anhalt on the topic "Enlightenment – religion – knowledge" (*Landesforschungsschwerpunkt "Aufklärung – Religion – Wissen"*). I would like to thank in particular Andreas Pečar and Annegret Jummrich for their support. I would also like to thank warmly the Interdisciplinary Centre for European Enlightenment Studies (*Interdisziplinäres Zentrum zur Erforschung der europäischen Aufklärung*, IZEA) in Halle for hosting the workshop and providing technical support (and everything for the coffee breaks!); in particular, Ricarda Matheus was of great help. Robert Bruns supported me very much in unifying the citation style in the endnotes and in the bibliography and Jennifer Cash in

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Introduction

Damien Tricoire

For decades, historians of political thought, philosophy, and literature have debated whether the Enlightenment provided the cultural and intellectual origins of modern colonialism. On the one hand, many postcolonial authors believe that the Enlightenment rationalism helped delegitimize non-European cultures. On the other hand, some historians of ideas and literature are willing to defend at least some eighteenth-century philosophers whom they consider to have been "anti-colonialists." Both sides have focused on literary and philosophical texts, but have rarely taken political and social practice into account.

Enlightened Colonialism seeks to give new insights into this important debate. In particular, the aim of this book is both to further qualify the postcolonial thesis and to show its limits. To reach these goals, it links text analysis and political history, which has little been done so far, at least on a global comparative scale. Most scholars specializing in Enlightenment studies are literature and philosophy historians. They often do not belong to the same academic disciplines as students of colonial history. They do not ask exactly the same questions, contribute to the same debates, and

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apply the same methods. From the point of view of the historians, the link that postcolonial studies makes between literary-philosophical texts on the one hand, and the political practice of colonialism, on the other, might seem a little hasty and still needs to be verified and explored empirically. That is one goal of this book.

The Enlightenment and Colonialism: The Debate

In her study about anthropology and historiography in the eighteenth century, published in 1971, Michèle Duchet developed a new image of the Enlightenment: instead of fighting against colonialism, major French *philosophes* had supported imperial expansion. Admittedly, they expressed sympathy with the subdued "wild" and "barbarian" peoples but suggested simultaneously that these people should be civilized by the Europeans.[1] Duchet's thesis was one of the origins of a debate concerning the adequate way to describe the link between the Enlightenment and (anti-)colonialism.

Duchet's study contrasted indeed sharply with a long tradition of writing Enlightenment history. "Enlightenment" is a highly normative concept. "Siècle des Lumières" and "philosophie" never had a neutral, purely descriptive meaning, but were on the contrary from their origin on polemical terms.[2] They were used by intellectuals to assert that they played, or should play, a central role in society and politics, and to disqualify rivals like the Jesuits or other *philosophes*.[3] This self-staging strategy was successful in the long run: since the nineteenth century, scholars have often believed that the *philosophes* indeed left their own imprint on a whole epoch and equated the eighteenth century with the Age of Enlightenment. The Enlightenment *philosophie* has furthermore often been considered as the origin of the French Revolution, and more generally of modernity. According to the respective assessments of revolution and modernity made by scholars, Enlightenment can be judged as a positive or as a negative phenomenon.[4]

In twentieth-century scholarship, positive assessments of the Enlightenment have clearly dominated. Most students have seen the Enlightenment as a liberation from religious dogmas, a fight for tolerance, freedom, and human rights. Joseph Fabre defined a canon of four *philosophes* considered to be intellectual ancestors of the Third Republic: Montesquieu stood for the separation of powers, Voltaire for religious tolerance, Rousseau for democracy, and Diderot for the popularization of the new ideas. Paul Hazard saw in the early Enlightenment a "crisis of the European

consciousness" consisting principally in the challenge to religious dogmas. Ernst Cassirer, for his part, did not define the Enlightenment as a set of ideas, but as an epoch which saw the liberation of philosophy from theology. Peter Gay saw in the Enlightenment a rejection of Christian religion thanks to the reception of ancient philosophy. Until now some scholars have interpreted the Enlightenment indifferently as a liberation. Jonathan Israel considers especially the so-called "Radical Enlightenment" as a movement fighting against religion and for the equality of all men, regardless of their beliefs, gender, nation, or race.[5]

For a long time, the scholarship about the *philosophes*' images of the non-European world mostly followed these tendencies (and today still partly does). Even in the 1970s, scholars wrote the history of eighteenth-century anthropology as that of a freeing from religious dogmas. The racist character of these theories was barely perceived.[6] According to Paul Hazard, the growing flow of information from overseas meant a challenge to old certainties.[7] This thesis proved very influential, and many studies underlined the increase of empirical knowledge about different world regions, the global scale of scientific networks, and the great scientific expeditions of the eighteenth century. The confrontation of new discoveries with old textual authorities led at the latest in the Enlightenment period to a reconfiguration of the European scientific field contributing to the birth of modern science.[8] In recent years, some scholars have criticized the Eurocentric tendency of this narrative. They have underlined that the birth of modern science was not a purely European process, but resulted from a dialog of civilizations.[9] However, they do not fundamentally contest the story according to which modern science was born through globalization in the eighteenth century.

Additionally, scholars have searched from the mid-twentieth century on for the roots of modern anti-colonialism in the Enlightenment. Guillaume Thomas François Raynal and Denis Diderot's monumental *Philosophical and Political History of the Two Indies*, called a "war machine" against colonialism, the "Bible of anti-colonialism," "the Bible of revolutions," or "the book that made a world revolution," has until now been considered a major work of the so-called "Radical Enlightenment" because of its critique of colonialism.[10] Some scholars have begun to raise doubts about the scope of the *History of two Indies*' anti-colonialism,[11] however, or even to put fundamentally into question the soundness of this term.[12]

In general, recent scholarship about eighteenth-century intellectual history has had a marked tendency to highlight the "Radical Enlightenment," for

example the authors having fought for gender equality.[13] This emphasis on some radical authors, considered to be the intellectual fathers of liberal democracy, might be in part a reaction to the postmodern critique of Enlightenment[14] which has grown strong in the late twentieth century. John Gray and Alasdair MacIntyre equate the *philosophes*' pretention to propagate progress with an "Enlightenment project," an imperialist discourse demanding a homogenization of the whole world, a replacement of all local and tradition norms with an allegedly universal rationality.[15] In a similar fashion, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak and Uday S. Mehta have seen in Enlightenment philosophy a tendency to marginalize and exclude non-European cultures from the realm of civilization.[16] In addition, the emancipatory character of eighteenth-century anthropology has been brought into question since the 1970s. Numerous scholars have explored the formation of racialist and racist theories in the Enlightenment period.[17] Some have even drawn a line from these theories to the Shoah.[18] Some students have also underlined the limits of the philosophes' abolitionism.[19] Furthermore, Edward Said's *Orientalism* influenced historiography about eighteenth-century intellectual history, although Said situated the emergence of an imperialistic orientalism only around 1800. In particular, students have shown that Enlightenment concepts have helped to draw within Europe borders between "progressive" and "backward" regions, between "civilization" and "barbarism."[20] Some scholars have considered thus that modern colonialism had its roots in the Enlightenment, due to the eighteenth-century absolutization of the European social model and a corresponding infantilization of non-European peoples.[21]

These new Enlightenment critiques have provoked passionate refutations like that by Robert Darnton.[22] In Germany, Jürgen Osterhammel, an eminent specialist of Asian history, has contested the idea that the *philosophes* had an undifferentiated and imperialistic perception of Asia, at least before 1800.[23] To counter the Enlightenment critique, scholars nowadays often concentrate on authors whom they believe to have been truly committed to human rights. According to Sankar Muthu, Diderot and Kant recognized that all peoples are "cultural agents," rejected the spread of European civilization, and criticized colonialism.[24] Differentiating between moderate and radical authors, opponents of the postcolonial interpretation of Enlightenment refuse to accept that it is legitimate to judge the Enlightenment as a whole.[25] On the other hand, postcolonial scholarship can hardly be denied the merit of having revealed numerous aspects of eighteenth-century intellectual history that had no place in the traditional master narrative of an emancipatory Enlightenment.

Although debates about the Enlightenment have had the positive effect of stimulating research on a broad range of topics and authors, they have also brought historiographical bias and blind spots. First, scholars select, on the basis of a normative premise that often stays implicit, authors or texts in order to prove in a circular reasoning that "the Enlightenment" was colonialist or "the radical Enlightenment" anti-colonialist. Second, the texts, or even parts of texts, are often stripped from their context. The author's general intention and the discussion in which he took part are neglected. For example, Diderot's contributions to the *History of the Two Indies* are singled out and analyzed as if they were independent texts having not much to do with Raynal's general intention.[26] In a similar fashion, the *philosophes*' racist theories are often considered separately from the religious debates to whom they were mostly a contribution.[27] Third, scholars participating in these debates concentrate very much on "philosophical" and literary texts. They barely explore the role of "enlightened" discourses in colonial social and political practice. The thesis according to which the Enlightenment was a critical factor of the emergence of modern colonialism has still to be verified thanks to archival work. This is also the reason for the fourth problem I would like to highlight: students of the Enlightenment often postulate a continuity between the eighteenth, the nineteenth, and the twentieth centuries but only rarely test this hypothesis empirically thanks to case studies concerning certain world regions or policies. In fact, the category "modern colonialism" remains unclear. Should we understand in a rather vague fashion the expansion of European powers in Africa and Asia in the late nineteenth century? Even if the fact that there was such an expansion cannot be questioned, we must be very cautious in postulating a uniformity of colonial societies and policies.

The Enlightenment Narrative and Imperial Actors: The Approach

Focusing on imperial agents, their narratives of progress, and their political aims and strategies, this book thus asks whether Enlightenment gave birth to a new colonialism between 1760 and 1820. On a theoretical level, *Enlightened Colonialism* aims to link the postmodern emphasis on master narratives[28] with the constructivist approach of the cultural history of politics[29] and with the type of discourse analysis associated with the Cambridge school of political

thought.[30] It considers the Enlightenment as a narrative, following Dan Edelstein.[31] In my view, this narratological approach answers convincingly what has probably been the main problem in Enlightenment studies during the past decades: the question of the unity or disparity of the Enlightenment, which is critical also to the question whether the Enlightenment lies at the origins of modern colonialism. Since the late twentieth century, scholars have been debating the geographical origins of the Enlightenment. Three countries have been regularly mentioned as potential birthplaces of eighteenth-century philosophy: France, Great Britain, and the Netherlands.[32] Simultaneously, numerous scholars have highlighted the multiplicity of the "Enlightenments," religious or materialistic, moderate or radical.[33] In all these fields, the discovery of the diversity of eighteenth-century thought has greatly enriched our picture of this epoch. However, the use of the plural does not answer the question whether there was a coherence, or not, of the Enlightenment: using the same concept – "Enlightenment" – even in the plural form, we signify that all the considered cases have something in common, which means in return that we can use the word "Enlightenment" in the singular to designate these common features.

The question thus remains: what did all these "Enlightenments" have in common? Dan Edelstein gives us an illuminating answer. According to him, the Enlightenment is best understood as a narrative formulated on the basis of a new "historicity regime,"[34] or in his own terms, "the narrative of 'the Enlightenment' emerged as a self-reflexive understanding of the historical importance and specificity of eighteenth-century Europe." This new narrative was a French invention which emerged gradually between 1680 and 1729, and the corresponding change in the history of "philosophie" was less epistemologic than narratological.[35]

On this theoretical background, *Enlightened Colonialism* explores whether and how imperial agents, appropriating enlightened narratives of progress, developed new colonialist claims, practices, and strategies. The book does not ask whether imperial agents were truly committed to progress and humanitarian ideals – which would be a somewhat naive question – but whether they used the Enlightenment's historical narratives in order to make claims about the right colonial policy and to plead for colonial reforms and expansion projects. The adjective "enlightened" is understood here in a neutral way, as referring to the "Enlightenment." The contributors to this volume treat texts about

colonialism as speech acts and political discourses. They also ask whether these claims and projects implied new constructions of imperial reality, and thus whether they motivated a new colonial expansion policy and new colonial practices.

Enlightened Colonialism seeks to enter into a dialog with intellectual history, global history, and ethnohistory. For this reason, I hope it will be of interest to scholars working on global intellectual history and on the colonial Enlightenment, both dynamic research fields in recent years.[36] Its topic seems to me also critical for specialists of colonial history and culture as well as social anthropologists using historical methods and sources. Most chapters put an emphasis on the interaction between European, indigenous, Creole, and mixed-race elites. Furthermore, the book seeks to adopt a global perspective: it brings together studies about the overseas empires of Britain, France, Spain, and Portugal as well as the continental empires of Russia and Austria. It tries to provide a global perspective on local phenomena.

Enlightened Colonialism: Some Conclusions

In my view, this book qualifies and shows the limits of the claims made by postcolonial studies, according to which narratives of progress initiated a new epoch in colonial history. The chapters about the French, Portuguese, Spanish, Russian, and Habsburg empires demonstrate that imperial agents used Enlightenment narratives from the mid-eighteenth century on in order to plead for a change in policies. In all these cases, they developed plans not only to civilize, but also to assimilate indigenous peoples. Simultaneously, these rhetoric and schemes were rather ambiguous because, while aiming at equality in the long run, they also constructed colonial hierarchies based on civilization, ethnicity, and race.

Chapter two, entitled "The Enlightenment and the Politics of Civilization: Self-Colonization, Catholicism, and Assimilationism in Eighteenth-Century France", dealing with France, explains why colonial administrators could easily use eighteenth-century narratives about progress in history for their own purposes: it contends that the Enlightenment narrative itself was invented in the framework of "self-colonization" endeavors. In the early modern period, French elites thought they had descended from Gallic "barbarians" colonized and civilized by the Romans. Indeed, they even believed that most of their fellow countrymen still were barbarians and needed to be civilized. The Enlightenment narrative was a tool in the

hands of intellectuals in order to claim a leading role in France's self-civilization. This narrative proved highly attractive to the political elites of the country, who largely supported the *philosophes*. It also signified an appropriation and secularization of religious missionary goals and aspirations. Lastly, it stimulated the collaboration between intellectual and governing elites, notably in the field of colonial policy.

At the same time, *Enlightened Colonialism* shows that the scope of the novelties introduced in the framework of the eighteenth-century narratives of progress should not be overestimated. First, imperial agents often used the Enlightenment narrative in an instrumental way without intending to change colonial practice. In the French empire, for example, adventurers claimed to have civilized indigenous peoples, but actually pursued classic conquest projects, as my study of the French on Madagascar establishes (Chapter "Enlightened Colonialism? French Assimilationism, Silencing, and Colonial Fantasy on Madagascar").

Second, native elites actively negotiated with elites of European origin, and could sometimes oppose the assimilation policy. Native elites were aware of the mechanisms of European rule and used them to their own advantage. In the colonial world, they often took over the claim to be civilized in order to mark the difference between themselves and "wild" or "barbarian" groups, but at the same time often resisted assimilation policy and sought to maintain a separate status as natives. This can be seen, for example, in the Portuguese and Spanish empires, as the essays by Maria Regina Celestino de Almeida (Chapter "Portuguese Indigenous Policy and Indigenous Politics in the Age of Enlightenment: Assimilationist Ideals and the Preservation of Native Identities") and Lía Quarleri (Chapter "New Forms of Colonialism on the Frontiers of Hispanic America: Assimilationist Projects and Economic Disputes (Río de la Plata, Late Eighteenth Century)") show. New World or Asian intellectuals also engaged with European narratives about historical progress in a creative way. The case studies by Sven Trakulhun and Doris Garraway explore how two non-European intellectuals appropriated the Enlightenment narrative even if it was intimately linked to claims about European superiority. The Indo-Persian writer Abu Taleb (Chapter "Europe in an Indian Mirror: Comparing Conceptions of Civil Government in Abu Taleb's *Travels* (1810)") and the Haitian intellectual Baron de Vastey (Chapter "Black Athena in Haiti: Universal History, Civilization, and the Pre-History of Negritude in the Kingdom of Henry Christophe") both largely accepted the Europeans' negative views on their

fellow citizens and criticized at least some aspects of European societies and of European colonialism (while praising others). Above all, they rejected racialist and essentializing interpretations of their country's inferiority. In this way, they suggested that their countrymen can and will contribute to progress in the future. They have thus produced their own versions of the Enlightenment narrative.

Third, civilizing and assimilation policies were often contradictory. For example, Portuguese and Spanish officials sought to assimilate Indians in order to gain agricultural land, but at the same time wanted to maintain separate identities in order to better exploit native workers. Maria Regina Celestino de Almeida explores the contradictions in the goals and strategies of political actors in Brazil from the 1750s onwards (Chapter "Portuguese Indigenous Policy and Indigenous Politics in the Age of Enlightenment: Assimilationist Ideals and the Preservation of Native Identities"). Lía Quarleri makes clear that the Spanish officials in Paraguay, while endorsing an assimilationist policy, in fact hesitated between maintaining or suppressing the separation between Spanish colonists and natives as it had been previously established by the Jesuits (Chapter "New Forms of Colonialism on the Frontiers of Hispanic America: Assimilationist Projects and Economic Disputes (Río de la Plata, Late Eighteenth Century)"). Alain Beaulieu also points out major contradictions in indigenous policy, this time in Canada (Chapter "'Gradually Reclaiming Them from a State of Barbarism': Emergence of and Ambivalence in the Aboriginal Civilization Project in Canada (1815–1857)").

Fourth, the claim to be enlightened had different implications in colonies where, on the one hand, large groups of natives lived, and, on the other hand, in the Caribbean sugar colonies, where the major part of the population was "imported" from Africa and servile. Concerning the issues of slavery and racial order, the Enlightenment narrative was intertwined with different, partly contradictory visions. As Trevor Burnard makes clear in his chapter about the origins of British abolitionism (Chapter "Slavery and the Enlightenment in Jamaica and the British Empire, 1760–1772: The Afterlife of Tacky's Rebellion and the Origins of British Abolitionism"), the vocabulary of civilization and barbarism, combined with Christian cultural patterns, was instrumental in the emergence of a discourse about the violence of slavery. But the responses and strategies of imperial elites in dealing with the issues of slavery and racial order were very diverse. The abolitionist elites fought for the liberation of slaves but

had difficulties in recognizing the slaves' agency because they perceived Africans as barbarians. They closely linked the idea of freeing the servile population with plans to civilize and assimilate the Africans. The repression of slave revolts raised sympathy for the plight of the enslaved, as Trevor Burnard shows, but on the other hand slaves' violent uprisings were a special problem to them because they could be interpreted as proof of Africans' inability to behave as a civilized people. Anja Bandau's article, dealing with an abolitionist narrative about a slave uprising, explores innovative and untypical writing strategies designed to meet these problems (Chapter "Jean-François de Saint-Lambert and His Moral *conte* 'Ziméo' (1769) in the Context of Abolitionist and Imperial Activities").

As European–American reactions to slave revolts indicate, the narrative about universal progress in history made Africans appear not only as victims, but also as barbarians, which could be an argument against abolition. For example, in the French colony of Saint-Domingue, free mixed-raced elites appropriated the Enlightenment narrative in order to mark the difference between themselves and slaves, even as they argued for racial equality among free people regardless of their skin color, as Jeremy Popkin demonstrates in his essay (Chapter "Colonial Enlightenment and the French Revolution: Julien Raymond and Milscent Créole"). Their attitude towards the liberation of the servile labor force was thus ambiguous. Furthermore, Caribbean elites often feared that the presence of "free people of color" could hinder their country's efforts to become an enlightened place. The Enlightenment narrative was thus also instrumental in confirming or extending racial discrimination. Lastly, the Enlightenment seems to have played rather a minor role in the first abolition of slavery in the French empire (1794), as Matthias Middell shows (Chapter "France, the Abolition of Slavery, and Abolitionisms in the Eighteenth Century").

Fifth, because of diverse political traditions and structures, the Enlightenment narrative had rather a different meaning in the different empires. We shall differentiate among four groups of cases, as reflected in the structure of the book:

1. Some of the colonial empires already had civilizing and assimilation policies before the eighteenth century. This was the case of the French Empire in the seventeenth century. In this context, the Enlightenment narrative enabled the return of an old ideal of assimilation rather than the invention of a new one (Chapters "The Enlightenment and the Politics of Civilization: Self-Colonization,

Catholicism, and Assimilationism in Eighteenth-Century France" and "Enlightened Colonialism? French Assimilationism, Silencing, and Colonial Fantasy on Madagascar"). Nonetheless, as the assimilation project was embedded in a new universalist narrative, it changed deeply the perception of many world regions. The writings of French officials about Madagascar contended new colonial fantasies, blurring the borders between reports and literature, and silencing in a new way many aspects of Malagasy society and of French-Malagasy encounters (Chapter "Enlightened Colonialism? French Assimilationism, Silencing, and Colonial Fantasy on Madagascar").

2. Other empires had before the eighteenth century a civilizing, but not an assimilation, policy. This was the case of Spanish and Portuguese America, where missionaries had the task of civilizing the *Indios*. In these cases, Enlightenment narratives of progress helped develop new assimilation policies going, at least in theory, beyond the civilizing one of the missionaries. Above all, it encouraged state agents to claim the role played hitherto by the Church, especially by the Jesuits. But, as I have already noted, reality on the spot was often much more contradictory (see Maria Regina Celestino de Almeida (Chapter "Portuguese Indigenous Policy and Indigenous Politics in the Age of Enlightenment: Assimilationist Ideals and the Preservation of Native Identities") and Lia Quarleri (Chapter "New Forms of Colonialism on the Frontiers of Hispanic America: Assimilationist Projects and Economic Disputes (Río de la Plata, Late Eighteenth Century)").
3. In a third group of empires, both civilizing and assimilation policies were largely unknown before the eighteenth century. This was the case of continental empires like the Russian and Habsburg Empires. Ricarda Vulpius analyzes how the Enlightenment led to the innovative imperial policies transforming the empire into a colonial empire (Chapter "Civilizing Strategies and the Beginning of Colonial Policy in the Eighteenth-Century Russian Empire"). Russian state authorities first tried to Christianize "pagan" and even Muslim peoples in order to "civilize" them. They then designed a new territorial policy to force nomadic peoples to sedentarize and speak Russian. The non-Russian peoples were subdued to the same state institutions as the Russians. The new narratives of progress and civilization were also critical to the invention of intra-European colonialism, a new phenomenon in the eighteenth century. As

Klemens Kaps makes clear, some indigenous peoples living in the eastern regions of the Habsburg Empire were now perceived as backward. They were "orientalized" and subject to civilizing policies (Chapter "Creating Differences for Integration: Enlightened Reforms and Civilizing Missions in the Eastern European Possessions of the Habsburg Monarchy (1750–1815)").

4. By contrast, in the British Empire, the Enlightenment narrative had rather delayed consequences. Officials did not seriously think about civilizing or assimilating indigenous peoples before the nineteenth century, as shown by Alain Beaulieu (Chapter "'Gradually Reclaiming Them from a State of Barbarism': Emergence of and Ambivalence in the Aboriginal Civilization Project in Canada (1815–1857)") and Sven Trakulhun (Chapter "Europe in an Indian Mirror: Comparing Conceptions of Civil Government in Abu Taleb's *Travels* (1810)"). In the long run, however, British policymakers often developed concepts similar to those of French or Spanish officials, as Alain Beaulieu's study of the British policy in Canada demonstrates. Beaulieu locates the economic, political, and military factors that initiated the change and influenced its specific form. He also examines ambiguities within the civilization project. Although the three main elements of the project – sedentary lifestyle, education, and Christianization – were initially intended to fully integrate the aboriginal peoples into the colonial world, the new program, as it was implemented in the nineteenth century, instead upheld segregation. The Indians were maintained in a separate, inferior status, and confined to reserves. In the end, one can hardly speak of an assimilation policy.

Of course, these case studies can only highlight a few of the diverse strategies and practices developed by imperial and indigenous actors across the world. Much more work should be done if we want to assess precisely the impact of the Enlightenment on colonialism. However, we can already draw conclusions from this overview. First, there were many similarities in the concepts and narratives of imperial elites in the different empires, allowing us to speak of an "enlightened colonialism" at the level of political culture. Second, the chronology and impact of enlightened colonialism was very different from one place to another, because of both different local dynamics and different national traditions. Third, enlightened colonialism always competed with other concepts and practices. The result was mostly ambiguous and complex, as was the colonial world in general.

Notes

1. Michèle Duchet, *Anthropologie et Histoire au siècle des Lumières* (Paris: Maspero, 1971), esp. 18.
2. Roland Mortier, "'Lumière' et 'Lumières'. Histoire d'une image et d'une idée," in *Clartés et Ombres au siècle des Lumières: Études sur le XVIIIe siècle littéraire*, ed. Roland Mortier (Genève: Droz, 1969), 13–59; Dinah Ribard, "Philosophe ou écrivain? Problèmes de délimitation entre histoire littéraire et histoire de la philosophie en France, 1650–1850," *Annales HSS* 55, no. 2 (2000): 355–388.
3. Andreas Pečar and Damien Tricoire, *Falsche Freunde: War die Aufklärung wirklich die Geburtsstunde der Moderne?* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 2015), 11–27.
4. The most prominent scholars criticizing the Enlightenment in the twentieth century were Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer: Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer, *Die Dialektik der Aufklärung: philosophische Fragmente* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch-Verlag, 1993). On the postmodern critique see below.
5. Joseph Fabre, *Les Pères de la Révolution: De Bayle à Condorcet* (Paris: Alcan, 1910); Paul Hazard, *La Crise de la conscience européenne: 1680–1715* (Paris: Fayard, 1994); Ernst Cassirer, *Die Philosophie der Aufklärung* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1932); Peter Gay, *The Enlightenment: An Interpretation* (New York: Knopf, 1966); Jonathan Israel, *A Revolution of the Mind: Radical Enlightenment and the Intellectual Origins of Modern Democracy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010); Id., *Democratic Enlightenment: Philosophy, Revolution, and Human Rights, 1750–1790* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); Pečar/Tricoire, *Falsche Freunde*, 11–27.
6. Werner Krauss, *Zur Anthropologie des 18. Jahrhunderts: Die Frühgeschichte der Menschheit im Blickpunkt der Aufklärung* (München: Hanser, 1978); Sergio Moravia, *Beobachtende Vernunft: Philosophie und Anthropologie in der Aufklärung* (München: Hanser, 1973).
7. Hazard, *La Crise de la conscience*.
8. John Gascoigne, *Science in the Service of Empire: Joseph Banks, the British State and the Uses of Science in the Age of Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Id., *The Enlightenment and the Origins of European Australia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002). Historians have discussed the question whether the discovery of the non-European world led to a decline of classical and biblical authorities as early as the sixteenth century: John Elliott, *The Old World and the New: 1492–1650* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970); Anthony Grafton, *New Worlds, Ancient Texts: The Power of Tradition and the Shock*

of Discovery (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of the Havard University Press, 1992), esp. 1–7. Concerning the eighteenth century, scholarship underlines the influence of knowledge from overseas in the formation of anthropology, universal history, and comparative religious studies: Robert Wokler, "Anthropology and Conjectural History in the Enlightenment," in *Inventing Human Science: Eighteenth-Century Domains*, ed. Christopher Fox (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1995), 31–52; Thomas Nutz, *"Varietäten des Menschengeschlechts": Die Wissenschaften vom Menschen in der Zeit der Aufklärung* (Köln: Böhlau, 2009); Lynn Hunt, Margaret Jacob and Wijnand Mijnhardt, *The Book that Changed Europe: Picart and Bernard's Religious Ceremonies of the World* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2010).

9. Kapil Raj, *Relocating Modern Science: Circulation and the Construction of Knowledge in South Asia and Europe, 1650–1900* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007); Arun Bala, *The Dialogue of Civilizations in the Birth of Modern Science* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006).
10. Israel, *Democratic Enlightenment*, 413–442; Sudipta Das, *Myths and Realities of French Imperialism in India* (New York: Lang, 2012), 25; Guillaume Thomas François Raynal, *La Bible des révolutions: Textes et citations extraits de "L'histoire philosophique et politique des établissements et du commerce des Européens dans les deux Indes"* (Millau: Clapàs, 2013).
11. Sunil Agnani, *Hating Empire Properly: The Two Indies and the Limits of Enlightenment Colonialism* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2013); Anthony Strugnell, "Diderot's Anti-Colonialism: A Problematic Notion," in *New Essays on Diderot*, ed. James Fowler (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 74–85.
12. Pečar/Tricoire, *Falsche Freunde*, 129–151. See also Damien Tricoire, "Raynal's and Diderot's Patriotic History of the Two Indies, or The Problem of Anti-Colonialism in the Eighteenth Century," *The Eighteenth Century: Theory and Interpretation* (forthcoming).
13. Sarah Knott and Barbara Taylor, "General Introduction," in *Women, Gender, and Enlightenment*, eds. Barbara Taylor und Sarah Knott (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), XV–XXI.
14. On this critique, see Daniel Gordon, *Postmodernism and the Enlightenment: New Perspectives in Eighteenth-Century French Intellectual History* (Hoboken: Taylor and Francis, 2014); Daniel Carey and Lynn Festa, "Introduction" in *The Postcolonial Enlightenment: Eighteenth-Century Colonialism and Postcolonial Theory*, eds. Daniel Carey and Lynn Festa (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 1–5.
15. John Gray, "After the New Liberalism," *Social Research* 61, no. 3 (1994): 120–124; Malick Ghachem, "Montesquieu in the Caribbean: The Colonial Enlightenment Between 'Code Noir' and 'Code Civil,'" *Historical*

Reflections 25, no. 2 (1999): 7–30; Robert Wokler, "Projecting the Enlightenment," in *After MacIntyre: Critical Perspectives on the Work of Alasdair Macintyre*, eds. John Horton and Susan Mendus (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994), 108–127; Alasdair MacIntyre, *Der Verlust der Tugend: Zur moralischen Krise der Gegenwart* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus-Verlag, 1987).

16. Gayatri Spivak, *A Critique of Postcolonial Reason: Toward a History of the Vanishing Present* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999). Mehta explores above all the utilitarist thought of the early nineteenth century, but sees the roots of the "liberal strategies of exclusion" in Locke's texts: Uday Mehta, "Liberal Strategies of Exclusion," in *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World,* ed. Frederick Cooper (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 59–87; Id., *Liberalism and Empire: India in British Liberal Thought* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1999).
17. Richard Popkin, "The Philosophical Basis of Modern Racism," in *The High Road to Pyrrhonism*, eds. Richard Watson and James Force (San Diego, CA: Austin Hill Press, 1980), 79–103; Pierre Boulle, "In Defense of Slavery: Eighteenth-Century Opposition to Abolition and the Origins of a Racist Ideology in France," in *History from Below: Studies in Popular Protest and Popular Ideology in Honour of George Rudé*, ed. Frederick Krantz (Montréal: Concordia University Press, 1985), 221–243; Robert Bernasconi, "Kant as an Unfamiliar Source of Racism," in *Philosophers on Race: Critical Essays*, ed. Julie Ward and Tommy Lee Lott (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2002), 145–167; Andrew Valls, *Race and Racism in Modern Philosophy* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2005); Sara Eigen and Mark Larrimore, *The German Invention of Race* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2006); Silvia Sebastiani, *The Scottish Enlightenment: Race, Gender, and the Limits of Progress* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013); Emmanuel Chukwudi Eze, *Race and the Enlightenment: A Reader* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 1997).
18. George Lachmann Mosse, *Toward the Final Solution: A History of European Racism* (New York: Fertig, 1978).
19. Luis Sala-Molins, *Les Misères des Lumières: Sous la raison, l'outrage* (Paris: Laffont, 1992).
20. Ernst Said, *Orientalismus* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 2009); Larry Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe: The Map of Civilization on the Mind of the Enlightenment* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1994). Critique of Wolff's thesis: Bernhard Struck, "Von Sachsen nach Polen und Frankreich: Die These der 'Erfindung Osteuropas' im Spiegel deutscher Reiseberichte um 1800," in *Probleme und Perspektiven der Europa-Historiographie*, ed. Rolf Petri (Leipzig: Leipziger Universitäts-Verlag,

2004), 125–144; Id., *Nicht West – nicht Ost: Frankreich und Polen in der Wahrnehmung deutscher Reisender zwischen 1750 und 1850* (Göttingen: Wallstein-Verlag, 2006); Hans-Jürgen Bömelburg, "'Polnische Wirtschaft': Zur internationalen Genese und zur Realitätshaltigkeit der Stereotypie der Aufklärung" in *Der "Fremde im Dorf": Überlegungen zum Eigenen und zum Fremden in der Geschichte: Rex Rexheuser zum 65. Geburtstag,* ed. Hans-Jürgen Bömelburg (Lüneburg: Verlag Nordostadt Kulturwerk, 1998), 231–249; Hubert Orłowski, "Polnische Wirtschaft." Zum deutschen Polendiskurs der Neuzeit (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1996). On the orientalization of southeast Europe around 1800, see Maria Todorova, *Die Erfindung des Balkans: Europas bequemes Vorurteil* (Darmstadt: Primus-Verlag, 1999).

21. Spivak, *A Critique of Postcolonial Reason*.
22. Robert Darnton, *George Washington's False Teeth. An Unconventional Guide to the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Norton, 2003).
23. Jürgen Osterhammel, *Die Entzauberung Asiens: Europa und die asiatischen Reiche im 18. Jahrhundert* (München: Beck, 1998).
24. Sankar Muthu, *Enlightenment Against Empire* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2003).
25. Wokler, "Projecting the Enlightenment"; Daniel Carey and Sven Trakulhun, "Universalism, Diversity, and the Postcolonial Enlightenment," in *The Postcolonial Enlightenment: Eighteenth-Century Colonialism and Postcolonial Theory*, eds. Daniel Carey and Lynn Festa (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 240–281; Carey/Festa, "Introduction," 1–2.
26. Pečar/Tricoire, *Falsche Freunde*, 146–151. See also Tricoire, "Raynal's and Diderot's Patriotic History" (forthcoming).
27. Pečar/Tricoire, *Falsche Freunde*, 83–127.
28. Jean-François Lyotard, *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2010).
29. The classical theory of constructivism: Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Co., 1966). On the new political history based on such theories, see Thomas Mergel, "Überlegungen zu einer Kulturgeschichte der Politik," *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 28, no. 4 (2002): 574–606.
30. On Skinner's speech acts theory and Pocock's discourse analysis: Quentin Skinner, "Social Meaning' and the Explanation of Social Action," in *Meaning and Context. Quentin Skinner and His Critics*, ed. James Tully (Cambridge: Polity, 1972), 79–97; John G. A. Pocock, *The Machiavellian Moment: Florentine Political Thought and the Atlantic Republican Tradition* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1975).

31. Dan Edelstein, *The Enlightenment: A Genealogy* (Chicago, IL: Chicago University Press, 2010).
32. Gay, *The Enlightenment*, esp. vol. 1, 10–16; Roy Porter, *The Enlightenment* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Education Ltd, 1990); Israel, *Radical Enlightenment*.
33. John G. A. Pocock, "Historiography and Enlightenment: A View of Their History," *Modern Intellectual History* 5, no. 1 (2008): 83–96; David Sorkin, *The Religious Enlightenment: Protestants, Jews, and Catholics from London to Vienna* (Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2008); Israel, *Radical Enlightenment*; Id., *Enlightenment Contested: Philosophy, Modernity, and the Emancipation of Man 1670–1752* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006); Id., *Democratic Enlightenment*.
34. Edelstein draws here on a concept by François Hartog, *Régimes d'historicité: Présentisme et expériences du temps* (Paris: Édition du Seuil, 2003).
35. Edelstein, *The Enlightenment* (citation p. 2). John Robertson chooses a significantly different approach: according to him, the project to understand and to better society is what best characterizes the Enlightenment and gives to it its coherence: John Robertson, *The Case for the Enlightenment: Scotland and Naples 1680–1760* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005). However, such an endeavor to understand and change society presupposes the narratological shifts Edelstein describes.
36. Samuel Moyn and Andrew Sartori, *Global Intellectual History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2013); Ghachem, "Montesquieu in the Caribbean."

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