

BÉLA KAPOSSY

ISELIN  
CONTRA ROUSSEAU

SOCIABLE PATRIOTISM  
AND THE HISTORY OF MANKIND

SCHWABE VERLAG BASEL

© 2006 by Schwabe AG, Verlag, Basel  
Satz: post scriptum, Emmendingen/Hinterzarten  
Druck: Schwabe AG, Druckerei, Muttenz/Basel  
Printed in Switzerland  
ISBN-13: 978-3-7965-2215-4  
ISBN-10: 3-7965-2215-7

[www.schwabe.ch](http://www.schwabe.ch)

## Table of Contents

Acknowledgements .....	9
Introduction .....	11
CHAPTER ONE	
The Patriotic Dreams of a Friend of Mankind .....	21
1. Introduction .....	23
2. The failings of modern commercial politics .....	28
2.1. The Hobbesian foundations of ‘Afterpolitik’ .....	28
2.2. Luxury and civility .....	35
3. The radical critique of modern society:	
Beat Ludwig von Muralt and Jean-Jacques Rousseau .....	42
3.1. Beat Ludwig von Muralt’s radical Pietism .....	46
3.2. Iselin’s critique of Muralt: from ‘instinct divin’ to moral sense	56
3.3. Rousseau: the origins of the arts and sciences in inequality ...	65
3.4. Iselin and Rousseau in Paris: from Socrates to Diogenes .....	76
4. The restoration of natural order .....	85
4.1. Iselin’s ideal of early patriarchal society .....	85
4.2. Order and love .....	89
4.3. Order and wealth .....	92
4.4. The difficulties of reform .....	94
CHAPTER TWO	
Iselin and the Swiss Debate on Economic Patriotism .....	103
1. Introduction .....	105
2. The <i>Economic Society</i> and the critique of aristocratic Berne .....	121

2.1. The political end economic critique of Bernese welfarism . . . . .	121
2.2. The Economic Society's critique of 'faux civisme' . . . . .	129
2.3. The Economic Society and the European debate on monarchical patriotism . . . . .	137
3. The <i>Patriotic Society</i> and the defence of republican honour . . . . .	146
3.1. The republican critique of monarchical patriotism . . . . .	146
3.2. The 'Patriotic Society': republican honour and public opinion	151
3.3. Iselin: republican honour and the impartial spectator . . . . .	162
CHAPTER THREE	
Iselin's Critique of Rousseau's <i>Second Discourse</i> . . . . .	173
1. Introduction . . . . .	175
2. Rousseau's critique of modern patriotism . . . . .	180
2.1. The Bernese reception of Rousseau . . . . .	180
2.2. Rousseau's critique of the Patriotic Society . . . . .	185
2.3. Rousseau's defence of aristocratic Berne . . . . .	192
3. The Bernese response to Rousseau . . . . .	196
3.1. Rousseau and moral sentiment . . . . .	197
3.2. Iselin's critique of the Bernese Rousseauists . . . . .	201
3.3. Two ways to refute utilitarianism . . . . .	204
4. Rousseau's critique of sociability and the derivation of justice from the natural instinct of pity . . . . .	207
4.1. Rousseau against the moderns . . . . .	207
4.2. Rousseau's critique of Pufendorf . . . . .	211
4.3. The principle of pity . . . . .	218
5. Pleasure and pain . . . . .	222
5.1. Rousseau and Mandeville . . . . .	222
5.2. Pity cannot be used as the foundation of natural sociability . . .	226
5.3. Against the hypothetical state of nature . . . . .	228
5.4. History versus hypothesis . . . . .	231
5.5. The active soul . . . . .	233
5.6. Pity does not establish regulative behaviour . . . . .	240
5.7. Pain and pleasure . . . . .	242

CHAPTER FOUR	
The History of Mankind .....	247
1. Introduction .....	249
2. From <i>Contrat Social</i> to <i>Ordre Social</i> .....	256
3. Nature and self-determination .....	264
3.1. Nature's plan for man is only accomplished in the entire species .....	265
3.2. The History of Mankind as the history of the human mind ...	269
3.3. Freedom as the mastering of nature .....	274
4. The realisation of freedom through 'sociability' and 'unsociability'	278
4.1. Republican monarchy .....	278
4.2. The Oriental model of sociability .....	283
4.3. The Northern model of unsociability .....	286
5. The rise of modern liberty in the West .....	291
5.1. Iselin's critique of Montesquieu's model of a non-virtuous monarchy .....	295
5.2. The rise of real freedom in England .....	300
Conclusion .....	305
Bibliography .....	315
Index .....	337