

UTOPIAN FICTION IN AMERICA, 1880-1900:
THE IMPACT OF
POLITICAL THEORY ON LITERARY FORM

Mary Jean Pfaelzer

University College, London

April, 1975

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
Acknowledgements	iii
Dedication	iv
CHAPTER I: THE PATTERN OF PROTEST, 1880-1900	1
CHAPTER II: THE IMPACT OF POLITICAL THEORY ON LITERARY FORMS	55
CHAPTER III: EDWARD BELLAMY AND <u>LOOKING BACKWARD</u> <u>THE PROGRESSIVE UTOPIA</u>	108
CHAPTER IV: THE LITERARY DISCIPLES OF EDWARD BELLAMY: THE PATIENT PROGRESSIVES	183
CHAPTER V: THE CONSERVATIVE UTOPIAS: THE FUTURE MOVES TOWARD THE PRESENT	198
CHAPTER VI: THE ANTI-UTOPIAS: THE FEAR OF UTOPIA	234
CHAPTER VII: THE REGRESSIVE UTOPIAS: THE FUTURE REPUDIATES HISTORY	311
CHAPTER VIII: PUBLICATION OF UTOPIAN FICTION AND THE INFLUENCE OF THE CHARLES KERR COMPANY	374
CHAPTER IX: WOMEN IN NINETEENTH CENTURY UTOPIAN FICTION: CONTENT VS. FORM	402
CHAPTER X: THE THEME OF REVOLUTION IN AMERICAN UTOPIAS	438
Bibliography	487

Acknowledgements

I wish to thank my supervisor, Stephen Fender, for his perceptive, suggestive, and open-minded participation in this long dialogue; Violet Lippett, Linda Morris, and Larzer Ziff for reading sections of the manuscript; Henry Nash Smith for allowing me to participate in his graduate seminar on Popular Culture at the University of California, Berkeley, as well as his useful discussions with me on the relationship between highbrow and popular culture; the librarians of the University of London, the Anderson Room of the University of Cambridge, and the Interlibrary Loan and Microfilm Rooms at the University of California, Berkeley for their assistance and guidance in developing the bibliography and collecting materials; and the California State University Foundation for a travel-research grant. Above all I want to thank Peter and Johanna Pfaelzer for their loving impatience.

For my daughter,
Johanna Pfaelzer

CHAPTER I

THE PATTERN OF PROTEST, 1880-1900

Utopian Fiction and the Development of Political Capitalism

The utopian novels which flooded America in the late nineteenth century were a response to the militant struggles of labor, farmers, and women which were going on at that time. Between 1886, the year of the Haymarket Riots, and 1896, the year of the Bryan-McKinley elections, over one hundred works of utopian fiction appeared in America. These utopian novels were written by middle class authors, politicians, clergymen, businessmen, and reformers, reacting to the demands of masses of people for economic and political equality. As an alternative to real equality, these liberal authors offered utopias, which realized the goal of progress and avoided the method of change. The utopian novels worked on two structural levels. First, they were strategies for satire, devices for criticizing the age. Secondly, they posited a vision of a better world, and told the story of what might be.

The decades of the 1880s and 1890s were one of the most active times of class, race, and sex struggles in

American history. During these years the economic and social structures of the United States were permanently changed. Railroad expansion, the growth of heavy industries, and the government's support of the creation of monopolies and trusts institutionalized and consolidated the industrial revolution. Women, children, and immigrants provided a pool of cheap labor. Cities and slums developed which permanently changed both the appearance and patterns of life in America.

Basically there were two categories of response to the conditions of inequality, poverty, and alienation in the Gilded Age. One view accepted private property and competition as necessary and desirable. This view held that Property accepted the responsibility for the general welfare of the state. It assumed that the general welfare of the community would be best served by satisfying the concrete needs of business. Industrial prosperity would guarantee that benefits would "trickle down" to the community through employment and increased production. Therefore, business should control politics. Continued expansion in the West and overseas would underwrite the source of all national prosperity: private property. The fruits of this prosperity would be dispersed, through capitalism, to improve the general wel-

fare. The second response sought to replace private property with social property, private ownership with public ownership, and competition with various forms of cooperation and communalism. Methods suggested to achieve these changes ranged from electoral politics to militant action against the state and corporation.

The period from the 1870s through the 1890s can be characterized as one long depression, which was followed by a period of rising profits and wages. The panic of 1893 signified the end of an era of easy investment and massive profit. The crisis was caused by the completion of the basic steel and transportation requirements of the industrial segment of the economy. Meanwhile, businessmen did not recognize the industrial and marketing potential of the cities. Instead, they spent the crisis years demanding that government suppress radicals and provide capitalism with channels for foreign commerce. Meanwhile, entire agricultural districts were impoverished, one fourth of the urban unskilled labor force was out of work, and six hundred banks closed before the autumn of 1893.

Capitalism managed to sustain the momentum of economic and industrial development during a long period of falling prices through a coalition with a strong na-

tional government, a development which the economic historian Gabriel Kolko terms "political capitalism". "Political capitalism" is the utilization of political outlets to attain conditions of stability, predictability, and security for the business sector of the economy.¹ It involves a "reincarnation of the Hamiltonian unity of politics and economics."² Political capitalism was a response to the growing competition both between labor and capital, and between industries themselves, competition which businessmen recognized as seriously affecting long term profits. As an instance of this coalition, entrepreneurs successfully insisted that government assist big business in putting down labor unrest. In 1877, for example, federal troops were used as strike breakers in the railroad strike that began with the Baltimore and Ohio line and spread to Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Chicago, and San Francisco.³

According to businessmen, government should create and guarantee opportunities for overseas economic ex-

¹Gabriel Kolko, The Triumph of Conservatism (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1967), p. 3.

²Kolko, p. 4.

³Robert H. Wiebe, The Search for Order: 1877-1920 (New York: Hill and Wang, 1967), p. 10.

pansion. Secretary of State Seward saw that instead of needing territory for colonization, American business needed land for the development and protection of trade and investment. To protect business he said he would make America "the master of the world".

This attitude was rationalized through an up-dated version of the Monroe Doctrine, in which protection became a metaphor for investment. For example the utopian author Arthur Bird, the ex-Vice Consul General of America in Haiti, predicted in Looking Forward, A Dream of the United States of Americas in 1999, "The Stars and Stripes which never knew, nor ever will know defeat, will, in years to come, gather under its protecting folds, every nation and every island in this hemisphere ... Our glorious starry banner will rule the entire Western Hemisphere. It will be the emblem of Peace, Liberty and Civilization, floating over a United America from Alaska to Patagonia. This is America's Destiny."⁴

The railroad network that developed between the close of the civil war and the turn of the century was

⁴ Arthur Bird, Looking Forward, A Dream of the United States of Americas in 1999, reprint (New York: Arno Press, 1973), pp. 3-4.

a basic factor in the development of new economic patterns. The railroads stimulated cycles of westward expansion, banking, profiteering, depressions, immigration. Labor unrest and organization followed, which further encouraged the growth of government, corporate consolidation, and ultimately, attempts at reform. The railroads were a powerful nucleus of the new economy. For example, steel manufacturers found their greatest market in supplying the railroads. The oil industry depended on the railroads for the transportation of crude oil. The railroads controlled the destiny of meat packers and cattle ranchers by unilaterally choosing the location for depots and lines. Soon corporate methods designed by the railroads were imitated by other industries, as nationwide markets came to replace local or sectional markets. Factories capable of large production grew. Not surprisingly, the railroads became a focal image of evil in utopian fiction.

The railroads, as well as other large industries, fixed prices without benefit of competition. Producers of raw materials and farmers had to accept whatever price the trust chose to pay. There were no other purchasers. As well as by government's intervention with troops during strikes, labor was also controlled by the

circulation of blacklists, and by the closing of plants where there was strong union activity.

Labor, Women, and Farmers Object

This period marks the first major successes in the organizing of American labor. The Knights of Labor originated in 1869 as a small group of blacklisted garment workers in Philadelphia. The organization began to grow when it was reorganized as a national union after the depression in the seventies. From 1879 to 1893 it rose to prominence and then fell into decay under the leadership of Terence V. Powderly, its Grand Master Workman. The targets listed in its original platform were big corporations, great fortunes, unlimited immigration, large landholders, banks, and railroads. Its goal was "one big union" to which all workers, regardless of race, color, sex, or occupation could belong. From a membership of only 28,000 in 1880 the organization grew to 52,000 members in 1883, 104,000 in 1885, and 700,000 by 1886. Strikes led by the Knights of Labor were very successful in the mid-eighties. For example, after a major strike, the Missouri-Pacific Railroad was forced to reverse a wage cut. Similarly, even without Powderly's sanction, during the May Days in 1886, 340,000 men and women participated in demonstrations demanding an

eight hour day, after which half the strikers won a reduced work day.

The Knights of Labor was one of the only early labor groups to seriously focus on organizing black people. The Knights won the respect of such leaders as Frederick Douglas, Peter H. Clark, T. Thomas Fortune and W. E. B. Du Bois, who shared the view that the situation of black people must be seen as an aspect of class conflict. The Knights advocated economic solidarity among all laboring people, rather than solidarity just within the black or white race. By 1886, there were 60,000 black people in the Knights of Labor. T. Thomas Fortune said then that since conditions were alike for black and white workers in the South, they should unite under one banner. He said that because the land that had given birth to chattel slavery was now giving birth to industrial slavery, "The hour is approaching when the labor classes of our country ... will recognize that they have a common cause, a common humanity and a common enemy; and that therefore, if they would triumph over wrong they must be united!"⁵

⁵August Meier and Elliott Rudwick, "Attitudes of Negro Leaders Toward the American Labor Movement From the Civil War to World War I", in The Negro and the American Labor Movement, (New York: Anchor Books, 1968), p. 36.

By the early nineties, however, the policy of the Knights changed, and membership soon declined. Panicked by the demands for strike calls, Powderly ordered a moratorium on admitting new members to the Knights.⁶ Instead of direct attacks on industry through strikes, the leadership began to advocate the creation of economic substitutes for capitalism. They envisioned producer-consumer cooperatives as the best expression of their collective spirit. The Knights also supported the eventual abolition of the national banks, a new currency issued directly to the people, the nationalization of railroads, and an end to alien land ownership. These ideas directly prefigure the utopia outlined by Edward Bellamy in Looking Backward.

Meanwhile Terrence Powderly began to oppose the strike as a fruitless and even "barbaric" practice. In its place he recommended discussion and negotiation. He denounced socialists and other labor groups. For example, although he joined with Henry George in condemning the exclusivity of other trade unions, he recoiled when Albert Parsons, a leader of the anarchist movement which was large among immigrant workers said, "The foundation

⁶Richard O. Boyer and Herbert M. Morais, Labor's Untold Story (New York: United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America, 1955), pp. 87-91.

principle of socialism, or anarchy is the same as the Knights of Labor, viz, the abolition of the wage system and the substitution in its stead of an industrial system of universal cooperation." Powderly responded, "He is a true Knight of Labor who with one hand clutches anarchy by the throat and with the other strangles monopoly."⁷ Finally, Powderly began to subvert strikes in his own district, which soon sent the union membership tumbling.⁸ Urban workers were the first to leave.

Samuel Gompers concentrated on organizing only the skilled elite of the labor force when he built the American Federation of Labor, which followed the decline of the Knights of Labor by 1890. The intent of the new organization was as much to protect skilled labor from competition of unskilled labor as to protect labor from excessive oppression of capital. In fact, the American Federation of Labor was the first national labor organization in American history to endorse capitalism as a system.⁹ Like the Knights, the A. F. of L.

⁷Wiebe, p. 68.

⁸Wiebe, p. 69.

⁹Boyer and Morais, p. 106.

demanded an eight hour day, a six day work week, higher wages, security of job tenure, and the elimination of child labor. The A. F. of L., however, showed little interest in the establishment of labor cooperatives. It also actively resisted any effort to develop the Federation into a labor party. It refused to spend money organizing the low paid black or woman worker. An occasional resolution endorsing equal pay for women was the best that Gompers would do. In 1892 the A. F. of L. appointed Mary E. Kenney as a woman organizer for a term of only five months.

In responding to the demands of labor, conservatives turned to the principles of laissez-faire as theoretical basis of their attack on unions. They claimed that labor organizations interrupted the laborer's right to compete for work. Strikes and closed shop policies supposedly destroyed the freedom essential to the individual worker and his management to work out a mutually agreeable contract. In fact, according to J. W. Roberts in his anti-utopia Looking Within, "There is no greater despotism on God's footstool than are these labor organizations as now conducted. The Czar of Russia is not a whit more despotic than the head of one of these."¹⁰

¹⁰J. W. Roberts, Looking Within, (New York: A. S. Barnes and Co., 1893), p. 19.

By the 1880s-1890s industries were using women workers to fill the lowest paying jobs. By hiring from the vast pool of impoverished women, employers were able to keep the wages of both men and women low. In 1880 there were 2,647,000 women employed. By 1890 there were 4,005,500, or 17.2 per cent of the total working force.

Aside from the million women who could be classified as housekeepers and servants, most women workers were in the same occupations they carried on at home before industrialization, i.e. making cloth and clothing, keeping these clean, and performing the service occupations. Women who stayed at home and did cooking, cleaning, and childrearing, do not enter historians' statistics as working women. In the nineteenth century these women worked eighteen hour days, without the benefits of modern technology, and received no wages for their labor. Nonetheless they provided for the production, reproduction, and maintenance of the labor force itself.

During the 1880s many women joined the Knights of Labor. In 1881 the first women's assembly of the Knights was chartered, and by 1886, the highpoint of the Knights, there were 113 women's assemblies. In Massachusetts, where industrial employment of women was high, the ratio of women to men members was one to seven. In 1886

the average for women workers was ten hours per day. The average pay for women was \$10.00 per week. When Leonora Barry, a well known speaker for the Knights of Labor, began work in the 1880s her first week's earnings at a factory in New York were 65¢. Sometimes women were in the same assemblies as men, sometimes in separate ones set up along craft or geographic lines. The women members included textile and other factory workers, farmers, clerks, teachers, waitresses and students. In the South there were assemblies of servants, laundresses, and cooks, people traditionally difficult to organize since they work in separate places and live in their employers' houses. There was even a Knight's assembly of women farmers in Arkansas.

The oppression of women cuts across class lines, but Leonora Barry's experience sums up the extra difficulties encountered by women workers. Like other organizers, she was excluded from factories by employers. She found that women were afraid to talk to her for fear of reprisals. Beyond that, however, she recognized the difficulties for women in participating in union activities because, unlike men, they had their own housework as well as their jobs to do. She aptly described the situation of women in the late nineteenth century:

Every effort has been made to perfect and extend the organization of women, but our efforts have not met with the response that the cause deserves -- partly because those who have steady employment, fairly good wages, and comfortable homes seem to see nothing in organization outside of self-interest and, because they are what they are pleased to term "all right", do not feel it incumbent upon themselves to do anything to assist their less fortunate co-workers. Again, many women are deterred from joining labor organizations by foolish pride, prudish modesty, and religious scruples; and a prevailing cause, which applies to all who are in the flush of womanhood, is the hope and expectancy that in the near future marriage will lift them out of the industrial life to the quiet and comfort of a home, foolishly imagining that with marriage their connection with and interest in labor matters ends, often finding, however, that their struggle has only begun when they have to go back to the shop for two instead of one.¹¹

By the late nineteenth century a strong feminist movement was underway. It was spurred on by the ideals of equality which had surrounded the abolitionist movement, by the important roles women had played in the abolitionist struggle and the Civil War, and by the activities of women trade unionists. Shulamith Firestone points out that the American women's rights movement was thoroughly "radical", "In the nineteenth cen-

¹¹ Eleanor Flexnor, Century of Struggle: The Women's Rights Movement in the United States (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1959), pp. 199-200.

ture for women to attack the Family, the Church, (see Elizabeth Cady Stanton's Woman's Bible) and the State (law) was for them to attack the very cornerstones of the Victorian society in which they lived."¹² The history of the women's rights movement in the seventies, eighties, and the early nineties mirrors that of farmers and labor. By winning legal reforms, accepting compromises, and weakening their demands, women by the mid nineties had gained for themselves a segregated and dominated place in the public sphere. This was in lieu both of real political power, and social and economic equality. In the process, they were ignored by other reformers, such as the A. F. of L., and the Populist Party.

Before 1880 women had unsuccessfully tried to vote, either as individuals or in small groups. There was a long series of court cases, such as those against Susan B. Anthony and Virginia Minor, which showed women that they could not win their right to vote through the courts or Congress. Although women had been playing an increas-

¹²Shulamith Firestone, The Dialectic of Sex (New York: Bantam Books, 1971), p. 16.

ingly major role economically and professionally, they still could not make their influence felt both to employers and government, because they were not organized. At home women were isolated from other women in the one-generation nuclear family that came with the geographic mobility caused by urbanization and immigration.

There were two main women's suffrage groups in the late nineteenth century. The Women's Suffrage Association focused on getting legislation to amend the constitutions of the individual states and it suffered repeated failures. The National Women's Suffrage Association, led by Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, was much less polite than the W.S.A. and more willing to break laws to gain attention. Nevertheless, the energies expended in the 1870s and 1880s did not succeed either in gaining the vote for women or in organizing masses of women to demand political and economic equality, partly because the movement was dominated by women who gave priority to the vote over other actions which protested the total condition of women.

Many women believed that the vote would be a panacea for the problems of the industrial revolution. Francis Kelley, for example, repeatedly stated that until working women voted they would never gain such elemental necessities as pure water or garbage collection in the

slums.¹³ Margaret Drier Robbins of the National Women's Trade Union League thought that the vote would help build women's unions. She said that when women did strike, "the power of the police and of the courts is against them in many instances, and whenever they try to meet that expression of political power they are handicapped because there is no force in their hands to help change it."¹⁴ But as Mother Jones, of the mine workers said, "You don't need a vote to raise hell." She feared that women's suffrage was a plutocratic trick to divert women from real issues, and keep them busy with "suffrage, prohibition, and charity." Susan B. Anthony insisted, however, that economic power would follow political power. Playing down the effectiveness of strikes, the National Women's Suffrage Association resolved, "That we call attention of the working women of the country to the fact that a disenfranchised class is always an oppressed class and that only through the protection of the ballot can they secure equal pay for equal work."¹⁵

¹³William O'Neill, Everyone Was Brave (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1971), p. 54.

¹⁴O'Neill, p. 54.

¹⁵O'Neill, p. 55.

Anti-suffragist groups soon responded to the new demand. Some, like the Illinois Association Opposed to the Extension of Suffrage to Women, opposed the vote because, "We believe that above all the materialistic activities of life lies the realm of love and faith, that spiritual world in which the higher interests of humanity center, and that it is in this domain of domestic affections, of ethics and of religion, that the development of the highest womanly capacities is to be found."¹⁶ This image of ideal womanhood pervades the culture of the eighties and nineties, including utopian fiction. Many other anti-suffragist groups were financed by the liquor industry, which announced that if women got the vote they would force temperance legislation.

Suffrage was enacted on a local basis in the late nineteenth century. Wyoming enfranchized women to encourage them to settle in a state where men outnumbered women seven to one. In Utah, the Mormons adopted equal suffrage in order to retain their advantage over a growing non-Mormon minority. Yet even in those places where women had partial suffrage, they were often discouraged from voting by enormous obstacles. For example, in the

¹⁶O'Neill, p. 57,

New York School Board elections in 1890, women were in fact denied their right to vote by threats of reprisal from ministers and husbands, heckling by polling officials, and even direct physical attacks.

By 1890, the radical feminist National Women's Suffrage Association, which originally had been concerned with the vote only as a symbol of the political power women needed to achieve larger goals, was discouraged. It joined with the conservatives to form the National American Women's Suffrage Association. NAWSA, like the Populists, concentrated on a single issue, in this case suffrage. Like other groups in the 1890s, NAWSA attempted to work within and placate the white male power structure. Many women took their little bit of new found freedom and jumped enthusiastically into the reform movements of the day. As the British feminist Margaret Rhondda described it later, many women adopted the paternalistic concept that to "decide to look after your fellowmen, to do good to them in your way, is far more common than the desire to put into everyone's hand the power to look after themselves."¹⁷

In addition to industrial workers and suffragettes, the farmers were the third major group to protest the

¹⁷O'Neill, p. 57.

consequences of political capitalism. The Populist revolt of the 1890s developed in response to the changing position of agriculture as farming turned into agrobusiness in the decades following the Civil War. After the 1860s people moved westward in flight from post Civil War unemployment. Developments in transportation and communication pulled the farming states into an international agrarian network. After the 1860s, new land was developed in Argentina, Canada, and Australia, as well as in America. The competition led to an international price decline between the 1870s and the 1890s. Contrary to the theory popularized by Frederick Jackson Turner, the frontier did not close in 1890. New land was available, both in the West and in Canada, but the international agrarian depression made this a hazardous time to begin farming.

Land, not crops, became the central agricultural commodity at this time. Rising land values in areas of new settlement led to land speculation and quick moves. The land was more profitable than the crops. Cheap land in turn led to careless cultivation. Manuring and crop diversification were often ignored. Thus, despite Populist disclaimers, farming was also a business. The historian Richard Hofstadter suggests that as a conse-

quence of this, the United States failed to develop a rural culture distinct from our urban commercial culture. The farmers soon relied on strategies developed by the business world: combinations, lobbies, and pressure politics.

Thus, the situation of agriculture in the Western states in the 1880s and 1890s was analogous to colonialism. The majority of the farmers' profits went East to banks and absentee landowners. The railroads and the suppliers of farming equipment, upon whom the farmer was dependent, were owned by urban industrialists in the East. *As in a situation* ~~like colonialization~~, the raw materials were produced in the West, processed in the East, and returned to the West, to be re-sold to the farmer at a high profit to the transporter and manufacturer. The chronic complaint of the farmers was that in no exchange did they set the prices. Furthermore, in every transaction, including the settler's initial purchase of land, the farmer was dependent on the railroad, which had in effect created the new West out of the free land subsidies given to it by the Federal government.

In addition to the West, there were two other centers of agrarian revolt in the 1880s and 90s. In the New South, where there were few large cities, agriculture accounted for 7/8 of the total economic output. By 1880, 70 per cent of the farmers were tenants. Most

of the black farmers were sharecroppers and nearly all of their total production was owned by white landowners. Whatever was left was taken by the country store owner (often the same person as the landowner), who sold on credit and took a lien on the tenant's share of the crop. Thus, both the black and white tenant farmer existed in a state of virtual peonage.

Since the Civil War the South had been controlled by the Democratic Party. By the 1890s the one-party system made any electoral solution impossible. The large black majority, over 75 per cent in many areas, was disenfranchised. Poor whites were granted token minimal representation in the legislatures. Like the era before the Civil War, the South remained in the hands of a white ruling caste. Nonetheless, perhaps because of the extreme poverty and the clear-cut distinction between owner and tenant, the South became the more radical wing of the agrarian revolt of the 1890s. The situation in the third area, the Midwestern mountain states, was less complicated. The one "crop" there was silver, and the United States was on a gold standard.

The Populist struggle began in the 1880s when several regional farming orders or "alliances" were formed. In the West the alliances began as anti-railroad groups.

In the South the alliances promoted various cooperative ventures. For black farmers, a separate Colored Alliance was formed. The co-ops, however, could not counter the financial discrimination which the farmers suffered. By 1890 the Northern Alliance insisted that only government could intervene in the conspiracy of merchants, railroads, bankers, and manufacturers.

Through the alliances the farmers were often able to elect farmer controlled state legislatures. The local legislatures passed laws which would insure the fair grading of grain, impede foreclosure of mortgages, and curb unfair railroad practices. The railroads, however, encouraged administrators to be indifferent to these laws. Hostile courts refused to prosecute the violators. The farmers discovered that local laws could not deal with a national problem.

Thus, by 1890 the Western alliances began to organize into a national party, named the Populists after the farmer-oriented Peoples' Party in Kansas. After the failure of the cooperatives, the goal in the South was to capture the machinery of the Democratic Party. Populism became a cause. There were marches, picnics, and songs, one of the favorite being, "Goodbye, My Party, Goodbye." The election of 1890 produced three Populist

governors, two senators, several congressmen, and the control of eight state legislatures.

The issue of "free silver" finally destroyed the Populist Party. The slogan "free silver" represented the Populist's demand that silver be freely processed into legal coins, both to stimulate the economies of the mining states and to add to the total national quantity of spendable income. As Hofstadter puts it, free silver was a "snare and a delusion" which lost Populism the support of the radicals and collectivists.¹⁸ Professional men, such as rural editors and lawyers, who had replaced the farmers as the leaders of Populism, were willing to give up a large part of the agrarian demands to win mass support. In addition, the panic of 1893 and the federal fiscal crisis which came with it put a simplistic focus on money itself as the cause of hardship. Faced with a lack of funds, the Populists sold out to the highest takers, i.e. the silver miners, who frowned on the other demands. When the Democratic Party also adopted the free silver issue in 1896, the Populists were out on a limb. Their sole issue was now in the hands of Bryan and the Democrats. If they re-

¹⁸Richard Hofstadter, The Age of Reform (New York: Vintage Books, 1955), p. 105.

fused to endorse Bryan, the ultra-conservative McKinley might win. Those who favored fusion with the Democrats carried the day (with the help of some chicanery) and in 1896 the Populist Party shared Bryan's defeat. The Democratic Party had absorbed the farmers' alliances, which no longer functioned or met.

The Failure of the Reform Movements

The labor, farmers', and women's movements of the 1880s and 1890s were defeated by forces which protest movements of the twentieth century must recognize and respond to: the lack of unity among races and sexes, the industries' use of military and police, the lack of an analysis of the utility and distractability of the vote, the lack of a recognition that small benefits would be offered by capitalism as alternatives to equality, and the lack of a clear response to red-baiting in capitalist controlled press.

During this period there was no sustained leadership of reform groups. The protest movements also failed because they mirrored some of the weaknesses of the system they were attacking: racism, sexism, anti-Semitism, and a commitment to private property and competition. These serious weaknesses facilitated the appeal of utopian socialism, which wiped them all away by fiat.

Racism and sexism held back all the protest struggles of the nineteenth century. Issues of racism and sexism cut across class lines and defy simple schematizations. Women and all people of minority races are discriminated against economically, socially, and psychologically, regardless of their class position. Unemployed and working class minority men and women and white women face harder struggles than men of similar economic situations because of hostility to their race and sex. Capitalism exploits inherent cultural differences between races and sexes to prevent people from uniting around demands for the vote, higher wages, and political, educational and civic reforms. Meanwhile, capitalism maintains for itself a vast pool of cheap labor, an internally divided pool which will therefore also supply scabs during a strike. Specifically capitalism achieved this divisiveness in the nineteenth century through inferior education for women and blacks, unequal distribution of wealth, granting demands, such as the vote, to different groups at different times, and finally through literary stereotypes which perpetuated notions of the dangers of immigrants, blacks, and politicized women. Throughout the nineteenth century the Supreme Court cooperated with industries and legisla-

tures by validating these practices, for example, by declaring in 1883 that the Civil Rights Act of 1875 was unconstitutional, or by nullifying, also in 1883, the Ku Klux Klan Act of 1871.

During the 1890s black people were temporarily defeated in their attempts to solve their economic, educational and political problems through this divide and conquer philosophy. Congress refused to pass civil rights legislation, such as federal aid to southern public schools, or federal government supervision of federal elections, thereby institutionalizing the second class citizenship of black Americans.

Meanwhile, practices of the labor unions guaranteed blacks' economic inferiority. By focusing on skilled workers, the A. F. of L. in fact excluded most blacks. Moreover, each component union of the A. F. of L. was allowed to determine its own membership policy, and the machinists, locomotive engineers, and railway conductors, among others, explicitly excluded Negroes. The component unions that did admit blacks, such as the railroad firemen and brakemen, never permitted them to be promoted to engineers or conductors. Because the blacks were unorganized, they had to work for lower wages. In turn, Samuel Gompers condemned them as "cheap men". The

attitude of the unions thus ultimately disillusioned many black leaders, such as Fortune, who had advocated racial unity among workers.

Economic and social developments during this period also changed the situation of black Americans. Between the end of the Civil War and the mid 1880s the economic situation of black people did not improve with the abolition of slavery. Sharecropping was substituted for slavery as a means of organizing and controlling Negro labor. The blacks lived on the margins of subsistence. During the late 1880s, although the South revived economically with the resumption of railroad transportation, cotton mill construction, and cigarette manufacture, the new black industrial worker was as underpaid as his agrarian counterpart.

Secondly, out of the few black schools and institutes emerged a small group of educated black people. They could articulate the situation of their race and serve their community as doctors, teachers, and newspaper editors. During these years, black churches also appeared. Because they were segregated, they became places where black people met and communicated, unsupervised by whites. Although these institutions were by no means radical, they provided a sense that a self-conscious black community was emerging, autonomous, and creative.

In the north, the Brahmins, who had been the principal if tepid defenders of Negro rights, were now much more concerned about how to exclude immigrants from access to power. Thus, encouraged by the appeal of Social Darwinism, they were suddenly much more tolerant of the South's solutions to its problems. At best, Northern liberals, such as the Bellamy-esque utopian Frederick Worley, projected in Three Thousand Dollars A Year, Moving Forward or How We Got There: " ... as the white race had the advantage of earlier and better culture, of the improved methods and habits begotten of a long line of free ancestry, it naturally took the lead in establishing the reign of justice, showing by its superior knowledge and its practical suggestions and efforts in the matter that it was entitled to take the advance position."¹⁹

The Populist revolt threatened to achieve the first real union of white and black farmers and workers against the banking and plantation interests. The spectre of black participation in elections was a threat that united racists in the North and South. During the nineties

¹⁹ Frederick Worley, Three Thousand Dollars A Year, Moving Forward or How We Got There (Washington, D.C.: J. P. Wright Printer, 1890), p. 61.

all the southern states imitated Mississippi's techniques of disenfranchisement of Negroes. They instituted poll taxes, residence requirements, literacy requirements, "comprehension" tests of the Constitution, and "grandfather clauses" which allowed only those people or their descendants who had voted prior to 1867 (i.e., during slavery) to vote. The Supreme Court cooperated by institutionalizing racism on a national level. In the famous Plessy v. Ferguson case, the court sanctioned "separate but equal" treatment of blacks. In Williams v. Mississippi, it explicitly allowed the states to violate the Fifteenth Amendment and disenfranchise blacks.

Another way blacks and women were divided can be seen in the history of the suffrage movement. In 1884 the Supreme Court ruled in the Yarborough decision that the guarantees of the Fifteenth Amendment were confined to male citizens of African descent. White suffragettes, having been thus informed that black men were considered to be better qualified to vote than they were, began to exploit racial prejudice to their own advantage. In 1880 Mary A. Stewart said, "The Negroes are a race inferior, you must admit, to your daughters, yet that race has the ballot."²⁰ In Mississippi Belle Kearney promised

²⁰O'Neill, p. 70.

that women's suffrage with an educational or property requirement tacked on would insure white supremacy forever. Finally, black women were often segregated in suffrage parades. This attitude applied to immigrant as well as black women. Some women advocated partial suffrage that would enfranchise native born middle class women. Even Elizabeth Cady Stanton called for a literacy test that would "abolish the ignorant vote."²¹ These appeals virtually destroyed the democratic rationale of the women's suffrage movement.

The Populist movement was also affected by racism. In the South, many conjectured that if the white votes became divided between the Populists and the Democrats, and if black voting became common, the supremacy of the white race would be jeopardized. This idea severely set back the cause of a third party in the South.

Women were also divided from other protest struggles of the times. For example, although women and their dues were welcome in the Knights of Labor, the only organizing help they received came from a small group within their own ranks. When Mary Hanakin was elected as a delegate to the General Assembly in 1883, she had

²¹O'Neill, p. 72.

to fight to prevent a new assembly from being set up to exclude her. In 1886 of the 660 delegates to the assembly only 16 were women. One of them, however, was Master Workman of the entire Knights Organization in Chicago outside the stockyards. Similarly the Women's Trade Union League was refused support by the A. F. of L. Although women farmers had held important roles in the farmers' alliances and early Populist elections, women also felt divided from the Populist Party when, in 1894, it adopted a suffrage plank with a "rider" stipulating that support of women's suffrage was not to be considered a test of party loyalty.

The frenzied club activity which thrived in the 1890s was a distraction for middle class women. Their economic and social situation remained substantially the same. The new technology which was capable of materially improving the life of women was counterproductive, as can be seen in Rebecca Harding Davis' industrial novel Life in the Iron Mills. Meanwhile liberal male authors such as William Dean Howells put woman on a pedestal so they would not have to look her in the eye.

In addition to the divide and conquer practices, American capital successfully defeated movements which

attacked property and profit, by mobilizing an alliance between military, police, courts, and industry. This alliance frightened many protestors. No better example of this could be found than the famous Haymarket Riots of 1886.

On May 3, 1886 the Chicago police killed several strikers in an attempt to disperse a strike meeting outside the McCormick Harvester Works. The following day many meetings to protest the killings were held, including one in Haymarket Square organized by anarchists, many of whom were German immigrants. When the police arrived to disperse the crowd a bomb exploded, killing one person and wounding several others. In the absence of any culprit, the state of Illinois chose eight well known anarchists for trial. Without any evidence, seven were convicted and sentenced to death. "Sanctity of life" was not the issue, since the police had killed four civilians and wounded fifty others that night. Nor was "sanctity of law" since the people in power demanded immediate death, not due process of law, for the anarchists. The Haymarket Riot became one of those touchstone events with which most liberal thinkers felt compelled to come to terms. The vogue of utopian fiction immediately followed the event.

Further examples of this developing alliance between industry and government appeared during the strikes in the 1890s. Industries such as Andrew Carnegie's Homestead Plant or Utah Copper survived strikes in 1892 because federal troops worked production lines while state militias fought off the strikers. In 1894 the Pullman Strike virtually stopped all railway traffic between Chicago and the West. Under the pretext of protecting the federal mail President Cleveland sent in the cavalry and field artillery to break the strike. Occasionally events such as this inspired armed resistance. In May, 1897, the president of the Western Federation of Mines urged every union in Colorado and Idaho to arm itself, "so that in two years we can hear the inspiring music of the martial tread of 25,000 armed men in the ranks of labor."²² In the A. F. of L. however, rank and file members, were, in general, more militant than their powerful union leader Samuel Gompers. Many other working people must have been frightened off by the brutality of the police and state militias.

The Populist Party was avowedly non-militant. Populist leaders defined militancy as brutality, a

²² John D. Hicks, The American Nation 1865 to the Present (New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1955), p. 184.

characteristic which belonged to the ruling plutocracy. Caesar's Column, a utopian novel written by the Populist theoretician Ignatius Donnelly, portrays the belief that revolution would result in the extinction of democratic institutions. The ruling class need not be over-thrown because a millenium of reform is in the works. Ruling class oppressors were not an attribute or consequence of capitalism. They were greedy villains, borrowed from the Gothic novel, who would not heed the Populist prophets of reform.

Nonetheless, the press promoted the image of all reformers, but socialists in particular, as violent, indeed bloodthirsty creatures. As Frederick Adams describes in his utopia President John Smith, The Story of a Peaceful Revolution, after the railroad strikes in 1877 when the regular army shot hundreds of strikers, the press blamed socialists for the violence: "They were the ones who did it - the terrible socialists and anarchists. Innocent people were almost frightened to death by stories of the plotting of the bloodthirsty socialists. Little children were told that socialists would catch them if they did not behave. So it came to pass that for many years following the riots the word 'socialist' was used as a general term to designate a

rioter, a revolutionist, a plotter against good government, a worthless vagabond who imagined that the world owed him a living."²³

Meanwhile industries further fortified themselves through government subsidies. The federal government provided enormous free land grants to the railroads. It gave them virtually interest free loans. It accepted second mortgages while it permitted the railroads to borrow from private speculators. In addition to economic and military support, the federal courts also joined in the system of political capitalism. In 1886 the Supreme Court held that the word "persons" in the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution, which guarantees due process of law, applied to corporations as well as to individuals. Therefore, the individual states could not tax or regulate the corporations in any way that the courts, which were sympathetic to big business, might regard as "without due process". So, the states fell back on old common law prohibitions which were interestingly consistent with the tenets of laissez-faire: prohibition of conspiracy in restraint of trade.

²³ Frederick Adams, President John Smith, The Story of a Peaceful Revolution (Chicago: Charles H. Kerr & Co., 1897), pp. 65-66.

Using this principle again in July 1890 Congress passed the Sherman Anti-Trust Act, but it was immediately unenforceable in the courts. Seven out of the first eight attempts failed. By 1895 in the Knight Case, the Supreme Court essentially conceded the legality of monopoly.

The government also subsidized industry with imperialist actions abroad. America was surging toward dominion over the Phillipines, Guam, Puerto Rico, and Cuba. Both the North and the South needed a rationalization to explain the right of a dominant race to control the political and economic life of a people without their consent. The attitude of a McKinley toward America's "little brown brothers" on the Caribbean was not so different from the South's attitude toward its black "charges".

There are several theories which historians invoke to describe the nineteenth century, and which nineteenth century theoreticians used to rationalize the contradictions of their time. As the late nineteenth century progressed, it became clear that explanations were needed to understand, justify, and promote monopoly capitalism.

William Appleman Williams in Contours of American History suggests that laissez-faire was the most

popular concept by which the ruling class rationalized the industrial revolution after the Civil War.²⁴ Laissez-faire posits that wealth, happiness, and maximal profits arise from free competition. The corollaries of freedom and individualism are subsumed, however, to the premise of the inviolability of private property. Government exists to protect the competitive arena. This philosophy was originally invoked to justify industrial independence from any form of government supervision or regulation. Williams asserts that the governmental intervention, which contributed to the defeat of the protest movements, was therefore contradictory to the reigning ruling class ideology.

Gabriel Kolko suggests, however, that although, "the dominant tendency in the American economy at the beginning of the century was toward growing competition," in fact "the federal government was always involved in the economy in various crucial ways ... laissez-faire never existed in an economy where local and federal governments financed the construction of a significant part of the railroad system, and provided lucrative means of obtaining fortunes."²⁵ In the

²⁴ William Appleman Williams, The Contours of American History (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1966), p. 284ff.

²⁵ Kolko, p. 4.

1880s and 1890s industrialists welcomed increased government intervention to control unacceptable levels of competition which attacked profits and disorganized the economy. Government was performing a legitimate function by protecting capital from the competition of labor. It also protected American business through legislating high tariffs and providing markets in the West and overseas. Kolko argues that there "was never any disagreement in practice and frequently little in theory" that business should use government for its own ends.

A second explanation for the events of the 1880s and 1890s was the "agrarian myth", the analysis popularized by historian Richard Hofstadter. He claims that alongside the commercial reality of farming there existed an agrarian myth, a philosophy quite as out of touch with its material base as was laissez-faire.²⁶ During the 1880s and 1890s, the changed realities of American agro-business forced the commercial farmer to cast off habits of thought and action which this myth had rationalized and encouraged. The myth, however, was popular and affected the nature of agrarian protest. It passed through Jefferson, Crèvecoeur, Philip Freneau, and the transcendentalists, as well as through upper-class intel-

²⁶Hofstadter, p. 23ff.

lectuals who had classical educations - who read pastoral poetry and owned plantations. It persists today in the fiction of Ken Kesey and Richard Brautigan.

The myth goes something like this: the American farmer is self-sufficient. He (always he) is non-pecuniary, non-commercial, industrious and simple. Because the farmer lives closer than the city dweller to nature, he is a more wholesome and moral being. The Christian religion, which says that God told man to cultivate the land, adds its moral weight to the myth. In the literature of the myth, the city is seen as a parasitical growth on the country. Farmers are not seen as part of an entire system which is organized around profit and property. Instead, they are innocent pastoral victims of a conspiracy hatched in the town. The widespread publication of pastoral verse and the popularity of almanacs in the late nineteenth century testify to the popularity of the myth, as well as explain how it was perpetuated. It becomes a premise to many utopian solutions, and is found in such popular utopian works as Caesar's Column by Ignatius Donnelly and A Traveller from Altruria by William D. Howells.

Much of the myth was incorporated into the language

and demands of agrarian protest. A dominant Populist theme was the idea of the Golden Age. From the writings of Jefferson and Locke, and even from the structure of the Constitution, came the notion that a state is healthy if it is dominated by an agrarian class. To Americans in the 1890s, this pointed to the superiority of an earlier era in their own history, a lost agrarian Eden. The cure was reactionary: restore America to the harmonious conditions which supposedly existed before industrialism and before the commercialization of agriculture.

A second theme of Populism followed from the assumption in the myth that nature is beneficent. Thus, if people are not prosperous it is due to greed and human error. In Labor and Finance Revolution, B. S. Heath, a popular writer of the time wrote in 1892:

Hard times then, as well as the bankruptcies, enforced idleness, starvation, and the crime, misery, and moral degradation growing out of conditions like the present, being unnatural, not in accordance with or the result of any natural law, must be attributed to that kind of unwise and pernicious legislation which history prove to have produced similar results in all ages of the world. It is the mission of the age to correct these errors in human legislation, to adopt and establish policies and systems, in accord with, rather than in opposi-

tion to divine law.²⁷

Thirdly, most agrarian protesters refused to recognize a social pluralism. They saw a simple social classification that divided the nation into a few robbers and a mass of robbed. Thus the good people by sheer numbers could overwhelm the monied powers. This attitude paved the way for the disastrous focus on free silver and money as separate issues in themselves.

Populists believed that since the Civil War American history was the history of an international "money power" who deliberately oppressed innocent farmers and workers. The Populists did not acknowledge that the farmer participated in speculation and business. He was a wounded yeoman, victimized by those who are alien to the virtues of the natural life. To Populists, history was a rural melodrama, as seen in The Golden Bottle, the second work of utopian fiction by the Populist spokesman, Ignatius Donnelly:

. . . as the great army of the disappointed and the unhappy thus marches forward across a continent, the scattered picket line of Capital advances silently, and takes possession of the abandoned homesteads, and the great Republic is transformed, lost, ruined. Where sturdy yeomanry once raised

²⁷ Hofstadter, p. 63.

stalwart boys and girls, with the mettle of soldiers and heroines, a cringing tenantry eats its bread in shame and submission. And down drops in rotting silence the mighty Republic, like a giant that in the very prime of manhood, perishes of white and scaly leprosy, shaking the dust of pestilence athwart the world, with every movement of his enfeebled limbs.²⁸

Another popular American myth which justified and explained the patterns of protest in the 1880s and 1890s is the democratic myth. Nineteenth century American authors, political theoreticians, and artists who created forms of popular culture projected an image of the United States as egalitarian and democratic. Politically, the vote was often presented as an available democratic tool and therefore a reasonable alternative to other kinds of direct action. By the 1880s there was universal male suffrage in America. Reformers, from Susan B. Anthony to Edward Bellamy, asserted that the democratic potential of the vote had yet to be explored.

Voting was implicitly a testament of faith in a political system. The drama and rhetoric of elections

²⁸Ignatius Donnelly, The Golden Bottle (New York: D. D. Merrill Co., 1892), p. 127.

popularized the assumption that masses of people were really participating in the decision making process. The electoral process is essentially a pledge that votes and laws will be effectively translated into action by the government. Despite such well publicized scandals as the election of Boss Tweed in New York, the expectation of effective reform through the voting process encouraged many reform groups, in particular the women's movement and the Populists' movement, to give up other methods of protest and reform.

As the vote promised betterment within the political system, capitalism promised advancement in the economic system. Capitalism was wealthy enough to co-opt protest through miserly sharing of its wealth by tiny increases in wages or minor repairs to the machinery of state, such as the establishment of the Interstate Commerce Commission. Many nineteenth century critics of industrial capitalism, such as Edward Bellamy, Terrence Powderly and William Dean Howells were unwilling to risk their minimal stake in the system.

The acceptance of the democratic myth can be traced in the change in outlook of the Populist Party between 1892 and 1896. Originally, the Populists identified a single oppressed class of working people which

included industrial laborers as well as farmers. Their 1892 platform said: "Wealth belongs to him who creates it. The interests of rural and civic labor are the same, their enemies are identical."²⁹ By 1896, however, like the leaders of the union movement and the women's movement, Populist leaders were spokesmen for the system. William Jennings Bryan in his famous Cross of Gold speech said, "We say to you that you have made the definition of a businessman too limited in its application. The man who is employed for wages ... the attorney in a country town ... the merchant at the cross roads ... the farmer ... the miners ... are as much business men [as others]. We come to speak for this broader class of businessmen." This pervasive identification of all people as businessmen is an important part of the American legacy of the 1890s.

The myth of prosperity coexisted with the ugly experiences of new urban poverty. Anyone, the myth suggested, could be rich. Horatio Alger was the hero of the times, although, as Robert Wiebe notes in The Search for Order, small businesses appeared and disap-

²⁹Hofstadter, pp. 66-67.

peared at a frightening rate.³⁰ Nonetheless, farmers, immigrants, both skilled and unskilled, and black people of both Southern and Northern origins flocked to the growing cities, believing that prosperity was just around the corner.

In fact, thousands of people had neither jobs nor homes. The cities lacked even the fundamental services such as fresh water, sewers, paving, and transportation. Wiebe describes how the pell-mell expansion meanwhile destroyed whatever sense of community, group, or neighborhood had existed in the towns. The city's existence depended on industries with absentee owners. Local leaders meanwhile protected the railroad king or machinery manufacturer from taxes and close regulation. Meanwhile language and ethnic differences made it difficult for people to unite to improve their situation in reality.

Thus, although the new urban centers took power over finance, the marketing of farm products, the production and distribution of manufactured products, and the dispensing of news, culture, and opinion, very few of the city dwellers themselves held any power over

³⁰Wiebe, p. 14.

those processes. The capacity to influence and control quantities of people belonged to those who held strategic positions in the urban-industrial complex. Success was not widespread.

An explanation for this lack of universal prosperity came from the natural sciences. The political and economic system was explained as the social counterpart to the Darwinian concept of evolution. According to Yale sociologist William Graham Sumner, competition produced changes that were necessary for survival and desirable for progress. Using the arguments of the English sociologist Herbert Spencer, the biological notion of the survival of the fittest was extended to rationalize poverty and economic defeat. This reactionary analogy to the concept of class struggle focused on the individual instead of the social group. It became an explanation for the poverty and success in America in the late nineteenth century.

The Politics of Utopian Fiction

It is complicated to locate a particular art form in the complex web of social structures. The laws which explain the relationship between culture and politics or culture and economics are still to be discovered.

Nonetheless, politics and culture are not separable entities. Even Engels, in his famous letter to J. Bloch, 21 September 1890, wrote:

The economic situation is the basis, but the various elements of the superstructure -- political forms of the class struggle and its consequences, constitutions established by the victorious class after a successful battle, etc -- forms of law -- and even the reflexes of all these actual struggles in the brains of the combatants: political, legal, and philosophical theories, religious ideas and their further development into systems of dogma -- [These] also exercise their influence upon the course of the historical struggles and in many cases preponderate in determining their form. There is an interaction of all these elements, amid all the endless host of accidents. . . . the economic element asserts itself as necessary.³¹

There is "interaction" but economic reality is nonetheless the organizing force of life, and a study of culture must, of necessity, reflect this reality.

Art, however, is not passively dependent on social reality. As Raymond Williams summarizes it, art is ultimately dependent, along with everything else, on the economic structure of society. It operates in part to reflect this structure and its manifestations,, and in part, to affect attitudes toward reality. In

³¹Frederick Engels, Letter to Joseph Bloch, 1890 in Marx and Engels: Selected Correspondence, pp. 475.

other words, art helps or hinders the constant business of change.³²

A critical method must deny neither the impact on culture of historical development, nor the relative autonomy of culture in certain ways. Cultural ideas can be linked to preceding ones, which they develop or combat. There is a dialectical relationship between the cultural, economic, and social situations, and a dialectical process within the field of art itself. Furthermore, as Marx and Engels also point out, there is no simple mechanical parallel between cultural and economic progress in a society; there is a very uneven development between ideology and events.

In his article 'Marx and Engels on Aesthetics' Georg Lukacs suggests that even the notion of "cultural autonomy" has its basis in historical evolution and the social division of labor.³³ Artists, like all workers in industrial society, do specialized work. They too are alienated from the final production and distribution

³²Raymond Williams, Culture and Society, 1780-1950 (London: Penguin Books, 1963), p. 266.

³³Georg Lukacs, "Marx and Engels on Aesthetics" in Writer and Critic (London: Merlin Press, 1970), p. 65.

of their work. They too are commodity producers whose works, under capitalism, must be advertized, marketed, and sold. Works of utopian fiction, which varied in length from small pamphlets to several volumes, are no exception. This essay is an attempt to describe the political, social, and literary sources of their inspiration, and to show the reasons for their vast popularity.

Between the Haymarket Riots of 1886 and the Bryan-McKinley election of 1896 politicians, authors, businessmen, and journalists responded to the struggles of their time in over 100 works of utopian fiction. The utopians' response was anti-historical. They recognized the need to go beyond the mere description of social conditions, a viewpoint already popularized by the social satire of Mark Twain, the early realism of William Dean Howells and Henry James, and the local color details of Kate Chopin and Bret Harte. The utopians expressed the need to offer an alternative to these realists, but they failed to deal seriously with the problem of change itself.

The utopian authors introduced rhetorical devices rather than portrayed historical processes to get their characters into utopia. The visitor reaches utopia

through long sleeps, lost voyages, mesmerism, or drugs. He finds the utopian society already established. The development from capitalism to utopian socialism is not shown. We shall explore in detail in the following chapters the theoretical and literary consequences of this timeless approach to reform. Without a description of the processes of change, it was impossible for utopian authors to use the novel form as they knew it then. Without the possibility of change, there could be no dialectic between the individual and the society. Unlike the characters in the novel, characters in utopian fiction do not develop through contact with the world, nor does society change through contact with them.

Utopia implicitly denies the possibility and necessity for conflict. The solution to economic and political inequality in the nineteenth century is often avoided by excluding descriptions of the material relationships between people in industrial societies. Instead, characters in utopia are linked in simple networks of brotherhood. Similarly, any disparities, differences, and angularities of the human personality have also been removed. Characters in utopia have safe, unidentifiable, homogenous personalities.

Therefore, utopian fiction could not be novelistic

and reflect the dynamics between personal and social life. Instead, as we shall see, works of utopian fiction are exemplums or apologias, whose fictional elements are included to illustrate a static truth.

By the mid 1880s, the country sensed that it was caught in the momentum of accelerating social change. People with money looked around them and saw farmers, workers, women, dissenting ministers, literati, educators, and immigrants, both peaceful petitioners and strikers, all blurring into a vision of society becoming unhinged. Utopian novels were a part of a large body of intellectual work which recorded human thought, experience, and fantasy, as Americans came to terms with industrial capitalism. As such, utopian fiction expressed responses which were not only relevant to art. They indicated, through art, peoples' responses to the corporate institutions, situations of struggle, and patterns of ordinary human behavior during those years. An analysis of utopian fiction should include an examination of the relationship of that fiction to the society in which it appeared, including the economic situation, the social structures, and the institutions of communication.

The goal of this study will not be an evaluation

of these works in terms of absolute literary values. American utopian fiction is probably not, in conventional terms, the best that was thought and written at the time. The focus will be on utopian fiction as a part of the culture of the time. It will include an attempt to relate this popular literary form to the economic, social, and cultural changes in the late nineteenth century.

As Engels noted, utopians believe that "Socialism is the expression of absolute truth, reason and justice, and has only to be discovered to conquer all the world by virtue of its own power. And as absolute truth is independent of time, space, and of the historical development of man, it is a mere accident when and where it is discovered."³⁴ The authors of utopian fiction mistakenly thought that they were these "discoverers".

In fact, the utopians were also linked to time, space, and historical development. The next chapters will attempt to demonstrate that the goals of the nineteenth century utopians were the bourgeois values of the age, achieved without conflict and "hyposthetized as eternal". These authors believed that major social

³⁴Frederick Engels, Socialism, Utopian and Scientific (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1970), p. 49.

change could occur independently of historical development. They believed that major social change could only come from within and be led by the middle class. Fear of conflict produced the notion that the country could be set right by example. These examples, in fact, mirror and indicate the situation of the age.

CHAPTER II

THE IMPACT OF POLITICAL THEORY ON LITERARY FORMS

Content and Form

The wide popularity of utopian fiction can only be understood if one considers the historical situation of the nineteenth century reader as at all times a part of the reading experience. This chapter will explore the relationship between the fictional utopian society and the reader's own society, and show that within this relationship is the power that involves the reader. Authors of utopian fiction sought to maximize the contrast between the real world and the utopian world for political purposes. The utopian author's political goals determine the structure of utopian fiction, including genre, characterization, plot, setting, and literary organization. The utopian author's attitudes toward the crises of his times directly affected the fictional structure as well as the political content of utopian fiction.

Utopian fiction is a category of prose fiction in which literary elements are controlled by the political statement which the author wishes to make. If the author succeeds, the reader is able to formulate a

statement of the author's political belief, because all literary elements serve this end. I will apply the term apologue¹ to this form.

A contrast of the structural organization of The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn and Looking Backward illustrates the difference in the formal natures of novel and utopian apologue. To read The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn as an apologue is to miss the way Mark Twain's social and political criticism is rendered implicitly in a narrative that centers on characters operating in a realistic scene. In The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn there is no defined positive statement of social goals to which the reader is supposed to subscribe. Conversely, if we were to read Looking Backward as if it were a novel, we would look for the accuracy of character portrayal, verisimilitude of action and motivation, and probability of resolution that we expect from a good late nineteenth century novel, and we would be disappointed. The political analysis and the social scheme which emerge in Looking Backward dominate our interest. Jim's role in The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn can be defined and

¹I am indebted to Sheldon Sachs, Fiction and the Shape of Belief (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966) for the concept of apologue.

felt without Mark Twain's articulating his attitude toward black people. When Huck decides to "light out for the territories," the reader is not to assume that Mark Twain advocates westward expansion. Although these moments are not divorced from Mark Twain's beliefs, they are subsumed in a reading experience which primarily organizes our concern and expectation about Huck's fate. In Looking Backward, however, our interest in the hero, Julian West, is subordinated to Bellamy's political diagnosis. In utopian fiction we are expected to refer, emotionally and intellectually, to our experience outside the fictional world.

The characters and actions in utopian fiction are related to each other in a rhetorical rather than fictional structure. The goals of psychological realism and consistency of character which empower the novel would, in the utopian apologue, destroy the continuity of the intellectual comparison between the reader's society and the utopian society in a Brechtian sense. If a reader became concerned with characters in the novelistic sense, his recognition that in utopia the individual is usually less important than the society as a whole would be undermined. Writers of utopian fiction must keep our interest in the hero's fate below

the point where his destiny becomes more important than our acceptance of the social program.

This necessity of establishing a controlling "statement" determines the principle of selection in utopian fiction. Contrast this stylistic situation with what Georg Lukacs terms "perspective" (ethical and political bias) in the novel form. Perspective "determines the course and content; it draws together the threads of the narration; it enables the artist to choose between the important and the superficial; the crucial and the episodic. The direction in which characters develop is determined by perspective, only those features are described which are material to their development."²

In the genre of utopian fiction, the content affects the form in specific ways. As we shall see, "utopian" implies a historical situation of perfection, with the explicit denial of future growth or development. Scientific socialism and utopian socialism both aim to eliminate the antagonistic character of social contradictions. In the 1880s and 1890s these contradictions were being vividly portrayed in fiction. Utopian fiction took this portrayal a step further by prematurely resolving these contradictions in a static utopia. This

²Georg Lukacs, Realism in Our Time (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1964), p. 33.

denial of change, which philosophically becomes a denial of history, past as well as future, was politically related to a fear of change that informed the style of utopian fiction.³ Without a concept of change, it was impossible to use the novel form as it existed in the 1880s. The novel is predicated on development and growth of character as the individual interacts with his or her society; the utopian apologue comes into formal being as a denial of change.

Lukacs' description of the fictional problems of Russian forms of socialist realism in the thirties is applicable to the problems of this earlier form of propagandistic fiction: "If however the elimination of this antagonistic character (i.e. social contradiction and class struggle) is seen as something immediately realizable, rather than as a process, both the antagonism and contradiction, the motor of all development will disappear from the reality to be depicted."⁴

To replace novelistic development, the action in utopian fiction centers on revelation. The guide re-

³ See, e.g., Northrop Frye, "Varieties of Literary Utopias" in Utopias and Utopian Thought (Boston: Beacon Press, 1966), who calls the static nature of utopias a "safeguard against radical alterations." p. 37.

⁴ Lukacs, Realism in Our Time, p. 120.

veals the utopia to the hero. There is no conflict because utopia marks the end of history. Without history there can be no action. The personalities of the characters are irrelevant because they cannot affect the action. It is erroneous therefore when Judith Shklar, among others, states that utopias are "calls to action."⁵

Once development and conflict were eliminated, authors of utopian fiction were forced to use literary devices which would get their heroes into utopia in a timeless way. Since utopians did not believe in revolution, they chose instead from the range of a-historical devices of time travel which had already been introduced in the gothic novel and popular science fiction works. The range includes long sleep, drugs, and mesmerism.⁶ It is significant that many heroes enter utopia with an injury or sickness, suggesting a sense of pain or loss at leaving the old society.

That authors of utopian fiction turned to literary

⁵Judith Shklar, "The Political Theory of Utopia: From Melancholy to Nostalgia" in Utopias and Utopian Thought (Boston: Beacon Press, 1966), p. 109.

⁶Bruce Franklin, American Science Fiction in the Nineteenth Century (New York: Oxford University Press, 1966), p. 364.

genres such as travelogues and diaries is understandable in view of their need to reveal a whole, rather than show development. This denial of change ultimately leaves the reader frustrated. Harold Rhodes aptly describes this experience in that utopias "tell us we can have that which we cannot have. We're trapped."⁷

The emotional disengagement of the reader is produced in several ways. First, the construction of the fiction is episodic. Our involvement in situations is momentary. Characters are quickly introduced and disappear. They generally exhibit only those traits which are relevant either to the doctrinal statement or to their social role. Secondly, a pattern is established in which commentary and analysis alternate with fictional portrayal. As in a Brecht play or a Goddard film, we are quickly trained to expect to interpret events and relationships as examples and demonstrations. Characters are described rather than shown in action. They are revealed in their typicality rather than their individuality. They become one of many. Finally, because there is the sense that in utopia everything is controlled for the general good, we are assured that

⁷ Harold V. Rhodes, Utopia in American Political Thought (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1967), p. 107.

we don't have to worry about the fates of the characters.

These elements are non-novelistic. Consider Lukacs' description of a realistic novel, "The literary presentation of the latter, [dialectic between the individual's subjective and objective reality] thus implies a description of actual persons inhabiting a palpable identifiable world. Only in the interaction of character and environment can the concrete potentiality of a particular individual be signaled out from the 'bad infinity' of purely abstract potentialities, and emerge as the determining potentiality of just this individual at just this phase of his development."⁸

In utopian fiction there is no such dialectic between character and environment. Instead, we are aware of the deterministic situation of the characters. They cannot make choices which indicate how far they have come in their development. Utopian heroes do not progress toward a potential state of consciousness which would leave us, as readers, satisfied.

Works of utopian fiction can end at many points. The effect is achieved by piling up enough details to

⁸ Lukacs, Realism in Our Time, p. 24.

convince the reader of the perfection of the system revealed. We do not need to await the stabilization of relationships, the recognition of social truth, or the attainment of self-knowledge before the last page. The hero changes only to the extent that he becomes informed of the institutions of the new society and convinced of its benefits.

The foregoing analysis of the impact of political content on the aesthetics of utopian fiction is in basic disagreement with Robert C. Elliott's analysis in The Shape of Utopia. Elliott asserts that although utopias provide little opportunity for the "progression by opposition"⁹ which we are accustomed to in literature and life, "the development toward the novel is part of the logical development of the myth creating utopian imagination ... Utopian fiction slowly assumes the shape of a novel. Its literary success depends on how closely it approximates a novel."¹⁰ Elliott then demonstrates how utopian fiction fails as a novel. He does not recognize that a different dialectic is operating,

⁹Robert C. Elliott, The Shape of Utopia: Studies in a Literary Genre (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972), pp. 106-107.

¹⁰Elliott, p. 103.

one which involves the tension between the utopia and the real society of the reader. As Shklar notes, our "esthetic and intellectual tension arises precisely from the melancholy contrast between what might be and what will be."¹¹ Action in utopian fiction is part of the nineteenth century convention of the initiation of an innocent into the values and mores of a new society. Instead of a whaling ship or a frontier town, the hero is initiated into a utopian state. Through the apologue form, the reader is also involved in this initiation.

In utopian fiction the apologue form is divided into two sections which I will term manifesto and fable. The fable contains the action. The manifesto occurs when the action stops and the guide interprets the experiences and institutions to the visitor. The action, description, and characterization in the fable sections show the influence of the sentimental romance tradition.

Northrup Frye has noted that the utopian writer describes the new society only in terms of "typical actions which are significant of those social elements

¹¹ Shklar, p. 104.

he is stressing."¹² Frye calls these typical actions "rituals". "Rituals" are actions which appear irrational but become rational when their significance is explained. I suggest that this explanation occurs in the manifesto sections. Frye goes on to suggest that the common sense of rationality and control in utopias, what he terms the "rational emphasis", is "the result of using certain literary conventions."¹³ According to Frye, planning in utopia is not a response to the economic and social chaos of the times and he adds, "the utopian romance does not present a society as governed by reason; it presents it as governed by ritual habit, or prescribed social behavior, which is explained rationally."¹⁴ Assuming that the utopian author is a reasonable person, this explanation is tautological, since the society is created and explained by the same author.

The manifesto sections adopt the style of the contemporary realistic tradition, and often include detailed descriptions of the exploitation of labor, the impact of technology on civilization, and the effects of industrial capitalism on agrarian society. In the

¹³Frye, "Varieties of Literary Utopias," p. 26.

¹⁴Frye, "Varieties of Literary Utopias," p. 27.

manifesto, the action stops while one or two characters, usually the guide and his marriageable daughter, explain what is going on.

The fable sections however follow the romance tradition known to utopian authors through the domestic sentimental novels, such as The Lamplighter or The Wide Wide World, as well as through the contemporary popularity of Shakespeare and Scott. It is interesting to note the ways by which social commentary becomes welded to the romance form. In his introduction to the Arden edition of The Tempest, Frank Kermode writes,

In romance there survives that system of ideal correspondencies and magic patterns which in actuality could not survive the scrutiny of an informed and modern eye. It thrives upon the myth of the indefeasible magnanimity of royal children as it does upon the myth of the magical connexion between the fertility of a king and of his lands and subjects ... in actuality the issue is always obscured, but in art the ideas can develop as if they were of themselves, with ideal clarity, as if to show us that a formal and ordered paradigm of these forces is possible when life is purged of accident, and upon the assumption that since we are all willy-nilly platonists we are perfectly able to understand the relevance of such a paradigm.¹⁵

¹⁵ Frank Kermode, "Introduction" in The Tempest Arden edition (Suffolk: Methuen & Co., 1962), p. lvi.

Utopian fiction also displays these "ideal correspondencies", when life is purged of accident. The new society, like the kingdom of romance, exists to be contemplated and admired, along the lines of the Platonic model. In utopian fiction, as in romance, the physical appearance of the state and the citizens are indexes of the society's virtues. The beauty of the institutions and social architecture is reflected in the beauty of the people. Nevertheless, these parallels do not impel utopian romancers to investigate supernatural correlations between society and soul. Their comparisons provide political conclusions rather than the religious conclusions of Renaissance romances.

Utopian fiction also inherited elements of plot from the romance tradition. For example, as in The Tempest, the visitor or stranger enters the new society through what Kermode terms "a happy accident". A potentially serious misfortune, such as a shipwreck, overdose of drugs, or an accident in space thrusts the visitor into utopia. Moreover, utopian fiction borrows from romance the basic structural device of quest and discovery. Other romantic sentimental devices related to this which appear in utopian fiction are discoveries of lost family ties, characters near death restored to

life, periods of wandering and exile, recognition through a physical trait or a piece of jewelry, and beautiful women (princess surrogates) who are usually daughters of the old wise guide (benevolent father king surrogates) who assist the visitor in his initiation.

The retrogressive utopias, such as A Traveller From Altruria by William Dean Howells, or conservative utopias, such as A Journey in Other Worlds by John Jacob Astor, contain even more romantic devices. Fundamentally, retrogressive utopias borrow from romance the optimistic tone of human life renewing itself. The purity of the country is contrasted to the unhealthy industrialized city (the plague-ridden city of romance). There is a lost period of innocence. Farmers and shepherds are glorified. There is a sense that nature can re-establish a sense of order destroyed by industrialization ("art" in romance) and other man-made institutions. It should be stressed however that while the literary form of these elements comes from the romance tradition, the particular construction of the scenes, situations, and characters in rural retrogressive utopias comes from the influence of the Populist tradition and the yeoman myth, which in turn probably owe a lot to the conventions of romance.

Ernst Bloch suggests that there are two possible political functions of utopian romance. They can be "distracting, gilded con-dreams ... daytime dreams of pulp literature in which an impossible stroke of good fortune befalls some poor devil, and in which the happy ending is unhappy deceit."¹⁶ Thus utopia can be a "distrac-tion" and divert the reader, permitting the reader to be happy in experiencing utopia by proxy. On the other hand, Bloch also cites old utopian tales in which "there is no mere distraction and voyeuristic palliation, but a vital stimulus and direct relevance. The brave little tailor conquers the ogres with cunning, that Chaplinesque weapon of the poor, and wins the beautiful princess."¹⁷ Utopian romance can thus be a "vital stimulus". According to Bloch, the difference depends on whether the hero arrives in utopia by "an impossible stroke of good fortune" or whether he enters on his own strength. As a socialist, Bloch criticizes those visions which describe "plenty without labor". He believes that utopias can stimulate action if they "evoke longing" and if they

¹⁶ Ernst Bloch, A Philosophy of the Future (New York: Herder and Herder, 1970), p. 87.

¹⁷ Bloch, p. 87.

contain demonstrations of change which are relevant to their historic content.

Robert C. Elliott also makes a similar distinction based on labor. He terms the genres "myth" and "utopia". In myth, labor is absent. "In utopia the work of the world goes on, rationalized, cleaned up -- often to the point where the sewers hardly smell ... the work is there, nevertheless, as a necessary condition of Utopia's existence."¹⁸ Like Bloch, Elliott says that the effect for the reader depends on whether utopia is created through dreams and magic on the one hand, or man's participation on the other. Utopia, he says, might happen when, "man no longer merely dreams of a divine state in a remote time. He assumes the role of creator himself."¹⁹

Karl Mannheim distinguishes between myths (romances) and utopias based on their political effect on the reader. All utopias contribute to change by "working in opposition to the status quo and disintegrating it." He says we should term "utopian" all "situationally transcendent ideas", including wish projections, which in any way have a transforming effect on the existing

¹⁸Elliott, p. 7.

¹⁹Elliott, p. 9.

social order.²⁰

The aesthetic and political tension of utopian fiction arises, then, from the contrast between "what is and what might be", between reality and potential. Utopian fiction has two elements: a negative critique of the author's own society and a positive illustration of the author's social goals. These elements are formally linked to define each other.

Utopian fiction is a different genre from satire. First, satire lacks the particularized positive illustration which usually takes up most of a work of utopian fiction. Critics such as Northrup Frye and Robert Elliott believe that satire and utopia are not generically dissimilar in this way. Frye notes that for effect satire also requires "a moral standard"²¹ to set off the attack. Elliott says that utopias and satires differ only in the "proportion" of positive and negative elements. He also notes that there is an "understated positive element in satire"²² that establishes a norm.

²⁰Karl Mannheim, Ideology and Utopia (New York: Harcourt Brace and Co., 1952), pp. 184-185.

²¹Northrop Frye, Anatomy of Criticism (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1957), p. 224.

²²Elliott, p. 22.

This is an inadequate view of utopian fiction. Utopian fiction links both elements in order to make a clear formulable statement about the author's political goals. "Norms" in satires are not defineable in the same way. After reading Gulliver's Travels or A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court, both satires, one cannot make a statement about what Swift or Mark Twain advocate. The positive statement is not defined.

Secondly, unlike utopian fiction, satire operates through humor. Incidents in satire are not included to contribute to a formulation of positive goals, but to ridicule the world outside the fiction. Therefore, the juxtaposition of positive and negative elements is done in different ways and for different effects. Rather than an instrument of ridicule, which depends on a norm for the humor to be effective, utopia, as Frye defines it, "presents an imaginative vision of the telos or end at which social life aims and thus begins with an analysis of the present."²³

There is a dialectical relationship between the fictive utopia and the real society. Not only is utopia critical, but as Shklar suggests, "Utopia is profoundly radical, as Plato was, for all historical actu-

²³Frye, "Varieties of Literary Utopias," p. 25.

ality is here brought to judgment before the bar of transhistorical values and is found utterly wanting."²⁴ Nineteenth century utopians were also touched by their times in positive ways. They identified and expressed tendencies and possibilities which were introduced into their societies by the struggles of farmers, labor, and women. Utopians' ideas are not the simple "reversals" of the ethics and institutions of their own time, which Elliott suggests.²⁵ The utopia, instead, is a society in which some new possibilities are developed.

This complex relationship between utopia and reality partially can be explained by the bourgeois position of the utopian writer who, in the mainstream of nineteenth century liberalism, rejected both the militant struggles on the left and the oppressive institutions of the right. For their new social architecture utopians borrowed concepts of progressive technology and Social Darwinism from the right, and notions of economic equality and social reform from the left, not recognizing the contradictions among these ideas. Mean-

²⁴Shklar, p. 105.

²⁵Elliott, see Chapter I "Saturnalia, Satire, and Utopia" for Elliott's thesis that satire originates from saturnalia celebrations, when the norms of behavior are caricatured or reversed in a socially sanctioned way.

while, because of their inability to come to grips with a new methodology for change, utopian authors were stuck with the contemporary notion of laissez-faire progress and evolutionary growth. Frye states that "the typical utopia contains, if only by implication, a satire on the anarchy inherent in the writer's own society, and the utopia form flourishes best when anarchy seems most a social threat ... This vogue of nineteenth century utopias has much to do with the distrust and dismay aroused by extreme laissez-faire versions of capitalism which were thought of as manifestations of anarchy."²⁶

In fact, nineteenth century utopians feared what they myopically saw as anarchy and violence of the left. The vogue directly followed the Haymarket riots. Utopian authors escaped the social contradictions by adding the dimensions of the remote future or, as Ernst Bloch puts it, by relying on "the utopian interpolation, the adverbial 'not yet'!"²⁷

Between 1880-1896 approximately one hundred works of utopian fiction were written in America. Although the genre had been tried by many prominent authors ear-

²⁶Frye, "Varieties of Literary Utopias," p. 27.

²⁷Bloch, p. 41.

lier in the century, for example by Herman Melville in Mardi, by James Fenimore Cooper in The Crater, and by Nathaniel Hawthorne in "Canterbury Pilgrims", utopian fiction became a major socio-literary phenomenon in the 1880s and 1890s because it easily embodied the reform currents already present in society. Strikes, meetings, rallies, and petitions were the political manifestations of the recognition that industrialization had not fulfilled its promises. Evangelical religion, industrial novels, science fiction, labor songs, broadsheets, and utopian fiction were the cultural extension and response to these political articulations. After Looking Backward appeared in 1888, utopian authors wrote in response to one another, as well as in response to the social situation of their times. As Frye and Bloch agree, utopias represent the quintessence of middle class thought of their age. The utopians' suggestions were usually not original, but were drawn from the popular ideas of the time. As such, utopias are important because, arising from the demands of mass movements, they were in touch with contemporary fantasies of the collective mind. Utopian fiction was not, as Joyce Hertzler suggests, "the audible expression of murmurings so

faint that few could notice them."²⁸

Utopian fiction is a genre which assumes a direct relationship between literature and society. It is one of the few American literary movements up to that time which did not have a contemporary source in England. It is provincial and chauvinistic, concerned only with the fate of America. The fact that it was an undeveloped literary form accounts for some of its weaknesses, for there were no contemporary models to imitate or perfect. Because utopian fiction was written by intellectuals and bourgeois reformers, it was colored more by the American belief in democracy than by the developing ideas of European socialism. American utopians were devoted to the structure of American government, at least as it existed in formal theory and popular mythology. There is no international or world-state consciousness. Utopian authors were influenced by Robert Owen, Charles Fourier, and Louis St. Simon only in so far as their thought was already translated through such American thinkers as Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Henry George, and Laurence Gronlund. Finally in America there was the memory of the experimental utopian communities, although

²⁸ Joyce O. Hertzler, The History of Utopian Thought (New York: Cooper Square Publishing, Inc., 1965), p. 265.

they pre-dated utopian fiction by fifty years.

American utopians attempted to reconcile the new industrialism to certain American myths. They advocated a democratic form of possessive materialism in which acquisition of property would become a general rather than individual phenomenon. From the tradition of Benjamin Franklin, they inherited the model that getting and owning are appropriate themes for literature. Characters in utopian fiction, despite the socialistic nature of their societies, demonstrate the virtues of thrift, acquisitiveness, and individual effort.

Other influences on utopian writers were the post Civil War erosion of the doctrine of original sin, and its replacement by a participatory form of evangelical religion which claimed that heaven was available for all. Meanwhile, Henry George, Francis Walker, and David A. Wells asserted that financial problems could be scientifically cured. In the realm of "social biology" Francis Galton announced that most social and medical problems could be cured by genetically improving the white race. Therefore during a period of a developing reading public and the growing popularity of fiction, utopian literature became an instrument in the reform movement. It was particularly suited to those

thinkers who believed that social change should come slowly and peacefully and be led by intellectuals.

Character in Utopia

The creation of a character in a work of utopian fiction presented peculiar stylistic problems. First was the issue of the effect of equality on individuality. For some authors social and economic equality led to uniformity, implying that conflict was necessary for idiosyncrasies of character to develop. The traditional sources for fictional character development, such as tragedy, accident, and competition, are supposed to be absent in utopia. The characters are either consequently dull and homogenized, or as in Bellamy, these non-utopian factors are artificially maintained. Often the utopian goal of regulated behavior also destroys character differences. Efficiency, shared scarcity, and uniformity as a goal in itself also contribute to monotonous characterizations.²⁹

Characterization is affected by the apologue form

²⁹ See George Kateb, Utopia and Its Enemies (New York: Schocken Books, 1972) for a good introduction to the issue of the effects of equality on character in utopia.

as well. Because the form does not permit the author to proceed just through dramatization or through the interaction of characters, a burden of exposition falls on one or two main characters. There are, traditionally, a guide and a visitor. The guide is completely identified with the society, and is inevitably powerful, smug, male, and older than the visitor. The visitor is liberal, naive, male, and often critical of his own society. As he becomes initiated and indoctrinated, we are supposed to see through his eyes. Occasionally, as in Man from Mars, by William Simpson or A Traveller from Altruria by William Dean Howells, the form is reversed and the visitor comes to America.

The portrayal of female characters in utopian literature conformed to contemporary stereotypes. Either the authors could not escape the influence of the literary stereotyping of women in the contemporary sentimental novel and drama, or they did not understand that social and economic equality in utopia would imply new forms of female characterization. While many utopias provide for political equality for women, this is not translated into portrayals of strong, competent, independent females. Most progressive utopian authors granted full political rights to women. Women were of-

ten economic producers in utopia, which in turn required new conceptions of household labor. Housework is often seen as degrading and is replaced with hotels and central kitchens.

Women, as characters, are promoted as domestic, pious, modest, and maternal creatures. Despite their economic roles, on the level of fictional action, women exist to inspire men. Women in utopia, like women in the nineteenth century, promote spiritual and cultural institutions without taking direct responsibility for these institutions themselves. The men establish the new institutions, and the women uphold them. The older women are hostesses. The younger women, usually found in the fable sections, are often the passive romantic prey of the visitor.

The relations between the male and female characters in utopia are strictly conventional. Monogamous marriage prevails as a social institution. Northrop Frye contrasts this rigidity to the sexual freedom in the pastoral tradition, with which utopian romance is often confused. In pastoral societies, unlike utopias, "making love is a major occupation, requiring more time and attention than sheep, and thus more important than

the economic productivity of society."³⁰

Finally, faith in utopia as a solution rests on faith in the perfectibility of the individual. Judith Shklar suggests "utopia was a way of rejecting that notion of 'original sin' which regarded natural human virtue and reason as feeble and fatally impaired faculties."³¹ The outer limit of each utopia is the point at which the author thinks the individual is wicked or selfish. Utopia, as Harold Rhodes suggests, asks the questions: what is man? how shall we look at him? what determines which of his propensities are manifest?³² The utopians response is that society determines the individual's capacity for good or evil. Unlike the novelist who relies on some sort of change in the nature of the individual for a happy stability to be achieved, the utopian author relies instead on changes in society. In "Democracy and Utopia" Crane Brinton asserts: "Central to this democratic faith is the view that a suitable physical and so-

³⁰Frye, "Varieties of Literary Utopias," p. 41.

³¹Shklar, p. 104.

³²Harold Rhodes, Utopia in American Political Thought (Tucson, Arizona: University of Arizona Press, 1967), p. 74.

cial environment can be devised and put into practice so that what in the West has long been considered evil can be vastly diminished, perhaps eliminated. The formula runs: democracy substitutes for the Judaeo-Christian concept of original sin a concept of the natural goodness and/or reasonableness of man, supplemented by the corollary that evil is a result of bad environment."³³

This faith in human perfectibility further distinguishes utopias both from satire on the one hand and pastoralism on the other. Satire conventionally ridicules humanity. Pastoral innocence responds to the negative influences of urbanization and competition on character by insisting on a non-urban and non-industrial setting. Characters who inhabit utopia, however, are not rustics, or what Kateb calls "untouched natural growths fresh from their makers' hands."³⁴ In progressive utopias, the individual's capacity for perfection is realized through the influence of highly developed educational and economic institutions. A person's capacity for evil is not ignored. Utopia is not a land of pastoral repose and sensuality. Kateb erroneously suggests that in utopia, "the level of virtue is ... lower

³³Crane Brinton, "Utopia and Democracy" in Utopias and Utopian Thought, p. 56.

³⁴Kateb, p. 140.

than the outside world ... Fewer things are bad."³⁵

In fact, there is a highly circumscribed moral code of utopias. Virtue in utopia comes from the interaction of human potential and benevolent social institutions.

Utopian authors' beliefs in human perfectibility affect the fictional form. If the individual is inherently perfect, representative forces of good or evil need not do battle in the soul or consciousness. Evil is socially caused. It exists external to character. The utopian character does not need to change. In utopian fiction characters, like actions and institutions, are not described in individualized situations. Characters are described in terms of their typicality. They become one of many. Only those qualities required for their societal function are revealed. Stylistically characters are described, rather than shown in action.

Christopher Caudwell suggests that the utopian attitude toward human perfectibility is linked to the "basic bourgeois illusion" that man is "naturally" free.

According to the illusion, man is perfect, and functions at his best when freely working out his own desires. Organized society limits his free instincts and furnishes restraints which he must endure. Utopians

³⁵ Kateb, pp. 157-158.

construct societies that permit enough real freedom for this perfection to manifest itself. Caudwell asserts that the notion of absolute liberty put forward by utopian socialists was "the bourgeois value of their time, hyposthetized as eternal."³⁶ He says that utopians fail to understand that the freest man is the most isolated and has the least potential for change.

Nineteenth century utopianism was also linked to the philosophy of laissez-faire, which posited that unregulated action and unrestricted competition produce growth and profit. Laissez-faire was based on the notion that wealth and happiness arise from freedom. The utopians did not understand the paradox of their times, which was that demands for reform and freedom were successful to the extent that they were collective. Secondly, reformers actually had to fight the non-interventionist system of laissez-faire. Nonetheless, there is a strong link between the precepts of utopianism and non-interventionism. It is significant that many utopian theorists of that time, such as Peter Kropotkin and Ethel Mannin, were anarchists.

Utopianism is pre-Freudian. It pre-dates the theory that aggression is instinctual in all humans. It lacks

³⁶ Christopher Caudwell, Studies and Further Studies in a Dying Culture (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1971), p. 75.

the Freudian sense that there is an inherent depravity which is neither curable nor caused by the social milieu. Utopianism is philosophically linked instead to the eighteenth century notion of man as a rational being. Anti-utopias became popular after the spread of Freudianism in the twentieth century.

The Politics of Utopian Literature

American utopian writers wrote in the context of bourgeois ideologies of their day: laissez-faire, social evolution, the progressive tendency of industrialism and democracy. The forces of good were supposed to enter the competitive American arena and beat the capitalists at their own game. Although the years between 1880-1896 were years of militant protest against the social injustices resulting from monopoly capitalism, with the exception of a few writers who portrayed revolution,³⁷ most utopian authors tried to show how reform and change could be won without militancy. The dates they assigned their new societies, 2050, 2894, 2000 A.D., show a belief that change would take place slowly. Several utopian authors, such as E. E. Hale, advocated establishing cooperatives for production, distribution, and so-

³⁷ e.g., A. A. Merrill, Henry Salisbury, and Ignatius Donnelly, Morrison Swift, Thomas and Anna Fitch and Frank Rosewater.

cial functions. Not only would the products of the cooperatives be better made, but could also be cheaper, and thus the cooperative societies would succeed through triumphs at the market place. William Dean Howells likewise supported nationalization of industries. This process would also occur peacefully because it would simply be more profitable than private industry. It wins again in the traditional open market. No one seizes the industry for the people or state. Bellamy and many of his followers vote themselves into utopia, often ignoring their own critiques of the corruption of the electoral process. Frequently one minor reform, such as abolition of inheritance or the gold standard, re-adjusts the financial environment so that a social economy emerges. This view encouraged the belief that one new invention will manufacture socialism, the phenomenon described by Engels in Socialism, Utopian and Scientific.³⁸ Finally many utopian authors avoided the issue of change altogether, presenting ongoing societies without describing their origins, or creating the utopian societies through magical devices.

Marxist critics writing in the 1920s-30s, like

³⁸Frederick Engels, Socialism, Utopian and Scientific (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1970), p. 49.

Allyn Forbes and Christopher Caudwell, showed that this a-historical attitude can be linked to the class background of utopian authors. In Studies in a Dying Culture Caudwell describes the English utopian H. G. Wells. He says that because Wells experienced the life of an intellectual, it was very easy for him to believe that analysis ruled the world. Likewise, since the proletariat did not exist in Wells' vision, he could announce that change would only come from the middle class. Therefore Wells announced that it was the responsibility of utopians to enlighten bourgeois reform leaders.³⁹

The major critique of utopian thought has come from Marxists who believe that socialism will come only through class struggle when capitalist culture breaks down. Utopians failed to understand that because of its components of industrialism and technology, capitalism is a necessary precondition of socialism. It cannot be wished away by space travel, a long sleep, or drugs. Capitalism is a stage in a total historical process. History is made through class struggles. In

³⁹Caudwell, pp. 74-95. See also Allyn B. Forbes, "Literary Quest for Utopia, 1880-1900" (Social Forces, Vol. 6, #2, 1927).

contrast utopians do not have a causal analysis of history, they are indeterminate about what must specifically happen before utopia will occur. Thus Engels defines the function of socialism in opposition to that of utopianism. Socialism is not "an accidental discovery of this or that ingenious brain, but the necessary outcome of the struggle between two historically developed classes -- the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Its task was no longer to manufacture a system of society as perfect as possible but to examine the historico-economic succession of events from which these classes and their antagonisms had of necessity sprung, and to discover in the economic conditions thus created the means of ending the conflict."⁴⁰

Mannheim, in his seminal work Ideology and Utopia, likewise shows that utopians believe that ideas rather than class struggle influence the trend of history. For a utopian, according to Mannheim, the idea is the "driving force" of history.⁴¹ Laurence Gronlund, the American socialist who profoundly influenced Edward Bellamy and William Dean Howells, and who is usually cred-

⁴⁰Engels, p. 56.

⁴¹Mannheim, p. 219.

ited with introducing Marxism to English speaking people in America, did not describe the phenomena of class struggle.

The utopians of the period 1880-1896 were almost always reformers, clerics and middle class intellectuals. Primarily they accepted the central bourgeois belief in secular progress, in which people, economics, and social institutions would, by their very nature, evolve and improve. Secondly, the utopians accepted the democratic political solution arrived at by the eighteenth century bourgeois revolutions in American and France. In addition to progress and democracy, Crane Brinton lists other phases in the bourgeois "catechism" that appear in utopian fiction: natural rights, the pursuit of happiness, nationalism, natural goodness, reason, liberty, equality and fraternity.⁴²

Christopher Caudwell's description of H. G. Wells is applicable to Donnelly, Bellamy, and others. Wells was a member of the petit bourgeoisie. Although exploited, he was given just enough prosperity to identify with the system. Like Carl Jansen, the farmer in Caesar's Column, characters in Wells' utopias strive

⁴²Brinton, p. 56.

to get one step nearer to good bourgeois things. Their horror, like Donnelly's or the utopian Chauncey Thomas' is to fall from respectability into the "proletarian abyss, which, because so near, seems so much more dangerous."⁴³ Utopians were deluded as reformers because they lacked the cynicism of proletariat realists or the inside knowledge of the philanthropists. Caudwell suggests that the "petit bourgeois is out of touch with reality."⁴⁴ Their class position accounts for the wishful thinking, unreal character conflicts and sham action in utopian fiction.

That the intellectuals, clerics, and businessmen who wrote utopias on behalf of workers were unable to imagine what work or workers were like is almost inevitable. Their attempts led, for example, to William D. Howells' and Chauncey Thomas' romanticizing of working people, or Ignatius Donnelly's portrayal of workers as unthinking brutes.⁴⁵ Working people do not

⁴³Caudwell, p. 76.

⁴⁴Caudwell, pp. 80-81.

⁴⁵For discussions of the impact of class consciousness on utopian authors, see Caudwell, Forbes, Brinton, and Walter Fuller Taylor, The Economic Novel in America (Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 1942), p. 184ff.

enter the utopian panorama as leaders. Utopian authors make a distinction between working or poor peoples' lives and beliefs, which they assert are formed by environment, and their own existence, which they assume is untainted and free. Utopian authors including Bellamy, Howells, Peck and Donnelly describe working people with either fear, pity, or contempt. This paternalism creeps into their utopian structures in various forms: an aristocracy of experts, a fear of social or economic equality, and a maintenance of an intellectual elite.

In addition to the class background of the utopian authors, George Kateb, a passionate defender of utopian thought, gives other explanations as to why utopians avoided portrayals of class struggle and revolution. First, Kateb suggests that utopians feared violence, because they sensed that if violence were introduced, it would become a permanent phenomenon of the new society. Second, "common sense" told utopians that revolution was impractical. Third, their basic patriotism defined revolution as "destruction" of America. Fourth, utopians shared a "Lutheran sense" that the powers that be are ordained by God and should not be re-arranged. Finally, utopians had a "moral absolutism" which was expressed in the love for all human beings, rather than

in love of one class.⁴⁶ In nineteenth century utopian fiction, change is a deterministic rather than historical process. Utopia, according to Frye, always "presents an imaginative vision of the telos or end at which social life aims."⁴⁷ This image of telos orders the events in the fiction. As Karl Mannheim suggests, in utopia "events which at first glance present themselves as mere chronological cumulation take on the character of destiny."⁴⁸

Utopian fiction was written in an era that was fascinated with time itself. This was the century in which geological time confronted biblical time. Geology, biology, and anthropology had totally revised man's notions of the past, and introduced new concepts of a primeval past and pre-historic life forms that permanently changed ideas about history, change, and progress. During the late Renaissance More, Bacon, and Campanella set their utopias on remote islands in unchartered seas which coexisted with non-utopian societies. In the late eighteenth century, when Sebastian Mercier projected the first utopia into the future in

⁴⁶ Kateb, pp. 113-125.

⁴⁷ Frye, "Varieties of Literary Utopias", p. 25.

⁴⁸ Mannheim, p. 188.

L'an 2440, he provided important indications of the emerging idea of progress.

There are several distinct notions of time in utopian fiction, but one should first note the difference between the nineteenth century utopians' portrayal of time and the millenarian's concept of time. Before the mid-nineteenth century, many utopians believed that at a pre-determined time Christ would come to earth in a visible form and establish a theocratic kingdom over all the world. This would usher in the millenium. The nineteenth century utopian telos, however, was secular. Millenarianism implies eternal salvation, a concept which is absent in utopia. Utopia, by the late nineteenth century, was not a manifestation of a supernatural truth or system.

One group who placed their utopias in a glorified and romanticized past can be called the "retrogressive utopians". Their method of reversion from the present to the past is unexplained. They merely defined the present as evil and the future as dangerous and uncertain. They sought a return to a lost age of a simple, agrarian arcadia which they claimed existed in pre-industrial America. Their retrogressive utopias share a common theme: somewhere in the past, real or fiction-

al, was the real life. Because it was pre-industrial, it was stable. The sources of authority were traditional and therefore natural. These utopians refused to accept science as a necessary condition of material security and equality. They returned to the classical model, as defined by Lewis Mumford, in which the farm and family are the ultimate units of social life.⁴⁹ Typified by Howells in A Traveller from Altruria (and familiar today in Richard Brautigan's In Watermelon Sugar), retrogressive utopias show rural societies producing handicrafts through manual power. The ethic is based on leisure, as much as it is on equality. In a return to the tradition of Walden, the goals are a self-sufficient existence, minimal technological needs, a simplified economic structure, and a joy in domesticity, artisanship, and natural piety. History is reversed. In both Howells' and Brautigan's works, technology exists as a museum of the past.

This attitude toward time and history requires different literary devices. Since utopia is not progressive, it can be reached by a journey through space,

⁴⁹ Lewis Mumford, The Story of Utopias (New York: Boni and Liveright, 1922), p. 173.

rather than time. Because this utopia is non-scientific, it does not, by implication have to be world wide. Without "aerial ships" or telephones, the setting need not envelop the whole earth. Retrogressive utopias co-exist with non-utopian lands and only need to be discovered. Thus, newcomers reach this type of utopia through lost voyages rather than long sleeps. The setting can be an isolated island, as it is in A Traveller from Altruria, or a lost valley, as in Joaquin Miller's The Building of the City Beautiful, or a distant mountaintop, as in Donnelly's Caesar's Column. Often these utopias retain a millennial version of history. The civilized world explodes, destroys itself, and is born anew in a virgin Eden state.

In "progressive" or industrial utopias, typified by Edward Bellamy's Looking Backward, we move through time rather than space. Either we observe the hero's movement in consciousness back and forth in time, or, we ourselves become the time traveller, projected into the future usually through a first person narrator.

The political function of all utopian literature is related to the utopian attitude toward change. In the tradition of the communitarian movement, utopian societies in literature exist as models to be contem-

plated and imitated.⁵⁰ Judith Shklar terms this the "classical" function of utopia. She asserts that the a-historical creation of utopias was "in keeping with the Platonic metaphysics which inspired More and his imitators as late as Fenelon. For them, utopia was a model, an ideal pattern that invited contemplation and judgement but did not entail any other activity. It is a perfection that the mind's eye recognizes as true, and which is described as such, and so serves as a standard of moral judgement."⁵¹ Shklar makes a distinction between Renaissance or classical utopias, which were created to be contemplated, and nineteenth century utopias, which she claims were "calls to action." I suggest, however, that the "classical function" was also operative for nineteenth century utopias, and was an expression of nineteenth century utopians' attitude toward change and "activity".

⁵⁰Excellent summaries of the communitarian movement in the United States can be found in John Humphrey Noyes, History of American Socialism (New York: Hilary House Publishers, 1961), Robert A. Nesbet, The Quest for Community (New York: Oxford University Press, 1953) and Charles Nordhoff, The Communistic Societies of the United States (New York: Harper and Brothers, Pub. 1975).

⁵¹Shklar, p. 105.

The new industrialism required scientific explanations for the physical properties and processes of nature. After the Civil War a scientific revolution occurred which paralleled the industrial revolution. The age became fascinated with the new technology. Crowds attended scientific lectures. By the 1870s science fiction was an established genre. Large audiences supported popularized scientific journals. Literary journals included science fiction stories.⁵²

Utopian literature optimistically predicted how the new technology could benefit masses of people. Utopian authors delineated the limits and possibilities of the utopian age through scientific inventions. Unlike in science fiction, science in utopian fiction is not included just because it is new and fascinating. Frye suggests that science in utopia demonstrates that the people's ascendancy over nature is possible.⁵³ Industrial utopias are not like arcadias or retrogressive utopias, where men and women integrate themselves into the physical environment. Through science, progressive utopias show people's need and ability to control their environment. Bertrand De Jouvenal comments that uto-

⁵²Franklin, p. 111.

⁵³Frye, "Varieties of Utopias", p. 28.

pia reverses the common attitude toward science, which is that we tend to get what science can best give us rather than what we most desire.⁵⁴

Science produces a major contradiction in the technologically advanced utopias. Science is temporal and impermanent in a supposedly changeless, permanent world. As modern readers, we are in a superior position to look back on and evaluate the utopians' scientific predictions. As H. Bruce Franklin suggests, because of our own experiences with science, no matter how much we admire utopian societies, we also look down on them.⁵⁵

Utopian fiction borrowed many scientific devices from contemporary fiction. Time travel fiction, dating back to Rip Van Winkle, had already introduced mesmerism, drugs, long sleeps, freezings, immortality, and injuries as literary devices. Psychic phenomena, wondrous inventions, lost worlds, telepathy, and voyages in time and space were also already present in American literature. It is interesting that many prominent American authors who tried to write at least one uto-

⁵⁴ Bertrand de Jouvenal, "Utopia for Practical Purposes" in Utopias and Utopian Thought, (Boston: Beacon Press, 1966), p. 225.

⁵⁵ Franklin, p. ix.

pian novel also tried their hand at science fiction: Charles Brockden Brown, James Fenimore Cooper, Herman Melville, Mark Twain, W. D. Howells, and Edward Bellamy all tried both.

The new technology was also instrumental in the development of another form or group of utopian fiction: anti-utopia which is related to the development of science fiction. The themes of anti-utopian literature express the fear that technology can be used for evil purposes: machines will develop volitions of their own, the world will be dependent on machinery, machinery will transform people into machine-tenders, and scientists will become dictators. In addition to technology, the other utopian theme parodied in anti-utopias is collectivism, which is seen as destructive to the individual.

While one part of the anti-utopian movement was stimulated by the popularity of Looking Backward, another part was written in response to the technological age per se. By the 1890s people were disillusioned with technology's promises of infinite improvement. Industrialism and mechanization had become oppressive rather than hope-inspiring. Like in the retrogressive utopias there is a conservative theme in anti-utopian

literature which sees the Golden Age in a romanticized past. Anti-utopians are, as Adam Ulam suggests, part of the "conservative tradition which considers both economic and scientific progress irrelevant to the problem of human happiness."⁵⁶

Another cultural phenomenon which contributed to the production of anti-utopian literature was Social Darwinism. Although Social Darwinism was an unscientific distortion of Charles Darwin's theories, phrases such as "struggle for existence" and "survival of the fittest" took on popularized social meanings in the 1880s and 90s. They implied that conflict and competition are a part of our biological make-up. They undid the utopian axiom of the perfectibility of man. Time and evolution are no longer described as progressive forces in anti-utopian fiction. As Frank Manuel notes, "these biologically transformed beings in anti-utopian literature have generally moved in one evolutionary direction: toward omnipotence and a diminution of human affect. Beast machines, emotionally impoverished, existing only to exercise power, became a stereotype whose origins in social reality are all too ap-

⁵⁶Adam Ulam, "Socialism and Utopia" in Utopias and Utopian Thought (Boston: Beacon Press, 1966), p. ix.

parent."⁵⁷

A final conservative factor in the anti-utopias was the fear of socialism, which implied equality and loss of private property. This is typified by the anti-utopia The Republic of the Future, written by Anna Bowman Dodd in 1887, the year after the Haymarket Riots. Dodd portrays socialism destroying ambition, imagination, and the dominant white Protestant community. Socialism even produces physical uniformity in the human race.

Anti-utopias operate differently as literature from progressive utopias. Some are parodies, relying for their effect on the reader's knowledge of typical elements of utopian literature, which are caricatured or exaggerated. Others are satires, mocking specific conditions in society which exist external to fiction. Anti-utopias generally are more novelistic than utopias in that they describe an individual confronting his or her society. In a society which is seen as annihilating individualism, one character emerges who attempts to eradicate the suffocating sameness of the supposed utopia. The heroes are seen as anachronisms, throwbacks

⁵⁷ Frank Manuel, "Toward a Psychological History of Utopia" in Utopias and Utopian Thought (Boston: Beacon Press, 1966), p. 86.

to the pre-socialist world. They are criminal to the degree that they express their individuality.

Anti-utopias raised important issues which the utopian movement had to consider: was utopia to be a place of simplicity or abundance? were the politics to be elitist or democratic? should the individual be controlled or free? was the good life one in which public or private pursuits were followed? should life be agrarian or mechanized? are pain and conflict necessary to keep life and literature amusing?

Thus, utopian literature served two political functions in the late nineteenth century. Utopianism both judged society as it existed in the 1880s and 1890s, and it also provided the dimension of an egalitarian future. It enabled the authors to portray the conditions of urban industrialism truthfully, "without giving way to despair."⁵⁸ Like other reform movements, utopian literature stirred up emotions both of criticism and hope. It was connected to the romantic movement in posing such questions as what is the nature of the individual? what are people's responsibilities to themselves and each other? and, should people escape or serve? Utopianism

⁵⁸Lukacs, Realism in Our Time, p. 61.

was also connected to the realistic movement, which considered economic and scientific progress as relevant to the problem of individual happiness and a valid realm for art.

Another political function of utopian fiction was to provide the dimensions of both present and future which are necessary if social change is to occur. Utopian literature can promote action. As Ernst Bloch suggests, "all the worse if the revolutionary capacity is not there to execute ideals which have been represented abstractly ... [nonetheless] action will release available transitional tendencies into active freedom only if the utopian goal is clearly visible, unadulterated, and unrenounced."⁵⁹ Or, as Mumford puts it, "one of the main factors that conditions the future is the attitude people have toward it."⁶⁰ The prime virtue of utopianism, according to Rhodes, is to link together the industrial revolution and the image of the future. Utopianism was consistent with the nineteenth century faith in progress.

⁵⁹Bloch, p. 92.

⁶⁰Mumford, p. 298.

This attitude toward the future establishes a paradox in utopian literature which Frederick Polak characterizes as a passive vs. active contradiction. Utopianism has "a passive essence -- optimism, which rests its case on the laws of social dynamics, and an active influence, -- optimism, which strives toward the goal of hidden utopia."⁶¹ In other words, when utopians suggest, à la Coué, that the laws of progress will automatically lead to happiness, the individual becomes passive. At the same time, when the utopian describes social goals as already realized and instituted, the reader is encouraged to actively imitate and reconstruct the model. Thus, utopian literature conditioned an attitude toward the future in the mind of the reading public.

Because utopianism expressed an attitude toward the individual as capable, perfectible, and sinless, it stimulated the belief that progress would come through people, not God. This in turn facilitated a new conception of the individual's relationship to society. Utopianism helped break down nineteenth century indi-

⁶¹ Frederick Polak, The Image of the Future, Vol. I, (New York: Oceana Publications, 1961), p. 287.

vidualism, by encouraging a focus on the development of society as a whole. The notion that prosperity is a collective process was an important contribution to American thought.

Utopian literature was also an important instrument of opposition and social criticism. The presentation of an ideal state was a criterion by which readers compared and judged the conditions of industrial America. Furthermore, important progressive ideas were popularized through utopian literature, in particular the basic socialist concept that the land and the economy should belong to the community as a whole. Utopian literature gathered together a fund of other reformist ideas. Although the radical aspect of these ideas has been diluted as they have been adopted and institutionalized in modified forms, in their demands for social security, universal suffrage, universal education, trade unions, and limited emancipation for women, nineteenth century utopians anticipated today's welfare state.

Finally, utopian literature played an important role in the development of fiction. Utopian literature, along with the industrial novel, was part of a new use of fiction in America as a device for popularizing social and political ideas, and for bringing about so-

cial change. This body of literature is a demonstration of the dialectical possibilities of the relationship between culture and politics.

At the same time, utopian literature probably held back social change and may have contributed to the period of political reaction which followed William McKinley's election as president in 1896. Utopian literature perpetuated the American myth of political freedom.

Utopians asserted that individuals could be free before they created the conditions through which their freedom could be realized. In other words, they avoided describing the processes of change while they asserted that men and women could react creatively on their environment. The fictional works were catalogues rather than demonstrations, and the reader is disengaged, like a viewer at a museum. Utopia was still predicated on the individualist assumption that the dreams of a single individual ought to be realized in society as a whole. Utopia exists on the author's terms alone.

Utopianism, like other reform movements of the 1880s and 1890s, was unsuccessful in bringing about social change. It failed because it was neither addressed to nor written by the people who were the victims of the economic and social injustices of the era.

Utopian literature expressed the authors' fear of a militant working class and of unemployed people, who were demanding economic relief and social equality. Although the authors selected their reforms from the demands raised by masses of people, they suggested that these reforms could be instituted through an alliance of technology and democracy. They based their analyses on the traditional beliefs in inevitable progress, laissez-faire, and social determinism. Like the union leaders and populist politicians, utopian authors ultimately failed to reject the national rationalizations which permitted the social and economic contradictions to develop so rapidly and so painfully in the decades following the Civil War.

CHAPTER III

EDWARD BELLAMY AND LOOKING BACKWARD:
THE PROGRESSIVE UTOPIA

Edward Bellamy wrote Looking Backward in 1887, the year after the Haymarket Riots, and it was quickly published by January 1888. Although Looking Backward was assumed to be a major indictment of the American system, the vision of utopia, portrayed in the form of fanciful romance, relies in fact on ideas which had been developing since the Civil War as justifications for monopoly capitalism. In the process of rebelling against the injustices of this system, Bellamy accepted as unalterable the basic trends of American economic development: monopolization and the centralization of power. Despite Looking Backward's expression of economic equality, the utopia preserves the existing political and social relationships because Bellamy accepted as "givens" ideas which were currently being used to justify inequality: Social Darwinism, the rights of private property, and the inferiority of women and working class people.

In Ideology and Utopia Karl Mannheim claimed that the potential for social change depends on the presence of utopian ideals: "only when the utopian concept of the individual seizes upon currents already present in society, and when in this form it flows back into the

outlook of the whole group and is translated into action by it, only then can the existing order be challenged by the striving for another order of existence."¹ When Bellamy tried to account for the impact of Looking Backward, he similarly noted that a novel of propaganda produced an effect "precisely in proportion as it is a bare anticipation of what everybody was thinking and about to say."² He said that Looking Backward contained nothing which could be "said to be greatly in advance of public opinion."³ Bellamy believed that his book was effective because it "seized on currents already present in society."⁴ Looking Backward is a summary of popular responses to industrial capitalism, containing attacks on militant working class protest, as well as on economic inequality. It fulfilled Mannheim's defined function of a utopian document, being simultaneously an articulation

¹Mannheim, p. 187.

²Edward Bellamy, "The Progress of Nationalism in the United States" in The North American Review, 154, (June 1892), 742-52.

³Edward Bellamy, cited in Sylvia Bowman The Year 2000: A Critical Biography of Edward Bellamy (New York: Bookman Associates, 1958), p. 74.

⁴Ibid.

of criticisms of the era and a stimulant to further reformist action.

Looking Backward became one of the most popular and influential works in the entire history of American book sales and readership. Not only did it sell over 1,000,000 copies within the first ten years of publication,⁵ the book also stimulated the establishment of an influential political movement, Nationalism, which at its peak had over 140 local clubs, over fifty newspapers and journals, and a membership variously estimated at between six to ten thousand people.⁶ The Nationalist Party stimulated other groups, in particular the Populist party, to face the issue of collective ownership. It led the fight in several cities for municipal ownership of city services. It introduced the basic notion of economic equality to thousands of people. Finally, Looking Backward stimulated the production of approximately one hundred other works of utopian fiction in the decade before the turn of the century.

⁵ James B. Richard Hart, The Popular Book: A History of America's Literary Taste (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1963), p. 171.

⁶ See e.g. Bowman, p. 28-9 or Arthur E. Morgan, Edward Bellamy (New York: Columbia University Press, 1944), pp. 275-287.

In 1888 Bellamy wrote to the editor of The Boston Transcript,

Looking Backward, although in form a fanciful romance, is intended in all seriousness as a forecast in accordance with the principles of evolution, of the next age in the industrial and social development of humanity, especially in this country ... the dawn of the new era is already near at hand ... Not only are the toilers of the world engaged in something like world-wide insurrection, but true and human men and women of every degree, are in a mood of exasperation verging on absolute revolt against social conditions that reduce life to a brutal struggle for existence, mock every dictate of ethics and religion, and render well-nigh futile the efforts of philanthropy.⁷

Edward Bellamy therefore wrote Looking Backward as a specific response to the labor crises of his time. Between 1881 and 1906 there were over 36,000 strikes and lockouts in the United States, in which over six million people were involved.

Bellamy was just one among many well known authors, such as William Dean Howells, Mark Twain, and Walt Whitman who, in the 1880s, began to recognize the contradictions between the new realities and the original goals of the industrial expansion which they, as authors, had

⁷Albert Levi, "Edward Bellamy: Utopian" in Ethics LV (1945), p. 133:

helped to popularize. By the late 1880s their literary responses to the consequent economic and social inequality ranged from cynical¹⁴ to sympathy. Granville Hicks calls the responses of American literati as "retrogressive idealism". He explains that, "In the decade from 1890-1900 writers began to realize that they could no longer assume a community of interest between themselves and the rulers of America... But authors and artists still clung to those ideals, though to do so led to a repudiation of the social system they had helped to create."⁸

Looking Backward belongs in the tradition of this dilemma. The "community of interest" no longer existed. To recreate it would imply a vast re-structuring of American institutions with the added complexity of the threats and promises of technology.

Bellamy's Biographical Background and Pre-Utopian Fiction

In 1888, the year Looking Backward was published, Edward Bellamy sent a short autobiographical sketch to Ticknor, the Boston publisher, just "enough for a tombstone":

⁸Granville Hicks, The Great Tradition (New York: MacMillan Co., 1935).

Born at Chicopee Falls 1850, direct line of descent from Dr. Joseph Bellamy the brimstone divine ... for a short time of Union College but not a graduate; after college a year in Germany; educated as a lawyer but never a practitioner; by occupation journalist and fiction writer; in 1871-2 outside Editorial contributor to N.Y. Evening Post; for half-year after that editorial writer and Lit. critic on staff of Springfield Daily Union; 1876-7 Voyage for health to Sandwich Islands; subsequently one of the founders of Springfield Daily News; published four books, some dozens of stories ... several barrels of editorials.⁹

This outline reveals Edward Bellamy's modesty and self-consciousness; it does not describe the historical and literary influences by which a child of a rather wealthy Calvinist minister became one of the most popular American socialist theoreticians of the nineteenth century.

Edward Bellamy grew up in Chicopee Falls, Massachusetts, a village which became the idealized setting of most of his fiction. During his childhood, Chicopee Falls changed from a quiet Protestant New England village to a growing manufacturing town, complete with slums, strikes, and immigrants. Bellamy's father was a preach-

⁹ Edward Bellamy, cited in Daniel Aaron, Men of Good Hope (London: Oxford University Press, 1951), p. 96, from Unpublished Writings of Edward Bellamy. See Arthur Morgan, Edward Bellamy, pp. 421-423 for a complete description of the manuscript collection.

er and it was probably from him that Bellamy inherited his fascination with guilt, sin, and the burden of the past, feelings which become themes in much of his early fiction and the focus of his early novel Dr. Heidenhoff's Process. Bellamy's mother also was a disciplined intellectual who insisted on his vast early reading of non-fiction, particularly history and biography. Bellamy retained from his background his love for the New England village community, the plebian social sympathies of his father's church, and the assumption that life's goal is to acquire mental and spiritual tranquility.

The earliest sample of Bellamy's writing is a utopian scheme written when he was ten years old and entitled "A Law for the Republic of San Domingo":

I learn from books that the inhabitants of that country are a Idle and Lazy set of people I have thot it over and thought of a remedy for it her it is That the National Assembly or Congress should make a law compelling every person to cultivate a portion of land given them by government let government be willing to buy as much of the produce of the land as the people are willing to sell to them. Begin with a small piece of land and give the people a little more every year till they have quite a farm then cease. The people Must and Cannot help in a short time being interested in it.¹⁰

¹⁰Morgan, p. 31.

Here then are early versions of some of Bellamy's lifelong convictions. At ten he asserted that economics determine character, and should thereby be controlled by the government, with force if necessary.

Arthur Morgan, one of the first biographers of Bellamy, suggests that Bellamy's lifelong sense of himself as an outsider and rebel was due to a series of failures in his early adulthood.¹¹ Influenced by his childhood reading of the biographies of Nelson and Napoleon, or by the fact that he grew up during the Civil War, Bellamy was always fascinated with the military, and in 1867 he tried to enter West Point Academy but failed to pass the physical. His life-long respect for the military can be seen in his recurrent use of the military as an image of unity, solidarity, and efficiency. In Looking Backward the army becomes the organizing unit for labor.

Insisting on economic independence from his family, Bellamy left Union College, after a year's course in literature and political economy, to join his cousin in Germany. It is quite possible that Bellamy was introduced to the writings of the German socialists at this time. Marx, Bakunin, and Proudhon were then working out

¹¹Morgan, in particular, Chapter V "The Rebel".

the principles of revolution in the First Internationale. The writings of Bebel and Liebknecht were also being circulated. Nevertheless Bellamy never cited the sources or origins of his political ideas. He did note in his journal that he was overwhelmed by the sight of poverty and slums of Europe which in turn stimulated serious political discussions with his cousin. He confessed that his trip to Germany opened his eyes for the first time to the poverty in Chicopee Falls.¹² When he returned to America he studied law for two years in Springfield but he quit the profession after his first case, which was to evict a widow for non-payment of rent; lawyers become a target of criticism in much of Bellamy's fiction. In The Duke of Stockbridge, lawyers are characterized as lackeys of the property holders during the rent rebellions. In Looking Backward he eliminated lawyers completely from utopia because he believed they would use their knowledge of the law to circumvent justice. Thus, Bellamy's attempted careers as soldier, scholar, and lawyer were all frustrated.

¹²Edward Bellamy, "How I Came to Write Looking Backward" in Ladies Home Journal, (April, 1894), reprinted in Edward Bellamy Speaks Again: Articles, Public Addresses, Letters (Kansas City: The Peerage Press, 1957), p. 218.

This pattern changed in 1871 when Bellamy became a journalist for the New York Evening Post. He joined the Post's campaigns to reform tenements, sanitation, and Boss Tweed's urban politics. Many of the Post's articles on French communists, the English agricultural strikes, and the coal monopolies have also been attributed to Bellamy.¹³ In 1872, he returned to Chicopee Falls, and became an editor and reviewer for the Springfield Union. His reviews indicate his admiration for George Eliot, George Sand, Thomas Hardy, William Thackeray, Charles Dickens, Bulwer Lytton, William Dean Howells, Henry James, and Mark Twain.

With the exception of Sylvia Bowman and Joseph Schiffman,¹⁴ most critics have not discussed Edward Bellamy's early fiction. From 1875 to 1889, however, Bellamy published twenty-three short stories in major magazines, including The Atlantic Monthly and Harper's Monthly. He also wrote four novels: The Duke of Stockbridge, Six to One, Dr. Heidenhoff's Process, and Miss Ludington's Sister. These works were popular and were well received critically at the time.

¹³ Morgan, p. 370.

¹⁴ Joseph Schiffman, "Edward Bellamy's Altruistic Man" in American Quarterly, VI, pp. 195-209.

Aside from this popularity, Bellamy's early works show how he used fiction to explore social and psychological ramifications of a philosophical idea as he worked it out dramatically. He wrote, "Nothing outside the exact sciences has to be so logical as the thread of a story, if it is to be acceptable. There is no such test of a false and absurd idea as trying to fit it into a story. You may make a sermon or an essay or a philosophical treatise as illogical as you please and no one knows the difference, but all the world is a good critic of a story, for it has to conform to the laws of ordinary probability and commonly observed sequence of which we are all judges."¹⁵ This empirical method encouraged Bellamy's eye for realistic detail, as well as his programmatic deductions.

A pre-requisite to a utopian formulation is the belief in the perfectibility of the individual, a concept that Bellamy experimented with in his early fiction. Six to One (1878), Dr. Heidenhoff's Process (1880) and Miss Ludington's Sister (1884), along with several short stories are imaginative studies of Bellamy's theory that an individual has a dual consciousness: the "im-

¹⁵ Edward Bellamy, "Why I Wrote Looking Backward" in The Nationalist (May, 1890) reprinted in Edward Bellamy Speaks Again, p. 224.

personal" and the "personal". This idea, which he had first developed in a long essay, The Religion of Solidarity,¹⁶ becomes essential to the moral sub-structure of Looking Backward and Equality.

The "personal" represents the egocentric side of the personality. Kate, a rival for the hero's love in Six to One¹⁷ is "personal" in her individuality and essentially selfish love for Edgerton. Julian West, the hero of Looking Backward, is at first "personal" because his selfish identification with the ruling class divides him from the masses of humanity. Bellamy suggests that experiences in nature, such as a near-drowning in Six to One, a freeze in "The Cold Snap"¹⁸, or being lost in the desert in "Deserted",¹⁹ can release the individual from the personal sphere. The personal, according to Bellamy, can coexist with and balance the impersonal.

¹⁶ Edward Bellamy, The Religion of Solidarity (Yellow Springs, Ohio: Antioch Bookplate Co., 1940).

¹⁷ Edward Bellamy, Six to One, A Nantucket Idyll (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1878).

¹⁸ Edward Bellamy, "The Cold Snap" in The Blindman's World and Other Stories (Boston: Houghton Mifflin and Co., 1898).

¹⁹ Edward Bellamy, "Deserted" in The Blindman's World.

By itself the personal is expressed in a variety of traits indicating excessive individuality, such as suspicion in "Two Days Solitary Imprisonment"²⁰ or vanity in "Pott's Painless Cure."²¹ In his story "A Positive Romance"²², which was influenced by Auguste Comte, Bellamy shows how the recognition of impersonal love between two strangers stimulates the hero's love for humanity. The woman acts as the agent through which the man, the individualist, is taught devotion to humanity. In the short story "Hooking Watermelons"²³, Bellamy relates the impersonal to class identification. He insists that people can relate equally to members of any class based on their common humanity. Here Bellamy upholds the rights of private property, comically symbolized in an aborted teenage watermelon theft.

An excessively personal life also produces guilt, which chains the individual to the past. Sylvia Bowman suggests that Bellamy, along with such other nineteenth century authors as Hawthorne and Doestoevsky,

²⁰ Edward Bellamy, "Two Days Solitary Imprisonment" in The Blindman's World.

²¹ Edward Bellamy, "Pott's Painless Cure" in The Blindman's World.

²² Edward Bellamy, "A Positive Romance" in The Blindman's World.

²³ Edward Bellamy, "Hooking Watermelons" in The Blindman's World.

was exploring new social theories of sin, guilt, and the definition of crime. Bowman notes that, "During the nineteenth century there was, therefore, not only much consideration of the problem of evil in literature but also a changing attitude toward man's responsibility for his sins and his virtues. Man was being considered more and more as a product of the social order."²⁴

At this stage in his literary development, Bellamy focused on individual psychology, rather than on social causes of dual consciousness. For example, in Dr. Heidenhoff's Process,²⁵ Bellamy, like Thomas Hardy and George Eliot, portrays the conflict between a woman's sexual instincts and the social mores with which she was raised. Like Tess or Maggie Tulliver, Madeline Brand is shattered by conventions which promote guilty feelings about her own sexuality. Here Bellamy focuses on ways to erase Madeline's guilty memories. He opposes punishment or retribution as methods of reform or alleviation of guilt. Instead Madeline is hypnotized to forget her past. Later he portrays ways to change the oppressive social forms themselves. In

²⁴Bowman, p. 51.

²⁵Edward Bellamy, Dr. Heidenhoff's Process (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1880).

Miss Ludington's Sister,²⁶ (1884), he adds a theory of evolving personality to his analysis of dual consciousness. Ida Slater, the heroine who disguises herself as a lost relative, is not responsible for her deceit because she is a constantly changing and evolving creature. She is a totally different person from the woman who pretended to be "Miss Ludington's sister" in order to cheat the real Ida Ludington. Sin was merely her temporary state of mind.

In his novels and short stories, Bellamy was exploring the social origins of morality, the impact of improved social conditions on the personality, and the evolution of "better" individuals. He had explored how self-interest could be manipulated to serve society. By the mid 1880s he had developed the "utopian" assumption that humans are perfectible. These socio-psychological themes become fused in the character of Julian West, the hero in Looking Backward, who feels guilty for the reactionary ideas he advocated when he lived in the nineteenth century. Julian joins the impersonal, selfless world of the twentieth century when he accepts that given the competitive economic and social

²⁶ Edward Bellamy, Miss Ludington's Sister: A Romance of Immortality (Boston: James R. Osgood and Co., 1884).

relationships of Boston in 1887, his crimes were justifiable.

At the same time, Bellamy was also exploring economic ideas in his fiction, most noticeably in The Duke of Stockbridge.²⁷ After original historical research, Bellamy presented the story of Shay's Rebellion, the tenant and debtor protests in the late 1780s. Although most critics point to the anti-aristocratic focus of The Duke of Stockbridge, Bellamy also portrayed the "common people's" inability to lead their own protest. Although he sympathized with their economic situation, like James Fenimore Cooper in The Littlepage Trilogy, Bellamy was disgusted with the people's "vulgarity", and frightened by the "chaos" of their protest. In the end order is happily restored through military intervention and the reforms are slowly won through legislation.

In the 1880s Bellamy began to explore notions of utopia in his short stories, and develop fictional forms for social projections. In "The Blindman's World",²⁸ (1886), Bellamy used a "manuscript" form to describe the

²⁷ Edward Bellamy, The Duke of Stockbridge; A Romance of Shay's Rebellion (New York: Silver, Burdett and Co., 1900).

²⁸ Edward Bellamy, "The Blindman's World" in The Blindman's World and Other Stories.

visit of an astronomer to Mars, where the hero meets creatures who have totally developed their impersonality and spiritualism. The Martians believe in a transcendental unity in all things, including the natural and social world. Because they are totally freed from their individuality, they have neither fear, jealousy, nor competitiveness. Structurally "The Blindman's World" is similar to Looking Backward. Bellamy uses the manuscript of a reputable person, in this case an astronomer, to establish the narrative as 'factual'. The scientist 'travels' to Mars through self-hypnosis. Like Julian West, he is a restless, wakeful, (i.e. impersonal) man whose body appears to be dead. As in Looking Backward the scientist is able to look back on his own society, in this case through a telescope, to reinforce the contrast between the two worlds. As with Looking Backward, there is no real action. The characters are mouth-pieces. As soon as the scientist reaches Mars, which looks strikingly like New England, he enters into a dialogue with his host about the social differences between the two cultures. Suggesting the central metaphor of his latest utopia, the Americans, unlike the Martians, are unable to look ahead. They can neither prepare for or create their future. Instead, they are, "a race

doomed to walk backward, beholding only what has gone by, assured only of what is past and dead ..."²⁹ The scientist concludes, "I dream of a world where love always wears a smile, where the partings are as tearless as our meetings, and death is king no more. I have a fancy, which I like to cherish, that the people of that happy sphere, fancied tho' it may be, represent the ideal and normal type of our race, as perhaps it once was, as perhaps it may be again."³⁰

Bellamy's early fiction prepared him, both in ideology and technique, for his later utopian writings. They reveal his programmatic procedure and his inclination to dramatize philosophical ideas. The short stories show the development of the impact of transcendentalism on his thought. They reflect his fascination with science fiction and the psychic experiments of his era. Mesmerism, clairvoyance, and dreams become important fictional devices through which he avoids concretizing methods of change in a realistic way. Finally, in short stories such as "To Whom This May Come" and "The Blindman's World" he created cultures which prefigure the moral basis of Boston in the year 2000.

²⁹Bellamy, "The Blindman's World", p. 29.

³⁰Ibid.

Looking Backward: The Manifesto

Edward Bellamy has given us two contradictory explanations for the genesis of Looking Backward. In May, 1890, he wrote in an article in The Nationalist, "In undertaking to write Looking Backward I had, at the outset, no idea of attempting a serious contribution to the movement of social reform. The idea was of a mere literary fantasy, a fairy tale of social felicity. There was no thought of contriving a house which practical men might live in, but merely of hanging in mid-air, far out of reach of the sordid and material world of the present, a cloud palace for an ideal humanity."³¹ Bellamy claimed that the origin for a sociological use of fiction came from his own stylistic method, rather than from deliberate political intentions. The political ideas developed accidentally, concomitant to the fictional structure, until he suddenly realized that he had, "stumbled over the destined cornerstone of the new social order." At this point he changed the romance from "a mere fairy tale of social perfection" to "a vehicle of a definite scheme of industrial reorganization."³²

³¹Bellamy, "Why I Wrote Looking Backward", p. 199.

³²Bellamy, "Why I Wrote Looking Backward", p. 202.

A second version of the origins of Looking Backward, which corresponds to the historical and biographical information we have for Bellamy, appeared in an article by Bellamy in The Ladies Home Journal in April, 1894.³³ Here he described how his childhood in Chicopee Falls gave him an idealized view of society, which was shattered by his trip to Europe. When he returned he recognized for the first time "the inferno of poverty beneath civilization" in America.³⁴ Poverty, he discovered, was a form of slavery which had not been abolished by the political solutions of the Revolutionary or Civil Wars. He discovered that political equality without economic equality was useless. Finally, his concern for the future material security of his children forced him to return to this problem in literature.

In The Ladies Home Journal version, Bellamy's socialism is a defined political goal rather than a literary accident: "... in the fall or winter of 1886... I sat down to my desk with the definite purpose of trying to reason out a method of economic organization by which the republic might guarantee the livelihood and material

³³Bellamy, "How I Came to Write Looking Backward".

³⁴Bellamy, "How I Came to Write Looking Backward", p. 217.

welfare of its citizens on a basis of equality corresponding to and supplanting their political equality."³⁵

Bellamy is equally contradictory about the relationship he perceived between the politics and the romance. In the first article Bellamy claimed that he retained the fictional form only as a pragmatic way of popularizing his ideas.³⁶ This view which is shared by William Dean Howells, is also the justification for the romance given in the preface to Looking Backward.³⁷ In later articles, however, Bellamy gave important methodological reasons for using the romance form. He denied that he used fiction to "command greater popular attention",³⁸ but explained that he had always used the fictional form as "the working out of problems, that is to say, attempts to trace the logical consequences of certain assumed conditions."³⁹ Bellamy used the romance form as the test of the philosophical and social consequences of his

³⁵Bellamy, "How I Came to Write Looking Backward," p. 223.

³⁶Bellamy, "Why I Wrote Looking Backward," p. 202.

³⁷Edward Bellamy, Looking Backward 2000-1887 (New York:Grosset and Dunlap, 1898), xx.

³⁸Bellamy, "How I Came to Write Looking Backward," p. 223.

³⁹Bellamy, "How I Came to Write Looking Backward," p. 224.

political ideas. For Bellamy, form and content were inseparable.

Looking Backward belongs to the "apologue" form of literature defined in Chapter 2. All of the elements in Looking Backward are included to establish Bellamy's political thrust. The apologue contains two main sections, the fable and the manifesto, which establish the political formulation in different ways. The fable, derived from the popular sentimental romance tradition, is the story of Julian West, the aristocratic hero who was mesmerized in 1887 and awakened 112 years later into the changed cooperative of Boston. The fable includes the descriptions of character and intrigue which are conventional parts of the sentimental romance genre. In Looking Backward, the fable includes the narration of Julian's struggle to overcome his guilt for his previous aristocratic affiliations and the story of his relationship with Edith Leete. Because Bellamy believes that character is determined by social conditions, the sections of Looking Backward that satirize Boston in the year 1888 are an integral part of the fable sections. These satirical sections are simultaneously the explanation for the "personal" attitudes of Julian West and the counterparts to Boston in the year 2000. The fable sections

alternate with manifesto sections. The manifesto contains no action. There is only the Socratic dialogues between Dr. Leete and Julian West which develop the political, social, and economic philosophy and structure of the new Boston. The manifesto and fable are linked, mainly through the character of Julian West. Both are subsumed to Bellamy's defined political intent.⁴⁰

The doctrine of economic equality is the keystone of Bellamy's program. In the tradition of J. S. Mill, economic equality becomes a moral as well as a political principle. The nation assumes the responsibility of capital, and becomes the sole employer. All citizens are employees. Because they are all human beings, every man, woman, and child receives identical income: "Surely I told you this morning, at least I thought I did," replied Dr. Leete, "that the right of a man to maintenance at the nation's table depends on the fact that he is a man, and not on the amount of health and strength he may have, so long as he does his best." "You said so," I answered, "but I supposed the rule applied only to the workers of different ability. Does it also hold of those who can do nothing at all?"

⁴⁰ See Appendix I for Edward Bellamy's summary of Looking Backward which appeared in Dawn (15 September 1889).

"Are they not also men?"⁴¹

To this ethical sanction for equality, Bellamy adds the justification of socially created value. In a technical society, Dr. Leete explains, there are no separate products of an individual's labor. The individual is therefore entitled to a share of the collective product, a theory which Walter Taylor traces back to Whig economic principles.⁴² Private property is clearly not abolished. The total property is shared equally, based on the Christian principle of treating one's neighbor as oneself. Furthermore, Bellamy asserts that economic equality eliminates the competitive aspects of a consumption which divide people. Goods lose all value except use value.

Labor is controlled by an "Industrial Army". At the age of 21, all men and women are drafted, and perform unskilled labor for a period of three years, after which they may train for a profession or a trade. The Industrial Army also provides political and social indoctrination. Basic training "is a sort of school, and a very strict one, in which the young men are taught habits of obedience, subordination, and devotion to

⁴¹Bellamy, Looking Backward, p. 133.

⁴²Walter Taylor, The Economic Novel in America. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1942), p. 195.

duty."⁴³

The idea of an army as a method of labor organization was not original with Bellamy. It is found in Plutarch, and such 18th century French utopians as Louis Blanc. Bellamy, however, was always fascinated with the military as a source of unity, and efficiency. It is not a symbol in Bellamy's system, not a "rhetorical analogy" but a working model. In "Why I Wrote Looking Backward" he says that as he worked out the details of his system, "I perceived the full potency of the instrument I was using, and recognized in the modern military system not merely a rhetorical analogy for a rational industrial service, but its prototype, furnishing at once a complete working model for its organization."⁴⁴

The fable essentially opens and closes with two military parades. The first, a sorrowful remembrance parade shows the nineteenth century use of the military as an instrument of war. At the close of the novel, when Julian returns to the Boston of 1888 in a nightmare, he sees another military parade. In an epiphany passage, he describes the army as the best potential for

⁴³Bellamy, Looking Backward, p. 124.

⁴⁴Bellamy, "Why I Wrote Looking Backward", p. 202.

reform, and unity: "A regiment was passing! ... Here at last were order and reason, an exhibition of what intelligent cooperation can accomplish ... their perfect concert of action, their organization under one control ... made these men the tremendous engine they were."⁴⁵

The Industrial Army was Bellamy's solution to the labor crises of his times. Harry Levin, perhaps echoing Northrup Frye, points out that "the paradoxical aim of most utopists is the organization of anarchy."⁴⁶ The Industrial Army demonstrates Bellamy's fear of self-regulation. Dr. Leete sees the army as the only way to maintain order, authority, and solidarity. Controlled by men over 45, active participation in the army is maintained through competition and fear. Leete confesses that while the desire for money has disappeared, the "desire of power, of social position, and reputation for ability and success" are still present.⁴⁷ Competition is maximized through a system of perpetual gradings, ratings, and privileges. Badges are always worn

⁴⁵ Bellamy, Looking Backward, p. 322.

⁴⁶ Harry Levin, "Some Paradoxes of Utopia" in Edward Bellamy, Novelist and Reformer, (Schenectady, New York: Union College, 1968), p. 18.

⁴⁷ Bellamy, Looking Backward, p. 97.

to indicate rank. Leete explains the alternative: "a man able to do his duty, and persistently refusing, is sentenced to solitary imprisonment on bread and water until he consents."⁴⁸

In Looking Backward Bellamy claims that economic equality resulted in a changed status of women. These changes, however, are only vaguely defined in the manifesto sections. They are not embodied in his portrayal of women characters. He suggests that economic equality implies a social equality which we never see in the situation of the two women characters, Edith Leete and her mother. Materially the women in Bellamy's utopia benefit from his admiration for Francis Willard, the Woman's Congress of 1873, and the suffrage movement. As characters however, Bellamy's women are virginal, serene, patient, sympathetic, and idealized.

Women in Boston 2000 are the economic equals of men. They have identical incomes. There is a separate women's branch of the Industrial Army with women generals and women judges. After Francis Willard read Looking Backward, she wrote to Bellamy's publisher,

⁴⁸Bellamy, Looking Backward, p. 257.

"some of us think that Edward Bellamy must be Edwardina ... i.e. we believe a big hearted, big brained women wrote this book. Won't you please find out."⁴⁹ Nonetheless, Bellamy seems naive about the status and capability of women, even in the 19th century. Women in the Industrial Army are restricted to certain jobs because they are "inferior in strength to men, and further disqualified industrially in special ways,"⁵⁰ although at the time he wrote this women were doing factory work which required both strength and technological understanding. He stressed that in utopia married women would be "allowed" to work, although in the 1880s thousands of married women already held factory and secretarial jobs.

Women in utopia exist to stimulate men, a concept Bellamy first explored in Six to One and in "A Positive Romance." In Looking Backward Bellamy asserts that women are men's "main incentive to labor."⁵¹ Men "permit" women to work because it makes them more attractive and fulfilling companions.⁵² Only women who have been both wives and mothers are permitted to hold high posi-

⁴⁹ Bowman, p. 120.

⁵⁰ Bellamy, Looking Backward, p. 257.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Ibid.

tions in the Industrial Army, as "they alone fully represent their sex."⁵³ Women represent the humanity of the race. They can retrieve man, the individualist, from the world of the impersonal, just as Edith Leete rescues Julian. Edith encourages Julian to confront his egocentricity and his aristocratic guilt, but it is through worshipping her that he comes into harmony with the new society.

In appearance and activity Edith is remarkably similar to the women in the fiction of William Dean Howells and Henry James. She is never seen at work. We are not told what her job is in the Industrial Army. She describes herself as an indefatigable shopper and an admirer of pretty clothes. Aside from her excursion to the department store with Julian, we see her arranging flowers, setting the table, gardening, and being ubiquitously available to comfort and nurse Julian. She never participates in Julian's political indoctrination. Except for referring Julian to her father for more information, she is virtually silent during the manifesto sections. In 1889 Mary H. Ford attacked Bellamy's portrayal of women in utopia. She said she wanted a world

⁵³Bellamy, Looking Backward, p. 261.

that would not treat women as "females" but as "human beings, capable of participating with men on an equal basis in the affairs of the world."⁵⁴

By the 1880s the demands for equality for women had already been extended to include revisions of the male dominated family structures. Sylvia Bowman suggests that in order to popularize Looking Backward, Bellamy deliberately avoided the sexual-social innovations proposed by such well known reformers as the utopian John Humphrey Noyes, or the socialist Victoria Woodhull. Bowman claims, "without doubt Bellamy wished to escape the odium and the adverse criticism which would certainly attend the introduction of iconoclastic ideas relative to love, marriage, and domestic life. . . . Bellamy was implying changes which he did not wish to state openly."⁵⁵ In an article entitled "Bellamy's Missing Chapter" Bowman suggests that Bellamy wrote a chapter on women for Equality in which he demanded easy divorce, the removal of sexual proprietorship, and the rearing of children by the state. According to Bowman, Bellamy omitted this chapter from his second utopia "because the

⁵⁴Mary H. Ford, The Nationalist (November, 1889), pp. 352-357.

⁵⁵Bowman, p. 269.

world was not ready for its contents",⁵⁶ but his brother Charles included it in his utopian novel. There seems to be insufficient primary evidence for this supposition. Daniel Aaron simply blames Bellamy's "distaste for intense emotions"⁵⁷ as the reason for the lack of new creative roles for emotions and sexual feelings in his utopia.

An important function of women's equality was to improve the race genetically. Bellamy shared his era's fascination with genetics and eugenics. He once praised a farmers' group which discussed controlled human breeding, and he wrote in several editorials that the dumb, the insane, the deaf, and the tubercular should be educated to avoid marriage and mating.⁵⁸ Equality would permit women, who instinctively appreciated their child-bearing function, to choose their mates freely. Consequently, the race would improve by permitting the exercise of Darwin's theory of natural or sexual selection in an enlightened form of human stock raising.⁵⁹

⁵⁶ Sylvia Bowman, "Bellamy's Missing Chapter", in New England Quarterly, XXXI (March, 1958), p. 47.

⁵⁷ Daniel Aaron, "Bellamy - Utopian Conservative" in Edward Bellamy, Novelist and Reformer, p. 13.

⁵⁸ Bowman, p. 239.

⁵⁹ Bellamy, Looking Backward, pp. 269-270.

Thus, equality in Looking Backward is qualified by Bellamy's image of women as maternal, selfless, and pure. Women, according to Bellamy, are more capable than men of sympathy and self-sacrifice. It is women's duty, presented in a recurrent image of women as judges, to insist on the perpetuation of "impersonal" values. The novel concludes with Julian meeting Edith in the garden, where she is gathering flowers. He says: "Kneeling before her with my face in the dust I confessed with tears how little was my worth to breathe the air of this golden century, and how infinitely less to wear upon my breast its consummate flower. [i.e. Edith] Fortunate is he who, with a case so desperate as mine, finds a judge so merciful."⁶⁰

In Looking Backward Bellamy assumed that material well-being was a pre-condition of morality. Many utopians in the nineteenth century would not resolve the contradictions between spiritual growth and industrial technological growth. Nevertheless, to appeal to a post-industrialized Christian readership, a utopian proposal had to account for both. Daniel Aaron also suggests that, "neither the pure visionary nor the soul-less materialist touched the heart of Americans

⁶⁰Bellamy, Looking Backward, p. 332.

. . . America in their eyes was already a splendid garden, and would become even grander once the forest had been obliterated and machinery replaced the wildness."⁶¹

The majority of utopian fiction is both technologically as well as spiritually progressive. Utopians used the new industrialism optimistically, and only occasionally glanced over their shoulder at the lost Golden Age. Although the end of some utopias is a mechanical paradise, in Looking Backward industrialization is a precondition of moral development. Technology in Looking Backward freed the individual from the concerns for survival. It eliminated competition so that the individual could merge with others in a religious type of transcendental solidarity. Bellamy denied both the romantic and materialist distinction between real and ideal by asserting that earthly prosperity was an inescapable foundation for spirituality. At the same time, he humanized the machine by demonstrating that technology could solve the problems of housework, climate, transportation, working conditions, housing, pollution, and leisure. This view of Bellamy's technology is in disagreement with Lewis Mumford's, who claims

⁶¹Aaron, "Bellamy - Utopian Conservative", p. 8.

that in Looking Backward the machines are not subordinated to human ends, but to the engineers concept of efficiency.⁶²

David Bleich approaches the issue of technology in Bellamy's thought from a socio-psychoanalytical perspective. He suggests that Bellamy described a transcendence from labor through technology that pre-dates Marcuse.⁶³ Bleich, however, mis-reads Bellamy when he asserts that in Looking Backward "Life becomes art ... work and play are identified ... alienated labor is replaced by libidinal work relations."⁶⁴ The force behind the Industrial Army is hardly libidinal. Labor is shared to allow for leisure, sports, and education, but in Bellamy's utopian construct work is not synonymous with play. That vision appears in fact in retrogressive or pastoral utopias such as A Traveller from Altruria by William Dean Howells. In Altruria workers gracefully glide through the fields singing chants in praise of the harvest.

⁶²Mumford, p. 173.

⁶³David Bleich, "Eros and Bellamy," American Quarterly, XVI, (Fall 1964), pp. 448-449.

⁶⁴Bleich, "Eros and Bellamy," pp. 457-458.

In the nineteenth century "progress" originally referred to economic and industrial growth. Bellamy accepted the Social Darwinists' view that the state and individual were also evolving organisms, analogous to biological species. Bellamy extended the concept of evolutionary progress to the society and the race. By adding humanism to the notion of progress he created an industrial vision of human perfectibility. The concept of regeneration had been popular in the American tradition from Paine to Thoreau. It is a theme which can be found in pre-Civil War politics and literature in the writings of the Abolitionist Movement, in the literature of the utopian settlements, and in the poetry of the "Romantics". One Sunday afternoon in utopia Julian hears a radio sermon in which the Rev. Barton says that the most glorious triumph of the new society is the liberation of man's true nature. This society recognizes that "human nature in its essential qualities is good, not bad, that men by their natural intentions and structure are generous, not selfish, pitiful, not cruel, sympathetic, not arrogant."⁶⁵

The doctrine of human perfectibility was original-

⁶⁵Bellamy, Looking Backward, p. 287.

ly popularized by Condorcet in the late eighteenth century. Bellamy added the corollary that rebirth depends on the right socio-political conditions. In asserting the possibility for human perfection, Bellamy rejected that part of the Social Darwinism, formulated by Herbert Spencer, John Tyndall, Thomas Huxley, and William Graham Sumner, which described society as the product of base competitive human instincts. By the late nineteenth century, developments in industry and empire had been readily justified by a philosophy which nationalized competition by extending Darwin's biologically based theories of natural selection and survival of the fittest to social processes. Economic rivalry became an analogy for biological competition. Social Darwinism sat comfortably with the beliefs of laissez-faire and Christianity. Laissez-faire asserted that non-intervention in economic competition would produce the most good for the most people, while Christianity encouraged people to accept poverty as indications of God's will.

Social Darwinism, laissez-faire, and Christianity all mitigated against social change. Dr. Leete explains this process to Julian. People in the nineteenth century "had been taught and believed that greed and self-

seeking were all that held mankind together, and that all human association would fall to pieces if anything were done to blunt the edge of these motives or curb their operation. In a word, they believed, -- even those who longed to believe otherwise -- the exact reverse of what seems to us self-evident; they believed that is, that the antisocial qualities of men, and not their social qualities, were what furnished the cohesive force of society."⁶⁶

Many critics attacked Bellamy's attitude toward the capability for individual growth. Some claimed, "man was incapable or unworthy of a larger measure of social felicity than he enjoyed."⁶⁷ A reviewer in the Chicago Inter-Ocean proclaimed, "the element of self-seeking in our nature is too integral to be eradicated by any amount of altruistic teaching."⁶⁸ In rebuttal to Bellamy, The Los Angeles Times announced that "self-aggrandizement is the natural tendency of human nature."⁶⁹

⁶⁶Bellamy, Looking Backward, p. 282.

⁶⁷Schiffman, "Edward Bellamy's Altruistic Man," p. 203.

⁶⁸Ibid.

⁶⁹The Los Angeles Times, March 18, 1894.

Rev. Barton summarizes Bellamy's ideas on human nature in his parable of a rosebush, "planted in a swamp, watered with black bog water, breathing miasmatic fogs by day, and chilled with poison dews at night." Referring to the religious thinkers of the nineteenth century, Barton says, some "held that the bush belonged to the rose family, but had some ineradicable taint about it, which prevented the buds from coming out." The Social Darwinists held that it was "a more valuable discipline for the buds to try to bloom in a bog" because the "buds that succeeded in opening might indeed be very rare." Meanwhile the bush was perishing. Finally the idea of transplanting the bush was again suggested, "and this time found favor". "So it came about that the rosebush of humanity was transplanted, and set in sweet warm, dry earth . . . Then it appeared that it was indeed a rosebush. The vermin and the mildew disappeared, and the bush was covered with most beautiful roses, whose fragrance filled the world."⁷⁰

Bellamy does not specify the method or timing of this bush transplant. Nevertheless, the years immediately preceding the publication of Looking Backward

⁷⁰Bellamy, Looking Backward, p. 290.

were periods of energetic resistance by working people who were seeking to change the economic conditions of political capitalism. This resistance was countered by the forceful use of the military and the police. The newspapers blamed the strikers for initiating the violence and many intellectuals became frightened. Many reformers were similarly torn between abhorrence of the conditions of capitalism and fear of workingclass people. It was in this context that Bellamy offered the leadership of the Nationalist Party to "respectable men". Bellamy wrote his military friend, Col. Thomas Higgensen that he wanted "the social issue taken out of the hands of blatant blasphemous demagogues" and placed "before the sober and morally minded masses of American people. Not until it is so presented by men whom they trust will they seriously consider it on its own merits."⁷¹ The narration of Looking Backward is presented exclusively through the point of view of professional men, teachers, or ministers, represented by Dr. Leete. Although Dr. Leete repeatedly describes the working people's satisfaction with Nationalism, we

⁷¹Bowman, pp. 126-130.

see only one worker, a waiter, who is really a college student on leave, in action. We never see the new regime from the workers' point of view.

Bellamy avoided the issue of class conflict by positing a peaceful transformation from capitalism to Nationalism. Individual corporate monopolies evolved automatically into one vast national trust. Bellamy consciously avoided a class focus both in method and rhetoric. He wanted a movement which would appeal to all, which would promote "the solidarity of the race and the brotherhood of man." The Declaration of Principles in The Nationalist, May 1889, which Bellamy endorsed, said, "we advocate no sudden or ill considered changes; we make no war on individuals; we do not censure those who have accumulated immense fortunes."⁷²

Bellamy did not believe that workers were capable of leading a movement on their own behalf. In "How I Came to Write Looking Backward", he portrays the nineteenth century laborer as a helpless and pitiful brute: "He feels in some dumb, unreasoning way oppressed by the frame of society, but it is too heavy for him to lift. The institutions that crush him down assume to

⁷²"Declaration of Principles", The Nationalist, May, 1889.

his dulled brain the inevitable and irresistible aspect of natural laws"⁷³ Bellamy openly feared movements which were associated with working class leadership, or which had socialist members. Morgan refers to a series of letters between Bellamy and Cyrus Willard which indicate Bellamy's fear of socialists participating in the Nationalist movement, despite Willard's insistence that this was a tactical necessity. Willard futilely cited the popularity of Looking Backward among socialists in an attempt to persuade Bellamy.⁷⁴ Bellamy likewise rejected the name "socialism" for his movement because he felt the term was associated with immigrants, workers and un-Americanism in general. In a letter to William Dean Howells, he said, "In the radicalness of the opinions I have expressed I may seem to out-socialize the socialists, yet the word socialist is one I never could well stomach. In the first place it is a foreign word in itself and equally foreign in all its suggestions. It smells to the average American of petroleum, suggests the red flag, with all manner of sexual novelties, and an abusive tone about God and religion, which in this

⁷³Bellamy, "How I Came to Write Looking Backward", p. 220.

⁷⁴Morgan, see in particular, Chapter. XI "The Nationalist Movement".

country we at least treat with decent respect."⁷⁵

Along with other critics, Charles Sanford characterizes Bellamy's Boston of the year 2000 as a "middle class paradise", which incorporated ideals popular with the bourgeois in the late nineteenth century.⁷⁶ Sanford states that Bellamy resisted a system of a sub-division of capital on an egalitarian basis because he felt that it would arrest material development. With economic democracy Sanford feels that Bellamy retained the "libertarian" features of the old society. As an intellectual Bellamy demonstrated a "middle class faith in the power of reason" to mold the "dictates of the heart in shaping human destiny." Bellamy, according to Sanford, was also in the mainstream of the middle class tradition in his philosophy of gradualism. Bellamy's belief in peaceful transformation led through propaganda of intellectuals is seen by Sanford, as well as by other critics, as an explicit rejection of the Marxist theory of class struggle and the formula of revolution. Essentially, Bellamy re-vitalized the success story. In the

⁷⁵Letter from Edward Bellamy to William Dean Howells, June 17, 1888, in Joseph Schiffman, "Mutual Indebtedness: Unpublished Letters of Edward Bellamy to William Dean Howells" in Harvard Library Bulletin, XII, p. 370.

⁷⁶Charles Sanford, "Classics of American Reform Literature" in American Quarterly, X (Fall, 1958), pp. 295-311.

tradition of the popular Horatio Alger stories, Looking Backward held out the possibility of economic opportunity for the little man.

Many critics have tried to trace Bellamy's relationship to earlier socialists, a difficult task because Bellamy never cited the sources for his ideas. Furthermore many of his papers and letters, as well as sections of his journal were burned in a fire at the home of his first biographer. Therefore, in order to describe the origins of Bellamy's philosophy, it is necessary to proceed through the comparison of ideas, or cite authors whom Bellamy reviewed or referred to in his editorials: Pushkin, Maurice, Kingsley, the Russian socialists, Joseph Arch, and Charles Bradlaugh.⁷⁷

The two best known socialist reformers writing in America in the 1880s whom Bellamy ought to have known were Henry George and Laurence Gronlund. Henry George popularized the idea of a vast single tax on profits. This simple solution at first attracted socialists and class conscious unionists because of its attack on capitalism. Eventually his failure to condemn the wage system or accept nationalization led to a break between

⁷⁷Bowman, p. 104.

George and many socialists, reformers, and trade unionists. In 1884 Laurence Gronlund published Cooperative Commonwealth, which presented a modified form of Marxism that lacked revolution. Gronlund wished to legislate capitalism out of existence and to establish a democratic socialist economy. There are parallels between Bellamy and Gronlund but Bellamy claimed in a letter to Howells that he had not read Gronlund's book before writing Looking Backward.⁷⁸

During the 1880s attitudes toward socialism became polarized in the United States. The newspapers of the 1880s blamed such labor activities as the Gould strikes of 1884, and the Haymarket Riots of 1886, as the fault of socialists and anarchists. The popularization of socialistic and anarchistic ideas was seen to be the responsibility of immigrants, who were increasingly forming the laboring population in America. Groups such as the Grangers, the Knights of Labor, and the Sovereigns of Industry were beginning to advocate some socialist principles. The influx of Germans after the German Parliament passed the "Exceptional Law" against socialists in 1848 and the arrival of thousands of

⁷⁸Letter of Edward Bellamy to William Dean Howells, June 17, 1888, p. 370.

French working people after the suppression of the Paris Commune in 1871 helped stimulate the spread of socialist ideas.

Socialism, nevertheless, was also part of the American political tradition since the 1820s. The ideas of Robert Owens and Charles Fourier had been popularized by the American cooperative communities in the 1820s and 1830s. There were, as well, the early socialist writings of Thomas Skidmore, The Right of Man to Property, 1829; L. Byllesby, Sources and Effects of Unequal Wealth, 1826; and William Thompson Essay on the Destiny of Wealth, 1824. Albert Brisbane wrote Social Destiny of Man in 1840. We can assume, therefore, that the socialist tradition of which Bellamy was a part was also in the tradition of an indigenous response to the intellectual, social, and economic conditions of America.

In the post-Civil War period, there was also a good deal of early socialist activity in America. The National Labor Union was flourishing. In 1869 the Social Party affiliated with the International Workingmens Association. In 1870, the Marxian General Council shifted from London to New York. In the early seventies connections were made between the old First Internationale and the trade unions. By the 1880s there were

three socialist parties in the United States which, although they varied in method from the legal and evolutionary approach of the Socialist Labor Party to the violent tactics of the International Working People's Association, essentially agreed on the abolition of private property, and the necessity for class struggle. Victoria Woodhull had published the first complete English version of the Communist Manifesto in Woodhull and Claflin's Weekly, although Das Kapital had not been translated into English by 1886.⁷⁸

Bellamy, however, announced, "I have never been in any sense a student of socialistic literature, or have known more of the various socialist schemes than any newspaper reader might."⁷⁹ He differed from the scientific socialists over the issue of class identification, working class leadership, the method of social change, and the basic concept of ideality. Essentially Bellamy's view was evolutionary rather than revolutionary. He said, "We seek the final answer to the social question not in revolution but in evolution; not in destruction but in fulfillment."⁸⁰ He believed

⁷⁸Letter of Edward Bellamy to William Dean Howells, June 17, 1888, p. 370.

⁷⁹Ibid.

⁸⁰Edward Bellamy, The Nationalist, May, 1889.

that Nationalism would enforce the partnership rather than the clash of the inherently conflicting interests of capital and labor. Nationalization could eliminate the motive and possibility for revolution. When a reporter once asked Bellamy why he had not portrayed the means of attaining his new society, he replied that it is easier to induce a bachelor to marry after he has seen a beautiful bride. In other words, Bellamy assumed that a portrait of an established ideal state would indicate that it was attainable as well as desireable. The presentation of a model was his contribution toward change in America.

In his famous parable of the coach and riders in Looking Backward, Bellamy gave his view of the economic and class situation at the end of the nineteenth century,

I cannot do better than to compare society as it then was to a prodigious coach which the masses of humanity were harnessed to and dragged toilsomely along a very hilly and sandy road. The driver was hunger and permitted no lagging ... Naturally [the places at the top] were in great demand and the competition for them was keen ... For all that they were so easy the seats were very insecure, and at every sudden jolt of the coach persons were slipping out of them ... Was not their very luxury rendered intolerable to them by comparison with the lot of their sisters and brothers in the harness ... Oh yes, ... when the

vehicle came to a bad place in the road
 ... the desperate straining of the team,
 ... the pitiless lashing of hunger, the
 many who fainted at the rope and were
 trampled ...⁸¹ made a very distressing spec-
 tacle ..."⁸¹

The allegory presents the situation of the ruling class as mere passengers on the economic coach. The "driver is hunger". Ruling class people also compete for their position ("seats") and face the constant insecurity of its loss. They are not in any way responsible for the economic situation. Bellamy in fact constantly returns to the precariousness of their own situation. The effect of the analogy is to focus on the coach per se, and differentiate it from the riders. The current crisis is a mere incident on the road.

In Looking Backward Bellamy did give a very vague indication of the course of transition from capitalism to Nationalism. Dr. Leete tells Julian that the new order had peacefully evolved out of tendencies toward consolidation which had been evident in monopoly capitalism. With the increasing sympathetic participation of government, monopolies, trusts, and consolidations were organized into "the one great business corporation in which all other corporations were absorbed; it be-

⁸¹Bellamy, Looking Backward, p. 10.

came the one capitalist in the place of all other capitalists, the sole employer, the final monopoly ... The Great Trust."⁸²

This becomes an unwitting justification for the status quo. Bellamy described the situation of nineteenth century monopolies as a "necessity", a "link", "a transition phase in the evolution of the true industrial system."⁸³ The monopolies provided the "invaluable and indispensable"⁸⁴ office of educating the people in this method of economic control. Bellamy said that as well as demonstrating that monopolies also showed the potential for efficiency in a large system, they also showed the profit making potential of industry. This is, essentially, the sum total of Bellamy's comments on change in Looking Backward, an evasion which was immediately attacked by his critics. In response, Bellamy established the Nationalist Party.

The lack of a basic methodology for change soon lost Nationalism the support of political reformers, and by the mid-1890s, the party leadership was in the

⁸² Bellamy, Looking Backward, p. 56.

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

hands of the spiritualists and Theosophists. When membership dropped off, Bellamy turned to re-education as the pre-requisite for political change, the theory he outlined in his second utopia, Equality. Now Bellamy conceded that because the press, the educational system, and the churches were controlled by capitalism, reformers' only recourse was to books and tracts. He vaguely predicted a "Great Revival" which would inspire people to free themselves from the bondage of their own egos. The Nationalists need never attack capital but instead, again invoking a military metaphor, they should use a "flanking" movement, by which state controlled industries would simply eliminate private industry through increased efficiency and lower prices - the old rationale of laissez-faire. In Equality Bellamy maintained that this peaceful revolution could be completed in the early 1900s in all the democratically advanced countries of the world.

Primarily, therefore, Bellamy differed from the socialists by disassociating himself from the working class. His attitude towards working people is illustrated in an episode in Equality. Dr. Leete and Julian come upon a statue entitled "The Strikers", in which the figures are cast in heroic size, suggesting "cour-

age and brawn" to Julian. He notices however that their features are "coarse and hard in outline". Julian asks why these men are honored as "the pioneers in the revolt against capitalism" since he knew them as "ignorant narrow wage oriented fellows." Dr. Leete replies, "Look at those faces ... Has the sculptor idealized them? Are they the faces of philosophers? Do they not bear out your statement that the strikers, like the workingmen generally, were, as a rule, ignorant, narrow minded men, with no grasp of large questions, and incapable of so great an idea as the overthrow of an immemorial economic order?"⁸⁵ Leete adds that these strikers, nevertheless, are the unwitting instruments of good, furnishing with their "crude initiative" the brute force required to bring on the new industrial order, while the "cultured men and women" will espouse the cause with their "voice and pen" and lead them to greener pastures. A book like Looking Backward "will set Caliban thinking".

Looking Backward: The Fable

The fable sections cooperate with the manifesto sections of Looking Backward to establish the reader's

⁸⁵ Edward Bellamy, Equality (New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1897), p. 206.

understanding of Bellamy's political intent. First, the fable or story sections, which alternate with the manifesto or politically descriptive sections, helped popularize the utopia. As William Dean Howells noted, the story is in the "sugar coated form of a dream" through which Bellamy "slipped in a dose of undiluted socialism."⁸⁶ Bellamy himself commented, "The form of the romance was retained, although with some impatience, in the hope of inducing the more to give it at least a reading."⁸⁷ He wrote elsewhere that fictional situations were "inserted to give color to the picture".⁸⁸ Thus the political necessity was an important selective criterion for the fiction. The second function of the fictional form was that it was Bellamy's method of testing the logic of his political assumption or psychological hunch within the context of a story.

Moreover, a third political function of the fable, a traditional function of the romance genre, was to satirize nineteenth century society. While the mani-

⁸⁶William Dean Howells, "Editor's Study", Harper's New Monthly Magazine, XXVII (1888), p. 154.

⁸⁷Bellamy, "Why I Wrote Looking Backward", p. 202.

⁸⁸Bellamy, "How I Came to Write Looking Backward", p. 224.

festos sections are set in the 20th century and are used to describe Bellamy's political goals, the fable sections are mostly set in the nineteenth century, and portray Bellamy's critique. It is an effective contrast. All the portrayals of the nineteenth century occur within the fable sections. The social and political situation of the late nineteenth century determines the course of Julian's romance with the original Edith. Julian's changing relationship and attitude towards the nineteenth century is the touchstone or indication of his change from an egocentric to socialistic individual. It is in the nineteenth century settings, symbolized in the utopian world by the anachronistic private underground vault, that he comes to terms with the twentieth century Edith. Julian must shed his guilty sense of responsibility for the nineteenth century before he can attach himself to the new society, represented by Edith Leete.

~~6-2~~. James Hart, in The Popular Book, claims that, "all through the last decades of the century and well into the opening of the new one, it was not supposed that a reader could endorse both a realistic novel and a romantic one ... people identified realism with an inartistic presentation of facts related to degradation,

pessimism, and radicalism, alien to the finer spirit of romance."⁸⁹ This fails to account for the long popularity of the romance form in which an idealized world is contrasted to the real society which is described in sordid detail, as in As You Like It, The Tempest, The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn and The Blithedale Romance. In this century the form is evident in such popular books as God Bless You Mr. Rosewater by Kurt Vonnegut and In Watermelon Sugar by Richard Brautigan.

Structurally Looking Backward proceeds through the story of the moral and political development of Julian West. Before Julian West can become a full member of the egalitarian society, he must rid himself of his aristocratic and egocentric world view. He must then purge himself of his guilty sense of responsibility for those ideas. Julian must, in turn, accept the principles and methods of Bellamy's scheme. Because the political development occurs in the manifesto section and the personal changes occur in the fable section, these processes are, for the most part, structurally distinct in Looking Backward. They are linked,

⁸⁹Hart, p. 186.

however, through Bellamy's corollary that egalitarian societies will produce altruistic people. The synthesis of the fable and manifesto occurs through the character of Julian himself. He is a fictional demonstration of Bellamy's optimistic faith in the impact of environment on the individual.

When the fable begins Julian describes himself as "rich and also educated, and possessed therefore all the elements of happiness enjoyed by the most fortunate in that age. Living in luxury, and occupied only with the pursuit of the pleasures and refinements of life, I derived the means of my support from the labor of others, rendering no sort of service in return."⁹⁰

Julian is a genteel intelligent Bostonian who is prevented from marrying his sweetheart, Edith Bartlett, because of strikes by construction workers which have delayed the completion of his house. He explicitly defines his relationship to the situation at the time, "As one of the wealthy, with a large stake in the existing order of things I naturally shared the apprehensions of my class. The particular grievance I had against the working classes at the time of which I write, on account of the effect of their strikes in postponing my wedded bliss, no doubt lent a special

⁹Bellamy, Looking Backward, p. 8.

animosity to my feeling toward them."⁹¹ It is an indication of the materialistic basis of his life that he needs the new mansion in order to get married. When the fable opens, Julian is the "personal" man, defining his attitude toward the economic crises of the times through his own egocentric upper class perspective.

Julian is an insomniac which, in Bellamy's scheme, indicates that the "personal" is dominant. This symbolic use of insomnia can be seen in many of Bellamy's short stories and is outlined at length in his early novel Six to One. One night Julian was troubled by the strikes and his delayed marriage. In order to sleep, he has himself mesmerized in a remote underground vault. The vault, the sleeplessness and the hypnotism are Hawthornesque. While in the trance Julian's house burned and everyone assumed that he was dead. After a "sleep" of 113 years Julian is discovered by Dr. Leete and his daughter Edith, and is awakened into cooperative Boston in the year 2000.

The action of the fable contains many stereotypes from the sentimental popular romance of the period. It is spring, May, when the action, the rebirth of Julian

⁹¹Bellamy, Looking Backward, p. 19.

begins. He is the familiar romance figure: a traveller to a new and strange land. The setting is appropriately timeless. There is no descriptive sense of development, or dialectic between time, growth, and environment that exist in the novel. Typically there is also a love story between unequals, but in this case this inequality is moral and political rather than economic. The hero must undergo some change, achievement, or initiation before he can win the pure heroine Edith Leete. The resolution of a mystery, artificially introduced, is typically resolved through the discovery of a locket. Edith Leete turns out to be the grand-daughter of Julian's first love, Edith Bartlett. Both the medallion and the discovery of lost relationships are tropes common to the sentimental romance.

The resolution of Julian's "personal" obsessions precedes his acceptance and espousal of Nationalism. In the fable sections Julian joins the long line of American "Adamic" heroes. He has fallen from his potential state of perfection through the temptations of class, money, and power, and is redeemed by recognizing his commitment to his fellow men. In the opening sections Julian is portrayed as aristocratic and arrogant. In the new Boston, however, he feels

guilty and isolated when he is faced with his individualism, and at such moments he returns to his underground vault. In his transition Julian feels he belongs nowhere and tells Edith, "Has it never occurred to you that my position is so much more utterly alone than any human being's ever was before that a new word is really needed to describe it?"⁹² Edith, however, always penetrates his isolation and returns him to humanity.

In contrast to the struggling hero of the fable sections, in the manifesto Julian is the dry socratic foil to Dr. Leete. He is naive, curious, and easily convinced. His only action is to lead Dr. Leete on with just the right suggestive word to launch the doctor into another long explanation. The description of the utopia moves from the general to the specific, as Julian gradually accepts the logic and rationale of the cooperative community. Any "tension" is merely rhetorical, for there is no genuine philosophical conflict. Unlike the fable sections where Julian effectively demonstrates the snobbishness and individualism of an aristocrat, in the manifesto sections he is an entirely inadequate spokesman for the nineteenth century.

⁹²Bellamy, Looking Backward, p. 296.

Julian is a demonstration of Bellamy's belief in the relationship between an egalitarian society and the development of humanitarian men. Julian's conversion is complete when he becomes a spokesman for cooperation in a dream visit to nineteenth century Boston. The focus of the dream is on Julian's changed perception as he recognizes the waste, the poverty, and above all, the "shameless self-assertion" of pre-cooperative America.⁹³ Julian sees the nineteenth century counterparts of the institutions he saw in Boston, 2000. The dream virtually parallels the structure of his visit to the twenty first century community, beginning with a general view of the streets, proceeding to the shops, factories, and institutions of finance. Julian, like Dr. Leete, refuses to attack the people who benefit from capitalism and perpetuate it, and forgives the owners, "They must earn a living and support their families, and how were they to find a trade to do it by which did not necessitate placing their individual interests before those of others, and that of all? They could not be asked to starve while they waited for an order of things such as I had seen in my dreams."⁹⁴ Julian reproduces Bel-

⁹³ Bellamy, Looking Backward, p. 313.

⁹⁴ Bellamy, Looking Backward, p. 316.

lamy's a-historical view of monopoly capitalism when he asserts that competition merely arose from an "original mistake".⁹⁵ He adds apologetically, "I was merely thinking of the horror without any attempt to assign responsibility for it."⁹⁶

Julian perceives the changes both in himself and in his political analysis. Like the narrator in the last stanzas of Song of Myself, the observer, the voyeur, becomes part of the experience through his new world view: "No more did I look upon the woeful dwellers in this Inferno with callous curiosity as creatures scarcely human. I saw in them my brothers and sisters, my parents, my children, flesh of my flesh, blood of my blood ... I not only saw but felt in my body all that I saw."⁹⁷ He says that it is because he has seen "the ideal, the possible" that he is able to respond to the situation. In Julian's case, utopia as a model has succeeded in bringing about personal change. Julian describes his guilt for his earlier life in Christian rhetoric, and runs away, chased by "voices of blood"

⁹⁵ Bellamy, Looking Backward, pp. 319-320.

⁹⁶ Bellamy, Looking Backward, p. 327.

⁹⁷ Bellamy, Looking Backward, pp. 323-324.

which shout, "what hast thou done with thy brother Abel."⁹⁸

The fable ends on a note of defeat. Perhaps when Bellamy tested out his philosophy in fiction he discovered that he had not produced a method of political change after all. Although Julian wakes up again in utopia and thus the fable has a happy ending, (much to William Dean Howells' relief)⁹⁹, Julian is totally unable to persuade his nineteenth century friends of the potential of cooperation and the evil of competitive capitalism. He is, in fact, unable to reproduce what Bellamy has done. Julian, like Bellamy and the other utopians, is unable to use visions of the ideal state as a method of producing social change. The concept of utopias as a model to be imitated, fails. Julian, like Bellamy, addressed his appeal to aristocrats. He too denied that the class structure was a central method through which monopoly capitalism was maintained. The problem, Julian finally insisted, was "not the crime of man, nor of any class of men, that made the race so miserable, but a hideous ghastly mistake, a colossal world darkening

⁹⁸Bellamy, Looking Backward, p. 325.

⁹⁹William D. Howells, "Preface", in Edward Bellamy, A Blindman's World and Other Stories, p. vi.

blunder."¹⁰⁰

The Response to Looking Backward

When Benjamin Ticknor was considering the publication of Looking Backward, Bellamy wrote to him, "If you tackled it, how soon could you bring it out? I am particularly desirous that it should see the light as quickly as possible. Now is the accepted time, it appears to me, for a publication touching on social and industrial questions to obtain a hearing."¹⁰¹

As Bellamy foresaw, the public readiness was a major factor which contributed to the enormous success of Looking Backward. The conflicts between labor and capital had created a pressing desire for solutions. In the years immediately following the Pullman strikes and the Haymarket Riots Bellamy offered the secure solution of a form of state capitalism which would evolve peacefully. Because it would be controlled by a junta of military men and intellectuals, Bellamy's scheme protected his readership from the demands of the militant strikers. His plan would involve no economic sacrifices. There need be no fundamental changes in con-

¹⁰⁰Bellamy, Looking Backward, p. 328.

¹⁰¹Bowman, p. 115.

temporary patterns of social relations. He eliminated the need for unions, strikes, and socialist parties. Basically Bellamy's plan was comforting because it promised that the machines and the monopolies were the harbingers rather than the destroyers of progress. Looking Backward satisfied the troubled middle class conscience. As James Hart suggests, the period that had recently seen the American establishment of the Salvation Army and Jane Addams' Hull House in Chicago, "was sincerely concerned with the application of Christian principles to daily life."¹⁰²

Some critics believe that the fantasy element and story content were responsible for the popularity of Looking Backward. Granville Hicks claims that "readers picked up the book as seekers of amusement and laid it down converts."¹⁰³ Hart suggests that escapism was a major motivation for most book buying in the 1890s.¹⁰⁴ In an editorial on Looking Backward in Harpers Monthly, William Dean Howells said, "... here is a book which in the sugar coated form of a dream has established a dose of undiluted socialism, and which has been gulped by some of the most vigilant opponents of that theory

¹⁰²Hart, p. 102.

¹⁰³Granville Hicks, p. 140.

¹⁰⁴Hart, p. 109.

without a suspicion of the poison they are taking into their systems ... they have accepted it as the portrait of a very charming condition of things instead of shuddering at the spectacle in every fibre."¹⁰⁵

In addition to the love story, one element in the popularity of utopian fiction in a technological age lies in its mechanical and science fiction elements. The zipper, the sewing machine, the telephone, and packaged meats had already demonstrated that industrial technology could provide fascinating labor saving benefits. In the late 1890s Howells confessed that he first saw the mechanical inventions of Looking Backward as "sorry patches on the rags of our outworn civilization, or only toys to arouse our greed and vacancy."¹⁰⁶ He later recognized that Bellamy was portraying the availability of "things for lives hitherto starved of them" and that the inventions themselves were "part of Bellamy's democratic imagination."¹⁰⁷ Howells assumed that the average reader of Looking Backward would be a middle class villager,

¹⁰⁵ William Dean Howells, "Editor's Study", Harper's New Monthly Magazine, LXXVII (1888), p. 154.

¹⁰⁶ William Dean Howells, "Edward Bellamy" in Atlantic Monthly, LXXXII (August, 1898), p. 254.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

who had "read much and seen something" of modern inventions and desired to have them.¹⁰⁸ Bellamy was aware of this readership too, and in one of his journals he added, "a hungry man can imagine a feast far better than a full one."¹⁰⁹

According to both W. D. Howells and A. E. Morgan, another reason for the vast popularity of Looking Backward is found in the "American-ness" of Bellamy's perception. Morgan notes that, "Americans felt inferior to Europeans. Edward Bellamy performed the incalculable service of believing in what was peculiarly American and in catching the genius of its spirit."¹¹⁰ Howells said that Bellamy was "a most American man" who understood that the "average" American would have to "start to heaven from home".¹¹¹

Reviews and criticism quickly marked the book as an object of controversy which also contributed to its popularity. Most critics focused on the political ideas in the book, and with the exception of William D. Howells, few perceived its value as fiction. Howells in-

¹⁰⁸Howells, "Edward Bellamy", p. 255.

¹⁰⁹Bowman, p. 117.

¹¹⁰Morgan, p. 244.

¹¹¹Howells, "Edward Bellamy", p. 255. See also Hart, Chapter 11, "When Knighthood Was in Flower" for description of other popular books of this period which are self consciously "American".

initiated the debate with a favorable review in Harpers. Cyrus Willard, editor of The Boston Globe, wrote that the novel had altered his thinking about the possibilities of cooperation.¹¹² Lawrence Gronlund, the popular liberal economist, directed his agents to sell Looking Backward instead of his own book Cooperative Commonwealth. Many, like Huntingdon Smith, the translator of Tolstoy's works, admired Looking Backward for its optimism. "The crowning tribute to the merit of Mr. Bellamy's noble book is that we put it down with the question on our lips, why not today?"¹¹³ For similar reasons, the Christian Socialist's Dawn, the labor-oriented Standard, and the liberal Arena and Lend a Hand also publicized the novel.

The attacks on Bellamy followed soon after the praise. One common attack, uttered for example by John Bates Clark, Professor of political economy at Smith College, was that Bellamy's ideas would crush individualism.¹¹⁴ Others attacked his mechanistic ma-

¹¹²Bowman, p. 119.

¹¹³Morgan, p. 246.

¹¹⁴Ibid.

terialism. William Morris, for example, called it a "Cockney's paradise". This was also the basis of criticism of Thomas Higgensen who later converted to Nationalism. In 1890 he characterized nationalism as a "statue with feet of clay and limbs of iron, and forehead of brass, ... with a cigar in its lips and a wine cup in its right hand."¹¹⁵ Many used the familiar argument that America could not afford socialism.¹¹⁶ Others feared the book as a "new crusade against property".¹¹⁷ Professor W. T. Harris denounced Looking Backward as dangerous and un-American: "Perhaps rather one should say that others propose reforms, but Mr. Bellamy proposes revolution. They are like physicians who propose to cure the body, while he proposes to get rid of the body altogether."¹¹⁸ William Higgs, writing in The Yale Review summarized the conservative attack. He claimed that Nationalism suppressed the individual, eradicated private property and philanthropy, and

¹¹⁵Thomas Higgensen, "Edward Bellamy's Nationalism", in Our Day, V (April, 1890), p. 337.

¹¹⁶Morgan, p. 246.

¹¹⁷Morgan, p. 247.

¹¹⁸W. T. Harris, "Edward Bellamy's Vision", in Forum, II, (October, 1889), p. 202.

destroyed competition, the foundations of our society which must be maintained.¹¹⁹

With the exception of one economist, Laurence Gronlund, the main praise for Looking Backward came from authors and reformers. A typical response is in Lynn Boyd Porter's preface to the popular proletarian romance, Speaking of Ellen. Following the symbolic portrait of workers chained in a dungeon Porter continues

As I stood there, lost in pity for the unfortunate, a sudden gleam shot across the darkness. A ray of blessed sun penetrated the noisome depths. The confined ones struggled to their feet and took deep breaths of joy! A heroic soul had scaled the outer wall, forced aside a heavy stone. I did not see the man, but someone said his name was BELLAMY.

I could not have made that bold ascent, but by the new light I saw many things. I learned that the prison had a door whose bolts, tho' rusted in their sockets, were not immoveable.¹²⁰

Thus, the praise and criticism of Looking Backward were vehement and dramatic. H. P. Peebles, a Los Angeles Nationalist, announced that every social cataclysm has a master mind. The Israelites had Moses, the Romans had Caesar, the French had Robespierre. "Bellamy" he adds, "is the Moses of today ... he has

¹¹⁹William Higgs, New Englander and Yale Review, LII (March, 1890), pp. 231-239.

¹²⁰Lynn Boyd Porter, Speaking of Ellen,

shown us that the promised land exists ... let us labor and wait."¹²¹

Because Bellamy described social, moral, economic, political, and psychological aspects of Nationalism, Looking Backward was a useful propaganda tool for a variety of interest groups. The Theosophists, the Women's Temperance Union, the National Council of Women, The Christian Socialists, the Grangers, The Farmers Alliance, the Populists and labor leaders all suggested the purchase of Looking Backward.

Looking Backward has never been out of print since its first publication. In "How I Wrote Looking Backward" Bellamy describes the book's initial reception: "Although it made a stir among critics, up to the close of 1888 the sales had not exceeded ten thousand, after which they leaped into the hundred thousands."¹²² By the end of the second year, Looking Backward had sold 200,000 copies. By December 1889, 10,000 copies were sold weekly. Within ten years one million copies were sold in the United States and England. Fifty years la-

¹²¹Morgan, p. 577.

¹²²Bellamy, "How I Came to Write Looking Backward", p. 217ff.

ter 5,000 copies a year were still selling in the United States alone.¹²³ The novel was rapidly translated into German, French, Italian, and Norwegian. Outside the United States it was published both serially and in book form. One reason we can assume that the vast popularity of Looking Backward was due to its political content is that American sales were highest in the Mississippi basin, the Mid West, and the Pacific West, areas where the Populist Party had strength. Finally, copies of Looking Backward that could not be sold were given away. Publications such as The Coming Nation, the Ladies Home Journal, the Indianapolis Leader, the People's Health Journal and the newspapers published by the farmers' alliance gave it away free or at reduced rates. The Grangers gave away 500 copies at a picnic.

These statistics are important for the student of literary history for they indicate that people were educated to the level where they would read for pleasure and knowledge, rather than just for basic information. By 1898 there were 15,000,000 public school pupils and 5,500 high schools. By 1900 there were over

¹²³Hart, pp. 170-171. See also Bowman, p. 121, who cites somewhat lower figures.

1,700 public libraries.¹²⁴ Thus, there was a vast reading public that was neither wealthy nor academic. Bookselling was an enterprise and Looking Backward was distributed through jobbers and retailers. Travelling salesmen sold it in the rural areas. After the International Copyright Law of 1891 was passed, it was as cheap to purchase an American book as a foreign one. These factors inevitably stimulated new authors to express their ideas in literature and benefit from the vogue of utopian literature which Looking Backward initiated. Many utopian novels written in the nineties were perhaps optimistically published at the authors' expense.

Looking Backward is also one of the only works of fiction which was chiefly responsible for the development of an organized political movement, Nationalism. The Nationalist movement followed two stages in its development. Between 1888-1891 local clubs were formed which were primarily devoted to propaganda. During the years 1891-1896 the Nationalists became directly involved in electoral politics, both on local levels and as active supporters of the Populist Party.

¹²⁴Hart, p. 183.

In July 1888 Bellamy congratulated the founders of the first Boston Club, Cyrus Willard and Sylvester Baxter, for their decision to first convert "the cultured and conservative class". He added that that was the "special end for which Looking Backward was written."¹²⁵ This became a permanent focus of Nationalism. Sylvia Bowman has surveyed the membership of the party. She found that the clubs were led by such figures as Edward Everett Hale, the philanthropist and novelist, Anne Whitney, the sculptress, Stuart Merrill, an author, John Lovell, a publisher, Clarence Darrow, the famous lawyer. Bowman concludes, "After reviewing these membership lists, it is easily understood why it was said that Nationalism had put 'the silk hat on socialism'."¹²⁶ She notes that there were few manual workers or immigrants on the lists. She suggests that "The Nationalist movement was, therefore, not one of the proletariat but one for the proletariat."¹²⁷

Journals, newspapers, pamphlets, as well as longer fictional works were the media used by the nearly 200 Nationalist clubs to propagate their theories. By 1890

¹²⁵Bowman, p. 124.

¹²⁶Bowman, p. 128.

¹²⁷Ibid.

there were over fifty Nationalist newspapers, including its own journal, The Nationalist. The Nationalist published articles describing the movement's beliefs, reform issues, politics, and industry in general. In 1891 Bellamy decided to replace The Nationalist with The New Nation, partly for financial reasons but majorly to remove the party organ from the overly spiritual influence of the Theosophists. Bellamy hoped that the movement was ready to undertake local electoral action for municipal control of power plants.

One of the most important cultural responses to Looking Backward was the publication of over one hundred American utopian novels between the years 1888 and 1900. Bellamy's influence is found in nearly all of them to some degree. Since these works will be examined in the next chapters, here it is sufficient to say that more were written against than in favor of Looking Backward; many imitated his literary devices; some even used the same characters. Looking Backward popularized a literary form which many authors used in presenting opinions which heretofore had been relegated to the media of tracts, journals, sermons, lectures, and journalism.

Looking Backward also had a lasting influence. In the 1930s Charles Beard, John Dewey, and Edward

Weeks independently prepared lists of the twenty-five most influential books since 1885. All three ranked Looking Backward second only in influence to Marx's Das Kapital. Albert Levi claims that "Looking Backward has probably produced more native American socialists than any reading of Marx, Engels, Lenin, or the customary European sources."¹²⁸

Edward Bellamy died in 1898 without becoming disillusioned with the course of Nationalism. By the mid-nineties The Nationalist had become the journal for Theosophy, and its replacement, The New Nation, folded in 1894. Politically, the demands of the party had been subsumed to the Populists' vague united front; Nationalism thereby shared the farmers' defeat when their movement was absorbed by Bryan and the Democratic Party. Nevertheless, in the year Bellamy was dying of tuberculosis, he told the English journalist William Stead that his cause did not "share the debility of its servants" and added that he had a new plan to bring socialism to America by packing the Supreme Court with Nationalists.

¹²⁸Levi, p. 131.

Edward Bellamy did not make a frontal assault on the institution of political capitalism. His utopian books may well have diverted many readers from concrete action on behalf of social and economic change. Nonetheless, his imaginative optimism, if not his political architecture, stimulated hundreds of authors and literally millions of readers to consider egalitarian solutions to the economic crises of the late nineteenth century.

CHAPTER IV
THE LITERARY DISCIPLES OF
EDWARD BELLAMY: THE PATIENT PROGRESSIVES

In the four years following the publication of Looking Backward many works of utopian fiction were quickly published to capitalize on the popularity of Bellamy's book and to defend Nationalism against criticism by anti-utopians and conservatives. This group of utopian fiction appears only between 1889-1892, during the height of the Nationalist movement. These works imitate, and in some cases, merely reiterate Bellamy's programmatic world. If they expand Bellamy's system at all they either include more details or carry it further into the future. ^{Owing} ~~Due~~ to their simple derivative nature the direct imitations of Looking Backward are the least effective utopias both as fiction or propaganda. Utopianism, which by definition is a fantasy projection of political ideas, requires ratification through fictional demonstration. All of the utopian authors who most blatantly imitate Bellamy's political system ignore his technique of representing the society in fictional realization with well developed character and action as well as setting. In the history of the form they are generic dead-ends. This category includes:

- Crawford S. Griffin Nationalism 1889
- Frederick Worley Three Thousand Dollars a Year, Moving Forward or How We Got There, The Complete Liberation of All People 1890
- Albert Chavannes The Future Commonwealth, or, What Samuel Balcom Saw in Socio-land 1892
- Samuel Crocker That Island, A Political Romance 1892
- L. A. Geissler Looking Beyond, A Sequel to "Looking Backward" by Edward Bellamy and an Answer to "Looking Further Forward" by Richard Michaelis 1891
- Stephen H. Emmens The Sixteenth Amendment 1896
- Bradford Peck The World a Department Store 1900
- Charles Caryl A New Era 1897
- Henry Francis Allen A Strange Voyage: A Revision of the Key of Industrial Cooperative Government, An Interesting and Instructive Description of Life on Planet Venus. By Pruning Knife. 1891
- Thomas Lake Harris The New Republic: Prospects, Dangers, Duties, and Safeties of the Times 1891
- M. Louise Moore Al-Modad or Life Scenes Beyond the Polar Circumflex, A Religious-Scientific Solution of the Problem of Present and Future Life. By an Untrammelled Free Thinker. 1892
- George Harris Inequality and Progress 1897

Zebina Forbush : The Co-opolitan; A Story of The Cooperative Commonwealth of Idaho 1898

Henry Olerich : A Cityless and Countryless World 1893

Crawford S. Griffin quickly published Nationalism in 1889, and he was probably the first direct imitator of Bellamy. In his preface he also cites his philosophical debt to Laurence Gronlund. Griffin was most impressed by two main aspects of Bellamy's program: the availability of free "necessaries of life"¹ and the use of utopianism as a way to avoid mass violence.² There is no substantial fictional realization of his utopia. In Nationalism Griffin expands Bellamy's catalogues of the goods and services which society ought to provide freely to all citizens. In addition to Bellamy's demand for public nurseries and housing, Griffin includes free clothing, liquor, and travel. Thus, he has no use for credit cards or paper money.

Griffin believes that America has sufficient space, food, and resources to provide for a large and growing population. He explicitly attacks Malthus' doctrine as the "doctrine of ignorance."³ He says that everyone

¹Crawford S. Griffin, Nationalism (Boston: C. S. Griffin, 1889), p. 4.

²Griffin, p. 6.

³Griffin, p. 47.

should have the right to survive, including non-industrious people, because, "Lazy people are, without exception, the children of over-worked mothers."⁴ Moreover, people's wants will diminish as they become more educated and spiritual. Free supplies, Griffin asserts, will eliminate physical necessity, the basic origin of crime. Robbery, for example, is an indicator of poverty. It is also another, albeit illegal, form of competition.

Griffin ascribes to the Nationalist idea that socialism is an inevitable end of social evolution. Because it is "immediately feasible", people need not take action, but rather "refrain from doing anything through fear of selfishness, that will prevent the natural results of what they [the Nationalists] have already done and are now doing."⁵ In Griffin's contradictory system progress is inevitable and change is voluntary. In fact, "the whole revolution consists in abolishing nothing."⁶ Change will easily come when "a few of the richest men in this country ... suggest,

⁴Griffin, pp. 8-9.

⁵Griffin, p. 5.

⁶Griffin, p. 18.

though quietly, that the government ought to own the railroad. Congress will take the hint at once."⁷ Meanwhile, utopian fiction will prepare for Nationalism by re-educating the masses about public ownership. By picturing the successful establishment of collective ownership, utopian fiction will forestall the public's impatient desire to obtain it illegally.⁸

In 1890 Frederick Worley privately published Three Thousand Dollars a Year, Moving Forward or How We Got There. Like Nationalism, Three Thousand Dollars a Year also reproduced Bellamy's politics without his developed fictional sub-structure. In addition to Bellamy's belief in the pre-condition of monopolization of private capital, Worley asserted that the formation of cooperatives was also a moving force in the development of Nationalism. He imagined that between 1890-1925 wealthy Christians would help impoverished individuals form retailing cooperatives, which would soon extend into wholesaling and producing cooperatives.⁹ Worley de-

⁸Griffin, pp. 61-65.

⁹Frederick Worley, Three Thousand Dollars a Year, Moving Forward by Beniface (pseud.) (Washington: J. P. Wright, printer, 1890), pp. 7-8.

scribed how Nationalists and cooperatives joined together through municipal elections to purchase urban owned heat, utilities, such as laundries, and food preparation centers. He insisted that nothing was seized by the government. For example, cooperatives purchased certificates of deposit to buy the railroads from private corporations.

Finally Worley demonstrated how cooperatives and nationalism solved the race problem. Wealthy whites established and superintended factories where "colored people" were employed. Eventually, black cooperatives were formed which slowly attracted white clientele. Meanwhile Nationalism provided equal educational opportunities for black people, and became the first government to protect their rights.

In his first utopia, The Future Commonwealth, Albert Chavannes developed a Bellamy-esque society in Africa based on Darwinistic principles of non-intervention. He includes a minimal plot: a middle class traveller meets his guide on the boat en route to Socioland. The utopia is revealed in the narrator's letter to his brother. This utopian country was founded by American sociologists as an academic experiment in Nationalism. According to Chavannes the natural law is complete,

whereas man-made or artificial laws and traditions, particularly religion, impede the natural development of human happiness. The Christian injunction to "obey the Lord in all things" has impeded the free development of American institutions whose basic test for survival is their potential to contribute to human happiness. The fear of hell impeded natural evolutionary growth. Chavannes claimed that American people still accepted "spiritual despotism."¹⁰ He asserted that biblical laws contravene natural desires and should be replaced with a standard of conduct which accords with the laws of evolution. Man is basically good, and if allowed to freely develop, his instincts alone would lead to the greatest happiness for the greatest number.¹¹

Chavanne's society would therefore not be as strict as Bellamy's. He predicted that with more freedom, people would respect each other rather than respect laws. Although ownership in Socioland was placed in the hands of the township, Chavannes asserted that prices would regulate themselves along the lines of supply and demand. While he borrowed from Bellamy the policies of

¹⁰ Albert Chavannes, The Future Commonwealth, or What Samuel Balcom Saw in Socioland (New York: The True Nationalist Publishing Co., 1892), p. 67.

¹¹ Chavannes, pp. 67-68.

collective ownership, dining houses, travel cards, and free services, he warned Bellamy that Nationalism would prove acceptable only in so far as it knew how to reconcile economic organization with personal liberty.

Samuel Crocker in That Island (1892) accepted Bellamy's institutions but disagreed with the Nationalists over the method of change. On That Island, the narrator-visitor encounters Laforelle Laffallette, a "scolar, sage, humanitarian, reformer, patriot, author, orator, and statesman."¹² Lafallette, who is also rich, tells the narrator that he plans to deliver his people, but he says that as "advocates who have spent so much thought on these questions, you and I cannot be too careful in forcing our opinions onto the uneducated lest we drive them into still greater complications before they are intellectually prepared to comprehend the beneficial importance of such a change."¹³ Lafallette says that his radicalism is acceptable because it is based on intellectual analysis and philosophical

¹² Samuel Crocker, That Island, A Political Romance by Theodore Oceanic Islet (pseud.) (Oklahoma City: C. E. Streeter Co., 1892), p. 53.

¹³ Crocker, pp. 61-62.

study. For the present he and the narrator can "carry" the less educated "half way up the hill of reform."¹⁴ After the masses are "sufficiently educated to more fully comprehend the grand tactics so well understood by you, I and others," the intellectuals can "elevate" them to industrial, social and political equality.¹⁵ Eventually the narrator and Laffallete secretly publish and distribute a utopian novel which jolts the people into recognizing their own conditions. A convention is held and Laffallete is nominated for president. The platform is a synthesis of Nationalism, Populism, and Georgism, and includes demands for nationalization for railroads, free silver, low interest loans, the abolition of the protective tariffs and the establishment of a property tax after \$1,000.¹⁶

Ludwig Geissler wrote Looking Beyond A Sequel to Looking Backward¹⁷ in response to Richard Michaelis'

¹⁴Crocker, p. 63.

¹⁵Crocker, p. 64.

¹⁶Crocker, p. 125.

¹⁷Ludwig Geissler, Looking Beyond A Sequel to Looking Backward and An Answer to Looking Forward (New Orleans: L. Graham and Son, 1891).

conservative attack in the anti-utopia Looking Further Forward¹⁸. In Geissler's story, each of Michaelis' points are rebutted, one by one. The radical advocate of anarchism and free love in Michaelis' story, Mr. Fest, turns, in Geissler's tale, into a liberal officer who only wants to slightly democratize the army. Fest cannot abduct the heroine, Edith, as he does in Michaelis' story, because Geissler says that he is in love with another woman. In addition to revising Michaelis' adventure narrative, Geissler includes a long predictable debate between a capitalist and a Nationalist.

The capitalist, Forrest, claims that the Industrial Army has destroyed personal liberty through the requirement of three years manual labor, the lack of workers' suffrage and the pressure of constant job ratings. Furthermore, with ten million clerks and ten million officers, the Industrial Army has provided the government with unlimited patronage and sinecures. Meanwhile, the lack of competition and individual initiative has destroyed creativity. The Nationalist replies that performance rather than favoritism leads to rank, that

¹⁸Richard Michaelis, A Sequel to Looking Backward, or, Looking Further Forward (U.S. Rand McNally and Co., 1890).

competition destroys efficiency, and that members over forty are more experienced when they vote. Above all, economic equality is a just principle. The main appeal of Nationalism in Looking Beyond comes from the likeable group of young characters who are attractive, romantic, and patriotic. Although Looking Beyond is programmatically ineffectual as a response to Looking Further Forward, The New Nation characteristically claimed that, "Mr. Geissler has not only effectually disposed of Mr. Michaelis, but made a useful and interesting contribution to the Nationalistic literature."¹⁹

In 1896 the publication of Bellamy's sequel to Looking Backward, Equality, also provoked a series of replies, which, like the original, were not cast in fictional forms. These included the pro-Bellamy utopia Inequality and Progress, 1897, by Professor George Harris,²⁰ the well-known theologian from Andover Seminary, and the anti-Bellamy utopias Our Industrial Utopia and Its Unhappy Citizens by David Wheeler²¹ and

¹⁹"Review of Looking Beyond" in The New Nation (21 November 1891), p. 683.

²⁰George Harris, Inequality and Progress (New York: Arno Press, 1972) reprint from 1897.

²¹David Wheeler, Our Industrial Utopia and Its Unhappy Citizens (Chicago: A. C. McClurg and Co., 1895).

Reality, or, Law and Order vs. Anarchy and Socialism by George Sanders.²²

In reviewing the utopias which were direct imitations of Looking Backward, it appears that Bellamy's disciples were able to add little to the system outlined in Looking Backward. They lack fictional innovation, and either continue Bellamy's story chronologically or apply Nationalism to a new locale. The few additions, such as Griffin's demand for free clothes and liquor are appendages to a world which, if faulty, was internally consistent. Furthermore, they lack the convincing quality of Bellamy's world, which persuades the reader through a 'logic' of fictional criteria: consistent plot and character interacting with setting.

The influence of Looking Backward is also manifested in these derivative utopias in the fictional treatment of the utopian book itself. In That Island Nationalism triumphs through the distribution of two million copies of a utopian novel, while the plot of The Beginning involves the creation of a utopian book which demonstrates the hero's new social conscience to the reluctant heroine.

²²George Sanders, Reality, or, Law and Order vs. Anarchy and Socialism (Cleveland: The Burrows Brothers Co., 1898).

These authors, it is clear, had naive faith in the political effectiveness of utopian fiction. Charles Caryl included a contest at the end of New Era for people selling the most copies of the book.²³ Warren S. Rehm, who published The Practical City in 1898 under the pseudonym Omen Nemo, ends his utopia with a request for the addresses of sympathetic readers.²⁴ Zebina Forbush²⁵ and Bradford Peck,²⁶ among others, request funds to establish the ideas of their books. None of the books requesting aid attained a large enough circulation to have any tangible results.²⁷

Another characteristic of the disciples of Bellamy is their shared fear of the words "communism" or "socialism". Albert Chavannes typically hedges in The Future

²³ Charles Caryl, New Era (Denver, Colorado: 1897).

²⁴ Warren S. Rehm, The Practical City, A Future City Romance by Omen Nemo (pseud.) (Lancaster, Pa.: The Lancaster County Magazine, 1898).

²⁵ Zebina Forbush, The Co-opolitan; A Story of the Cooperative Commonwealth of Idaho (Chicago: Charles H. Kerr and Co., 1898).

²⁶ Bradford Peck, The World a Department Store (Lewiston, Maine: Bradford Peck, 1900).

²⁷ Robert Shurter, The Utopian Novel in America (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Western Reserve University, 1936), p. 220.

Commonwealth. Although Socioland is as socialistic a state as possible, Chavannes says, "We ... are not socialists as you understand the term. All governments are socialistic, some a little more, others a little less. We are a little more and have entrusted the Commonwealth with the accumulation and use of a portion of our capital for the benefit of our people."²⁸ Henry Olerich in A Cityless and Countryless World equivocates with the phrase "practical cooperative individualism".²⁹ Zebina Forbush, Charles W. Caryl, and Bradford Peck advocate "cooperation". James M. Galloway³⁰ and B. J. Wellman³¹ adopt the phrase Nationalism. Partly this hedging indicates a fear of movements which had a large immigrant membership. Furthermore socialism implied abolition of private property and communism implied class struggle and many utopists wanted neither. Nonetheless, all of the disciples of Bellamy share his belief in the equal distribution of wealth which was to

²⁸Chavannes, p. 5.

²⁹Henry Olerich, A Cityless and Countryless World (Hostein, Iowa: Gilmore and Olerich, 1893).

³⁰James M. Galloway, John Harvey, A Tale of the Twentieth Century by Anon Moore (pseud.), (Chicago: Charles Kerr Co., 1897).

³¹B. J. Wellman, The Legal Revolution of 1902 (Chicago: Charles Kerr Co., 1898).

be achieved either through establishing equality of wage and property, the abolition of inheritance, the abolition of interest, or even the abolition of money itself. Most of these books contain mock histories which satirize American economic and political development. Most involve governmental regulation of the economy. None of them advocate revolution as a means of change.

The followers of Bellamy all viewed technology as a tool to improve the standard of living, eliminate hard labor and provide more leisure. None of the progressive utopians could imagine the contemporary achievements of modern technology in the fields of transportation, armaments, medicine or media of the past seventy years. Merrill predicted in The Great Awakening³² that in the 22nd century horseless carriages would go twelve miles an hour and sometimes fifteen. However, they envision a social potential of technology in America, including collective ownership of domestic and farm machinery, a four hour working day, and non-repetitious labor. These early suggestions of the ability and impact of technology form important contributions to American socialist thought.

³² Albert A. Merrill, The Great Awakening, The Story of the Twenty-second Century (Boston: George Book Publishing Co., 1899).

CHAPTER V
THE CONSERVATIVE UTOPIAS:
THE FUTURE MOVES TOWARD THE PRESENT

The demands in the 1880s and 1890s by labor, farmers' and women's groups for economic reform soon prompted a defense of the patterns and institutions of political capitalism.

Defenders of the status quo borrowed a weapon from the enemy and used futuristic fiction to portray an ideal albeit conservative utopia. Their defense was generally based on the "trickle down" theory of economics. Private enterprise would accept the responsibility for the general welfare of the state. The government, in turn, would provide business with the assurance of new markets, and would further guarantee security, by attacking strikes and legislating against unionization, both of which interrupted the flow of prosperity. They claimed that the true interest of labor and capital, national prosperity, was the same. Capitalist utopians replied to the demands for economic equality with the arguments that labor was getting its fair share of the available profit, that waves of immigration proved that American labor was better off than European labor, or, in their more blatantly racist or sexist statements, that labor got what it deserved.

Authors of conservative utopias believed that progress comes through two channels: technology and overseas expansion, two channels allocated to surplus value in the capitalist system, according to Marxist analysis. They accurately predicted that there is no absolute link between technology and equality. Because they had no social or utilitarian requirement for inventions, technologically the conservative utopias are seen as more imaginative than those organized along socialistic principles. Instead of dishwashers or rapid transport, these utopians predict false teeth for dogs, mechanical valets, or color photography for crime detection.

Since America is the best of all possible worlds, American capitalism should be spread across the globe. The ideal conservative government would provide capitalism with opportunities for foreign commerce - in particular, markets and natural resources - which would keep the economy booming and labor fully employed. Overseas expansion is justified in utopian fiction as an extension of the Monroe Doctrine of the 1830's, in which America announced its right to protect Latin America and Canada from exploitation by European countries. Thus conservative utopians posit a rise in the standard of living from imperialism, rather than from the equal

distribution of wealth and property. Arthur Bird announced in his conservative utopia "the purpose of this book is to clearly establish this important fact in the mind of every patriotic American: our glorious starry banner will rule the entire Western Hemisphere. It will be the emblem of Peace, Liberty, and Civilization, floating over a United America from Alaska to Patagonia. This is America's destiny."¹

Conservative utopians were not alone in their imperialistic beliefs; they used rationalizations which appeared in progressive utopian and anti-utopian fiction, as well as in sentimental and highbrow fiction. Conservative utopians divided the globe into "civilized" and "savage". The civilized powers were America, France, Germany, and England. Asia, Africa, and Latin America were "barbarian", Turkey, China, and India were "semi-civilized", and therefore subject to American or English imperialism. For example, Bird predicts that England will rule over the Turks, "these semi-civilized and blood-thirsty Turks, with a hideous history drenched in blood, champions of lust and rapine, oppressors of

¹Arthur Bird, Looking Forward, A Dream of the United States of the Americas in 1999 (New York: Arno Press Reprint, 1933, c. 1899), p. 4.

Armenia and violators of chastity..."² This division represents the conservative corollary that technological progress is inevitable and desirable. The same sentiments are familiar today in the modern categories "primitive" or "underdeveloped". The fictional portrayal of characters and nations also conforms to these stereotypes. "Barbarian" nations are unhealthy jungles, populated with passionate blacks or mysterious Chinese. After American rule the countryside looks like New England, and, through genocide or evolution, the inhabitants turn white. While there are a few set stereotypes which identify various European nationalities, Europe as a whole was old, tired, and corrupt, although highly cultured, while America was young, masculine, and imaginative, if not sophisticated.

Clerics, military theoreticians, and intellectuals added other rationales to the economic justification for imperialism. Well known Congregationalist Josiah Strong announced that America was the chosen instrument of a white Anglo-Saxon God. America should settle new territories in a spirit of righteous benevolence because, "It would seem as if these inferior tribes

²Bird, p. 49.

were only precursors of a superior race, voices in the wilderness crying: "prepare ye the way of the Lord."³

Arthur Bird similarly predicted that in 1999 cheap labor would be provided by the "submissive", obedient Negro, whose docile nature made him "available for the purpose of servitude."⁴ Typical of the coterie of Eastern urban Republicans who helped the Lord in this mission were Henry Cabot Lodge, the young Theodore Roosevelt, Elihu Root and John Hay and Alfred Thayer Mahon, the naval theoretician. Mahon, for example, encouraged President McKinley to develop the navy to stimulate as well as protect the export trade. The question of the morality of expansion, Mahon pragmatically announced, was "as little to the point as the morality of an earthquake."⁵ Brooks Adams said that America needed to control the Western Hemisphere in order to avoid socialism. He sought the extension of American territory from Canada to Latin America and the economic domination of Asia as barriers to this political plague. Mean-

³William Appleman Williams, The Contours of American History, p. 364.

⁴Bird, p. 226.

⁵Weibe, p. 234.

while Frederick Jackson Turner announced, prematurely, that the American frontier was closed, and American enterprise took the opportunity to look abroad for new markets, new supplies of raw materials, and new sources of cheap labor. In utopian fiction American authors replaced the frontier with the globe, or even the galaxy, as a new world to conquer. Historians such as Williams, Hicks, Robert Weibe and Gabriel Kolko all agree that businessmen saw the choice between the permanent situation of surpluses, unemployment, and strikes, or governmental intervention in establishing and maintaining new export markets. All these historians contradict Richard Hofstadter's assertion in The Age of Reform that imperialistic ventures in the 1890s were essentially unpremeditated ad hoc responses to events initiated by foreign powers.

In general, American business did not share England's "spheres of influence" approach to dividing up the world. It preferred President McKinley's "open door" approach, consistent with the tenets of laissez-faire, whereby all nations could compete for markets in any nation. By the 1890s the National Association of Manufacturers had established its own warehouses and agents in Asia and Latin America. Until 1897 there were also plans of expansion in China. As the anti-

utopian Arthur Vinton noted, America encouraged Chinese immigration as much to improve trade relations as to provide cheap labor.⁶

During the winter of 1897 when Spain invaded Cuba to put down an anti-government insurrection America intervened. American corporations had big investments in the island and many businessmen had by then recognized that America, a late developer, was already excluded from the Asian and African share of the world pie. America eventually defeated Spain on two fronts, Cuba and the Philippines, and took the opportunity of the treaty with Spain to add Puerto Rico to the new American empire. It was also at this time that the United States decided to annex Hawaii. When America went on to put down indigenous insurrections in Cuba and the Philippines, the rationalization that these nations were better off under American than Spanish rule was soon exploded. The brutality of the actions of the American military against Cubans and Filipinos prompted strong anti-imperialist statements even from such conservatives as Carl Shurz and Andrew Carnegie, who preferred

⁶ Arthur Vinton, Looking Further Backward (New York: Arno Press Reprint, 1973, c. 1891).

a more subtle economic form of domination.⁷ By the end of the decade America was prepared to commit itself to a course of vigorous imperialism.

This policy is reflected in the two major themes of conservative utopias: the projection of American prosperity through political capitalism and the prediction of worldwide industrial progress through American imperialism. These utopians create detailed mock histories which culminate in futuristic conservative societies. The category of conservative utopias includes:

John Macnie The Diothas or A Far Look Ahead 1884

Alvarado M. Fuller A.D. 2000 1890

John Bachelder A.D. 2050 Electrical Development of Atlantis 1890

Amos K. Fiske Beyond the Bourn, Reports of a Traveller Returned from "The Undiscovered Country"
1891

Walter H. McDougall The Hidden City 1891

Chauncey Thomas The Crystal Button, or Adventures of Paul Prognosis in the Forty Ninth Century 1891

William Simpson The Man From Mars, His Morals, Politics, and Religion 1891

⁷ For discussions of American foreign policy see William Appleman Williams, The Contours of American History, Walter La Feber, The New Empire, Walter Mills, The Martial Spirit and Richard Hofstadter "Manifest Destiny and the Phillipines" in Daniel Aaron, ed., America in Crisis.

John Jacob Astor A Journey in Other Worlds A Romance
 of the Future 1894

Arthur Bird Looking Forward, A Dream of the United
 States of Americas in 1999 1899

The theological, ethical, and economic justifications of the white man's burden are thoroughly explored in the conservative utopia The Hidden City, written by Walter McDougall.⁸ McDougall tells the story of a man who comes upon a hidden tribal civilization of American Indians and turns it into an idealized progressive industrial city.

The Hidden City extends the rationalization for overseas expansion to the ongoing conquest of native American Indians. The brutal Indian war⁵ in the 1870s and 1880s, including the campaigns against the Sioux and Cheyenne tribes until 1881, The Wounded Knee Massacre of 1890, and "Custer's Last Stand" at the Battle of Little Big Horn immediately preceded the decade of America's wars against Cuba and the Philippines. Critics such as Richard Slotkin and Leslie Fiedler⁹ have

⁸Walter McDougall, The Hidden City (New York: Cassell Publishing Co., 1891).

⁹See Leslie Fiedler, The Return of the Vanishing American (London: Jonathan Cape, 1968), p. 22. See also Richard Slotkin, Regeneration Through Violence: The Mythology of the American Frontier (Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 1973). A useful collection of primary documents of American Indian History is Richard Ellis,

suggested that Americans required a rationalization for the extermination of the one million original inhabitants of the land which was fulfilled, in part, by the portrayal of the Indian in literature. A justification for this domestic imperialism is reflected in the fictional portrayal of the Indian as a vicious savage. Chalpa, the bloodthirsty Indian of The Hidden City, is a descendant of the Pequot Indian in Mary Rowlandson's The True History of the Captivity, the Magua in James Fenimore Cooper's The Deerslayer, the Goshoot in Mark Twain's Roughin' It, or the Mohawks in Ed Ellis' Seth Jones, the biggest seller of them all. Alternatively, the American Indian was portrayed as The Noble Savage. In contrast to his evil brothers, the Noble Savage was intuitive, wise, physically adept, yet unable to cope with the inevitable trials of civilization. Born of French Romanticism, his descendants appear in Cooper, Longfellow, Whitman, and Thoreau, as well as the Prince in The Hidden City.

This schizoid aborigine left McDougall only two choices: genocide or assimilation. As an alternative to ritualized slaughter, the Indian might be domesticated

ed., The Western American Indian: Case Studies in Tribal History (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1972).

and absorbed in an appropriately isolated strata^{um} of the industrialized society. Leslie Fiedler writes, "How the Indian in his ultimate otherness has teased and baffled the imagination of generation after generation of European voyagers and settlers. How they have tried to assimilate him to more familiar human types, to their own mythologic stock-in-trade."¹⁰ This process of assimilation, what the anthropologists term "acculturation", is the political goal which informs the utopia in The Hidden City.

The book opens with a Turner-esque view of American history. The sheriff in a Western mining town is comparing his "'37" map of the territory with the government's newest map, in which he can find no areas marked "unexplored territories". In the midst of the debate, a balloonist lands in the main street. He says that he is organizing a rescue party for a colleague, Eric, who crashed two years ago.

The scene switches to Eric, equipped with electric battery, camera, medical instruments, and a rifle, landing on a cliff near the Indian village. Below, a beautiful virgin is about to be sacrificed to the sun

¹⁰Fiedler, p. 22.

unless a god appears and rescues her. The setting and situation is reminiscent of James Fenimore Cooper. The village is a circular maze of houses, caves, stairways, and tunnels. The tribal priests are corrupt. Only the old sage and a young child decry the slaughter and naively condemn the pagan ceremony of "bloody delights". Just as a priest is about to slay the virgin, Eric shoots the knife from his hands and the tribe believes that their god has returned.

Eric immediately plans to "elevate" the people. He feels impelled to render "their condition more in accordance with the times in which the barbarians dwelt."¹¹ He views the presence of over forty white members of the tribe as an indication of potential development: "The prospect began to be pleasant; he saw the future city with its waterwheels turning merrily, grinding the yellow corn, and pumping the water up into the irrigating channels and pipes - ay, and his mind roved on until he saw electric lights, telephone wires, and newspaper offices."¹² Eric easily convinces the others of the benefits of his world. He demonstrates his sulfur matches, steel ax, and binoculars. He re-

¹¹McDougall, p. 81.

¹²McDougall, p. 82.

moves a cataract from a blind priest. He uses his rifle to kill mountain lions and rattlesnakes. Meanwhile Eric falls in love with the virgin, the tender white, and passionate Lila, and also acquires a slave, a "dark" man whom he renames Johnnie, "who served his master devotionally as one ministering to the wants of a Superior being."¹³

The early history of the village Atzlan parallels the story of Atlantis. Once there was a golden city of Atzlan ruled by a beloved king. It was the Summer Age of their civilization, for, not only was this a wealthy nation, it was loved for its civilizing influence on other tribes: "They it was who taught the early dwellers on the shores of the sea how to build their houses, plant their seed, make their records, and worship their god ... They were white and bearded ... They were large men like you."¹⁴ When Atzlan was destroyed, appropriately in brimstone and fire, a remnant of the people survived in a cave. They emerged from the cave speaking many languages, and were scattered from each other by a wolf. A white man and a red women became the progeni-

¹³McDougall, p. 192.

¹⁴McDougall, p. 131.

tors of the new Atzlan. Eric tells the priests that the tribe shares a common mythology with other people, and plugs Ignatius Donnelly's book on Atlantis, which claims that the fire came from a comet that collided with the earth.¹⁵ Eric supplies a scientific American explanation for their mythology. Along Spencerian lines he suggests that the people who survived the catastrophe would be a very hardy race.¹⁶ Eric goes on to discover the lost relics of Atlantis, referred to in Plato, hidden in caves beneath the village. He finds examples of Greek, Mayan and even pictorial writing. Best of all there are gems and gold worth four hundred million dollars.

Within months Eric brings technology to the community: dams, mills, pottery glazes, food preservation, and the Bessemer process of smelting iron. None of the indigenous culture of the tribe is valued. Instead, McDougall uses the notion of Indian primitivism: "Like children the Atzlans listened, believing all that they heard, and, desirous to emulate the people who had learned so much, they watched all of Gilberts' enter-

¹⁵McDougall, p. 137.

¹⁶Ibid.

prises with a vague wonder and huge expectancy."¹⁷

When Eric lets the water into the mill for the first time he says, "My brothers, when I lift this gate you will begin to live in a new age. The past will be no longer with you."¹⁸ Unlike the heroes in the retrogressive or pastoral utopias, Eric never questions the assumptions of technology. In fact, he destroys the pastoral world which they deemed utopian. Iklapel the priest says,

Our brother is right. He has told me many things of the fair land he lived in before he came to us. In that land there is no night, for they turn it into day with many suns and moons which they have made themselves. They have great monsters that work for them unceasingly; they can speak to each other afar off, even when they cannot see each other; they make wood and gold and silver talk; they walk upon the water and under it, and they fly through the air like birds; they kill their enemies with their eyes and their thunder. We are glad that our brother has come to us.¹⁹

Thus, American technology, including military technology, is assumed to be beneficial for the tribal society, and is resisted only by "superstition, barbarism, and ignorance." Unlike progressive utopians who followed Bellamy, McDougall predicted that tech-

¹⁷McDougall, p. 182

¹⁸McDougall, p. 183

¹⁹McDougall, p. 267.

nology can thrive without affecting social or economic organization.

McDougall undermines resistance to Eric's plan by assigning the criticism to a Gothic villain, the treacherous priest Calpa, reminiscent of Rivenoak, typical Cooper "bad" Indian: Chalpa plans to regain power by becoming the new governor and sacrificing the virgin Lila. McDougall's plan is borrowed from Cooper and Scott, and involves mysterious murders, severed hands delivering messages, disguised spies, and strange forebodings of evil. This author does not share the progressive utopian's hesitancy to portray an enemy, and the villain attacks with full romantic evil. When Chalpa loses the election for governor, he kidnaps Eric and chains him ^{near} ~~to~~ a rising riverbank in a cave. As Eric dreams of his death and envisions his own corpse, he is rescued by an old priest, and together they send a knife to Lila who, (like Estella in the Populist utopia Caesar's Column by Ignatius Donnelly) is also told to protect her virginity or sacrifice her life. The perils and machinations mount to the point where even pragmatic Eric is intrigued: "This scouting savored so much of the romantic and perilous that it was fascinating. It brought back his boyhood dreams to him and filled

him with a queer sort of dime-novel heroism that was positively thrilling."²⁰

Just as he is rescuing Lila from Chalpa, a bugle sounds and Eric is rescued by the cowboys. There is the pre-requisite dime novel fight between Eric on one side and Chalpa and his followers on the other. The fight sequence uses devices borrowed from the popular cowboy and Indian fiction: boasts, insults, wetting down roofs, and sneak attacks. Above the action, in floats the balloonist with "The Continent of America" written on the side of the balloon. After the rescue, Eric tells the awestruck tribe: "Go to your homes and fear nothing ... Let there be rest and peace in Atzlan, for the new life has come to you; the old is gone, and we will be a new people."²¹

In the conclusion, Eric lectures the Atzlanians on the necessity of industrial civilization. He compares the history of Greece, Rome, Peru and Mexico to the history of America, and describes: "the race of Indians dying off the face of the earth because civilization is too powerful for them to resist, and they

²⁰McDougall, p. 267.

²¹McDougall, p. 295.

are too weak to accept its customs."²² The head priest decides to exchange the Indians' gold and ore for modern inventions. He appoints Eric as the new governor for the tribe, to "plan new enterprises [and] put into practise your theory of government." In return Eric promises him "to run this town myself after this and give it a boom." He plans to use industrial technology to exploit Atzlan's resources and turn the city into "a great stock company." Instead of leisure, sensuality, and handicrafts, the new community will be based on the principle of "work, work, work ... It is the soul, the life of the world; the arm and end of living - aye, 'tis life itself." Meanwhile the other cowboys of the rescue party trade axes and pocket knives for large amounts of gold, and Eric and the balloonist plan to place away "in some good solid securities a few millions" for themselves. "It is no more than other discoverers and conquerors have always done," they claim.²³

Eric appoints a "Board of Directors", composed of the most powerful men in the town, to advise him in planning the greatest city ever. Pierce goes East,

²²McDougall,, p. 303.

²³McDougall, pp. 308-312.

with three wagons of gold to purchase electricity, lighting plants, mining machinery, looms, "everything, in fact, that civilization could furnish from its plentiful store." Eric remains with his fair wife and willing slave, proclaiming Atzlan the city of the future, the city of "unspeakable glory." He modestly plagiarizes, "I have said it - it is good."²⁴

John Jacob Astor, author of the conservative utopia A Journey to Other Worlds, was a descendant of the millionaire industrialist of the same name.²⁵ This John Jacob Astor was interested in mechanics as well as finance. Early in his career he built the Astoria section of the exclusive Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York, invented a bike brake and an improved model for the turbine engine. Later, he was on the Board of Directors for Western Union, Equitable Life Insurance and the Illinois Central Railway. Astor was one of the first to offer his services when the Spanish-American War over Cuba broke out in 1898. At his own expense, he equipped a battery of artillery for service in the

²⁴McDougall, p. 318.

²⁵John Jacob Astor, A Journey to Other Worlds, A Romance of the Future (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1894).

Philippines and he placed his palatial yacht "Normandy" at the disposal of the Navy.

A Journey in Other Worlds describes the Republican utopia of America in the year 2000, and shows how benefits of conservatism could be extended on an interplanetary basis, through American investment and control. The three interplanetary conquerors are Col. Bearwarden, corporate president, Prof. Cortlandt, a geologist, and Richard Ayrault, like Astor, a thirty year old stock holder, a corporate vice president, and a scientist. At a stockholders' meeting of the Terrestrial Axis Straightening Co. they see via a live telecast that the corporation has successfully re-tilted the earth's axis, guaranteeing a perpetual spring climate. Cortlandt then announces that the development of technology has allowed America to complete her empire. He says that the needs for the imperialistic wars had stimulated scientific developments until, paradoxically, the creation of flying machines carrying asphyxiation bombs prevented all further wars. Cortlandt adds that in the process of empire building millions of people, including "unfortunately for us - undesirable people"²⁶ immigrated to America, which

²⁶Astor, p..24.

nonetheless increased the nation's purchasing power.

He says that at the present time, the year 2000, English has become the universal language because all formerly "unoccupied" land is now owned by English-speaking nations. Meanwhile "parts of South America, tiring of the incessant revolutions and difficulties among themselves, which has pretty constantly looked upon us as a big brother ... began to agitate for annexation ... In this they were vigorously supported by the American residents and propertyholders, who knew that their possessions would double in value the day the U.S. Constitution was signed."²⁷ By comparison, continental European "socialists - who have never been able to see beyond themselves" forced their governments into selling their colonies in the Eastern hemisphere to England and those in the Western hemisphere to the United States.²⁸

In Astor's utopia American technology has raised the international standard of living while the national political situation is virtually the same as it was in the nineteenth century, modified "only the extension of civil service examinations and the "lack of domination

²⁷ Astor, pp. 39-40.

²⁸ Astor, p. 41.

of our local politics by ignorant foreigners."²⁹

Under the pressures of technological advancement, the native people in Mexico, Central, and South America have shown a tendency to die out, while "the places left vacant are gradually filled by the more progressive Anglo-Saxons, so that it looks as if the study of ethnology in the future would be very simple."³⁰

Americans, however, are bored with their success and need new worlds to conquer and so Bearwarden, Cortlandt and Ayrault decide to take a voyage into space, where, according to Astor's assumption, the history of the planets repeats the history of the earth. The planets become mere extensions of American progress and history, which Cortlandt defines as a process of imperialism "as every place seems to have been settled from some other ... I do not see why, with increased scientific facilities, history should not repeat itself, and this be the starting point from which to colonize the solar system." Another scientist, Prof. Deepwater adds "as it will be quite an undertaking ... we shall have time meanwhile to absorb or run out all inferior races,

²⁹Astor, p. 77.

³⁰Astor, p. 74.

so that we shall not make the mistake of extending the Tower of Babel."³¹

The astronauts decide to visit Jupiter, which duplicates Earth's Mezozoic Age, and Saturn, which previews Earth's future development, although science in the fable is far behind the technology described by Cortlandt in the manifesto. The travellers are equipped with Kodaks, rubber boots, and snake medicine. They forget their food. Furthermore, Astor borrowed the gimmick of changing the terrestrial axis from Jules Verne, and the space flight is borrowed from contemporary science fiction. The adventures in Jupiter sound like a Mezozoic wild west show. The action is based on the Western adventures of dime novels, which by the 1890s, had fallen into virtually comic exaggeration and sensationalism. In Journey to Other Worlds, the heroes ride flying turtles, escape giant mastadons and battle white faced bats. They fight dinosaurs "with their backs to the center and their polished rifles raised"³², techniques popularized by Davy Crockett and Natty Bumppo. Cortlandt suggests that they try target practice on masses of coiled snakes, "as the func-

³¹Astor, p. 100.

³²Astor, p. 204.

tion of these reptiles ... is to form a soil on which higher life may grow, we may as well help along their metamorphosis by artificial means."³³ This therefore is a world to be owned, exploited, and enjoyed. Ayrault says, "This would look to me as the return of man to the Garden of Eden through intellectual development, for here every man can sit under his own vine and fig tree."³⁴ Or, as Astor more crudely puts it, the economic potential of Jupiter made Bearwardens "materialistic mouth water." "'This would be the place to live,' said Bearwarden, looking at iron mountains, silver, copper and lead formations, primeval forests, rich prairies, and regions evidently underlaid with coal and petroleum not to mention huge beds of aluminum clay ... It would be a joy and a delight to develop industries here ... On our return to the earth we must organize a company to run regular interplanetary lines ... Think also of the indescribable blessing to the congested communities of Europe and America, to find an unlimited outlet here'."³⁵

If Jupiter is the world of materiality, Saturn is

³³ Astor, p. 187.

³⁴ Astor, p. 262.

³⁵ Ibid.

the world of "ideality", the nineteenth century phrase for the idealization of forms as emblems of beauty and truth. Saturn is the world of white lilies, white birds, a world in which Bearwarden goes blind every time he tries to shoot an animal. The astronauts meet a spirit who tells them that Saturn exists in time as well as space. The Spirit promises them infinite Progress because "God made man in his own image; does it not stand to reason that he will allow him to become more and more like himself."³⁶ He tells them that science does not disprove the supernatural, but through the study of scientific laws, they will become less oppressed by their materiality. Humanity will evolve until it entirely discards the natural forms. In this manner, the serious questions in nineteenth century Christian thought about the theological implications of science and evolution are here resolved facilely, through traditional image and allegory, and the travellers return to earth.

In 2000 A.D. Alvarado Fuller, an army lieutenant, used science fiction devices to portray a utopian society based on militarism and technology.³⁷ A young cal-

³⁶Astor, p. 317.

³⁷Alvarado Fuller, 2000 A.D. (Chicago: Laird and Lee Publishers, 1890).

vary officer, Lieutenant Cobb is frustrated by the low pay in the nineteenth century military, and makes secret preparations for a long trance. One midnight, Cobb is driven through the back alleys of San Francisco to Surtro's Tower, which represents a western Statue of Liberty to the author. He enters the trance with an elaborate series of chemical and mechanical rituals.

In the year 2000 Cobb's instructions for his "awakening" are discovered in a vault in the treasury. With more mechanistic rituals he is released, restored, and sent to Washington as a hero. Conforming to the utopian stereotype, Cobb becomes ill when he realizes that his nineteenth century friends are dead and recognizes that he will be isolated by the differences between the new society and his nineteenth century world. To his relief, he soon discovers that the president of the United States is a descendant of an old army friend. In line with the utopian convention that the guide be a powerful old man, the President invites Cobb to the White House to learn about the new society. He tells him that an apocalyptic catastrophe, "the Great Cataclysm of 1916" occurred when an explosion at a natural gas plant released a flood of water, fire, and brimstone. It killed thousands of people and created

inland sea, the final realization of the inland passage. To replace gas, a new source of fuel, "lipthalite" was developed to empower a nationwide network of trains, airships, and submarines. Although this cataclysm comes from technological rather than social causes, like the scenes of catastrophe in other utopian fiction it implies that disaster precedes change, a pattern related to a fear of change and progress.

The cataclysm awakened America from its military stupor. Indicative of nineteenth century Anglophobia, America decided to help Canada fight England for its right to be annexed to the United States. By 2000 A.D. America has control of the entire Western Hemisphere, and secures the territory with a large army "to diffuse a military feeling among the people".³⁸ Because there is "no diversity of opinion" there is only one political party.³⁹ The president is nominated by a male electorate "high in social and civil standing."⁴⁰ There is one national newspaper. They have abolished the jury system because it was based on faith in "ignoramuses, a jury of men who had not read the events of the

³⁸ Fuller, p. 220.

³⁹ Fuller, p. 231.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

day, or if they had read them, then with such infantile idiotic minds..."⁴¹

Private property is maintained, but "limited" to one square mile per person. The government maintains its limited functions by high tariffs and profits on the railways. All governmental supplies are made by the free labor prisoners. Strikes are illegal, and firms are entitled to "regulate the prices of labor employed by them."⁴² Consistent with laissez-faire, if wages are cut, the laborer has only the right to quit work.

Although Cobb has been promoted to lieutenant colonel, he has been assured that he will someday become the chief ranking officer in the American military, and has been given millions of dollars in back salary when the government discovered that he was the original discoverer of many nineteenth century inventions. Nevertheless, Cobb is depressed. He longs to be a "man born of the period."⁴³ As he observes the romances of the coterie of young officers which surrounds the president, he becomes increasingly jealous and withdrawn

⁴¹ Fuller, p. 262.

⁴² Fuller, p. 268.

⁴³ Fuller, p. 285.

and he considers suicide. Meanwhile, the president's daughter discovers a copper cylinder containing the story of Marie Colchis, a nineteenth century lady who, perishing for love of Cobb, also entered a trance, and Marie is due to awake momentarily on a jungle island. The fable is never related to the manifesto, and 2000 A.D. concludes with the discovery of Marie, who unnecessarily disguises herself to test Cobb's love. The President of the United States restores her father's strongbox to this sentimental orphan, who discovers that it contains valuable scientific secrets and \$5,000,000 in jewels.

In A.D. 2050 Electrical Development of Atlantis, John Bachelder contrasts Bellamy's communistic utopia with the conservative utopia built on "competition tempered with laudable ambition", which is set up by the "prominent capitalist" Captain Jones.⁴⁴ According to Bachelder, Bellamy's utopia has an eighteenth century level of scientific and material development. Furthermore, Dr. Leete is a "communistic boomer" who has the "faculty of warping consistency out of recognizable

⁴⁴ John Bachelder, A.D. 2050 Electrical Development of Atlantis (San Francisco: Bancroft Co., 1890). p. 3.

shape."⁴⁵ Under Bellamy's system without competition the intelligent laborer has become bored and useless. He is dissatisfied with his allotment and resents the fact that an "indolent tramp and beggar" shares his prosperity. Bachelder suggests that Communists gained control in the United States when the masses were exhausted from anarchist protests. When Captain Jones sees that under the new communism "submission to authority was the acme of patriotism" and that individuality and "manliness" were being de-throned, he calls a meeting of Bostonian and New York capitalists.⁴⁶ They decide to invite people of "good reputation, intelligent and industrious" to emigrate to an island discovered by Captain Jones where they will create a society of science, industrialism and progress built along competitive lines.⁴⁷

The goal of Atlantis, the new island utopia, is to assist every member to accumulate \$100,000 worth of property. In Atlantis, the franchise is based on character, intelligence, and the accumulation of \$500. Com-

⁴⁵Bachelder, p. 7.

⁴⁶Ibid.

⁴⁷Bachelder, p. 61.

petition, rather than cooperation, is the stimulus to all mental and physical activity. There are strict rules of behavior. All men have close hair cuts. All women wear curly hair. The deaf, dumb, and blind are forbidden to marry. Everyone has a bedside button to call the police and there is constant police supervision from an enormous illuminated tower. Bachelder predicts the common modern practice of photographing everyone who cashes a check.

While the conservative utopia was being built back in Bellamy's world, the communists and anarchists of Europe have flocked to the United States, stimulated by free trade and free immigration. Thus, the "communist system gradually wasted its material resources; personal energy and mental stamina dwindled apace."⁴⁸ The weak economic situation tempted the Chinese to invade America. After a twenty year war the Chinese were finally defeated when the new explosive "eurekite" is dropped by the Atlantians, but the citizens of Atlantis determined to accumulate territories for their own protection. In the end Atlantis thrives, but in the United States, "The excesses of anarchy compassed a

⁴⁸Bachelder, p. 80.

complete destruction of the industries of the country, bringing in its train all the horrors and consequences of internecine war. Communism, with its plausible rhetoric and universal panaceas, stepped to the front when the contending forces had exhausted themselves, and for a period calmed the troubled sea of discontent, but resulting in a dearth of intellect and energy."⁴⁹

Beyond the Bourn, Reports From A Traveller Returned From "The Undiscovered Country"⁵⁰ by Amos Fiske justifies social evolution and laissez-faire economic principles in a religious utopia. In this conservative tract a mysterious stranger appears at the narrator's summer retreat and hands him a manuscript. Conventionally, the material in the manuscript is so urgent that the narrator feels compelled to publish it. This frame tale convention was used in the late nineteenth century to show discrepancy between two narrators, either for comic effect or to establish political distance between two voices. Here the frame tale technique, in which one narrator introduces the other, is used to ratify

⁴⁹Bachelder, p. 82.

⁵⁰Amos Fiske, Beyond the Bourn, Reports From A Traveller Returned From "The Undiscovered Country"

the political message. The acceptance of the tale by the first narrator, who defines himself as an upper middle class skeptical conservative, adds respectability to the utopian's ideas.

The manuscript, entitled "A New Revelation", is the autobiography of a man "chosen for affliction". Within a short period of time his parents die, his best friend is killed in the Civil War, his sister dies of grief at his friend's coffin, and his own wife and child die in childbirth. The narrator decides to leave his hometown and is immediately crushed in a train wreck. He awakens from his painful swoon in a spirit world.

A 2000 year old spiritual sage offers the victim a series of explanations or rationalizations for his earthly grief. He tells the narrator that difficult experiences on earth prepare the soul to enjoy the universe of God. An Infinite God did not make the universe "all at once, as with a touch of a magic wand, a theatric feat, but in due process of evolution."⁵¹ Fiske asserts that there is an aim, a "progressive purpose" in evolutionary development through which all souls will "attain freedom from the brute."⁵² Evolu-

⁵¹Fiske, p. 70.

⁵²Fiske, p. 75.

tion is defined as the "eternal spirit working in material substance toward its destined end".⁵³ All pain and poverty are thus justified. The spirit takes the narrator to another world in which man has completed his mastery over nature and himself. There is submarine and aerial transport, climate control and electric, gas, gravitational and solar forms of energy. The spirit says that here the technological developments have been attained through "voluntary cooperation" rather than socialism or communism. Indeed, in this world classes of the rich and poor still exist because otherwise, "what would be the use of continuing this mortal existence upon a material globe. The race might as well be disembodied at once, for it would have no further use for this material field of effort and of training."⁵⁴ Thus competition and the accumulation of wealth are seen as humanity's *raison d'être*. Finally, in an argument popularized in the nineteenth century by the famous Protestant minister Henry Ward Beecher, the spirit asserts that wealth is an index of superior capacity, implying consequently, a moral stewardship.

⁵³Fiske, p. 77.

⁵⁴Fiske, p. 106.

"Equal distribution," he adds, "destroys the springs of benevolence - and the motives of mutual helpfulness."⁵⁵

In a Mrs. Pardiggle suggestion that poverty should be maintained as an opportunity for charity, Fiske claims that the rich are necessary "to educate, to enlighten, and to elevate," the poor.⁵⁶ Along the conventional conservative lines, in this utopia there is little need for government or legislation.

Finally when the visitor asks how he can use this information on Earth, the spirit replies that in fact, it is better for the Earth to struggle and "die endowed with strength won by its own efforts." It is in Heaven that people of the Earth will find rewards for their perseverance. The spirit tells the narrator to accept the status quo and asserts "we cannot relieve the impoverished classes from any part of the burden or the hardship and would not if we could, for we trust God's wisdom and know that what is allotted to them is best."⁵⁷

The conservative utopian tradition is a fictional rendering of contemporary patterns, projected as the

⁵⁵Fiske, p. 107.

⁵⁶Fiske, pp. 107-108.

⁵⁷Fiske, p. 167.

inevitable manifestations of higher evolution. Conservative utopians promise that the nineteenth century processes of exploration and conquest would result in cosmic renewals that are, in the end, familiar. They take us neither into an unknown future nor a collective past. Conservative utopians do not lead us into the future ~~neither~~ through prophecy or memory, but through an aggressive demonstration of the belief that the future should look just like the present.

CHAPTER VI

THE ANTI-UTOPIAS: THE FEAR OF UTOPIA

Even before Looking Backward appeared in 1888, conservative authors began their attack on the liberal assumptions which were to be concretized so vividly in utopian fiction. In particular they attacked the assumption that science could create a better society, and they attacked the basic utopian premise that people were entitled to an egalitarian distribution of wealth and power. Thus, conservatives attacked the basic conjunction of egalitarianism and technology upon which most industrial utopian societies were based. Their response has been variously termed: negative utopia, anti-utopia, dystopia, or cacatopia.

Aldous Huxley prefaced his twentieth century anti-utopia, Brave New World, with a quote from the Russian author Nicholas Berdaeyev, which points to the major fears of the anti-utopians; "Utopias seem very much more realisable than we had formerly supposed. And now we find ourselves face to face with a question which is painful in quite a new way: How can we avoid their actual realization? Utopias are capable of realization. Life moves towards utopia. And perhaps a new age is begin-

ning in which the intellectuals and the cultured class will dream of methods of avoiding Utopia and returning to a society that is not Utopian, that is less 'perfect' and more free."

Berdaeyev is pointing to central themes in anti-utopian thought. First, he says, utopianism is frightening because it represents tendencies of the present rather than possible events of the future. He describes cyclic views of time and history, and posits a "return" to a pre-Utopian condition, a recapturing of a lost past. This reactionary return commonly occurs in anti-utopias when mechanization and democratization are destroyed. Finally, Berdaeyev attacks utopia because it is not "free". Freedom has a precise definition to the nineteenth century anti-utopian and embodies the era's conservative notions of individualism and laissez-faire.

As we have suggested in Chapter 1, during the last three decades of the nineteenth century American industry developed within the framework of a supportive, expanding federal government. Through executive, legislative and judicial actions and manipulations the industrialists and the politicians formed a powerful unit of monopolistic capitalism. Progressive utopians responded to the resulting poverty and exploitation by identifying

the advance of humanitarian concerns with the advance of industrialism and big government. They spoke to a readership which was both frightened by the strikes and militant protests against the new capitalism, and distraught at the unemployment, urban squalor and economic chaos in agriculture which sincerely upset their Christian consciences. Still progressive utopians urged patience suggesting that the last chapter of the bourgeoisie revolution had yet to be written. Evolutionary processes were going to guarantee that in the future of American individualism lay the future of an egalitarian civilization.

Anti-utopias were written in reaction both to the social and economic tendencies in American society and their promised fulfillment in progressive utopias. Specifically, anti-utopians retreated from the promise of a socialistic exploitation of science. In From Utopia to Nightmare Chad Walsh suggests the essentially conservative nature of this retreat. He says that to an anti-utopian, "The universe is what it is, the moral order is what it is, human beings are what they are. There are limits to how much of any three can be re-shaped."¹

¹Chad Walsh, From Utopia to Nightmare (New York: Harper and Row, 1962), p. 161.

Thus, anti-utopians assert that there are limits to how much we can change either the physical world, or the human being. I suggest that anti-utopians place the limits at the point where their property line ends. They want progress to stop at the capitalistic status-quo.

The fictional form of anti-utopias is essentially utopian parody. The motifs and structures of utopian fiction including the journey, the gimmicks, and the romance, are heightened and exaggerated, both to ridicule utopias and to demonstrate the consequences of utopian ideas carried to extremes. The setting is exaggeratedly mechanistic, positing an attack on the potential of utopian technology. Anti-utopian authors borrow the images for this technology as much from the traditions of the Gothic novel as from contemporary industrial products. Unlike the retrogressive or pastoral utopians such as the American William Dean Howells, or the Englishman ^vC. H. Hudson, American anti-utopians in the late nineteenth century are not attacking machines per se. They are predicting the destructive capabilities of technology when it is controlled by a socialist government. Unlike ~~the view of~~ George Kateb, Chad Walsh, or Robert Shurter, I find no distinction between the anti-utopians' attack on machinery and their attack on socialism. Anti-

utopians claim that machinery under socialism will develop its own volition, and transform rugged individuals into passive machine tenders. Socialist scientists will become dictators who destroy the individual by designing identical products, houses, and ideas. The world will become dependent on machinery because the machine will replace the individual.

Therefore, in anti-utopias, socialism uses the machine to destroy the individual and his property. Socialized machinery provides an egalitarian supply of commodities, which destroys competition and initiative. Anti-utopians assert that the laws of evolution define competition and inequality as biological necessities for growth and stamina. They suggest, furthermore, that gullible workers, influenced by foreign immigrants, will use the availability of machinery to attack and destroy property. Meanwhile, misguided socialists, under the guise of pacifism and internationalism, will dismember the American military and invite foreign invasion.

Embodied in this attack is a critique of two other utopian assumptions: the perfectibility of man and the inevitability of progress. To anti-utopians, man is neither good nor plastic. No amount of education can turn a common individual into a reliable wise ruler or

even a stable member of a mass. Man is inherently aggressive, sinful, and restless. To the anti-utopians, history is not progressive. They posit a collapse or regression to a time, often seen in Jeffersonian terms, which was pre-industrial, pre-immigrant and pre-urban. They portray natural or mechanical catastrophes which will simply erase the new civilization. Thus, there is a cyclic notion of time in anti-utopias in which the past will re-occur in the future.

Nearly all of the American anti-utopian fiction of this era was published between 1890-1894, a period which coincides with the peak of popularity of Looking Backward, the Nationalist movement, the height of the Populist movement, and pressures for radicalization within the labor union movement. By 1896 with the election of McKinley and the temporary exhaustion of reform energies, the conservatives took the offensive again. Instead of anti-utopias, they wrote reactionary utopias, portraying new societies of aristocratic imperialism. Thus they relaxed their attacks on utopian socialism per se. Included in the category of anti-utopias are:

- Alfred Denton Cridge - Utopia: or, The History of an Extinct Planet - 1884
- Anna Bowman Dodd - The Republic of the Future or Socialism a Reality - 1887
- Richard Michaelis - Looking Further Forward An An-

- swer to Looking Backward - 1890
 Arthur Dudley Vinton - Looking Further Forward - 1890
 Charles Elliot Niswonger - The Isle of Feminine - 1893
 J. W. Roberts - Looking Within The Misleading
Tendencies of Looking Backward
Made Manifest - 1893
 W. W. Satterlee - Looking Backward and What I Saw
- 1890
 Solomon Schundler Young West - A Sequel to Edward Bel-
lamy's Celebrated Novel Looking
Backward - 1894
 William N. Harben - The Land of the Changing Sun -
1894
 Charles J. Bayne - The Fall of Utopia - 1900
 Catherine Atwater Mason - A Woman of Yesterday - 1900

The Republic of the Future or Socialism a Reality
 by Anna Bowman Dodd typifies the politics and techniques
 of anti-utopian fiction.² It was published in 1887, the
 year after the Haymarket Riots, the year of the trials
 of six anarchists whom, historians agree, were the scape-
 goats for the tremendous anti-socialist propaganda which
 dominated the press and the party platforms. The Repub-
 lic of the Future was published by the large firm of Cas-
 sell's National Library in a ten cent paper-back edition.

²Anna Bowman Dodd, The Republic of the Future or
 Socialism a Reality (New York: Cassell and Co., Ltd.,
 1887).

With the exception of this work, the entire Library was devoted to the classics. Since The Republic of the Future is only of minor literary relevance, we can take this as an indication of the timeliness of the topic. The narration consists of a series of letters from "Wolfgang", a visitor to New York Socialistic City, to his friend Hannewig in Sweden, in the year 2050 A.D.

Wolfgang finds that the struggle for survival which has been eliminated by American socialism is in fact necessary for psychological survival. Dodd assumes that equality leads to sameness. Monotony, "the result of the plan on which this socialist city has been built, comes of course from the principle which has decreed that no man can have any finer house or better interior, or finer clothes than his neighbor."³ Machinery, meanwhile, induces decadence and the narrator is easily seduced into asking the mechanical servants for things he doesn't want.⁴ Ultimately, the easy accessibility of mechanization and the satiation of physical desires creates a sense of despair and nihilism in the citizens "who have the look of people who have come to the end of things

³Dodd, p. 21.

⁴Dodd, p. 18.

and who have failed to find it amusing ... who wander with hands in their pockets, on the lookout for something that never happens."⁵ Thus Dodd finds that social and economic struggle are necessary for intellectual survival.

Secondly, Dodd suggests that the realization of women's equality has destroyed the culture as well as the family. Women's demands for mechanized cooking eventually lead to bottled meals in pellet form. Because the women now work as engineers, firemen, and mechanics, children are turned over to the state at birth and "all family life has died out."⁶ Women then use the vote to abolish all pictures and artifacts from the home in "the largest women's vote ever polled since men can't create a mechanical duster."⁷

Along with most other utopian and anti-utopian authors, Dodd cannot imaginatively envision the ways in which new economic and social reality would break into the sex role stereotypes. She fails to trace consequences of her new realities on characterization. Dodd claims that

⁵Dodd, p. 23.

⁶Dodd, p. 40.

⁷Dodd, p. 33.

"The perfecting of the women's movement was retarded for hundreds of years, as you know, doubtless, by the slavish desire of women to please their husbands by dressing and cooking to suit them."⁸ Because socialist women now refuse to be stylish, as that placed them in oppressive situations, there has been a "gradual decay of erotic sentiment,"⁹ and the narrator finds the New York women unattractive in their baggy trousers. The results of the new economic and social relations is that now, "Husband and wife are in reality two men."¹⁰ Since women in socialized America are poor soldiers, wars have become illegal, thereby removing another opportunity for masculine honor.¹¹ Since women can "still get the best of men with their tempers", foreign courts have been "willing to concede anything rather than continue negotiations with women diplomats."¹² Finally Dodd asserts that men just cannot fancy women who are neither mothers

⁸Dodd, p. 31.

⁹Dodd, p. 32.

¹⁰Dodd, p. 40.

¹¹Dodd, p. 43.

¹²Dodd, p. 44.

nor housekeepers, and consequently, the people are disheartened, hostile and bored.¹³

Dodd's anti-utopia is mainly built through descriptive narrative, with minimal plot or character development. Her most effective images are created through parodizing utopian motifs. For example, the narrator's journey involves an entourage of submarine missionaries who are feeding the fish in the Atlantic Ocean, because the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty Among Citacia and Crustacea are trying to breed competitiveness out of fish, under the doctrine of metempsychosis of their souls.¹⁴

Dodd concludes by suggesting that only struggle makes a nation great.¹⁵ For example, in New York the only area left for competition had been intellectual activity which created a brief aristocracy of intellectuals, which soon failed because anyone more gifted than the average was eliminated. The story ends with a demand for a twelve hour day and the narrator's decision to leave New York and return to "freedom", a metaphor for nineteenth cen-

¹³Dodd, p. 44.

¹⁴Dodd, pp. 10-12.

¹⁵Dodd, p. 72.

tury America, "where the forms of political government are so bad that men wrestle like Gods to remedy them, and where men themselves are still born so unequal that they have to fight like demons to live at all ... but we are tremendously alive."¹⁶

Richard Michaelis in Looking Further Forward, An Answer to Looking Backward¹⁷ and Arthur Dudley Vinton Looking Further Backward¹⁸ present the first conservative attacks on Edward Bellamy in anti-utopian form. Richard Michaelis, a German-American, was editor of the conservative newspaper Freie Priess (Free Press) in Chicago. Michaelis opens his attack by linking Bellamy with August Spies and Albert Parsons, anarchist spokesmen who were hung as scapegoats in the Haymarket Riots, and with Johan Most, a well known anarchist organizer. Michaelis claims that just like the anarchists, Bellamy would "deprive all the clever and industrious workers of the large or largest part of the products of their labor for the benefit of their awkward, stupid, or lazy com-

¹⁶Dodd, p. 85.

¹⁷Richard Michaelis, Looking Further Forward, An Answer to Looking Backward (New York: Rand McNally and Co., 1890).

¹⁸Arthur D. Vinton, Looking Further Backward (Albany, New York: Albany Book Co., 1890).

rades."¹⁹

Michaelis attacks Bellamy's premise that the evolutionary trend is toward socialism. He claims that in the historical view, socialism is pre-Christian and "is en vogue today only among some barbarous and cannibal tribes."²⁰ Michaelis claims instead that competition is the origin of progress because "competition during historic civilization has developed the brains and muscles of the human race."²¹

Looking Further Forward begins where Looking Backward leaves off, when Julian West, the protagonist, accepts a position as a professor of nineteenth century history at Shawmut College in Boston. The action is Faustian, as representatives of the left and right try to persuade Julian West to accept their respective views of historical change. Despite Michaelis ending the tale with the representation of a rape, a convention borrowed from the sentimental novel, the main action is rhetorical. Mr. Forrest, the spokesman for the author Michaelis, is

¹⁹Michaelis, preface, pp. iv-v.

²⁰Michaelis, preface, p. iii.

²¹Michaelis, preface, p. v.

now the college janitor, demoted from his position as professor because of his capitalistic views. He tells West that Nationalism is only disguised communism and communism belies the free workings of competition. The communist point of view is put forward by the "radicals", represented by Mr. Fest, who wants to enforce free love and abolish religion, matrimony, and property. The Nationalists have used the fear of Mr. Fest's ideas to force the masses into submission. The women characters parallel the split between capitalism and communism. Edith Leete is an ideal nineteenth century heroine, with few opinions of her own but much sympathy for her fiancé's political turmoil. Cora Delong represents the communist woman who smokes, plays billiards, and courts men.

Forrest's attack on Bellamy is based on his conservative interpretations of evolutionary laws. Inequality, Forrest claims, is the law of nature and the attempt to establish equality is therefore "unnatural and absurd".²² Different results of labor should not be shared equally. Sharing is in fact a euphemism for

²²Michaelis, p. 31.

robbery.²³ Forrest asserts that the laws of laissez-faire rather than the laws of communism, are in line with the natural laws of evolution. In the nineteenth century, for example, workers could have organized into business co-operatives to compete with the trusts. They were free to seek other employment at higher pay, but "workers chose not to assume responsibility and cares of their own businesses."²⁴ Meanwhile, speculations increased the national wealth and even "insane competition" provided many cheaper goods at high quality. Citing Michaelis' own statistics in the Chicago Freie Priess, Forrest asserts that there are 12,000 rich Germans in Chicago who came as poor immigrants. In line with a basic formulation of laissez-faire, Forrest attacks the tyranny of a strong central government. In comparison to capitalist America, nationalism allows no opposition newspapers, and no workers suffrage. Under the guise of bureaucratic necessities, Forrest says the communist government has nepotistically appointed ten million "bookkeepers" and ten million "clerks".

²³Michaelis, p. 32.

²⁴Michaelis, p. 33.

Like other anti-utopians, Michaelis looked to various forms of enlightened capitalism to lead reform, generally assigning either the ministry, landed gentry, industrial administrators, or scientists to this task. Michaelis proposed two new laissez-faire units: immigrants, to take the low paying jobs, and Workers Mutual Protection Associations, to stimulate competition for the laboring classes.²⁵ Unlike unions, the Associations would not be allowed to create closed shops which would inhibit free competition. Finally Michaelis, reluctantly, outlawed inheritances over \$250,000 in his utopia because they were "in a position to annihilate competitors ... and therefore paved the way for communism."²⁶ In the end the "dirty looking ruffian" Fest tries to kill Dr. Leete and capture Edith, and screams she "will be mine without the ridiculous ceremony of marriage."²⁷ The final attack on the utopia is embodied in the plot and histrionics of the Gothic novel. Forrest significantly fails to save them, portending inevitable doom of heroism under socialism. Julian, however, fortuitously awakens

²⁵Michaelis, p. 100.

²⁶Michaelis, pp. 108-109.

²⁷Michaelis, p. 122.

safely back in 1887, and exclaims, "I would rather work a few years longer and miss some commodities of life than submit to communistic slavery."²⁸

Arthur Dudley Vinton raised two more issues in the fictional attacks on Looking Backward: socialism destroys individualism, and America is disregarding the yellow peril in allowing Chinese immigration. The full title of the story is: Looking Further Backward, Being a Series of Lectures Delivered to the Freshman Class at Shawmut College by Professor Won Lung Li, (Successor of Prof. Julian West), Mandarin of the Second Rank of the Golden Dragon and Chief of the Historical Sections of the Colleges in the North Eastern Division of the Chinese Province of North America. Now, for the First Time, Collected, Edited, and Condensed.

In the year 2023 the Chinese have nearly conquered the U.S. Because of its lack of militarism and stamina, American socialism invited invasion. The manifesto is narrated by Prof. Li in a series of university lectures. The fable is discovered in the diary of Julian West, and dramatizes how the West family fled from the Chinese and temporarily survived because of their anachronistic

²⁸Michaelis, p. 122.

traditions of self-reliance, individualism, and concern for property.

If utopian fiction functions politically as a model to be contemplated and imitated, anti-utopian fiction functions as a caveat to the reader. Vinton asserts through Li that he wants the reader to take the Chinese invasion of 2023 as a warning of the dangers of socialism.²⁹ While Nationalist governments have been raising citizens to depend unquestioningly on their socialistic governments, China has been training revolutionaries and sending them to America to foment insurrections. Meanwhile, under the pressures of internationalism and pacifism, the United States has abandoned all military industries.

Vinton catalogues the ways by which Nationalism undermined all avenues for pro-capitalist resistance. Nationalist newspapers, financed by subscription rather than advertising, eliminated articles which might offend subscribers. The Nationalist government repressed all criticism. Finally, a currency based on a labor standard rather than gold standard meant that there was no acceptable money to pay the Chinese ransom demands.

²⁹Vinton, p. 18.

Vinton stresses the powerlessness of the individual under socialism when a crisis arises. He says that when the Chinese invaded, parents needed the consent of the teachers to flee with their children. Similarly, American railroad workers, trained in subservience, obeyed the Chinese order to send them all the stocks of gunpowder. Vinton thus attacks any governmental system based on notions of "guardianship" which breed "routinists" rather than "men".

The anti-utopian attack on immigration is a manifestation of racist and nativist responses to the huge number of Chinese and Eastern European immigrants arriving annually in the United States. After the German Exclusionary Law following the protests of 1848, and after the French prosecution of socialists following the demise of the Paris Commune, many socialists emigrated to America. This gave an important impetus to the movements for reform and socialism in America. Meanwhile, railroad and mining companies were encouraging Chinese people to immigrate to maintain a source of cheap labor. In the press, in the popular drama, in cartoons, in some Populist literature, and in anti-utopian fiction, immigrants were portrayed as strike-breakers and scabs who lowered wages and reduced living standards. The stereotype

showed immigrants as prone to alcoholism, insanity, and immorality. Furthermore, immigrants bred in greater numbers than WASPS, and threatened to overwhelm the American stock.

Some Populist literature of the early 1890's identified Jewish immigrants with an international gold ring. Richard Hofstadter links the rise of anti-semitism with the Populist theory of history:

The omnipresent symbol of Shylock can hardly be taken in itself as evidence of anti-Semitism, but the frequent references to the House of Rothchild make it clear that for many silverites the Jew was an organic part of the conspiracies theory of history. Coin Harvey's Baron Rothe was clearly meant to be Rothchild, his Rognaser (Ernest Seyd?) was a dark figure out of the coarsest anti-Semitic tradition. "You are very wise in your way," Rognaser is told at the climax of the tale, "The commercial way, inbred through generations. The politic, scheming, devious way, inbred through generations also."³⁰

In his utopia Caesar's Column, the Populist leader Ignatius Donnelly portrays the evil plutocrat Prince Cabano as a rich Jew, born Jacob Isaacs. He triumphs for Social Darwinism^{tic} and reasons: an inbred adaptability to the world of commerce. A leader of the anarchist revolutionary group, the Brotherhood of Destruction, is

³⁰ Richard Hofstadter, The Age of Reform, p. 78.

also a Jew who flees the apocalypse with millions of dollars to revive Jewry.³¹

Nativism and racism also became strong themes in the women's movement during the 1890's, when demands for total economic and political equality were channelled into a movement for the vote as an end in itself. A consequence of this conservatism was that suffragettes often exploited racial prejudice in their drive for the vote. A growing pact emerged between WASP supremacists and suffragettes which explicitly placed the vote for white women ahead of social, political, and economic equality for all, thereby blurring the democratic vistas of the earlier humanist movement. For example by 1903 at the National American Women's Suffrage Association convention in New Orleans, Dr. Anna Howard Shaw from Michigan announced, "There is not a color from white to black, from red to yellow, there is not a nation from pole to pole, that does not send its contingent to govern American women. If American men are willing to leave their women in a position as degrading as this, they need not be surprised when American women resolve to lift them-

³¹Ignatius Donnelly, Caesar's Column, A Story of the Twentieth Century (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1960).

selves out of it."³² This shift provided white women with the expedient argument that American born women outnumbered immigrant men; women's suffrage would further enfranchise the middle classes at the expense of foreigners. To this end, women suffragettes abandoned the argument that voting was a basic human right.

In his selections and introduction to Popular Culture and Industrialism 1865-1890 Henry Nash Smith demonstrates how racist ideas were incorporated into a "liberal" theology. A divine purpose invested evolutionary processes with the triumph of "higher" over "lower" races. "Higher" referred to the Anglo-Saxon American settlers. This "stock" was imperiled by the new immigration. Smith quotes the prominent minister Josiah Strong who urged missionaries in the cities to "Americanize" and "Christianize" immigrants, because "our safety demands the assimilation of these strange populations."³³

During the panic of 1873, thousands of people could not find employment, yet by the mid seventies over 150,000 Asian immigrants arrived, mostly from China.

³²William O'Neill, Everyone Was Brave, p. 70.

³³Henry Nash Smith, Popular Culture and Industrialism, 1865-1890 (Garden City, New York: Doubleday Co., 1967), p. 248.

Chinese immigration was encouraged by manufacturers and railroads who wanted both cheap labor and the good will of China in order to keep the Chinese market open. On July 23, 1877 a mob attacked the Chinese section of San Francisco. The confrontation lasted two days and four people were killed. Dennis Kearney assumed the leadership of an anti-Chinese party which actively attacked both capitalists and Chinese for several years. His party joined the Democratic Party in the 1880's, and the violent anti-Chinese resentment which it engendered resulted in an 1886 law forbidding the immigration of Chinese into California.

American employers actively recruited workers from Central and Southern Europe and Asia for the purpose of cheap and scab labor. Immigrants threatened the white working class communities by taking millions of jobs in industry and the railroads, albeit the lowest paid jobs. Meanwhile, immigrants threatened the industrialists and middle classes with radical and revolutionary ideas which had already deeply influenced the working classes of Europe, ideas which are countered in anti-utopian fiction.

Anna Dodd describes a revolution of socialists against property owners. The socialists "represented

the foreign element in the country, those who had imported their revolutionary doctrines with them."³⁴ Dodd says that soon, however, the foreigners started to fight among themselves, until "a few ... descendents of New England statesmen acted as peacemakers."³⁵

Arthur Vinton appeals to the fears of Chinese domination in his attack on socialism. Wong Lung Li addresses his lectures "To the American barbarians" and announces with calm arrogance: "I come before you as a stranger - you think of as an inferior race... instructor placed over you by force of arms - a director of your thoughts ... I have come to endow you with the glorious civilization of China."³⁶ Prof. Li describes how the United States neglected its military to the point where the Chinese were able to mount a naval invasion on five fronts. The Chinese demand \$50 million ransom each for Boston and New York. The Bostonians surrender, realizing that the Chinese will find that their Nationalist credit cards are worthless paper. The New Yorkers, however, riot, and the city is levelled

³⁴Dodd, p. 18.

³⁵Dodd, p. 51.

³⁶Vinton, p. 9.

by Chinese bombs. Four million people are killed. The Chinese plan ultimately is to "subjugate through numbers".³⁷ Within months the Chinese develop a re-population scheme whereby several thousand Bostonians are rounded up, manacled, and deported to Chinese slave camps and an equal number of "fertile" Chinese arrive to repopulate the United States.³⁸

The fable sections in Vinton's utopia are all based on Julian's diary. Julian attacks socialism from the point of view of a nineteenth century exponent of competition and individualism, and attacks the Chinese from the point of view of a New England WASP. The diary includes an exciting flight as the Leete family retrieves Julian's nineteenth century gold pieces and escapes from Boston in a cart. All the devices of the family's escapes are pre-industrial, although at each crisis, as the family flees further west, Julian contrasts the present to the nineteenth century. The family is rescued from each adventure by Julian's son Leete, who has "Yankee ingenuity" and has inherited his father's nineteenth century self-reliant streak of "every man

³⁷Vinton, p. 179.

³⁸Vinton, p. 72ff.

for himself."³⁸ Vinton's treatment of the escape of the Leete family is deft and vivid. Vinton's Julian has more vitality than his naive and gullible counterpart in Looking Backward. Unlike other authors of utopian fiction, Arthur Vinton, a graduate of Columbia Law School, was not a complete literary novice. At one time he was an assistant editor of the North American Review.

The satire breaks down in the closing sections because the Chinese become contradictory emblems of the undesirable advancing yellow peril and the much admired industrial capitalism. On the one hand, the Chinese have encircled the interior, destroyed cities, enslaved the young male population, and begun a system of repopulation. On the other hand, with their emphasis on frugality and militarism, a greater material prosperity seems imminent for America. Furthermore under the Chinese system, woman no longer competes with man, "but has become as the Gods intended she should be, the handmaiden of male humanity."

Looking Within, The Misleading Tendencies of Looking Backward Made Manifest, by J. W. Roberts, uses the same characters and setting as Looking Backward in attacking the impact of socialism on personal charac-

³⁸Vinton, p. 72ff.

ter.³⁹ Roberts has his narrator move into the future three times in an attempt to portray the development of Nationalism in all its phases. The telos of Roberts' mock-history, however, like Vinton and Dodd's, is the nineteenth century. The education of the narrator culminates in his comfortable assertion that the nineteenth century is the best of all possible worlds.

The first stage of the narrator's education occurs in the 1880's and 1890's as he observes the contemporary conflicts between labor, capitalist, and farmer. He claims that he is a spokesman for the great middle class, the group ignored by Bellamy's coach and rider parable. The middle class constitutes: "a majority of all, who belong to neither of the other classes described. They neither ride the coach nor pull in its traces. They labor, but it is for themselves, for their own comfort and advancement. They set their own tasks, work their own hours, and enjoy more real happiness than the lordly rich ones riding on the coach."⁴⁰ The narrator's ideal man is resilient, independent, self-sufficient, hard working and "manly". In contrast

³⁹J. W. Roberts, Looking Within, The Misleading Tendencies of Looking Backward Made Manifest (New York: A. S. Barnes and Co., 1893).

⁴⁰Roberts, p. 14.

to this golden mean the narrator reviews other nineteenth century types who are disrupting his mid-western community. Roberts' main attack is on union organizers, foreign born agitators who have introduced the notion of forceful strikes into America. These agitators fail to appreciate that unlike Europe, "here ... the field is wide and all avenues are open ... every man has a naturally equal chance with others and ... four-fifths of our wealthy men commenced their careers ... as daily laborers."⁴¹ He defends the scabs, claiming in a common laissez-faire attack on unions that no one has the right to prevent others from working. Labor has no rights except those listed in a contract. Furthermore he claims that in putting Mammon before God, the unions are also anti-Christian.⁴² Roberts says that the workingmen's return on their capital, i.e., their training, is five times greater than that of their employers.⁴³

In addition to the laborer, the narrator also ridicules the simple farmer who "cannot understand the laws of supply and demand or the necessity for middlemen."

⁴¹Roberts, p. 18.

⁴²Roberts, p. 134.

⁴³Roberts, p. 39.

He suggests that the logical extension of the Populist demand for paper money would be to have every family print as much money as it wants.⁴⁴

These snide attacks are fictionalized in the narrator's biography. He says that he was born in "that land of great boasters, grandiloquent orators, financial quacks, and phenomenal progress."⁴⁵ The narrator, arrogant and self-sufficient, was born on a mid-western farm and walked six miles to school. He still loves his childhood sweetheart, simple and unaffected Effie Solon, because as soon as he saw her, "I instinctively knew she had a good mother."⁴⁶ Through perseverance and hard work the narrator's father becomes rich enough to send him to college, advising him to be "true, manly and noble."⁴⁷ By the time he returns, Effie Solon has blossomed; she is beautiful as well as simple and unaffected; she even cries at the mention of home.⁴⁸

⁴⁴Roberts, p. 27.

⁴⁵Roberts, p. 1.

⁴⁶Roberts, p. 7.

⁴⁷Roberts, p. 10.

⁴⁸Roberts, p. 45.

The narrator's all-American bliss ends when a drunken agitator, incensed that the faithful workers refuse to strike the Solon factory, burns the factory down. The family fortunes are ruined and Effie puts her marriage to the narrator off for five years, while she helps her father. Many of these incidents are borrowed from the domestic novel, originally popularized in the 1850's with Susan B. Warner's Wide Wide World or Maria Cummins, The Lamplighter. In Looking Within, the devices of the hero on probation, the pious heroine impoverished and orphaned, the rescue from a fire, the paternalistic view toward "low" characters and the temporary financial setback, can all be traced to the domestic novel.

At first the narrator decides to spend the five years of his probation disguised as a worker studying capital and labor. He soon sees how the publication of Looking Backward and the anarchy among foreign workers is changing native laborers. Fearing that human savagery will result from the new political demands, the narrator takes a strong sleeping potion, and wakes up thirty five years later. Like the father in the conservative utopia 2000 A.D. by Alvarado Fuller, Mr. Solon administers a potion to Effie, and the lovers awake together in a mechanized new world of 1930.

America is on the verge of a class war. Capital and labor have failed to recognize their mutual dependency. Meanwhile, the production of air chariots creates possibilities for mass destruction. Reminiscent of Mark Twain's mixing conventions across centuries for satiric effect in Connecticut Yankee, Looking Within shows labor and capital agreeing to a duel between two air chariots, but during the fight lightning strikes both sides, signifying the mutual destruction that results from class warfare. With Chicago and New York in flames, Effie and the narrator decide that they have lost interest in the "quarrel" and decide to "nap" until the revolution is over. ⁴⁹

The next epoch they visit is similar to the anti-utopian worlds of Dodd and Michaelis. The people have become government property, and an atmosphere of stasis and conformism pervades. Liquor and free sex have replaced scientific or industrial achievements as acceptable stimulants. In a Gothic ratification, Edith Leete (an inevitable character in anti-Bellamy fiction) is kidnapped by a jealous man who brands the figure of a nude woman on her cheek. The narrator, in a tense

⁴⁹Roberts, pp. 131-139.

scene reminiscent of Hawthorne or early Bellamy, removes the disfigurement with his old chemicals, a triumph for nineteenth century science.

A central focus of the anti-utopia attack involves the impact of socialism on the human personality. As Robert C. Elliott suggests, "negative utopias depict a society in which human character can hardly be said to exist at all."⁵⁰ The idea of the individual as a significant social unit is an anachronism in the Nationalized world of Looking Further Backward, The Republic of the Future, or Looking Within. In anti-utopias a goal of the society is the annihilation of the individual. Anti-utopias assume that individualism, creativity, and personal energy result from competition. Consequently, utopian characters are lifeless and apathetic. However, the fact that the characters in utopias are stylized, mechanical, and flat has to do with the rhetorical as opposed to novelistic goals of these authors. The political and artistic pressures should be distinguished in analyzing character in anti-utopian fiction.

In considering the confusion between equality and conformity in anti-utopian fiction George Kateb in

⁵⁰ Robert C. Elliott, The Shape of Utopia: Studies in a Literary Genre, p. 120.

Utopia and Its Enemies cites both philosophical and esthetic causes. First, Kateb suggests that "a perverse esthetics" can operate, a compulsion for neatness, tidiness and regularity, in exchange for which "all the rich confusion attendant on different men leading different lives has been gladly given up."⁵¹ This fixation combines with historical immobility, the absence of change, to produce frozen characters. Secondly, in the name of efficiency utopian life is made uniform, and equality is merely a justification for order. Furthermore, if there is scarcity, justice decrees that the scarcity be equally distributed, also resulting in uniformity. In some utopias, differences are sacrificed to remove the vices of pride, envy, and avarice. Finally, Kateb says that critics of utopia have confused justice with identity: "for justice to exist, all men have to be treated exactly alike: equality has to be manifest in every detail of life: everyone is raised in the same way and given the same things: nothing is allowed that all cannot do, and everything allowed is done by all."⁵²

⁵¹George Kateb, Utopia and Its Enemies, p. 222.

⁵²Kateb, p. 223.

The nineteenth century anti-utopians would agree that equality and individuality cannot co-exist. Individualism is not only related to social esthetics, but it is central in the justification of a laissez-faire economic system. Their attack on the drabness and conformity of character in utopia is therefore not just a plea for human diversity. All anti-utopians would disagree with Kateb's conjunction of utopian justice and economic equality. Anna Dodd plays down the issue of scarcity by assuming that technology can provide abundance, whereas Roberts asserts that scarcity would be an inevitable condition of equality: competition is a requirement for sufficient production.

Unlike Edward Bellamy, the anti-utopians assume that man is neither plastic nor perfectible. In terms of character development, man is immune to environmental changes. Therefore social, economic, and political equality cannot be justified by their potential impact on characters. Education and character training, recommended by American utopians from Bellamy to B. F. Skinner, will not make the masses reliable. Consequently, anti-utopians blame people, rather than systems for poverty. Anti-utopians claim that people must not be trusted to direct the projects which will reform their

lives. Because the masses are not rational, they can be brainwashed or seduced but because the individual has a definite nature, usually seen as racially or sexually imprinted, fundamental character change is impossible. To anti-utopians, socialism implies a mold which they see as an assault on human nature, which, paradoxically, is also seen as inherently depraved.

Arthur Vinton describes the irrationality and depravity of men in the anti-Chinese riots in New York. With the crisis erasing clear lines of leadership, the overly socialized citizens who rely on the guardianship of the state and assume the responsibility of their comrades, cannot react. The masses are like children without parents, or children at school when the teacher is away.⁵³ Without leadership, the socialists resort to looting, rape, and riot. Vinton suggests that only with strong religion, strong defense systems, male dominance, and individualism, might the American character withstand a Chinese invasion.

In Looking Further Forward, Richard Michaelis claims that communism succeeded because man did not possess "sufficient enterprise, mental discipline and

⁵³Vinton, p. 94, p. 91.

independence."⁵⁴ Competition and inequality lead to justice, which is not synonymous with equality. Equality, in fact, allows such "ogres" as Mr. Fest to assume that women are also property to be shared.

In his sermon at the end of Looking Within, J. W. Roberts also attacks Bellamy's principle of human perfectibility. Rather than education, or physical well-being, "the advantages of emulation, skill, and personal enterprise" are the real incentives to orderly and creative activity.⁵⁵ Roberts says that people are neither stupid enough nor pure enough to feed the undeserving. Furthermore, because man is weak, he needs to worship. By removing God, the government has forced man to become his own golden calf, to worship himself. Roberts asserts that it is impossible to make virtue easy just by removing the temptations that accompany poverty or richness. Goodness cannot be legislated because it is "inherent".⁵⁶

Roberts attacks political equality through literary parody. He claims that the radicals want to extend eco-

⁵⁴Michaelis, p. 100.

⁵⁵Roberts, p. 221.

⁵⁶Roberts, p. 224ff.

conomic equality to equality of dress and appearance. Twentieth century men and women look identical. This device, which becomes popular in twentieth century science fiction, is familiar to most readers in the form of the decanted babies of Huxley's Brave New World. It appears for the first time in American literature in Looking Within. In order to diminish the envy, jealousy, and hatred among the citizens, the government has forced people to use molds and dyes to make their bodies conform to identical standards. "Equality" has produced an impersonal society, in which husbands cannot even identify their wives.

Effie and the narrator decide to sleep again while awaiting a return to spirituality and competition. In an unexplained transition, America returns to a world taken from a Jeffersonian model, with the farm as the unit of national life. People have returned to country life and reclaimed and restored the land. Inspired by the control over their own land and bodies, Americans become ambitious again. The narrator discovers that ownership has led to a spiritual renewal.

The hero, often the hero-narrator in anti-utopian fiction, retains pre-socialistic atavistic traits which give him a critical distance from the Nationalized so-

ciety. Either he comes from a pre-socialistic society or anachronistically retains nineteenth century values, in particular, liberal Protestant theology. The concept of heroism in nineteenth century anti-utopianism is related to the Victorian rejection of Calvinism. Man's destiny in anti-utopian literature is neither defined nor assumed. Socialism deprives humanity of the freedom and opportunity to struggle with sin. For anti-utopians, the freedom to suffer is a pre-condition for morality.

When the anti-utopian looks at character he finds that there are limits to how much the material world should be improved. He claims that when the socialist creates industrial and technological improvements, he is demonstrating a loss of faith in the power of God. Anti-utopians share an optimistic theology, in which the Christian struggle is clearly manageable. Because they want to stress the hereafter, often at the expense of the here, they see death as less final and frightening. The progressive utopians, by contrast, remove the criteria of earthly suffering and submission. They attack the theological criterion of the laws of grace, the unpredictable, non-rational operation of God's will, which have become for the anti-utopian a religious domestication of the ideas of Darwin and Spencer.

In anti-utopian literature the hero is a saviour. He is a member of a creative and religious minority which has survived socialism, through isolation, physical superiority, or some sign of Christian salvation. In the story he becomes a conservative rebel, positively valued by the author for retaining the old forms. Often he leads the attack against progress, and often he dies in the eventual contest, described in apocalyptic language. In Biblical terms, he is a member of the "saving remnant". In political terms he is part of an elite, demonstrating the conservative's view that the only hope for mankind lies with a wealthy or cultured minority.

The hero as saviour in anti-utopias is a flat character, because he has no inner struggle. The struggle is against the external world of socialism. These heroes are usually unappealing because there is no way we can identify with their guilt, sin, or anger. They are false because their purity is unrelated to struggle. Their superiority is given by divine grace. By extension, change cannot come from, through, or for the other characters. The saving remnant character is, at best, a model to the duped socialized majority.

There is the saving remnant character in every late nineteenth century anti-utopia. In Michaelis' Looking

Further Forward, he is the ex-professor janitor, Mr. Forest, whose name itself suggests a natural, non-mechanized man. Forest is killed by an anarchist, trying to save Edith and Dr. Leete.

Julian West and his son Leete represent the "saving remnant" in Arthur Vinton's Looking Further Backward. West's purity is explicitly associated with the skills he learned as a member of Victorian bourgeoisie: "I have instinctively turned to the remembrance of those earlier days of my life, when it was everyone for himself, and when men, knowing this, looked for safety to their own ability, and never thought of casting responsibility for personal success or safety on a paternal government."⁵⁷ The Biblical symbolism is explicit when, with "Yankee ingenuity" Leete and Julian find a way for their family to flee on an abandoned railroad hand car. The narrator recalls "another flight more than two thousand years ago when another father and mother fled under their dim light to save their offspring."⁵⁸

This biblical reference also appears in J. W. Roberts' Looking Within in which Americans under socialism

⁵⁷Vinton, p. 76.

⁵⁸Vinton, p. 80.

"became willing slaves, selling their royal birthright for a mess of pottage. ... They endured bondage of mind and body for three generations."⁵⁹ Roberts' hero derives his superiority through his rural, religious, family oriented and middle class origins. Effie and the hero maintain this purity by taking sleep inducing drugs whenever events became intolerable (a solution glamorized by the media in the late 1960's).

Looking Backward and What I Saw by W. W. Satterlee is an anti-utopian allegory, more indebted in form to Bunyan than Bellamy, describing the saving remnant community in the year 2192. Satterlee begins, "Anxious hearts are liable to be deceived by ... the would be social reformers, who, mistaking cause for effect would reverse the order of nature and make the fountain pure by cleansing the stream."⁶⁰ By the "order of nature" Satterlee means evolution, including its corollaries of competition, inequality, and individuality. Unlike their utopian contemporaries, anti-utopian writers do not find these nineteenth century patterns antithetical to Chris-

⁵⁹ Roberts, preface, p. iii.

⁶⁰ W. W. Satterlee, Looking Backward and What I Saw 1890-2102 (New York: Arno Press, 1971, c. 1890).

tianity. In the anti-utopian view, evolution is comfortably compatible with a weak, struggling, and sinful humankind. Satterlee's "fountain" symbolizes society, and the "stream" represents the citizens; he is asserting that it is impossible to reform character through reformed social institutions.

Satterlee further attacks utopia because that "impossible scheme of social order has set the restless masses all agog, and when thousands, mentally leaping over every obstruction of nature, fact and logic, grasp at this phantom as something real to be practically applied to human society, it is now time for fear."⁶¹ He is attacking utopianism for its non-material solutions and its avoidance of conflict and reality in an image which recalls the attacks on utopianism by Frederick Engels. Satterlee, however, defines cause, effect, and the order of nature in very un-dialectical terms, i.e., "the divine arrangement by which wealth is attainable by temperance and toil, by frugality and economy, is of all our blessings the greatest."⁶²

⁶¹Ibid.

⁶²Ibid.

In Looking Backward and What I Saw, the pilgrim-narrator, R. E. Former is a "tiller of the soil, a day laborer for wages ... later a professor" who bitterly bemoans the "scorn of the rich" and the "ungratefulness of the poor." He hears a voice (from sentimental fiction) attacking his ingratitude. Feeling ashamed, he determines to seek the kingdom of God, and falls into a deep sleep in which he sees a vision of American decay, with overgrown farms, buildings crumbling and factories closed and the doors to the churches shut. Near the town of "Bellamy", R. E. Former comes upon a strange house in the forest, "Palace Heartway", in which Mr. and Mrs. Right Pathfinder live. Unlike the other anti-utopians who borrow from sentimental fiction the literary devices of lost journeys, rejected lovers, threatened virgins, coincidental recognitions for their fables, Satterlee turns to allegory. For example, he attacks Bellamy in a scene in which the literary celebrities of all ages are running toward R. E. Former. The pilgrim sees Bell Amy, on stilts, with his face on the wrong side of his body (i.e. looking backward). This reductive medium allows Satterlee to vividly or comically attack a variety of reformers, reforms, and causes without analyzing or confronting their ideas. Many of

his scenes are the equivalent of verbal cartoons. For example, the pilgrim sees socialist reformers playing a game of leap frog over practical difficulties of reform.⁶³

Satterlee more fully articulates the theological implications of socialism than do the other anti-utopians. In a decade in which Pilgrims Progress was still a best seller, allegory had built-in religious connotations, and Satterlee's main attack is on Nationalism's destruction of the church. He claims that in the nineteenth century, the "Golden Century", Christian workers obeyed the laws, were content with their wages, and separated themselves from their "lazy drunken" fellow laborers. Increased manufacturing, however, produced cheap goods which tempted Christians away from the simplicity and frugality of their fathers. By the late nineteenth century, moreover, foreign communists arrived, who, under the "iron heel" of European despotism had learned to despise government and hate law.⁶⁴ Communists, according to Satterlee, "deified the human and dethroned God." They taught that "the road to virtue lay through

⁶³Satterlee, p. 22.

⁶⁴Satterlee, p. 37.

the gratification of man's natural desires." Christian Socialists were just more "judicious and wily in their advocacy", although they too rejected the fundamental doctrines of a real Christian system.⁶⁵ True Christianity is represented in Looking Backward and What I Saw by the Pathfinders, a name not only associated with pre-industrial struggle and self-sufficiency, but a name which also recalls James Fenimore Cooper's Edenic hero.

Satterlee satirized the progressive utopian's vision on "The Mountain of Human Endeavor and the Wonderland of Human Attainment", where everyone moves through the tube of socialism in a perennial circle. The Reducer and the Universal Inflator force everyone to fit. Unlike Roberts and Vinton, Satterlee blames Henry George more than Bellamy for the new system. He says that single tax advocates precipitated the society by including land in the same category as air, water, and sun, God's rights which no man should monopolize. The tax destroyed all large land holders, including churches, hospitals, and orphanages. A violent race and class war followed; the only Black vs. White race war in either utopian or anti-utopian fiction is found in this theological tract. Black people bombed, looted and raped until a military officer Dick Tater, temporarily

⁶⁵Satterlee, pp. 40-41.

ended the chaos by establishing a strong central government.

The Pathfinders suggest that the pilgrim read the speeches of Dick Tater, the socialist; Mr. Able Bean Eater, the worker; and Mr. Sensual Free Lover, the anarchist to understand the next stages of Nationalism. Tater says "these evils, it seems to me, were concentrated on the intense individualism and social antagonisms, arising from the personal liberty, and public freedom of its citizens," and he defeats acquisitiveness through secular education.⁶⁶ Instead of property or religion, Tater says "ease, amusement, and recreation are the chief ends to be sought in the lives of men."⁶⁷ Tater claims that the satisfaction of human wants will diminish the tendency to sin and adds "teach him that there is no God and he will never worship anything but himself."⁶⁸

On Sunday, in contrast, the Pathfinders take R. E. Former to a tiny church in a hidden place on the moun-

⁶⁶Satterlee, p. 61

⁶⁷Satterlee, p. 67.

⁶⁸Satterlee, p. 72.

tain to hear Rev. Go-The-Old-Way. The church is composed of the remaining Christians, mainly old people and children, who have secretly rejected socialism. The sermon is based on the tale of Jonah, who accepted the destiny God chose for him and did not ask for a "fare refund" when he was thrown overboard. The preacher says that God makes distinctions between this world and the next. No man, he asserts, has a natural right to more than he can earn; it is charity, not debt, when the strong help the weak. The Rev. Go-The-Old-Way concludes, "It is a law of God, observed in men and animals as well as herbs and fruits, that the perfection of species and the maintenance of the standard depends upon the survival of the fittest."⁶⁹

As an alternative to socialism, Moses Heartway proposes a Christian version of the ideal state. Heartway's assumptions and criteria are similar to those of Henry Ward Beecher, the leading liberal Protestant theologian of the Gilded Age, although his speech is mainly a list of platitudes, such as "To have a new and better social order we must have new men. Men are to be made new by the way of the heart, if not by the way of their environ-

⁶⁹Satterlee, p. 100.

ment."⁷⁰ Or, "Wealth is not necessarily vice, neither is poverty an equivalent for virtue." Or, "If a man will not work neither shall he eat," or "America for Americans."⁷¹

In the end, the host takes the pilgrim on a trip to the city to view the decay for himself. These urban scenes contrast with the cleanliness, thrift, industry, and religiosity of Palace Heartway. The nation is bankrupt and the population has decreased through starvation and disease. People have fled to the cities. R. E. Former notices that an election is being held and the people are demanding land, goods, and personal ownership. They carry signs claiming "Paternal government for children, but self government for man."⁷² Through bribery the Oligarchy Party wins the election. Riots follow and the pilgrim and host are trapped in a fire. When the host says that they will surely die, the pilgrim wakes up from his nightmare.

Thus, W. W. Satterlee, who was a Professor of Political Science and Hygienic Philosophy at U. S. Grant

⁷⁰Satterlee, p. 118.

⁷¹Satterlee, p. 71.

⁷²Satterlee, p. 72.

University, used the anti-utopian form to attack theological deterioration resulting from the socialists' belief in the natural goodness of man. He dramatized political and theological ideas in allegorical visions. Essentially, Satterlee saw the economic and industrial situation as a consequence of faulty theology. Although he concluded Looking Backward and What I Saw with a long list of reforms which the saving remnant advocate, the final image of the cats eating the rats suggests that no system can ultimately benefit man. Only God's social order will prevail.

In The Shape of Utopia, the critic Robert C. Elliott suggests that utopian ideas occur because man lives in a fragmented world and dreams of an integrated world, Utopia leads to wholeness, "integralite". Elliott says that negative or anti-utopias respond to the fact that utopian wholeness destroys human freedom. In the mind of the anti-utopian, wholeness is confused with conformism, so that integration creates depersonalization.⁷³ The anti-utopian Solomon Schindler in Young West, A Sequel to Edward Bellamy's Celebrated Novel Looking Backward, describes the impact of this depersonalization on

⁷³Robert C. Elliott, The Shape of Utopia, p. 90ff.

the identity of a young man raised in a socialist society.⁷⁴ Schindler focuses his attack on the anonymity and rootlessness of Bellamy's world. Starting with his first memory of an institution's bell calling him to lunch the narrator, this time the son of Julian West, describes his childhood in an anti-familial society. He is raised in a children's center where his instinctual affectionate feelings are directed toward the trained staff of doctors and nurses. He scarcely sees his parents because they did not know how to raise a child in a rational systematic manner. As he graduates from a series of schools, organized by age, sex, and interests, young West realizes that he has developed no lasting ties with friends or staff. He finds that the practical focus of his education has encouraged him to be overly concerned with the present, and he discovers that he has no real sense of the past or future. He remembers that as a child he was dissatisfied with the rational explanation that death is a cessation of pain. When he questioned his teachers and friends, a commit-

⁷⁴Solomon Schindler, *Young West, A Sequel to Edward Bellamy's Celebrated Novel Looking Backward* (Boston: Arena Publishing Co., 1894).

tee was formed to answer his questions. Nonetheless, most of the boys refuse to worry about their origins and destiny. Similarly, at puberty, the scientific focus of young West's sexual education fails to explain to him his powerful urges and strange dreams. He feels the same way about the socialist attack on religion, in which God's protection is described as a resort to a superstition, a source of security no longer necessary in the benevolent society. Finally, West complains that the mysteries of romantic love have been eliminated when he is rejected by the musician Violet Horton, who says constant presence of one person would be monotonous. Nonetheless, because West believes it is his duty to marry, he rationally selects a "worthy companion".⁷⁵

The book concludes with West's discovery of an old letter of his father's, in which the "original" Julian West says that because of his feelings of insignificance, his soul rebels against the new society. Julian's father ties his identity to power relationships. He misses charities and the pride of supporting a wife most of all: "Can I love the wife whom I do not

⁷⁵Schindler, pp. 128-129.

support and protect?"⁷⁶ He also misses the mystery of religion, the inspiration of economic worry, and the personal significance of wealth. Without this his life lacks interest and he vegetates. Above all, old West says he misses the self-definition that comes with ownership, and claims that he would feel good if only he could reassert the word and concept "MINE".⁷⁷

Heroism, thus, in the anti-utopian cosmos involves an attack on mechanization and big government that results in the impotence of the individual. Anti-utopians want to apply the individual's power and creativity both to the formation of his own destiny and to the future of the state. Generally, the development of the anti-utopian hero occurs in stages. First, he must recognize himself or be recognized by a visitor as deviant from the norm. As we have seen, this deviance involves attitudes towards property and religion. Second, he must face the problem of means, of how an individual or a tiny group of individuals can gain power in the face of a large socialized system. Usually, the hero finds his answer in the popular novel's definition of manliness.

⁷⁶Schindler, pp. 278-279.

⁷⁷Ibid.

He passes through trials, outwits the enemy, discovers a lost source of wealth, overcomes physical obstacles, and is inspired to succeed through female love, individualism, and Yankee ingenuity. He must fight the socialized system which is often chaotic, revolutionary, and destructive, suggesting the "caveat" motif of anti-utopian fiction. By maximizing the gory details of the insurrection, the author tries to encourage the reader to prevent socialism from coming to America. The ending, which also is invested with a sense of warning, is often death for the hero.

The Land of the Changing Sun, by William N. Harben, is the story of two men, Harry Johnston, a bold, adventurous American, and Charles Thorndike, a verbose Englishman, whose balloon crashes on a distant island.⁷⁸ They are soon arrested and forced into an elevator leading to the underground cave world of Alpha. Alpha is a world of passive hedonism ruled by a totalitarian king and his corps of airborne policemen. The travellers learn that two hundred years ago survivors of a shipwreck discovered a golden cave, with a refreshing air current that improved mental processes and prolonged

⁷⁸ William Harben, The Land of the Changing Sun (New York: The Merriam Co., 1894).

life. Secret agents recruited people who dreaded death to populate the island, while the gold was used to purchase supplies and control the world's finances. Harry and Charles realize that the cave is lit by an artificial sun which changes colors in the course of the day. The moon and stars are also artificial. In Alpha the people are controlled through satiation of all their physical needs and childish wants, but they are allowed no knowledge of science or geography. Thus, the old king maintains his power through indulgence, ignorance, and fear.

Despite our first views of him as a hearty adventurer, through nervousness Harry Johnston fails to pass a physical examination. Sentenced to exile, he is taken from Alpha by a police helicopter and dropped on a nearby cliffs. There Johnston meets Branasko, a rich farmer who has been expelled from the Kingdom because of the king's jealousy. Branasko teaches Johnston to survive in the wilderness, and shows him how to eat raw fish and lick water from the cliffs. When the exiles see the mechanical sun rise, they determine to ride the sun like a ferris wheel back to the bottom of the cave, but in the middle of the cycle, they push a button which turns off the sun. The people, seeing the

light go out, panic in mistrust of the king. A rebellion follows in which hundreds are killed.

Johnston and Branasko again hide on the cliffs by the cave, where they discover a salt-water leak. All Alpha would soon be flooded, except the heroes capture a flying machine which is delivering the dead to the outside world, and return to the cave to warn the people. The King is informed and calls Prince Arthur (!) to plug the gap, while the people anxiously await word of their salvation.

Civilization, according to Harben, is destroyed because man has attempted to replace God with science. The king tells his daughter "... an infinite God is angry at our pretensions."⁷⁹ Johnston cries, "Oh, the blasphemy of such a paltry imitation of the handiwork of the Creator. We are damned! I say damned, and by a just and angry God."⁸⁰ Branasko says that his people "have always tried to rival God, and in their mad pursuit of perfection in science, they have been reduced to this."⁸¹ The story ends with the temporary salva-

⁷⁹Harben, p. 220.

⁸⁰Harben, p. 222.

⁸¹Harben, p. 223.

tion of the cave. The king promises to divide the wealth and return the people to the outside world.

With a touch of Anglophobia, Harben contrasts Branawsko's and Johnston's views with those of the Englishman Charles Thorndyke, who is beguiled by the new kingdom and wants to stay. As part of his initiation, Thorndyke is put through a series of tests and tortures that would rival any Gothic hero. He is locked in a dungeon and tied to a chair while a mysterious spot of light crawls up his leg and torso to his heart and then slowly descends. A skeleton is wired to an invisible tape recorder, which orders Thorndyke over and over again to obey. Thus, anti-utopians, like progressive utopians, rely on motifs from popular fiction in their portrayal of political events.

In The Land of the Changing Sun Harben is attacking the glorification of progressive mechanization of the nineteenth century by suggesting that scientists become dictators. By controlling technology, the king controls politics, religion, and sexuality. Harben satirizes the king's theory that the function of government is to improve nature. He borrows as much from the genre of nineteenth century science fiction as he does from nineteenth century utopian fiction. While he

shares the political views of Michaelis, Dodd, and Vinton, Harben is indebted to Mary Shelley, Walter Scott, James Fenimore Cooper, and the Gothic novel for his forms, including the gimmicks of a lecherous tyrant, an imperiled virgin, secret passages, and a ruined palace. In particular, we witness an impoverished hero rising in status through action. The plot, which involves a series of rescues and escapes by the hero, is also Gothic. From Jules Verne's Journey to the Center of the Earth, Harben borrows the motif of an underground world, illuminated by an interior sun, and inhabited by supermen who fly. From Verne he probably also borrowed the notion of a lost continent.

In his depiction of heroism, however, William Harben falls into the native tradition of James Fenimore Cooper. Branawsko is a farmer, a man unafraid of his natural environment. Like Cooper's Indians, he uses the skills he learned in nature to outwit decadent civilized man. Johnston and Branawsko, like the Deer-slayer, are exiles from a corrupt society and share Natty Bumpo's ambiguous attitudes toward civilization.

William N. Harben is one of the few anti-utopian writers who was an author of fiction by profession. He was born in 1858 in Dalton, Georgia, and he claimed

Daniel Boone as one of his ancestors. His first novel, White Marie, was anti-slavery, and while somewhat popular in the North, produced such hostile feelings in the South that he decided to abort his attacks on racism and Southern gentility. From 1890-93 he was an assistant editor for Youths Companion. In an era in which juvenile literature was quickly developing along sex lines, The Land of the Changing Sun, with its fast pace and exciting adventures, shows the influences of boys' literature of the time. By the 1900's Harben was on his way to becoming a well known local color writer, and he dedicated his volume of short stores, North Georgia Sketches, to Joel Chandler Harris. At the suggestion of William Dean Howells, Harben began turning these sketches into full length novels.

Harben's dystopia is the only system in American anti-utopian fiction in which the dictator has created an entire physical cosmos, complete with artificial sun, moon, stars, and climate, rather than just a new political or social system. The image of two men riding the artificial sun which hourly changes colors also has mythological overtones. Phaeton rides the chariot of the sun in Greek mythology; Joshua (10:13) watches the sun stand still in the Old Testament; and both North

and South American Indians have myths about the stopping of the sun and watching it fall in a mighty conflagration. Often in mythology, catastrophe results from the violation of a tabu. Harben could have been aware of the Greek, Hebraic, and Northern American Indian traditions.

Johnston's and Branawsko's riding the sun also has antecedents in American folklore. In Western mythology, the male hero often acts in a manner which has cosmic consequences. Johnston's and Branawsko's act recall the Davy Crockett legend in which, during an extremely hard freeze, Davy strolls up to the North Pole where he discovers that the earth has frozen on its axis. He oils the pole with "b'ar" grease, and gives the earth a swift kick, which starts it on its travels in the heavens. Paradoxically then, although Harben attacks the hubris of science because man plays god, he also creates heroes whose actions are mythic in scope.

Johnston and Branawsko, like Phaeton, thoroughly enjoy their ride in the sun, and refer to the mechanism as a grand ferris wheel. The modern science fiction writer I. F. Clarke has described a juvenile element in late nineteenth century English science fiction. He finds that the "juvenile element in these stories

suggests that in the growing doubt and anxiety of the last decades of the nineteenth century, many Victorians sought to escape from their perplexities by joining in the carefree innocent life of boyhood. The boy was becoming a symbol of a happiness and innocence eagerly desired by adults. . . . Age, like the Queen, was growing old."⁸²

Finally, nearly all the anti-utopians attack the utopian suggestion of equality for women. There are three objects of this attack: utopian equality for women destroys necessary differences in character; the liberation of women destroys the family; and women in government destroy economic and political patterns. In their characterization of women and in their attacks on female equality anti-utopians are stymied by the contradictory nineteenth century stereotypes of women: passive-aggressive, intuitive-logical, possessive-self-sacrificing, materialistic-spiritual, frigid-lustful. By exploiting both sides of these contradictory images, anti-utopians proved that the stereotypes were divorced from realistic analysis of nineteenth century woman. They were

⁸²I. F. Clarke, "The Nineteenth Century Utopia" in The Quarterly Review (January, 1958), p. 85.

unable to portray conflict in her characterization. Politically and practically, the stereotype meant that she was damned if she did and damned if she didn't. Mary Anne Ferguson suggests that the conflicts in female stereotyping stem from the assumption that the characteristics of men are the norm, those of women subsidiary.

Women are thought to be passive when compared to men who assume the initiative in the sexual act, in business, in politics; passivity has a lower value since assertiveness is needed for success, and it is men who succeed. Aggressive women who succeed in male sphere are considered unfeminine and unnatural. When women are considered intelligent, their kind of intelligence, their mysterious intuition, is equated with flightiness and fuzzy thinking; male logicity is the norm few women achieve. The other opposing pairs of characteristics are extremes both of which are applicable to women; the norm is the happy medium reached by men. Possessiveness in men is associated with protectiveness and responsibility, in women with narrowness and selfishness; self-sacrifice in men is marvelled at, taken for granted in women. Women are seen paradoxically as highly materialistic and as devout and pious; but they carry these traits to undesirable extremes, whereas men exemplify admirable restraint when it comes to lovingly polishing furniture or putting on church bazaars. A woman may be less or more desirous of sex than a man; either frigidity or lust in a woman is a negative characteristic because the male appetite is the norm.⁸³

⁸³ Mary Anne Ferguson, Images of Women in Literature (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1973), p. 2. See also Mary Ellman, Thinking About Women (New York: Harcourt, Brace; JOvanovich, Inc., 1968).

Anti-utopian authors were particularly susceptible to characterizing women as extremes of a male norm because the form itself is based on exaggeration and overstatement. Anti-utopians were also in the unique situation of portraying women for whom there were few accessible models in life or literature. In America in the 1880's and 1890's there were few women who were allowed powerful roles in industry and government. Thus, anti-utopian authors applied stereotypes from sentimental fiction and melodrama to the worlds of industry and politics.

They do not seem to be influenced by the contemporary writings of Kate Chopin, Charlotte Perkins Gilman, or Henry James, who were questioning the female stereotypes. At least in the portrayal of middle class women, they were describing female characters who experienced guilt, confusion, and alienation when they lived out realities that differed from the stereotype. Perhaps because nearly all the anti-utopian authors were male, they were unable to include the elements of contradiction in their female characters in the way that they were in some of their male characters. Instead anti-utopians divided the multi-sided aspect of the female personality and spread it out among a number of minor

female characters. In the nineteenth century, men were defined by their relationship to the outside world of business, society, and nature, while women were defined by their relationship to men, as mother, wife, or mistress. To the anti-utopians socialist women were defying their biological role. Perhaps, the hostile and snide tone of anti-utopian authors was born of their desperation as they realized in the suffrage movement, the labor movement, women's colleges, and even the outspoken sexual demands of Victoria Woodhull, that the breed was becoming extinct.

The Isle of Feminine by Charles Elliott Niswonger is a parody of a female utopia.⁸⁴ Niswonger's assumptions appear at once in his dedication, "to the Fair Sex for Whose Fancy was created, and For Whose Sake I have destroyed my 'Isle of Feminine.'" He is assuming a female readership whose tastes and sensibilities would be offended by a world controlled by women.

The narrative begins with an adventurous expedition of two hearty and courageous men, George and Andy, who

⁸⁴ Charles Elliott Niswonger, The Isle of Feminine (Little Rock, Arkansas: Brown Printing Co., 1893).

prepare for a bachelor's cruise of drinking, boating, and "battling with the elements." On their boat they competitively exchange anecdotes of bravery and danger until a storm comes up, and Andy sees George in a new way. "His hat was gone, and his long black hair was flying about his face. From his eyes shot a fire which seemed either to defy or sympathize with the lightning, while into the face of the storm he hurled a child song, the words of which seemed to have burned into my brain, for I have never forgotten them:

Jove with your thunderbolts
 King of the elements
 Holding high carnàval out on the sea,
 Unleash your lightnings,
 Split up the universe,
 All of your fury frightens not me. ⁸⁵

The storm soon punishes the men for their bold defiance, the boat is destroyed, George perishes in a mysterious fever, and Andy finds himself swept up onto a tropical island. He is awakened by a fair maiden, Vesta, who welcomes him to the Isle of Feminine. Vesta gives him a new name, Angelo, the hero of Measure for Measure.

Angelo discovers from the fair Vesta that the island is ruled by the beautiful and immortal Queen Diana,

⁸⁵ Niswonger, p. 19.

the god-like creator of all beauty: "she it is who watches over our lives and allots us places of rest in the hereafter according to our merits. 'Dost thou worship a woman?' I inquired with scorn."⁸⁶ The men on the island are powerless dwarfs, four feet tall: "Each man's face wore the stamp of servitude and degradation. I shuddered that the estate of man should have grown so lowly, even in this unknown land. From the time they had fallen down before me under the palm up to this present moment, not one of them had uttered a word, and I wondered if they had so far degenerated as to have lost the power of speech."⁸⁷ This episode recalls to the reader the episode in the Odyssey, when the enchantress turns the men into swine.

After the women kiss Angelo's hand and the men kiss the hem of his robe, Diana says to him, "I believe thou art come from a land where man is superior to woman in intellect and wisdom, and, in pity of their weakness is ever pleasing them with pretty sayings. Am I not right, my Angelo?" "It is true, O Queen, that, in my country

⁸⁶Niswonger, p. 40.

⁸⁷Niswonger, p. 54.

man's intellect is superior to the main, but, to say as much there would bring about my ears such a whirr of feminine protest that I should do well to escape with my sense of hearing."⁸⁸ Only one man, the dwarf Mulhane, asserts himself. Mulhane's job is to carry the dead to the underground river and he has secretly disobeyed the Queen's orders to drown the body of his lover.

Because she dominates men, Queen Diana is an unnatural woman who forces Mulhane to bury another young girl alive. Diana glorifies herself through the unquestioning obedience of the male slaves. Often in literature, from Shakespeare to Thomas Hardy to Ernest Hemingway, the dominating woman ("the bitch") is associated with images of violence. In other words, the effects of female power are shown to be disastrous to men. Niswonger heightens this effect by weaving his story through male narrators.

In contrast to Diana, Mulhane's lover is revered by the narrator for her passivity and self-sacrifice: "The maiden whom I love faded away with grief for my slavery, like some tender flower which droops and dies

⁸⁸ Niswonger, pp. 61-62.

when the sun sends his scorching rays upon it."⁸⁹ In other words, she doesn't die; she just fades away. The narrator kisses her "snowy forehead" in testament to her frailty and subservience.

Like the women in the domestic novel, Queen Diana is also an orphan who arrived on the island three thousand years ago as a parentless baby. "The first eight years of my life were spent in destitution and misery, living by the alms of an indifferent people, seeking shelter from the dew under some scraggy shrub, and hiding from the rains beneath the ledge of some rock."⁹⁰ Like the other fictional orphans, beginning with Jane Eyre, she paradoxically attains great power and wealth through sacrifice and abstinence.

Like the heroines in the domestic novel, Diana is rescued by an old man, "a wise old seer, whom the people called Rabbi."⁹¹ He tells her, typically, that it was necessary that she be "schooled in misery" in order to learn submission. In return, she will be rewarded both

⁸⁹Niswonger, p. 77.

⁹⁰Niswonger, p. 91.

⁹¹Ibid.

with wealth and religious salvation.

Like the domestic heroines, while Diana is acquiring education and power she patiently searches for the true meaning of life. In Diana's case this turns out to be the rejection of her sexuality. Niswonger regards Diana as the mother of the kingdom, fulfilling the Freudian fantasy of the mother as authoritarian, asexual, and immortal: Diana's subjects want to help her, yet fear her punishment. In an archtypal sense, Diana as matriarch is both desired as the source of comfort and resented as the source of discipline. The narrator admits that the Isle of Feminine recalls his childish fantasies of a palace and a beautiful queen, who would look like his mother.⁹²

Andy accepts Diana's offer to become the island's first prince but he cannot have perpetual life until he overcomes his passionate feelings for the virgin Vesta. He thinks about his mother, the sexless female, and hopes that her influence will curb his passion for Vesta, the spiritual woman who desires to be like the angels. Despite Vesta's beauty, she wants to be bodi-

⁹²Niswonger, pp. 108-110.

less and pure. Eventually, Andy represses his passions and learns to love her through "the affinity of our souls which grow stronger each day until a love, harmless and holy, bound together our hearts."⁹³

Like other sentimental heroes, Andy has an important thematic function in addition to, or external to, his romantic dilemma. He instructs Diana in Christianity, and convinces her to reject power, wealth, beauty, and earthly immortality in return for Christian life. Overwhelmed by this appeal, Diana embraces Andy and immediately "her once heavenly face was shrunken and made hideous by the wrinkles of three thousand years."⁹⁴ When the villagers attack him for destroying their queen, he seizes Vesta, who faints, and carries her into his old boat. As the island sinks into the sea, Vesta and Andy enjoy a passionate embrace.

The Isle of Feminine cannot sustain itself once a higher order of expectation, masculine attractiveness and strength, is introduced. Niswonger attacks female

⁹³Niswonger, p. 117.

⁹⁴Niswonger, p. 156.

rule through a male narrator who mainly interviews dwarfed (castrated?) male citizens. Through Queen Diana, Niswonger shows a fear-attraction response to a strong woman, finally neutralizing these feelings through allegorical destruction. He further avoids developing the social and industrial consequences of female rulers and professionals by creating a pastoral untechnological world.

In contrast, Schindler, Roberts, Michaelis and Vinton share Anna Dodd's method of attacking female equality. Michaelis in Looking Further Forward evokes the maternal image of women in his attack on Mr. Fest and radical communism. He demonstrates what Mary Ellman would term "the confusion of sexual function and personal worth," in his idealization of maternity and child-rearing. Michaelis claims, "all great men have had good mothers ... The experience of radicals will be unpleasant if they attempt to separate man from wife ... woman will fight like a lioness before she will give up her children."⁹⁵ Michaelis also uses the contradictory pair of images of woman as elementally pure and woman as inherently sinful. Women's capability

⁹⁵Michaelis, pp. 78-82.

for virtue and vice is exaggerated. For example, the capitalist spokesman, Dr. Forest, claims that although the radicals want everyone to live together, abolish marriage and institute free love: "The natural sense of propriety which is a distinguishing quality of the finer sex, fortunately prevents most of the women and girls, from becoming victims of the low and degrading theories of communists."⁹⁶ Michaelis ignores the fact that two of the most outspoken advocates of sexual freedom and new family structures, Victoria Woodhull and Emma Goldman, were women. However, despite his description of the instinctual and maternal purity of woman, Michaelis also portrays Miss Cora Delong, who somehow overcomes her instincts and courts men, smokes, and plays billiards. Meanwhile although Michaelis also claims pity for the overworked proletariat woman, married women fake excuses to avoid doing their share in the Industrial Army. This ambivalent attitude toward women, ranging from sentimental exaggeration of virtue to sentimental exaggeration of vice, leaves a vacuum at the center. There is no female equivalent to the moderate, rational, fair Dr. Forest, who represents

⁹⁶Michaelis, p. 71ff.

the mean, the need for moderate reform. He alone is sensible, unemotional, distanced, and mature.

The two contrasting women in Solomon Schindler's Young West are Emily, Young West's wife, and Violet Horton, his first lover. Violet rejects Young West in favor of her career and ends up miserable in her success. She is divorced four times because she never takes an interest in her spouses' work. Instead, she seeks applause through her own career. By contrast Emily is willing to gratify her vocational interests indirectly through Young West: "I will be satisfied with whatever rays of glory will fall upon me from the renown and immortal fame that will shine upon you."⁹⁷

Thus, the images of women in anti-utopian literature become a justification for the continuance of pre-socialistic sex roles. According to anti-utopian writers, women should accept a biological definition of their roles and limitations, for their own happiness and for the happiness and well-being of men and children. The anti-utopian authors used the split-image technique of sentimental fiction to contrast the passive vs. active woman, maternal vs. career woman, pure

⁹⁷ Schindler, p. 218.

vs. sinful woman. They concluded that socialism creates women who are dominating, unmaternal, aggressive, and selfish. The system, therefore, is unnatural.

Anti-utopians therefore attack the progressive utopians on two fronts: their optimistic faith in progress based on industrial technology, and their optimistic faith in egalitarian governments and socialistic economic systems based on a belief in the perfectibility of man. Anti-utopians share a belief that machinery, particularly machinery under socialistic government, will destroy individualism and imagination. They envision people becoming an anonymous mass of machine tenders ruled by a scientist dictator who is trying to become the true Creator. They believe humanity can become over-dependent on machines which someday may not work. Through the use of exaggerated imagery borrowed from the Gothic novel, anti-utopians also describe the violent potential of machines. They view pre-industrial America as an orderly natural world, not the wild world awaiting the utopian tamer. The machine has intruded in this orderly sterilized natural world and created a polluted, urbanized, unnecessary slum.

According to anti-utopians, socialism, both as an economic and political system, has destroyed individualism by ignoring the principles of Social Darwinism.

They believe that inequality encourages competition, a biological requirement for progress. Socialism, therefore, is unnatural. Because man is not perfectible, he can create but not sustain a rational or just society. Immigrants further corrupt the more perfect WASP community and introduce whiskey and anarchism in the Garden. Consequently, coming full circle, anti-utopians foresee immigrants and other workers using the new technology to overthrow the state and bring chaos.

Anti-utopians share a cyclic rather than a progressive attitude toward time and history. They all envision apocalyptic events which will return humanity to a pre-socialized state. The forms of these cyclic revolutions in anti-utopian literature are, essentially parables, demonstrations, or 'caveats', warning the reader about the violent potential of a politicized and deprived working class, which must either be suppressed or bought off. The apocalyptic events also demonstrate the anti-utopian assumption that man once lived in utopia, Eden, and at a pre-determined time will be returned there through a millennial destruction, a self-created punishment.

The scenes of violent change in the world of Anna Dodd belongs in this 'caveat' category. She describes

a battle between foreign anarchists and socialists on the one hand and "republican Americans" on the other, which occurs in the year 1900. The anarchists, failures as men and soldiers, resort to explosives and level the cities. "Fortunately, however, a few of the Americans survived -- descendants of the ancient New England statesmen" who manage to arrange for peace at the price of socialism.⁹⁸ The narrator gladly leaves America to return to capitalist Sweden.

The scenes of revolution in Arthur Vinton's anti-utopia also belong to this 'caveat' category. Contrary to Bellamy's view, in Vinton's world socialism is maintained not through popular support, but through the totalitarian control of an oversized government, one which has been lax in its immigration laws, and military preparedness, by listening to "gossiping women".⁹⁹ At the time of the action, the Chinese have gained control of all but a small portion of the interior, and it's "just a question of time till they close in."

The United States in J. W. Roberts Looking Within

⁹⁸Dodd, p. 51.

⁹⁹Vinton, p. 33.

becomes increasingly chaotic and debauched in the process of the narrator's several long naps. Roberts suggests that the violation of laws by the anarchists mirrors that of the corporate rulers. Both labor and the middle class are trapped in the middle. The revolution here is the result of existing nineteenth century tendencies which have gone unchecked. In two fictionalized sermons, Roberts proposes a return to religiosity, prayer, and patience as the way out of corporate paternalism and governmental tyranny. In the end, a few reformers peacefully return America to pre-industrial ruralism by simply passing some limited tax reform legislation, and everyone becomes a property owner again.

The scenes of chaos in Satterlee, Harben, and Niswonger however are more Apocalyptic. Satterlee's dream world in Looking Backward and What I Saw ends in the violent demonstration and fire, with the enlightened narrator happily waking up in the safety of the nineteenth century. The proud scientist king in Harben's cave observes nature's revenge on his kingdom. He sees the fires and floods as signs of God's anger. Paradoxically, through science the king delays the devastation long enough to disband the kingdom and return the people to America. The heaviest revenge, it seems, is saved for

the land that was ruled by women. In the Isle of Feminine the princesses get wrinkles and the island sinks into the sea.

In conclusion then, we can see how the anti-utopian themes in the late nineteenth century develop into the post-Freudian and post-Manhattan project form: modern science fiction. A composite model of contemporary science fiction would include the threat of devastation from a technological war, a few heroic men and women living underground, the remainder wearing standardized uniforms and standardized expressions. There would be an elite class of scientists, invisible dictators, who create a passive conformism through drugs, censorship, and oversimplified language. Food would be artificial and plastic lawns (astro-turf?), trees, and flowers would replace nature. As the critic Walsh suggests, dystopia is only utopia that backfires.

CHAPTER VII
THE REGRESSIVE UTOPIAS:
THE FUTURE REPUDIATES HISTORY

Utopias appear in times of historical and economic crises. In the United States, there were vogues of utopian fiction during the long financial crises in the 1880s and 1890s, during the depression in the 1930s, and again, during the protests against racism and imperialism in the 1960s. Rejection of contemporary reality is implicit in utopian thought. This rejection is achieved either by projecting reality forward into the future, in progressive utopias, or backward, into an idealized past, in retrogressive utopias. Progressive utopias dramatize improved versions of the culture from which they derive, and are achieved either through revolutionary or evolutionary struggles. Retrogressive utopias posit the possibility of a return to a pre-industrial world, which is envisioned in cyclic terms. They reject progress, and thus, repudiate history. In England this genre of retrogressive utopias is hallmarked by the romantic arcadias of Richard Jeffries or W. H. Hudson, and by the harmonious pastoral societies of William Morris. In the United States the category of retrogressive utopias of the late nineteenth century includes:

- Henry A. Gaston - Mars Revisited, or Seven Days in the Spirit World, 1880
- James Casey - A New Moral World and A New State of Society, 1885
- Mary Agnes Tincker - San Salvador, 1892
- Joaquin Miller - The Building of the City Beautiful, 1893
- William D. Howells - A Traveller from Altruria, 1894
Through the Eye of A Needle, 1907
- Alexander Craig - Ionia; Land of Wise Men and Fair Women, 1898

These authors abandon the life of the Brown Decades for a society that is rural, youthful, restful, familial, and at times, primeval. It is a romanticized re-creation of Jeffersonian America. Rather than reform industrialism through new inventions which improve the quality of urban life, retrogressive utopians show their hatred of the machine age by creating societies which are pre-technological. Unlike the utopian authors who accepted Bellamy's assumption of socialized technology, this smaller group reflects a loss of confidence in the idea of progress per se. This regressive aspect of utopianism is also found in the conservative strains of Populism which idealized the American yeoman and considered economic and scientific progress irrelevant. Retrogressive utopians also share with anti-utopians the assumption of an ideal American past. They minimize dangers

to health, culture, and prosperity of a totally agrarian economy. Political authority is traditional, limited, and natural.

This type of utopian socialism is antithetical to Marxian or scientific socialism; since it denies history, it denies the eventual socializing function of capitalism. In Capital Marx describes the role of the capitalist in the creation of socialism, "Fanatically bent on making value expand itself, he ruthlessly forces the human race to produce for production's sake: he thus forces the development of the productive forces of society, and creates those material conditions which alone can form the real basis of a higher form of society, a society in which the full and free development of every individual forms the ruling principle." To Marx, socialism is dependent on industrial capitalism, with technology as a pre-condition of egalitarianism. Retrogressive utopians, however, skip this necessary step and instead, posit a return to a pastoral world in which spontaneity replaces contrivance, innocence replaces morality, the village replaces the city, nature replaces civilization, and personal freedom replaces organization.

The political precepts of retrogressive utopianism

require different fictional techniques from both progressive utopias and anti-utopias. Because the primary goal is order rather than equality, male characters in retrogressive utopias are more overtly aggressive and dominating than their progressive counterparts. Female characters, without the temptations of the big city or the assistance of an electric dishwasher, are free to return to their "inherent" maternalism and docility. The peasant becomes the socialist version of the noble savage, a pure and instinctive rural democrat.

William Dean Howells in A Traveller from Altruria (1894) and Through the Eye of A Needle (1907) also created a simplified rural utopia which recalls ante-bellum America. During the late 1880s Howells began to consider the ethical and social as well as literary consequences of the new industrialism. Primarily, he explored the impact of the new industrial order on the consciousness of the middle class. In Annie Kilburn (1888), A Hazard of New Fortunes (1889), The Quality of Mercy (1892) and The World of Chance (1893) his characters observe or participate in a variety of solutions, ranging from paternalism to rebellion. By 1894, the year of the publication of A Traveller from Altruria, Howells decided that no solution would be viable because

middle class Americans had locked themselves into a huis clos mental framework. Altruria, Howells' utopia, is explicitly unavailable to contemporary America. It does not exist to impel reform, but is merely a nostalgic glance over the shoulder. Altruria is never a telos, but at best, a satiric standard with which a reader might judge how far America had deviated from its early purity. Like other members of retrogressive utopias, Howells' heroines feel that they have been to utopia before. Altruria reminds them of a period in American history that was less industrialized, less class conscious, less urbanized, and less sophisticated than contemporary New York City. Since many writers of utopian fiction are still largely anonymous to us, we are fortunate with Howells to have the materials with which to explore the historical, personal, and literary factors which influenced his development as a retrogressive utopian.

Nearly all of the critics of A Traveller from Altruria use the novel to debate the origins of Howells' social philosophy. In evaluating this debate, and in considering it in the context of Howells' fiction, his editorials, and his letters, it is possible to distill the major sources. Leo Tolstoy, Henry George, and

Lawrence Gronlund, affected Howells' economic and social theories. Bjorg Bjornson and Tolstoy were major literary influences. Finally contemporary responses to inequality, such as the industrial and agrarian protests of the eighties, the Haymarket Riots and trials, the Homestead Strikes, and the growth of the Populist party radically changed Howells' attitude toward fiction and reform. In 1888, after reading Edward Bellamy, Leo Tolstoy, and Partial Portraits by Henry James, Howells wrote to James, suggesting his new perceptions of the trends of modern industrialism.

I'm not in a very good humor with "America" myself. It seems to be the most grotesquely illogical thing under the sun; and I suppose I love it less because it won't let me love it more. I should hardly like to trust pen and ink with all the audacity of my social ideas; but after fifty years of optimistic content with "civilization" and its ability to come out all right in the end, I now abhor it, and feel that it is coming out all wrong in the end, unless it bases itself anew on a real equality. Meantime, I wear a fur-lined overcoat,¹ and live in all the luxury money can buy.

The theme of the conscience stricken aristocrat informs the action of Howells' utopian fiction. Howells found in Tolstoy the dilemma of the wealthy liberal

¹William Dean Howells to Henry James, 10 October 1888, in Life in Letters of William Dean Howells, ed. Mildred Howells, (Garden City, New York: Doubleday Doran and Co., 1928), Vol. 1. p. 417. All subsequent references to letters from William Dean Howells are from this collection.

who felt compelled to respond both intellectually and personally to social stratification. Altruria also reflects Tolstoy's theory that economic and social equality must precede sympathy. If there is to be social unity all economic circumstances, including labor, must be shared. The rich alienate themselves from the poor not only through their economic differences, but through their lack of common experiences as well.

We can also trace the repudiation of technology in Altruria to Tolstoy's theory of the socially divisive nature of industrialization. In his utopian fiction, Howells embodied Tolstoy's view that industry and technology lead to specialization which in turn destroys the sense of community. Although the common critical assumption is that Howells either rejected or forgot his Ohio frontier origins, in fact he returned to the rural mid-West as his model for a community of shared experiences. Finally, the influence of Tolstoy on Howells can also be found in the Altrurian rejection of material acquisitions. This analysis differs substantially from that of the critic George Arms, who suggests that Tolstoy had a minimal influence on Howells.² In

²George Arms, "The Literary Background of Howells' Social Criticism" in American Literature (November, 1942), p. 260ff.

My Literary Passions, Howells wrote of Tolstoy "I do not know how to give a notion of his influence without the effect of exaggeration. As much as one merely human being can help another I believe that he has helped me; he has not influenced me in aesthetics only, but in ethics too ... The way he showed me seemed impossible to my will, but to my conscience it was and is the only possible way."³

In 1889 Howells resigned the post of writing "The Editors Study" for Harpers Monthly and moved to Boston, where, between 1889-1891 he associated with a coterie of Brahmin reformers, many of whom were old friends. During those years disciples of Bellamy were organizing Nationalist clubs in Boston following the popularity of Looking Backward; Rev. Edward Everett Hale, an old friend of Howells, was holding meetings of Tolstoy followers; Christian Socialists such as Phillips Brooks and W. D. P. Bliss were founding community churches; and Hamlin Garland was organizing support for Henry George's single-tax program.

³William Dean Howells, My Literary Passions (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1895), p. 252.

Walter Fuller Taylor was the first critic to explore Howells' debt to Henry George, the author of Progress and Poverty (1880).⁴ George is most famous for his proposal of the "single tax", one large tax to be levied against all land holdings, which would eventually lead to the government's confiscation of landed property. George also contributed to the attack on conservative social theories, in particular the Malthusian theory of Population, which had been invoked to put down reform. Progress and Poverty, along with Uncle Tom's Cabin and Looking Backward, was one of the most popular works published during the nineteenth century. According to his son, Henry George, Jr., five million copies were issued during the first twenty-five years of publication.⁵ Howells was introduced to George's theories through the regional novelist Hamlin Garland, who campaigned vigorously on George's behalf when he ran for Mayor of New York in 1886, and polled one third of the

⁴Walter Fuller Taylor, "On the Origins of Howells' Interest in Economic Reform", in American Literature, (March, 1930), p. 10.

⁵Taylor, "On the Origins of Howells' Interest in Economic Reform", p. 8, footnote 24.

total vote. Garland pursued Howells all over New England, attempting to persuade him to publically accept the single tax. Later Howells also became a personal friend of George.

The issue of land ownership is the subject of a major debate in A Traveller From Altruria and clearly shows the influence of Henry George. In a letter to Hamlin Garland dated January 15, 1888, Howells further specifies this influence:

Your land tenure idea is one of the good things which we must hope for and strive for by all the good means at our hands. But I don't know that it's the first step to be taken; and I can't yet bring myself to look upon confiscation in any direction as a good thing. The new commonwealth must be founded in justice even to the unjust, in generosity to the unjust, rather than anything less than justice. Besides, the land idea arrays against progress the vast farmer class who might favor national control of telegraphs, railways, and mines, postal savings, bank-and-life insurance, a national labor bureau for bringing work and workmen together without cost to the workman, and other schemes by which it is hoped to lessen the sum of wrong in the world, and insure to every man the food and shelter which the gift of life implies the right to. Understand, I don't argue against you; I don't know yet what is best; but I am reading and thinking about questions that carry me beyond myself and my miserable literary idolatries of the past; perhaps you'll find that I've been writing about them. I am still the slave of selfishness, but I no longer am content to be so. That's as far as I can honest-

ly say I've got.⁶

In this letter, Howells also points to the weakness which ultimately defeated Georgism, the idea that economic inequality could be overcome by one simple reform, such as a single tax. The letter also demonstrates Howells' lifelong inability to attack rich people as a class, or to hold the ruling class culpable for the economic situation. Finally it reveals Howells' deep confusion about the correct path to social equality, and the ramifications of his serious beliefs on his personal life.

While there are certain similarities between Howells' Altruria and Bellamy's commonwealth, such as the process of change, the critique of competition, the belief in equal distribution of goods, and the notion that abolition of poverty will lead to the abolition of crime, nonetheless, Howells explicitly repudiated both the mechanization and urbanization of Bellamy's utopia.⁷ Howells did appreciate Bellamy's attack on the element of chance in industrial capitalism. The uncertainty of

⁶William Dean Howells to Hamlin Garland, 15 January 1888.

⁷This view disagrees with that of such critics as Robert Shurter, "The Utopian Novel in America 1888-1900" in South Atlantic Quarterly, XXIV, (1935), p. 137ff, who argues that Howells' community was modelled after Bellamy's utopia.

unemployment is the theme of Howells' novel The World of Chance, in which business becomes a game of chance and accident. Most significantly, Howells accepted Bellamy's plan for change, in which industries are nationalized by a simple extension of the trusts and conglomerations. Both Howells and Bellamy stress that the transfer from private to public monopoly can occur peacefully through the vote.

In an article for The Atlantic Monthly written at the time of Bellamy's death, Howells specifically criticized Bellamy, however, for his emphasis on material promises. Walter F. Taylor errs in suggesting that Howells and Bellamy both describe a highly developed mechanized civilization.⁸ Howells preferred a more simple milieu, with fewer technological conveniences and facilities. Howells said that one should do without those "sorry patches on the rags of our outworn civilization" which he claimed were "only toys to amuse our greed and vacancy."⁹ Howells admitted that because he

⁸Taylor, "On the Origins of Howells' Interest in Economic Reform", p. 12.

⁹William Dean Howells, "Edward Bellamy" in The Atlantic Monthly, LXXXII, (August, 1898), p. 254.

had not led a life starved of material possessions, he did not possess Bellamy's "democratic imagination"; he still despaired of a utopia in which the hope of material things "formed the highest appeal to human nature."¹⁰ In a letter to his father, dated April 27, 1890, Howells wrote "... the Nationalists seem pinned in faith to Bellamy's dream. But the salvation of the world will not be worked out that way."¹¹

Thus, although Bellamy was not useful as a model for Howells' own pastoral utopia, Howells did find Bellamy to be both an important author and social critic. In his preface to Bellamy's collection of short stories, The Blindman's World, Howells claimed that Bellamy was rich in a romantic imagination surpassed only by Hawthorne.¹² He applauded Bellamy's appreciation, which coincided with his own childhood experiences, that as Americans, "we are a village people far more than we are country people or city people." He says that in Bellamy's appeal to the village dweller in his short stor-

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ William Dean Howells to William Cooper Howells, 27 April, 1890.

¹² William Dean Howells, "Preface" in Edward Bellamy, The Blindman's World, p. XIII.

ies, he recognized "this average, whose intelligence forms the prosperity of our literature and whose virtue forms the strength of our nation."¹³ This milieu, which Howells had long since abandoned for the sophisticated publishing world of New York, becomes the setting for his utopia in A Traveller from Altruria, and Through the Eye of A Needle.

Unlike Bellamy, Howells acknowledged the influence of Laurence Gronlund's Cooperative Commonwealth. He heard Gronlund speak at a meeting of the Socialist Labor Party¹⁴ and he devoted an "Editor's Study" to a respectful summary of Gronlund's transition state.¹⁵ In particular, Howells admired Gronlund for his non-threatening method of collectivization through a gradual absorption of farm lands which would be achieved by nationalizing railroads. The critic George Arms finds other parallels between Cooperative Commonwealth and A Traveller from Altruria.¹⁶ Both Howells and Gronlund saw public educa-

¹³Howells, "Preface", p. ix.

¹⁴Arms, "The Librery Background of Howells' Social Criticism", p. 260ff.

¹⁵William Dean Howells, "Editor's Study" in Harpers Monthly, LXXVI, pp. 801-802.

¹⁶George Arms, "Further Inquiry into Howell's Socialism", in Science and Society, III, (Spring, 1939), pp. 245-248.

tion as a tendency towards socialism, and, both saw a "socialistic core" potential in labor unions. They both thought that the interdependence of the poor might also be a pre-utopian tendency. Furthermore, Gronlund and Howells both suggested that the American worker would soon be as poor as the European worker, but hoped that the isolation of America would make social change more practical. Howells only criticized Gronlund for failing to provide a program for people who were used to suffrage and legislation. Unlike Gronlund, Howells used the vote as a method of change in A Traveller from Altruria and Through the Eye of A Needle. Finally Howells felt that Gronlund was respectable. In the "Editor's Study" review of Cooperative Commonwealth Howells concluded that "one may read his books without risk to offense to one's patriotism or humanity."¹⁷

Despite the suggestions of Vernon Parrington who claimed that The Traveller from Altruria is a shrewd analysis of American life set against a Marxian background, and in forecasting the future Howells follows the Marxian law of concentration,¹⁸ and Jacob Getzels who said

¹⁷Howells, "Editor's Study" in Harpers Monthly, LXXVI, p. 803.

¹⁸Vernon L. Parrington, Main Currents in American

that in his utopian fiction "Howells was perhaps the first American author, surely the first of any reputation, to give expression to the theory of class struggle,"¹⁹ there is no evidence that Howells, who compulsively wrote about and referred to whatever he read, had ever read Marx. Since he attended meetings of the Socialist Labor Party²⁰, however, it is likely that he had heard of Marx. Claude Flory and Conrad Wright who suggest that Howells got his Marx second hand through Gronlund, fail to recognize the fundamental differences between Marx and Gronlund, which make such a conclusion impossible.²¹ In particular, Gronlund's Cooperative Commonwealth lacks the central

Thought: The Beginnings of Critical Realism 1860-1920
(New York: Harcourt Brace and Co., 1930), p. 247.

¹⁹Jacob Warren Getzels, "William Dean Howells and Socialism"; in Science and Society, II (Summer, 1938), p. 379.

²⁰Arms, "Further Inquiry into Howells Socialism", p. 248.

²¹Claude R. Flory, "Economic Criticism in American Fiction 1792-1900" Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1936, and Conrad Wright, "The Sources of Mr. Howells' Socialism" in Science and Society, II, pp. 514-515.

Marxist notion of class struggle.

In addition to these theoretical influences, an important factor in Howells' political development was his association with the Haymarket strike and the trial of the Chicago anarchists. Howells was the only prominent American intellectual to take a public stand against the proceedings. When Howells first wrote to the anarchists' lawyer, Judge Roger A. Pryor, expressing his sense that anarchists had been unjustly convicted, Pryor asked Howells to publically raise the issue, but at this point, Howells declined. However, when the Supreme Court affirmed the legality of the Chicago trial, thereby upholding the guilty verdicts, Pryor again asked Howells to appeal for executive clemency. When John Greenleaf Whittier and George William Curtis refused Howells' request to share the project, Howells alone wrote to Governor Atgeld of Illinois, and issued a public appeal in The New York Tribune, for which he was strongly denounced in the press. "Some of the papers abused me as heartily as if I had proclaimed myself a dynamiter," he wrote.²² This event encouraged Howells' disillusion-

²²William Dean Howells to Thomas S. Perry, 14 April 1888.

ment with America. On January 15, 1888 he wrote to Hamlin Garland: "You'll easily believe that I did not bring myself to the point of openly befriending those men who were murdered in Chicago without thinking and feeling much, and my horizons have been infinitely widened by the process."²³ The beginning of his work on Annie Kilburn coincided with his intervention on behalf of the anarchists unjustly tried for the Haymarket Riots.

Howells, however, was still totally opposed both to strikes and militancy as methods of change. During the Homestead Strikes, when the strikers successfully fought off the Pinkerton detectives who were brutally attacking the picket lines, Howells wrote to his father,

I suppose you have been excited, as I have been, by the Homestead affair. It is hard, in our sympathy with the working class, to remember that the men are playing a lawless part, and that they must be made to give up the Carnegie property. Strikes are only useful as a means of diagnosis; they are no remedy; they are merely symptomatic of the fact that the trouble must go on as long as competition goes on; they are themselves an essential part of competition. This strike will be put down, but it is at least an end of Pinkertonism. One must pity those poor wretches of detectives, too; how shockingly they were used after their surrender. I come back to my old conviction, that every drop of blood shed for a

²³William Dean Howells to Hamlin Garland, 15 January 1888.

good cause helps to make a bad cause. How much better if the Homesteaders could have suffered the Pinkertons to shoot them down unarmed. Then they would have had the power of martyrs in the world.²⁴

Here Howells reveals his assumption that the property was rightfully Andrew Carnegie's. He romanticizes the strikers as potential martyrs, and betrays a laissez-faire attitude toward unions as a unit of competition. Finally, Howells makes explicit his lack of faith in the strike as a justified economic tactic.

In their introduction to the definitive edition of A Traveller from Altruria and Through the Eye of A Needle Clara and Rudolf Clark have traced all of Howells' earlier references to Altruria with painstaking detail, and cite all of Howells' letters and editorials in which the word or concept occurs.²⁵ Howells published his first work of utopian fiction, "a sort of sociological serial"²⁶, in the November, 1892 issue of Cosmopolitan, a reformist magazine which Howells edited for a year.

²⁴William Dean Howells to William Cooper Howells, 10 July 1892.

²⁵Clara and Rudolf Clark, "Introduction" to William Dean Howells, The Altrurian Romances (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana and London, Indiana University Press, 1968). All subsequent references to A Traveller From Altruria and Through the Eye of A Needle are from this edition.

²⁶William Dean Howells, "Bibliographical", in The Altrurian Romances, p. 3.

The second series, Letters from an Altrurian Traveller, was published serially during the spring of 1894. It is the least useful for our purposes, for Howells used the voice of the rural utopian mainly as a narrative technique to describe the Chicago Fair and contrast it to patterns of life in New York. To coincide with the popularity of this second series, Harper and Brothers brought out the first series in book form that year. The Letters series was not concluded and published until twelve years later, either because of Howells' inability to find a suitable ending, or because of Harpers' refusal to issue the second book. Nonetheless, by 1907, Howells wrote his brother that "There is now a revival of interest in such speculations, and the publishers think the book, with an interesting sequel, giving an account of life in Altruria, will succeed. I hope so. But my books, none of them, go far, you know."²⁷

Although Through the Eye of A Needle, published in 1907, is chronologically beyond the scope of this paper, it will nonetheless be considered here because sections

²⁷ William Dean Howells to Joseph H. Howells, 24 February 1907.

of it were written during the 1890s. Furthermore, the new sequel containing Evelith Strange's letters from Altruria to her friend in New York are the only place in Howells' fiction where the narration originates in utopia. Also, in this section Howells fictively summarized many of his ideas on socialism. Finally, Howells himself announced that the two series "are books of one blood, but in birth so far divided from each other by time that they might seem mother and daughter rather than sisters. Yet they are of the same generation and born of the same abiding conviction: the conviction that the economic solution of the "riddle of the painful earth" is to be ^bmy emulation and not by competition."²⁸

In A Traveller from Altruria, Howells reversed the usual pattern and had a utopian, Aristides Homos visit America, represented by a group of middle-class guests at a summer resort. Socialist society is not fictively represented, rather, it is a standard of measurement against which the Americans are judged. There is no action, no attack, no rebellion, or sugges-

²⁸ Howells, "Bibliographical", p. 3.

tion of reform of the established order. The characters, almost like narrators in dramatic monologues, unconsciously testify against capitalism. Howells thus neglected his earlier fictional pattern of portraying a crisis, which is then resolved by a symposium or exchange of ideas voiced through representative characters.

A Traveller from Altruria represents a rejection of Howells' formal realism. The hotel in which the action is largely set becomes a metaphor for the middle class, isolated by its guest list, cost, and exclusive rituals. On one side it is bounded by the ugly scar of a forest of scorched stumps, the trees already sold for timber and the land for development. On the other side we find the village people, an angry but helpless rural proletariat. Nonetheless, the unwitting narrator comments, "Everyone was well dressed and comfortable and at peace, and I felt that our hotel was in some sort a microcosm of the republic."²⁹

Despite the critic George Bennett's suggestion that A Traveller from Altruria is merely a "morality" play,³⁰ the characters - both the guests of the hotel and the occasional townspeople whom Homos interviews - are not

²⁹Howells, A Traveller from Altruria, p. 24.

³⁰George N. Bennett, The Realism of William Dean Howells 1889-1920 (Nashville, Tenn.: Vanderbilt Univ. Press, 1973), p. 130.

mere mouthpieces for various ideas. Indeed, the guests cannot answer Homos' questions or reply to his critiques. Howells is thus focusing as much on the issue of perception as on the issue of ideology. The middle class characters finally cannot understand Altruria, and this bafflement would indicate that they are helpless as well as isolated.

The story is presented through the voice of an unreliable narrator, Mr. Twelvemough, who is the host of the utopian visitor, Aristides Homos. Twelvemough is a society novelist, but he is not, despite the suggestion of most critics, a representative for Howells himself. He is, in fact, the sort of artist Howells attacked in the mid 80's. Twelvemough announces,

I am a writer of romantic fiction, and my time is so fully occupied in manipulating the destinies of the good old fashioned hero and heroine, and trying always to make them end in a happy marriage, that I have hardly had a chance to look much into the lives of agriculturists or artisans ... we have a theory that they are politically sovereign, but we see very little of them and we don't associate with them. In fact, our cultivated people have so little interest in them socially that they don't like to meet them, even in fiction... I always go to the upper classes for my types.³¹

³¹Howells, A Traveller from Altruria, p. 30.

The reader is thus dependent on a narrator who is trivial and effete. For example, he is overly embarrassed when the utopian helps the porter with the luggage. When the Altrurian questions how American workingmen spend their leisure, Twelvemough says, "I hung my head in shame and pity; it really had such an effect of mawkish sentimentality." On a more serious level, Twelvemough is seen as incapable of correctly perceiving the Altrurian. Through repartee, ridicule, interruption, or evasion, he avoids a direct response to the Altrurian: "The question is unanswerable," or "I found all this very uncomfortable, and tried to turn the talk back to the point that I felt curious about."³² Often, Twelvemough suggests that the utopian must just be lying. As the critic Carrington notes, "Running from life Twelvemough yields the artist's privilege and task to cultivate honest perception. There is no greater crime in Howells."³³

Twelvemough filters sordid detail through the mind

³²Howells, A Traveller from Altruria, p. 54.

³³George C. Carrington, Jr., The Immense Complex Drama, The World and Art of the Howells Novel (Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State University Press, 1966), p. 109.

of the romancer, and morbid sentimental fiction comes out the other end. When Twelvemough takes Homos to the poor and drab farmhouse of the Camps, the novelist observes the decay and comments, "I made a mental note of it as a place where it would be very characteristic to have a rustic funeral take place; and I was pleased to have Mrs. Makely drop into a sort of mortuary murmur, as she said: 'I hope your mother is well as usual, this morning?' I perceived that this murmur was produced by the sepulchral influence of the room."³⁴ Eventually, the narrator begins to doubt Homos' reality altogether: "There are moments when he seems entirely subjective with me."³⁵ The novelist is locked in his own world and cannot see out. He is denying the possibility of a better world.

The other middle class characters are similarly myopic. Critics usually refer to them as examples of Howells' theory of complicity, according to which all men, no matter how virtuous, are equally responsible

³⁴Howells, A Traveller from Altruria, p. 90.

³⁵Howells, A Traveller from Altruria, p. 92.

for the decaying social situation.³⁶ Therefore, the businessmen in Howells' utopian fiction are not portrayed like the melodramatic villains in Populist utopias. They are just overworked, tired, and incapable of attacking the world which defines them. The responsibility for critical perception lies with the artist, the intellectuals, the women, and the clergy. One by one, Howells satirizes them all. The minister, who admits that there are no working people in his congregation, is naively dull, repeating obvious questions about the American economic scene during the symposia on the hotel veranda. The professor of economics is portrayed as malicious and deceptive. His comments recall the Social Darwinist solutions of William Sumner. Howells ironically gives the economist the canting name "Lumen" while assigning him to the world of darkness and ignorance.

Similarly, although Twelvemough asserts the cultural and intellectual superiority of the American woman, Howells gives us Mrs. Makely, the representative middle class woman: "a cultured American woman, she was necessarily quite ignorant of her own country, geographically, po-

³⁶ See, e.g. William M. Gibson, William Dean Howells (Minneapolis, Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 1967), p. 32.

litically and historically."³⁷ Mrs. Makely re-iterates her intense curiosity about Altruria, but interrupts Homos every time he starts to speak. She asks Mr. Homos to speak about Altruria on behalf of charity, but she maliciously prices the seats too high for the local people. Through her overly garrulous and manipulative personality, she defeats perception.

The working class, portrayed in the railroad workers or the farmers and represented by the Camp family, is critical but passive. They are not capable of initiating or leading reform. Mrs. Camp, the egalitarian widowed farmer, is old and bedridden. Like the abandoned homesteads nearby, she suggests that rural democratic America is in decay. Her son, Ruben, is cynically helpless against the decline of farming in the East and the railroad control and speculation in the West. For the most part the novel is written from the middle class point of view and rarely are we directly presented with working people. Like the guests at the hotel, we see working people through the window as they watch the guests dance. We are linked to the narrator's world view. When the Altrurian questions the lack of contact between the working rural people and the guests at

³⁷Howells, A Traveller from Altruria, p. 79.

the hotel, Twelvemough says, "It has sometimes seemed to me as if our big hotel there were a ship, anchored off some strange coast. The inhabitants come out with supplies and carry on their barter with the ship's steward, and we sometimes see them over the side, but we never speak to them or have anything to do with them."³⁸ The working class is nearly invisible.

Howells further distant^{es} working class characters through his use of language. The working class characters speak in dialect while the middle class characters speak in literary prose. An angry farmer who indecorously interrupts Homos' lecture on Altrurian history says "i paid my dolla' to hear about a country where there wa'nt no co'operations, nor no mono'lies, nor no buyin' up cou'ts.' in I know all about how it is here. Fi'st, run their line through your backya'd, and then kill off your cattle, and keep kerryin' on it up from cov't to cov't, till there ain't hide nor hair on 'em left."³⁹ Through dialect he becomes, in the tradition of the contemporaneous local color stories, a "low"

³⁸Howells, A Traveller from Altruria, p. 96.

³⁹Howells, A Traveller from Altruria, p. 150.

or vernacular character. Dialect sets him apart. The working class characters are thus sentimentalized while the middle class characters are presented in satirically conceived detail.

In addition to the use of dialect A Traveller from Altruria is similar to local color stories in its plot. As in local color stories, a refined gentleman, in this case Mr. Homos, comes to a new area, (conventionally the South) and is introduced to the culture through anecdotes presented in the vernacular voice of local characters. Twelvemough discovers that the Altrurian functions as a "spiritual solvent", who exists to "precipitate whatever sincerity there was in us, and to show us what the truth was concerning our relations to each other."⁴⁰ Utopia thus has a satirical rather than a teleological function. In A Traveller from Altruria Homos uses the techniques of dead-pan, also developed in the humor and local color traditions, to debunk the middle class assumptions. For example, Mrs. Makely and Mr. Twelvemough are defending withholding charity from the poor. The artist tells the utopian, "'And now you see what difficulties beset us in dealing with the prob-

⁴⁰Howells, A Traveller from Altruria, p. 99.

lem of poverty. We cannot let people suffer, for that would be cruel; and we cannot relieve their need without pauperizing them.' 'I see,' he answered, 'It is a terrible quandary.'" ⁴¹

In the end, Homos' criticism of American capitalism is based on moral rather than political judgments. Consequently, his solutions are ethical rather than economic. As Engels noted, utopian socialism conquers not by struggle but by virtue of its own power. Thus, the Altrurian voters chose public ownership as soon as the idea was introduced. Human nature in Altruria changed from egotism to selflessness automatically when the island returned to village life. The Altrurians simply eliminated the need for money, commerce, and industry by choosing to return to an agrarian economy, for which each citizen labored equally. As Robert L. Hough suggests in The Quiet Rebel, William Dean Howells: "with this love of rural life and their attempts at self-betterment through study and reading, the Altrurians closely resemble the Jeffersonian agrarians."⁴²

⁴¹Howells, A Traveller from Altruria, p. 87.

⁴²Robert L. Hough, The Quiet Rebel, William Dean Howells As Social Commentator (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1959), p. 64.

Homos' lecture in fact leads the listeners away from practical action. Homos only suggests to the impoverished farmers "you must let Altruria come to you."⁴³ At the end of the talk, the workers optimistically drift away, while Mrs. Makely gushes, with tears in her eyes, "Oh, Mr. Homos! ... it was beautiful, beautiful, every word of it!"⁴⁴ The professor sneers, the banker is skeptical, the minister doubts this human potential, and Homos leaves for New York.

Through the Eye of A Needle, written in the years following the publication of the first utopia, begins in America and ends in Altruria. With Howells' satiric focus on seating arrangements at formal dinners, or separate elevators for servants, it is hard to sustain Newton Arvin's assertion that Howells comprehended what was happening to the form and quality of American life as it moved toward the "ugly disharmony of monopolism and empire" and that he presented that development dramatically in his two utopian novels.⁴⁵ To the contrary, Howells

⁴³Howells, A Traveller from Altruria, p. 177.

⁴⁴Howells, A Traveller from Altruria, p. 178.

⁴⁵Newton Arvin, "The Usableness of Howells" in The New Republic, (30 June 1937), p. 227.

satirizes only the most superficial symptoms of capitalism. His problem may have been literary as well as political. Perhaps Howells was stymied when his political beliefs out-distanced the limits he put on literary realism, which precluded the indiscreet response or the indecorous act. At his very strongest, Mr. Homos politely questions the necessity of the American class structure, asking, "And it never seems to you that the whole relation is wrong?"⁴⁶ Even the opinion which might lead to rude confrontation cannot furnish Howells' literary sitting room.

The action resumes with Mr. Homos' arrival in New York, where he falls in love with an extraordinarily wealthy widow, Evelith Strange. The only active conflict between the Altrurians and capitalists centers on the question of how Evelith shall invest her money while she accompanies Homos to Altruria. Evelith is reluctant to give up her wealth. She is like Howells, who once commented in reference to himself and Mark Twain, "we are theoretical socialists and practical aristocrats."⁴⁷

⁴⁶Howells, Through the Eye of A Needle, p. 301.

⁴⁷William Dean Howells to William Cooper Howells, 2 February 1890.

Evelith finally chooses to go to Altruria, but she gives her money to Mr. Makely to invest for her while she's gone. Thus, although Howells wrote the Altrurian romances as a response to a period of economic crises, he never described the nature of the crisis. Instead in his satiric sections, which are supposed to justify the need for utopia, he describes the effect of the political and economic system on the social life of the upper class.

The utopia is finally presented when Homos and Evelith make their wedding trip to Altruria. Howells' retrogressive utopian society is most indebted to William Morris for its conceptualization. In the seventies Howells was critical of Morris' vision, and called it "charming" but too "consciously medieval, consciously Greek, and it is so well aware of its quaintness that, on the whole, one would rather not live in it."⁴⁸ Altrurians, however, live in it. Like Morris' world of Nowhere, men and women dressed in loose flowing togas live in small communities, serve in small shops or stu-

⁴⁸ Cited in Clara Marburg Kirk, William Dean Howells and Art in His Time (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1965), p. 187.

dios, and contentedly till the soil. They are said to have evolved beyond machinery and industrialism.

As Clara Kirk suggests in William Dean Howells and Art in His Time, Howells concept of socialistic aesthetics in the 1880s was indebted to Morris and informed his utopia.⁴⁹ Kirk notes as well the similarity of their backgrounds. Both men edited reform magazines at nearly the same time, and both reflected the ideas of Tolstoy, George, Gronlund and the Fabians. In particular, both Morris and Howells considered participatory popular art as necessary to the regeneration of society. More than economic or political equality, Altruria fulfills people's need for an aesthetic environment.

In January 1890 Howells wrote in his "Study" that "Mr. Morris asks his bearer to go through the streets of any city and consider the windows of the shops, how they are heaped with cheap and vulgar and tawdry and foolish gimcracks, which men's lives have been worn and in making, and other men's lives in getting money to waste upon, and which are finally to be cast out of our houses and swept into our dust bins."⁵⁰ Howells eliminated the materialistic dependence on objects, defined

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Howells, "Editor's Study" in Harper's Monthly (January, 1890).

in the 90s by Veblen's "conspicuous consumption", by eliminating the entire capitalistic economic system in Altruria. He also approximated Marx's description of the alienation of laborer from his product through specialization, an idea that also came via Morris.⁵¹ Furthermore, through Homos' description of the "Period of Accumulation", Howells, like Morris, shows that the machine deprived workers of the right to create objects which were useful and "beautiful". In an image reminiscent of Tolstoy, the Altrurian said, " We do not like to distinguish men by their callings; we do not speak of the poet This, or the shoemaker That, for the poet may very likely be a shoemaker in the obligatories, and the shoemaker a poet in the voluntaries."⁵² Homos adds that sufficient free time now allows that there is "not a furrow driven or a swath mown, not a hammer struck on house or ship, not a temple raised or an engine built" that is not done "with an eye to beauty as well as use."⁵³ As in Morris' utopian design, Everyman is an artist in Altruria.

⁵¹Howells, A Traveller from Altruria, p. 157.

⁵²Howells, A Traveller from Altruria, p. 161.

⁵³Howells, A Traveller from Altruria, p. 158.

Howells, however, does not share Morris' stress on revolution as a pre-requisite for social tranquility. In the Altrurian lectures, when Homos is questioned as to how change came about, he says simply that the utopians voted for it.⁵⁴ For Howells there need be no struggle. An episode in Through the Eye of A Needle microcosmically projects the model function of utopia. After the American ship, the "Little Sally", brings Homos and Evelith to Altruria, the crew mutinies in order to remain in utopia. Utopian socialism conquers facilely. Howells never describes how Altruria changed from the competitive state to the state based on "work and love" because for the utopian, acceptance follows encounter automatically.

The goal of Altruria is simplification through a return to nature. Aside from good roads, electric vans, and one-rail electric expresses, there are no machines in Altruria. Evelith writes, "they have disused the complicated facilities and conveniences of the capitalistic epoch, which we are so proud of, and have got back as close as possible to nature."⁵⁵ Underlying this

⁵⁴Howells, A Traveller from Altruria, p. 153.

⁵⁵Howells, Through The Eye of A Needle, p. 385.

rural way of life is a Protestant reverence for labor. "As work is the ideal, they do not believe in what we call labor-saving devices."⁵⁶ The Altrurians live a village life. There are few cities and these exist only for organization and cultural events, reminiscent of the Chicago Fair which enthralled Howells.

Like the citizens of San Salvador and the City Beautiful, other retrogressive utopias, Altrurians returned to a pre-industrial world. They too rejected progress and reversed history. After "The Period of Accumulation", Altrurian life was reduced to small rural communities; cities are regarded with distrust. One night when Homos and Evelith are touring the country, they are warned to move on because "it seems we are not far from the ruins of one of the old capitalistic cities, which have been left for a sort of warning against the former conditions and he wished to warn us against the malarial influence from it."⁵⁷ As in Brautigan's In Watermelon Sugar, a 1960s hippie retreat from urbanization, the city and the machine in Altruria become mu-

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Howells, Through the Eye of A Needle, p. 391.

seums of the past, anachronisms, models in reverse. Mrs. Grey says that Altruria reminds her of pre-commercial America, the "simple life", "the world of her girlhood."⁵⁸ Robert Hough also suggests that Altruria strongly resembles "the antebellum West that Howells knew as a boy. His socialism is essentially a barn-raising, housewarming kind of cooperation between rural neighbors."⁵⁹ In Altruria, people live in small villages of ten to twelve families. Everyone is required to labor in the fields. The women do the housework, collect recipes, and exchange embroidery stitches. The government, also returning to the Jeffersonian model, is more directly representative than the American system. Citizens vote on legislation and trial verdicts. Perhaps imitative of the best-seller In His Steps, by Charles Sheldon, there are no wars in Altruria because dissension simply died out when everyone took Christ's life as a model.

Thus, unlike Bellamy and his disciples, Howells assumed that social stability depends on spiritual values

⁵⁸Howells, Through the Eye of A Needle, p. 366.

⁵⁹Hough, p. 63.

rather than economic structures. Instead of formulating in fiction a concrete program of production and distribution, Howells, like Mary Ticknor and Joaquin Miller, turned his back on the economic crises of his time, and created a spiritual model based on conversion. It was for this in particular that he was both praised and damned by contemporary reviewers. Although the early reviewer, S. Kirk, in The Atlantic Monthly recognized the "practical infeasibility" of Howells' scheme, he applauded Howells for avoiding the common "socialistic ... tendency to look for salvation to a widespread material well-being, and to a general spiritual well-being which would be practically no less material."⁶⁰ The Atlantic reviewer claimed that since any great future change in the structure or conditions of society "will hardly result from a movement on the part of one class, or from a specific measure or plan," Howells' contribution is the presentation of reformist appeal "from the intellectual and from the emotional side."⁶¹ In other words, it is valued because it is a-political.

⁶⁰S. Kirk, "America, Altruria and the Coast of Bohemia" in The Atlantic Monthly (November, 1894), p. 703.

⁶¹Ibid.

The Nation, by contrast, attacked Howells both as a politician and a poet. According to that reviewer, as a politician Howells should have taken into account the failure of the early Christian communes, which degenerated into individualism as soon as the fear of persecution diminished. Altruria, The Nation suggested, was modeled on those communes. Howells was similarly a-historical in considering the processes of change. The Nation also attacked Howells' faith in the vote; it questioned how "a proletariat which had long been in the voting majority and had persistently elected corrupt and vicious men to control public affairs, suddenly swung about and elected honest and virtuous men, and kept on electing them till even the most hardened of former oppressors praised God that the old order had passed away for ever."⁶²

The Critic, to which Howells occasionally contributed, picked up the anti-democratic bias of The Nation in considering Howells' attitude toward change:

⁶²"Review of A Traveller from Altruria" in The Nation (9 August 1894), p. 107.

Mr. Howells dreams of universal peace and good-will; the mob does not wish to live in peace with its superiors; it looks forward to their humiliation, and is resolved, when the time shall come, to drag them below its own level, and to rule in their stead. It is worthy of thought that, since they have the power, the masses now make laws for their own benefit, as formerly the classes did, but do not think of shaping legislation for the benefit of all. Mr. Howells sketches a state of utter degradation from which the brutalized poor rise, almost without transition, to the purest altruism; in reality he would find a storm of carnage and bestiality a hundred times worse than was the Reign of Terror the sentimental encyclopedistes did not foresee. The Altrurians - who are, it should not be forgotten, the Americans of the future - seem to have no need of foreign trade; they manufacture and grow for themselves everything they need. Living on an island, moreover, they need have no fear of unregenerate-individualistic Cosacks or the swarming millions of China.⁶³

Howells was only tepidly praised in the liberal Dial, which claimed that the contrast between American ideals or conduct "awakens the conscience and sets us upon immediate correction of obvious evils."⁶⁴ In any case, "No harm is done, so long as the dream is not seriously regarded as a working programme to be carried out in detail."⁶⁵

⁶⁴"Review of A Traveller from Altruria" in The Dial (16 September 1894), p. 154.

⁶⁵Ibid.

In England, A Traveller from Altruria was reviewed in The Athenaeum. In addition to describing Howells' "lamentable deficiency in taste" for several "Americanisms of the kind, which while common enough in the ordinary American novel, must be protected against in a writer so popular in England," The Athenaeum also attacked Howells for not explaining the process by which individualism and jealousy were eliminated in utopia. Furthermore, The Athenaeum reviewer decided that the characters in Howells' community also lacked the "air of reality".⁶⁶

In the 1930's there was a revival of interest in The Altrurian romances as critics began to rediscover an American socialist tradition. Newton Arvin claimed in 1932 that "No other native writer of his time was so constantly pre-occupied with the question of class, and no other watched so responsibly or so anxiously the sharpening of class lines and the stiffening of class barriers in the world about him."⁶⁷

As we have seen, Howells would have disagreed with that analysis of himself. During Howells' time it was

⁶⁶ "Review of A Traveller from Altruria" in The Athenaeum (7 July 1894), p. 29.

⁶⁷ Arvin, p. 227.

up to Frank Norris, Theodore Dreiser, Elizabeth Stuart Phelps and Rebecca Harding Davis to demonstrate the class situation in America. Howells himself wrote, "In a land where journeyman carpenters and plumbers strike for four dollars per day the sum of hunger and cold is comparatively small, and the wrong from class to class has been almost inappreciable, although all this is changing for the worse." He said that pain, suffering and disease form, "the tragedy that comes in the very nature of things, and is not peculiarly American, as the large cheerful average of health and happy life is."⁶⁸

Altruria, therefore, is a retrogressive utopia. Howells found his social solution in the repudiation of urbanization, industrialization and technology, the precise tools for social change posited by Bellamy and his disciples. Howells created a romanticized ante-bellum community, which is rural, classless, and static. Ritual and tradition replace the elaborate systems of laws and economics which guarantee the fair distribution of wealth in the progressive utopias. Mechanization is attacked, rather than glorified as a means for a high standard of living. A Traveller from Altruria and Through the Eye of A Needle typify in utopian fiction the American quest for an Eden-like world, a community which would be innocent, pastoral, homogenized, and

⁶⁸ Cited by C. Hartley Gratlan, "Howells: Ten Years After" The American Mercury, 20, (May, 1930), p. 77.

free.

The themes of retrogressive utopianism find a convenient plot form in the sentimental novel. For the fe-

male characters the rejection of urban decadence is easily fused with the sentimental model: the women learn to accept conventionality, submission, and order. For example, the heroine in Mary Agnes Tincker's retrogressive utopia San Salvador rejects the artificial world of Venice through her initiation into the secret rural community. Like all good sentimental heroines modeled after Jane Eyre, Tacita Mora is orphaned at the beginning of the story. Typically, too, she is refined though poor, until the end of the story when she is rewarded for her submissiveness with a princely husband and the revelation of prominent ancestors; then she is refined and rich. It follows the sentimental convention when Tacita's first suitor, Don Claudio, describes her: "... all that Tacita Mora lacks is rank. She has a fair portion, and she has been delicately reared and guarded. Her manners are exquisite. And there can be no undesirable connection for she will be quite alone in the world."⁶⁹ San Salvador also contains the sentimental conventions of the girl orphan of mysterious origins, raised by a

⁶⁹Mary Agnes Tincker, San Salvador (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Co., 1892), p. 4.

wise old man who is not her father. Tacita is raised by her grandfather, the famous pantheist Professor Mora, who hides his utopian nationality from the worldly cognac^{es}centi of Venice.

Mary Tincker rejects the possibility of worldly happiness and growth, the fundamental progressive utopian assumption, both through her satiric attack on the collusion of government, aristocracy and church in Italy and through a realistic description of poverty and neglect in New York. For example in Venice the mother of Tacita's wealthy suitor schemes for powerful positions in the church for her son, and forbids him to see the untitled Tacita. Similarly, Professor Mora, on his deathbed, tells Tacita not to expect happiness in civilization:

In that moment of recollection I asked myself if I might not more surely attained to what I sought by taking the lowlier way, if the supernatural might not have aided material science, as imagination aids in the mathematics. What means the story of the true knowledge and the true life? Many of those old tales contain a golden lesson. We do not study the past enough; and therefore human life becomes a series of beginnings without visible results. There are a few centuries of progress, something is learned, something gained, a clearer light seems to announce the dawn of some great day, and men begin to extol themselves; and then a shadowy hand sweeps the board clean, and the boasters dis-

appear, they and their achievements.⁷⁰

The scholar asserts that progress is impossible because God destroys man-made things. In a cyclic view of history, Tincker suggests that science too cannot resist destruction.

Following the death of her grandfather, Tacita (a canting name suggesting silence) travels with her housekeeper, Elena, while awaiting a secret signal that she is finally amongst her mother's relatives. The decadence of urban culture which she sees on her tour is contrasted with the Christ-like acts of a mysterious stranger who follows her. The stranger is eventually revealed as Dylar, the Prince of San Salvador. However, despite her experiences in European cities, she still expresses ambivalent desires for civilization, "You have told me that your people are quiet, kind, and unpretending. That is pleasant, but only that is not enough for a long time. I want to see persons who know more than I do, who can paint, play on instruments, dance, sing, model, write poetry, speak with eloquence, and govern with justice. I think my heart would turn to lead if I were forever uncultivated."⁷¹ She is still seeking a

⁷⁰Tincker, pp. 18-19.

⁷¹Tincker, pp. 47-48.

form of experience and knowledge which she assumes is incompatible with peasantry. Nonetheless Tacita agrees to accompany Elena to her rural mountain community.

Tacita's decision to accept a life of retreat depends on a stylistic device familiar in American popular fiction since the 1850s. Tincker introduces descriptions of paintings which blatantly establish her political and religious position. Elena shows Tacita Munro's "Conceptions" at a gallery in Madrid. In addition to the spirituality in the painting, the face of the stranger appears as the face of a monk. Nineteenth century authors of popular fiction often described painted visions of their heroes and heroines, which were supposed to seduce the viewer and further ratify the moral position of the fiction. Many heroines, for example, appear as Beatrice Cenci or Cleopatra. In utopian fiction these paintings are part of the manifesto. This ploy further indicates the authors' lack of faith in fiction to convey their model, as well as their lack of faith in the reader to understand the model without constant demonstration and iteration. These paintings also exemplify a popular attitude toward art itself; i.e., art is evaluated by moral criterion, and requires moral justification.

Unlike the well-advertised communities which have a proselytizing function in progressive utopias, the communities in retrogressive utopias are usually secret. They co-exist with technological society and protect their purity through distance, codes, and secret maps. The retrogressive communities are the saving remnant in an otherwise corrupt world, and are not models to be imitated. San Salvador, of course, turns out to be Tacita's ancestral home. She arrives after an arduous trip across stormy seas, disguised mountain trails, and desert wastelands. Although projected as a religious ritual, Tacita's journey depends on devices from Gothic fiction: mysterious adventures, escapes, hidden passages, masked messengers and secret signs. Retrogressive utopias are not dependent on futuristic technology and thereby are able to co-exist in time with the outside world. Through Tacita's use of donkeys and carts, as well as through her unexplainable recollections of the language and village, Tincker suggests that Tacita is moving backward in time.

San Salvador is a secret and aristocratic Mediterranean valley, ruled by the benign despot Prince Dylar:

We do not lay much stress on the form of a government. The important thing is personal character. A republic may be made

the worst of tyrannies, and an absolute monarchy might be beneficent, though the experiment would be a dangerous one. The duty of a government is to obey the laws and compel everybody to obey them. That is literal. We have no sophistries about it. Of course, Dylar is our chief, and in some sense he is absolute. Yet no one governs less than he. We take care of the individual and the state takes care of itself.⁷²

That government is best which governs least. This conforms to the laissez-faire definition of a government in which there is a limited and invisible central government whose only function is legalistic. In San Salvador all other functions are performed by a Council of Elders composed of men over 60. Justice and welfare depend on individual initiative and "personal character". Tacita recalls that her famous grandfather also was distrustful of the democracy and the collective, "My grandfather had no respect for the opinions of majorities. ... He said that out of a thousand persons it was quite possible that one might be right and nine hundred and ninety nine wrong. He said that the history of the world is the history of individuals."⁷³ As in conserva-

⁷²Tincker, p. 98.

⁷³Tincker, p. 101.

tive utopias, this anti-democratic sentiment is tied to the "saving remnant" notion of history, and embodies a critique of American civilization: "What kept the Israelis up to that pitch of enthusiasm which preserved them great so long? Not the goodness of the mass, which seemed as base as any, but the divine fire of the few. What made the great republic of the west something that for a time was equal to its own boast? The greatness and disinterested earnestness of the few."⁷⁴

Mary Tincker (1831-1907) was a devoutly religious woman who converted to Catholicism when she was twenty. Although she was noted primarily for the Christian spirit in her novels, the religious substructure of her pastoralism links images of primitive Christianity, such as burials in catacombs, with images from transcendentalism and eastern religions. For example, there are recurrent references to the Indian praying wheel as an emblem of birth, death, and resurrection.⁷⁵ This religious cycle becomes fused with an anti-evolutionary view of history: "Look at the trees. Cut down an oak-tree and a pine-tree grows in its place. Why not say,

⁷⁴Tincker, p. 195.

⁷⁵Tincker, p. 25, p. 129.

cut down a cruel man and a wolf is born? And from that wolf downward through fierce and gnawing generations, each losing some fang and fire, what were the shape of man may become mud again."⁷⁶

San Salvador is an anti-industrial religious society organized around rituals. It is hostile to worldly technology. The young people are taught "Trust not the visionary who will tell you that science everywhere diffused will bring an age of gold."⁷⁷ The men work in groves and vineyards and carve small boxes of olive wood which are all sold in the outside world. Although the women farm, teach, and make lace, their most important function is to bear and raise children. The community consists of one small village built in the shape of a cross. Aside from the houses there is a school, a women's hostel, and a basilica. The people all dress alike, in simple grey tunics. Their activities only include their agrarian labor, their ritualistic religion, and child rearing. Their telos is explicitly anti-scientific. "What matters it to the interest of man's

⁷⁶Tincker, p. 131.

⁷⁷Tincker, p. 266.

immortal soul if the earth is a stationary platform or a globe rolling through space with a double, perhaps a triple motion! What cares the dying man for the powers of steam, or electricity, or the laws of the ways of the world. Circenses, Circenses!"⁷⁸

True to the sentimental convention, the utopian orphan also marries above her class. While the fair Tacita is initiated into pastoral submission and wins the love of Prince Dylar, Iona, her dark rebellious friend, wants to transport Utopia, and convert the industrial world to the San Salvador way of life. To these suggestions Tacita firmly replies: "I am no queen nor sibyl! ... I cannot judge of these questions; and I could never hope to be able to stir a man up to great enterprises. I am only fittest to be a tender, and in some small things, a helpful companion!"⁷⁹ Iona, however, who must learn to refrain from "Christian aggression" finds submission a trial: "for a person of vivacious temper and strong feelings to remain silent, or to say always 'I do not know', gives full employment to

⁷⁸Tincker, p. 278.

⁷⁹Tincker, p. 78.

to the will and the nerves. I used sometimes to feel as though I should burst."⁸⁰

While Iona is in America struggling with the temptations of feminism and utopian prosleytising, Tacita remains in San Salvador, joyfully accepting her biologically determined role. Tincker notes that in San Salvador, unlike Boston, motherhood cannot coexist with profession or career, and for Tacita, in "becoming a mother, it seemed as if she ceased to be anything else."⁸¹

Iona, however, must accept the idea that San Salvador's purity is maintained through religious and political isolation. She must forget her plan to marry the Prince and create a world-wide utopia by breeding and emigrating a dynasty of Dylars. She returns to the fields and as she harvests the wheat she cuts "through the years of her life, all its golden promise, all its holy aspirations, all its towering, visionary building which had been, indeed, but a dream of empire and love."⁸² Finally, in an epiphany passage, through the memory of her religious reconciliation to the death of

⁸⁰Tincker, p. 190.

⁸¹Tincker, p. 296.

⁸²Tincker, p. 207.

her father Iona reconciles herself to submit as well to San Salvador's pastoral and isolated code. "Is this all that religion can give me? - the patience of exhaustion or the apathy of resignation? Is this rest? No matter! I will obey."⁸³ In the end Iona drowns, saving the community from exposure. It is her final, total abnegation of self.

Women are the medium by which Tickner contrasts, through the fable, the pastoral world and the modern world. The female characters become emblems of retrogression. Dylar says, "... when they shall have known what they can do they will voluntarily return, the mothers among them, to their quiet homes; and say to man, 'as we were before, we could not help making many of you worthless. Now are we going to make a race of noble men. We will rule the state through the cradle.'"⁸⁴

In The Building of The City Beautiful, Joaquin Miller, the California mystic, poet and some-time politician, portrays John Morton, an Everyman hero, fallible but conscientious, who travels the globe trying to find or build the ideal community. He is following a

⁸³Tincker, p. 227.

⁸⁴Tincker, p. 301.

Persian ritual which says, "Send forth, O kind! Search and find a happy man. Take that man's shirt and wear it, and thou, too, shalt be happy."⁸⁵ Finally Morton learns that he must reject the city and the machine to create a religious retreat quite similar to San Salvador.

The first community Morton observes is a colony in Jerusalem founded by the Jewish philanthropist Sir Moses Montefiore. Sir Moses has brought thousands of Jews from Poland and Russia to his colony but he eventually realizes that he has merely transplanted selfishness and avarice: "Each was for himself as of old. No pity, no sympathy, no sincerity."⁸⁶ Miriam, the orphan heroine, is Montefiore's dark, beautiful secretary. When she observes the Jewish settlers viciously competing in the marketplace, she denounces commerce in Populist rhetoric: "Not one of the million tradesmen ever grew one grain of corn, or fed so much as one little bird."⁸⁷

Miriam is overheard by the narrator, who has come to Jerusalem on his *Rasselas* type quest, and he soon

⁸⁵ Joaquin Miller, The Building of The City Beautiful (London: Elkin Mathews and John Lane, 1893), p. 19.

⁸⁶ Miller, p. 4.

⁸⁷ Miller, p. 16.

confesses his failure to her. He has concluded that God is blameless for He provides fruits and nuts for the taking. He has also determined that the political system is irrelevant because he has found the king to be as unhappy as the pioneer. Although Morton finds the poor man, sitting all day by the side of the road joyously playing his pipes, happy, he notes, "Yes here was a happy man, but of what manner? He was not a man in the true sense of the word. He was more nearly a domestic and kindly beast." Morton calls this "negative happiness", "surely not the sort of happiness to which man made in the image of God was destined."⁸⁸ Besides, given the condition of the world, Morton says this life is unavailable to most people.

In response, Miriam tells John Morton that only the absence of temptation will lead to the Kingdom of God. She attacks the promises of organized religion, noting that the Church wasted money on costly cathedrals and then locked their doors to the poor. She concludes that even in Eden, where everything was perfect, sorrow entered because man could not say, "lead us not into temptation." This precept must be the basis of utopia.

⁸⁸Miller, p. 20.

For example, although God created technology, the industrial utopia will collapse until "it be possible for all to ride."⁸⁹ Otherwise, temptation would destroy that civilization too.

Miriam's solution is to escape civilization and return to the natural world. Again invoking a religious metaphor, Miriam says that the first task of a would-be utopian is to lead man out of Egypt. Exodus is a "religious duty". Miriam emphasizes that it was only when God looked at the natural world that he said it was good.

Joaquin Miller is explicitly hostile to political solutions. For example, he describes Morton asking a poor Parisian worker to leave Paris and join him in building a new city, but the worker responds, "No; we built Paris and we are going to burn Paris, and then have peace and plenty here."⁹⁰ Unlike the progressive utopian, Miller says that environment cannot improve the human personality. Man can easily make or destroy a city, but only God can renew man. So, rather than "renew" man, Miriam suggests that as utopians, they "return" him to a pristine state of beauty and good-

⁸⁹Miller, pp. 124-125.

⁹⁰Miller, p. 32.

ness.⁹¹ Rather inconsistently she adds that they must leave Europe and build their community in America, a land for "new cities under the new order of things for these new people,"⁹² although she also tells him that the new city must be removed from the cruel traditions of trade and industry, the "serpents that would strangle it in its cradle."⁹³ Meanwhile Morton has fallen in love with Miriam who, like Tacita, is known as the "silent woman" and he agrees to everything.⁹⁴

Eventually, Miriam also removes the temptation of her physical self. She becomes increasingly unresponsive to physical contact with Morton, finally remaining completely passive when he touches her. Miller says the ideal woman should be sexless and "appeal to the soul of man, not to his body."⁹⁵ He refers to Miriam in nun-like allusions, claiming she should "concentrate her soul and body to some high and holy purpose as well without taking either vow or veil as if she took both in

⁹¹Miller, p. 35.

⁹²Miller, p. 33.

⁹³Miller, p. 46.

⁹⁴Miller, p. 37.

⁹⁵Miller, p. 53.

due form and solemnity."⁹⁶ Finally, she insists that they each create their own utopia.

John Morton decides to build his city in the hills facing San Francisco, believing that if he succeeds on the hills of stone, his lesson to the world would be greater, until he realizes that by not demanding simplicity, work and abstinence, he had led the men to temptation. He first tries a community of intellectuals: "thinkers, poets, men of mind who had a mind to rest to come and sit down and share it with him; then the world would see and learn and live," but soon discovers that intellectuals are unwilling to share the requisite toil and privations.⁹⁷ Next, John decides to share his mountain top with three ex-convicts. The first disappears with John's possessions, and John admits that besides, "It was not quite an ideal life, this sleeping in the same little room with an illiterate drunkard."⁹⁸ The second kills himself with drink, and the third leaves for Alaska with his first month's wages. Sensing defeat, John, in a dream-vision, travels on a cloud ship to the City

⁹⁶Miller, p. 49.

⁹⁷Miller, p. 77.

⁹⁸Miller, p. 78.

Beautiful, the utopia which Miriam has built.

By comparison, Miriam has created a community of luxuriant agriculture, shared labor, and above all, repose. The government is formed by "the election of nature; the choice of God," in the sense that everyone over 70 is a senator.⁹⁹ The oldest is president. In the City Beautiful science is used very selectively, only to change the sand, the only natural resource of Miriam's desert, into glass and concrete buildings. There is one strong religion based on the nineteenth century cult of ideality, and involves the worship of Truth, Duty and Beauty. Like San Salvador, it is an outdoor civilization where people scarcely need houses.

A priest serves as John's guide and explains the assumptions of the dream community. Like the Jews, they have gone into the wilderness to avoid their taskmasters. Life in the City Beautiful is deliberately simple. The people dine outdoors on milk, honey, and fruit. Most industries were abolished because they proved detrimental to health. Instead, the people follow God's decree when he shut the gates of paradise: "In the sweat

⁹⁹Miller, p. 117.

of thy face shalt thou eat bread till thou returnest to the ground." As in San Salvador, the people are not permitted to leave. They too do not read books: "Hold a book up before your face continually, and how much of the sun can you see?" the intellectual life is associated with the decay of civilization: "the world has run all to words, as a luxuriant garden runs to weeds in the autumn."¹⁰⁰ The City-Beautiful is an anti-city, a foil to urbanization which is described as an irreligious and unnatural historic phenomenon.¹⁰¹

In the end Miriam dies singing, a white bird flies toward heaven, and John catches the next cloud back to San Francisco. This is one of the least successful utopias, pietistic rather than religious. The focus on retreat is occasionally contradicted by flying clouds and swift railroads, leaving John's significant question of the relationship between utopia and the outside world unanswered. Miller never reconciles his conflicting statements about human perfectibility and human depravity. The automatic conversion of the people in Miriam's

¹⁰⁰Miller, p. 169.

¹⁰¹Miller, p. 177.

community does not jell with Morton's long description of the failure of other, albeit more worldly, reform movements. There is no sense of struggle, partly because there is no sense of time passing.

The retrogressive utopians looked back on the progressive utopias and found that they developed egalitarian societies at the expense of humanistic essentials. Christian eschatology pulls the conflicting images of retrogressive and progressive utopias together, by presenting the utopian imagination with both Eden and the New Jerusalem, archetypal models of the Garden and the City. Northrop Frye calls these responses "the two myths that polarize social thought ... the myth of origin and the myth of telos."¹⁰² The retrogressive utopians reverse the Christian Image of regeneration through the passage from the garden to the city, by depicting a return to a rural, indeed primordial, existence. Their cherished fantasies of the good life are infantile, visions of a simple maternal world without contradiction or complication. The retrogressive utopian depicts Arcadian life, and focuses primarily on the satisfaction of physical desires and comforts. In Altruria, San Salva-

¹⁰²Frye, "Varieties of Literary Utopia," p. 34.

dor, and *The City Beautiful*, the work ethic is transformed into creative or meditative pursuits. By re-creating the connection between men and nature, the retrogressive utopian restores the links between man and his own nature, which is defined as creative, non-competitive, and domestic. Rather than introducing utopia as a functional model for social change, pastoral utopias subordinate the elements of urban planning to the pressures for a wish-ful regression into an idealized past.

CHAPTER VIII
PUBLICATION OF UTOPIAN FICTION AND
THE INFLUENCE OF THE CHARLES KERR COMPANY

Because of its polemical nature and socialist bent, authors of utopian literature faced serious problems of publication and distribution. Because of its function as propaganda, these authors were also seeking a particularly wide audience. During the 1880s and 1890s, the publishing trade in America was beginning to face the disparity between its ivory tower attitude toward literature and the material exigencies of profits, royalties, advertising, and the competition between one thousand publishing firms. Authors of utopian fiction fell victim to a debate within the publishing industry as to whether or not it should imitate the advertising and distributing techniques of other commodity producers. Furthermore, one wing of the industry only wanted to publish books of scholarly content and instruction, while another wing was responding to the public's demand for books of entertainment and political reform. Donald Sheehan has established that while the industry debated Gilded Age economics vs. the genteel aims of publishing, second generation publishers recognized that their financial break-even point came with the sale of

1000 copies of a book, and quietly proceeded to pirate foreign books, and bribe school boards to obtain adoptions.¹

The main focus of the debate centered around the issues of advertising and direct sales. In 1885 the New York Times attacked the industry's stodgy attitude toward advertising: "When a man desires to sell a new hair dye, does he content himself with announcing the fact once, or even twice, by a few lines in a newspaper? He knows better than that. ... But publishers know nothing about the art of advertising, and consequently few books sell. They do not seem to understand that anything that is advertised will sell and they are content to let books sell 'on their merits' as they expressed."² This view was countered by the prestigious Publishers Weekly, the trade journal for the industry. When it discovered that a book was being given away as a soap premium, it wrote "If literature and art are to be treated as common merchandise ... it will make commonplace the manners of

¹Donald Sheehan, This Was Publishing: A Chronicle of the Book Trade in the Gilded Age (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1952), pp. 1-25.

²Sheehan, p. 35.

our people and their intelligence restricted to the counting room."³

A third issue, relevant to propagandistic literature was the relationship between the publishing trade and free speech. The trade was and still remains a powerful censor, and the leading publishers of the Gilded Age were self-consciously conservative. Sheehan says, "As pillars of the church and guardians of the family they were as steadfastly traditional in their personal ideals as in their public convictions. The contest for the unhampered expression of ideas pitted these standards against the gleam of gold."⁴

The issues most liable to censorship in the late nineteenth century were religious heresy, sexuality, and politics. In the 1890s, Blair Scribner Company refused to publish scientific literature because it was implicitly atheistic. In 1877, Scribner also turned down a translator's request to issue the first American edition of Das Kapital.

However by the late 1880s and 1890s, progressive books began to appear on the publishers' lists. The

³Quoted in Sheehan, p. 36.

⁴Sheehan, p. 109.

publishers, it seems, recognized the potential profits in books which addressed themselves to the contemporary interest in social change. For example, by 1887, Scribner and Wilford offered the first English translation of Das Kapital at the then exorbitant price of \$12 per set. D. Appleton and Company, which had already established itself as a publisher of such unorthodox authors as Charles Darwin, John Tyndale, and Thomas Huxley, published Das Kapital for one fourth that price the following year.

In the face of publishers' rejections, utopian authors had two alternatives. First, they could publish the books themselves, which is how Henry George first published Progress and Poverty. Nearly one quarter of the works of utopian fiction were published in this way. However, only a small percentage of books ever succeeded through the author's publication. Not only was it very expensive, but resentful publishing houses often thwarted the author's relations with printers and book sellers. A second alternative to utopian authors was to serialize the books in such muckraking magazines as McClure's Magazine, The Nationalist Magazine, Everybody's Magazine, and Cosmopolitan. Or, utopian authors could turn to the small progressive firms of the Ridgeway-

Thayer Company, The Arena Company, The Charles Kerr Publishing Company.

The principal publisher of utopian fiction between 1886-1895 was the Charles H. Kerr and Company Publishing House. Although no autobiography of Charles Kerr yet exists, private correspondence with the current secretary of the company, Burton Rosen, revealed the following information about the social and political development of one of the most liberal and influential publishers of the late nineteenth century:

Charles Kerr was born in 1860 in Georgia, the son of an abolitionist preacher who ran a school for Negroes (not a very popular thing, in those days) and, of course, this was a stop on the underground railway. When the results of the election were in, the Kerrs realized that their lives were now very seriously in danger, and the family, including the infant Charles, a few months old, went north on the underground railway themselves. The Kerrs settled in Madison, Wisconsin where father was a professor of theology and classical languages. Charles, at the age of 26, borrowed a few thousand dollars from his father in 1886, and founded a publishing house bearing his name to publish utopian novels, etc. He had been brought up among all the radical preachers of the time, and must have known everybody in that area. 1886 was the year of the Haymarket affair in Chicago, and Kerr got to know the principals of that dramatic event. In 1894, the Pullman Strike took place, and Debs was tried and sent to Woodstock jail. Darrow, Altgeld, every

leader of radical and progressive thought was involved. Charles Kerr published The Pullman Strike by the Rev. Carwardine, a radical Methodist, and became a socialist at the same time that Debs, Darrow, and the others in that movement all decided that the system needed fundamental change. Roughly from that time, most of the new publishing was in the field of labor and socialism. Translations of classical works from Europe in this field were featured, as well as local productions. Kerr did a lot of translating in that period from French, and soon the Kerr Company was the principal publishing house in English for the socialist movement in the entire world. Works were sent to all the English speaking countries in large quantity. That was during the period roughly 1898-1916. Kerr published many works by women socialists, including his wife, and May Wood Simons, who were the leading advocates of "women's lib" in the Socialist movement of the time."⁵

In the pamphlet A Socialist Publishing House, which can be dated by internal references as having been written in 1904, Charles Kerr outlined the ways socialist literature might get published. He rejected publication through commercial houses as a possibility. The established publishing industry refused to issue socialist books, because of disagreement with their content as well as the assumption that they would not sell. Kerr

⁵ Unpublished letter, Burton Rosen to Jean Pfaelzer, June 23, 1974.

stated that when a commercial house did issue a work of value to the socialist movement, "the tendency is to put it out at a price beyond the reach of workingmen and thus to restrict its circulation."⁶ Kerr believed that publication through a socialist party was also a risk, and described how the publishing end of the Social Democracy Party became interwoven with its political dissensions and collapse. Kerr concludes that since socialism will only come with "the appearance of a body of laborers understanding the class struggle which is in process, and their own relation to it," an independent socialist publishing firm is a necessity.⁷

By 1893, when Kerr became a devout follower of Populism as "the way toward the realization of Bellamy's dream,"⁸ his publishing business was incorporated as a cooperative venture, with about 160 stock holders. By the time this pamphlet was printed, there were 815 members of the cooperative who had paid ten dollars to join. During the 1890s, according to Kerr, encouragement to publish books of scientific socialism "came from the half-baked semi-populist, semi-Utopian people who had been

⁶Charles H. Kerr, A Socialist Publishing House (Chicago: Charles H. Kerr and Co., date uncertain), p. 5.

⁷Kerr, p. 1.

⁸Kerr, p. 10.

accustomed to literature like 'President John Smith' and the writings of B. O. Flower, but who were, as the event proved, ready to welcome the literature of international socialism when it should be offered to them."⁹ He also notes that many readers of utopian literature in the late 1890s became active members in the Socialist Party after the turn of the century.

After 1900 when Kerr Company issued the first number of The International Socialist Review, Charles Kerr repudiated utopian socialism. From then on the company provided thousands of cheap nickel translations of Marx, Engels, Libknecht, Kautsky, Labriola and other European scientific socialists. Because members of the cooperative did the translations, no royalties were paid, no profit was required, and the books were, according to Kerr, issued "at the actual cost of printing and handling."¹⁰ Kerr adds that cooperation also saved on the costs of capitalization and amortization of the plates (about one dollar per page). No member received dividends. Furthermore, because the members were socialists and thereby in touch with interested people in their

⁹Kerr, p. 11.

¹⁰Kerr, p. 15.

own communities, the company saved on advertising and the recruitment of new readers with each new book. Most utopian novels were issued in paperback and sold for \$.25 per book. The Kerr utopias include:

Anon. The Beginning, A Romance of Chicago As It Might Be, 1893

Anon. Man or Dollar, Which?, 1896

Adams, Frederick Upham President John Smith: The Story of A Peaceful Revolution, 1897

Forbush, Zebina The Co-opolitan, A Story of the Cooperative Commonwealth of Idaho, 1898

W. H. Bishop The Garden of Eden USA, A Very Possible Story, 1895

Galloway, James John Harvey, A Tale of the Twentieth Century, 1897

After The Beginning A Romance of Chicago As It Might Be was published in 1893 the Kerr Company brought out at least one or two utopian novels a year for the remainder of the decade. Although the method of transition from capitalism to socialism in The Beginning differs significantly from the other utopias published by the Kerr cooperative, it shares with them the focus on the economic rather than the spiritual and cultural situation of working people. Like other Kerr utopias it advocates developing a labor party and using the vote. The utopian novels published by the Kerr Company usually maintain the class structure, and attack revolutionary methods.

They accept Bellamy's theme of human redemption through changed environmental conditions. The Beginning is a significant first utopian book for Kerr to publish because the hero finds personal and sexual salvation in the actual writing and publishing of a utopian novel.

Socialism in The Beginning comes easily through the establishment of public boarding schools. The hero suggests in a letter to a newspaper that in the "higher education of all children of the State - a peaceable remedy may be found for the gross wrongs, injustice and inequalities existing in our present social system."¹¹ The romance involves the reformation of a rake, Frank Wentworth. Edith (as in Edith Leete), an orphan, gives Frank one year to "prove your reform", which means renouncing drinking, gambling and Irish drama. After several false starts, in which Frank writes high toned letters to the editor, he decides to reform himself before he reforms the world. His reformation is the creation of a utopian novel. Thus, the apologue involves a justification of the form per se.

The utopian novel within the novel is the story of a missionary, Dan, who returns to America in 1922 after

¹¹Anon., The Beginning, A Romance of Chicago As It Might Be (Chicago: Charles H. Kerr and Company, 1893), p. 12.

thirty years in China. He discovers that as American socialists became more powerful, the old parties, in a bid for the workingmen's vote, became more socialist. Finally the Socialist Party introduced a bill in Congress for national boarding colleges, the real instrument for social change. The new law suggested that the colleges would "raise the masses and stop anarchism and impossible social ideas and make us a better race."¹² At first the colleges were designated for orphans, paupers, criminals, the children of divorced people, and the children of working people, because they lacked child-rearing skills. The mock-author, Frank, says he advocates beginning at the bottom and working up, and not at the top and pulling down, to achieve social levelling.¹³ Both in fictional patterns and propagandistic suggestions The Beginning contains most of the motifs of progressive utopian fiction. Change comes swiftly, within thirty years. As soon as socialists read the letter to the editor, they demand the national boarding schools. Like the Boston of Looking Backward, the new Chicago (many of the utopian books published by the Kerr Company are set

¹²The Beginning, p. 36.

¹³The Beginning, p. 67.

in Chicago) is uncorrupt and unpolluted, recalling the Chicago sold to tourists in the '93 World's Fair. As in Looking Backward, there are public laundries, commissaries, and transport systems. Department stores have, through successful competition, replaced small retail stores, but private property is maintained.

Female inferiority is maintained in Frank's socialized state. Women students leave school earlier than men students. During the girls' last year at school, household studies replace intellectual studies. Women students are encouraged to study drawing, sculpture and music rather than science or history. Thus, the first Kerr book is mild and tentative in its suggestions.

The common fictional motifs of progressive utopian fiction also appear in The Beginning. The visitor, Dan, suffers when he first comes to utopian Chicago. There is both a homelitic painting as well as a sermon to reiterate the apologue statement. After he reads Frank's story, Walter, a friend of the "author", Frank, becomes a utopian Pandarus and carries letters and the utopian novel itself to Edith, who is finally convinced of Frank's reformation. His socialism makes him fit for her genteel expectations.

Walter also secretly sends the novel to several prom-

inent Chicago judges, whose letters appear in the preface to the book. Here the world of reality blends into the world of fiction. The Beginning was supposedly written collectively by a "debating club of workingmen," who rejected Populism because it demanded too much centralized power, lacked "sufficient freedom for individual enterprise," and improved material, rather than moral conditions.¹⁴ The club evidently submitted the book to the judges, "the most trusted men in our city"¹⁵ and their letters add respectable middle class validation to the book.

Although the demands in Kerr novels become more radical as the decade progresses, the need for middle class approval in The Beginning becomes political dependence on benevolent millionaires in the next books. For example, the utopia in The Garden of Eden USA (see Chapter 9 of this paper) is founded by the wealthy hero Peter Morrison who buys an entire valley in North Carolina and totally finances a new society. The community has no political relationship to outside reality. The heroine only suggests that sometime in the twentieth century

¹⁴The Beginning, p. 3.

¹⁵The Beginning, p. 4.

the utopians will tear down their fence, and then "there shall be at least one model community in the world at the end of this century of progress, and one body of reformers who know what they are working for and how to bring their reforms about."¹⁶

Change in The Garden of Eden would still depend on the good will of rich people. The narrator hopes that by 1950 "we will have more Edens than and more rich people will be willing to build them."¹⁷ Both the heroes and heroines in the fable come from the upper class. Furthermore, an important justification for the merits of the society lies in its ability to convince the rich: "You may talk as much as you please about people sympathizing with working people, but when a woman like Miss Hathoway leaves a home of luxury and comes among them, and actually becomes a working woman herself, I tell you the millenium for women is pretty close at hand."¹⁸

James M. Galloway, the probable author of John Harvey, A Tale of the Twentieth Century, published by the Kerr Company in 1897, brings his community into being,

¹⁶W. H. Bishop, The Garden of Eden, U.S.A. A Very Possible Story (Chicago: Charles H. Kerr and Company, 1895), p. 166.

¹⁷Bishop, p. 327.

¹⁸Bishop, p. 182.

through the benevolence of the wealthy eccentric John Harvey.¹⁹ The narrator Lord Herbert Maxwell Dudley, is the eldest son of an English duke. He comes to investigate the colony's solution to the Darwinian problem of how "the weaker swimmers in a tempestuous ocean" gave out. He remains in the Nationality as an important military leader.

The utopian arrangements in John Harvey are a background to an elaborate Gothic melodrama. Lord Dudley travels incognito to The Nationality as Mr. Herbert Maxwell, and falls in love with the beautiful dark opera singer Clothilde Beyresen. Clothilde, however, is really a Spanish princess, as well as the orphaned daughter of the late John Harvey. Harvey lies buried in a deep underground vault which has secret entrances, chests of treasures, gold pieces, and a secret formula for a new explosive hidden in a button on the corpse. Matching keys and secret oaths are required to enter the tomb, and a mysterious choir sings whenever the crypt is opened. The fable involves the gradual revelation of strange coincidences. For example Dudley and Clothilde were childhood sweethearts and he once saved her life

¹⁹ James M. Galloway , John Harvey A Tale of the Twentieth Century (Chicago: Charles H. Kerr and Co., 1897).

during a battle.

In between showing Dudley trap doors and secret scrap books, Clothilde introduces him to the Bellamy-esque world, in which the abolition of economic serfdom came "largely by the efforts of one clear-sighted man."²⁰ The Nationality, founded by Harvey, takes up the entire states of Utah, South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas, Colorado, Wyoming, Arizona, New Mexico and Texas. Harvey has purchased and turned over to the Nationality all the property within its borders. Each citizen is required to work, and in return, receives a fixed amount of money, women receiving \$200 per year less than men. This is an urban and mechanized utopia, with massive public buildings as well as massive military parades. The political organization of the Nationality is succinctly outlined in two chapters. Changes are stated, and rarely is an attempt made to embody fictional action.

The Gothic fable and the Bellamy-esque manifesto come together at the end in a battle between the Nationality and capitalist America. The Nationality has refused to rent to or hold leases for capitalist enterprises which had investments in the Nationality. The American Supreme Court upholds the capitalists' claims, and a battle between antagonistic ideologies appears inevitable. Al-

though the utopia follows Bellamy's scheme, the struggle between the Nationality and capitalism recalls Populist rhetoric. The issue of Eastern creditors claiming Western lands was a fundamental Populist complaint. Populists also invoked the model of a two tiered class structure: rich Eastern capitalists vs. Western farmers and workers. Galloway, like the Populists, sees no independent middle class.²¹ The Nationality is represented by the People's Party in Congress, which is quickly gaining support among liberal Senators. The Eastern corporate powers are restrained only by their own regulatory board, and go unchallenged by the courts or legislatures. Meanwhile, the Nationalists assert that the "lower class ... must be wisely directed, or, like a blind Samson, it may, in the midst of popular disturbance, pull down, in sheer desperation, the pillars of the entire fabric of civilization."²²

Lord Dudley maintains this elitism, which characterizes the Kerr books, when he assembles The Nationalist Army. Although he claims that the soldiers must not be

²¹ Galloway , p. 255.

²² Ibid.

ranked by their backgrounds, he particularly recruits aristocrats because "I do not undervalue good blood; I have seen what it can do and endure; and in the presence of danger, I would rather trust to the good blood of England, or France, which has character to support, than to meaner strains coming from the same nations."²³

The battle, however, is averted. Western and Southern states refuse to furnish troops to the capitalists and in return the Nationality promises to assist them in their debts. Meanwhile in the East the economic crisis has led to rioting. Labor unions in the East announce a general strike and form themselves into a union army in the cause of the Nationality. Without a battle, the union army takes possession of the East by a vast work stoppage. Under the pressure of a total economic collapse, Congress passes bills of nationalization and the country is reunited. Clothilde, who has "an air of majesty," and who is "rich and regal" modestly accepts the people's informal title of Princess Clothilde.²⁴ She reveals that she is Harvey's daughter, and permits her portrait to become the emblem on the flags of the Nationality.

²³ Galloway , p. 259.

²⁴ Galloway , p. 132.

The social saviour in President John Smith: The Story of a Peaceful Revolution by Frederick Upham Adams, is a wealthy judge who has a Harvard degree and ancestors dating clear back to Pochahantas and John Smith on his father's side and Thomas Paine on his mother's.²⁵ He qualifies for the author's stipulation that "the businessmen of America must become politicians" as the only solution to anarchism.²⁶

The action begins in Chicago on a hot afternoon in May, 1899. The short time span between real time and utopian time maximizes the threat of contemporary anarchism. The police have uncovered an anarchist plot to turn an unemployment march into a riot. The unemployed are described by Adams as shiftless "bums" who have spent their charity money for beer. Because of police intervention in the march, three hundred rioters are killed and over one hundred arrested: "Such was the tame and unromantic ending of what was the last anarchist conspiracy in the United States."²⁷

²⁵ Frederick Upham Adams, President John Smith: The Story of A Peaceful Revolution Written in 1920 (Chicago: Charles H. Kerr and Company, 1897), p. 114.

²⁶ Adams, p. 26.

²⁷ Adams, p. 24.

Adams, however, also attacks the constitutional potential for change. He says that the founders of the constitution showed contemptuous fear of the people. The constitution established a system "in which the majority of the people had no power to shape or direct their affairs." He cites as examples, first, that the people do not directly elect the president or vice-president; second, that the Senate, which is non-representative of the population, can defeat any bill from the House; and third, that the presidential veto is essentially a monarchist notion.²⁸

In Adams' historical view there were no economic problems in America before mechanization. Until 1850, "poverty was unknown. There were no millionaires and the pauper was a curiosity. The greatest undeveloped country on the face of the earth was waiting for a free people to take possession of it."²⁹ This myopic view of history disregards the bank crises in the eighteenth century, poverty and inflation after the Revolutionary War and rent strikes in the 1850s.

Above all, Adams blames the lack of a great states-

²⁸Adams, p. 96ff.

²⁹Adams, p. 30.

man for the contemporary situation. He says that the age of conquest proved great warriors; the age of letters gave to the world its philosophers, and the age of mechanics crowned the businessman as king. What America needs now is a great politician. Failing to trace the relationship between businessmen and politicians, Adams asserts that the stupendous object lessons of competition and unlimited production were lost on the politicians.³⁰ Electoral change was useless because both political parties were run by men who were only interested in political patronage.³¹ Adams denies that labor unions had the potential to lead social change. Although unions had "copied directly" the monopolistic anti-competitive structures of their employers they could not provide work. Adams concludes by attacking that

class which imagines that this is a matter in which workmen alone are interested. They declare that the rich oppress the poor, that wealth is unequally distributed, and that capital is reaping great rewards from the depression and industry. All of which is false. The rich, as a class, are not oppressing the poor; on the contrary, the world has never witnessed such generosity as has recently been displayed by the wealthy people of America. Wealth

³⁰ Adams, p. 45.

³¹ Adams, p. 59.

is not fairly distributed, but if it were the situation would not in the slightest degree be permanently improved. We would all be poor. Productive capital reaps no financial harvest in these periods of hard times. This is not an issue between capital and labor. Both are suffering from existing conditions, but capital is in the greater danger and has sustained enormous losses.³²

When Adams describes the poverty, starvation, and unemployment in the years 1893-1894, he concludes, "The manufacturer is helpless. The capitalist is helpless. The workman is helpless." The condition is just "an awful mistake," in a chain of overproduction, underconsumption, and finally, unemployment.³³

Adams lands the reader in utopia of 1898 quite artificially: "Note by the author - the reader is asked to imagine that a short period of years has elapsed between the months described in Chapter VIII and Chapter IX."³⁴ No method of change is elaborated because no one is held responsible for the economic crises. Workers have survived the depression through kind hearted landlords and upper class charity. The American economy is

³² Adams, p. 13.

³³ Adams, p. 33.

³⁴ Adams, p. 104.

temporarily revived by supplying wars between France, Germany, and England, but when the conflicts are settled, America is again over-supplied and the workers are angered at the loss of their new financial security. Like conservative utopians, Adams' solution is to guarantee American economic health by creating markets overseas. Meanwhile with workers facing starvation, labor leaders unanimously accept a shared-work policy, in which work and wages would be equally divided among union members. Adams says, "Not since the world was created and man kind given authority over animate and inanimate things was there witnessed so fine an illustration of unselfish and enobling discipline as that displayed in 1898 and 1899 by the federated trade unions of America."³⁵

Into this crisis situation steps "John Smith, Nationalist". Although his family fortune is lost in the panic, John quickly becomes a lawyer in Chicago with "a reputation and standing and with it a profitable clientele."³⁶ He defends wealthy clients who reveal to him the crime and cunning of business and government. In 1899 he observes a shopkeepers protest march which be-

³⁵Adams, pp. 111-113.

³⁶Adams, p. 115.

comes a riotous attack on the stock exchange, and he sees the "riff-raff" unquestioningly follow the orders of a demagogic anarchist. Adams comments: "The cheap politicians of the day ranted about trusts and ascribed all the evils which the country suffered to them. The fact was that had it not been for the trusts and trade unions industrial anarchy would have been inevitable and civilization would have gone down in a series of bloody, fruitless revolutions."³⁷

Adams feels that the potential for change will never come from impoverished people because they are so desperate that they will sell their liberty for bread. He concludes "Hungry men may fight, but it will be for a bone - not for liberty. The perpetuity of liberty rests with those who eat three square meals a day."³⁸ John Smith asserts "the slave must be freed; he cannot, he will not free himself."³⁹ Instead, "the battle must be fought and won by those who are yet free. Into these hands has been intrusted the fate of a nation founded by free men."⁴⁰

³⁷ Adams, pp. 111-113.

³⁸ Adams, p. 136.

³⁹ Adams, p. 161.

⁴⁰ Adams, p. 163.

Adams satirizes the presidential election of 1896 through his portrait of the "1900" campaign. The Republicans put up Mark Kimbly (sounds like McKinley) and the Democrats select a pro-silver man. Meanwhile the People's Party is divided by greenbackers, silverites, Nationalists, socialists, and woman suffragists. Eventually the Populists agree on Judge Smith because he "had all the bearing of an aristocrat,"⁴¹ and he unites the convention around two principles: the right to work and the right to majority rule.

Smith campaigns as well for the maintenance of private property because the love of property is deeply implanted in human nature.⁴² No political party or theory which deprives people of property acquired by labor or capital will ever succeed in the United States. Rather than seize the factories or the "palaces" of the rich, working people must duplicate them. Rather than seize the landlord's house, working people must build their own. Only land, which can not be reproduced, is subject to eminent domain. Echoing Bellamy's notion of human perfectibility, Smith advocates a system in which there

⁴¹Adams, p. 143.

⁴²Adams, p. 174.

should be no higher authority than the people. There should be no representative government, because the people are capable of self rule. "Man is naturally honest. He is born that way. He learns dishonesty. Naturally a man will do the right thing rather than the wrong thing. Thrown into a contest where he is compelled to struggle with others for a living or for advancement, he becomes selfish. This is natural."⁴³

John Smith attacked the followers of Bellamy, however, both for their demand for the equal distribution of property, and their method of labor organization, in which everyone is compelled to work for the state. He said that "I simply propose that the government shall ever retain in its possession enough of tools and means of production to insure remunerative employment for all who demand it."⁴⁴

Eventually Smith establishes "majority rule clubs" and wins in a landslide election, but when the returns are manipulated to give the presidency to Mark Kimbly, the people riot. They burn Tammany Hall and attack the

⁴³Adams, p. 209.

⁴⁴Adams, p. 177.

newspaper offices which validated the false returns. Washington is in the hands of the mob. Business stops. Mark Kimbly refuses to serve and "anarchy prevailed ... The country was on the verge of a revolution."⁴⁵ Meanwhile Gold, the utopian deus ex machina, is discovered in Alaska and South Africa, and is automatically demone-tized.

Smith ends the revolt by calling for a new consti-tutional convention to be led by St. Louis businessmen. The People's Party announces a new Declaration of Inde-pendence which includes majority rule and the right to work. The new constitution provides for the direct el-ection of the president and cabinet, the right to emi-nent domain, and the stipulation that a one-quarter vote of Congress sends any bill to the people. The wage and class structure is preserved. Workers are to be paid the same wages as in the "fairly prosperous years 1879-1891." The organizing principle is still to be laissez-faire. The government enters "into a friendly competi-tion with the private capital and manufacturing interest of this country."⁴⁶ Most professions, including medicine,

⁴⁵ Adams, p. 230.

⁴⁶ Adams, p. 268.

remain private. Smith concludes "It was absolutely free competition, in which the best system or systems survived."⁴⁷

Thus, the utopias published by the Charles Kerr Company have doctrinaire similarities. Most propose a political party which is slightly more socialistic than the Populist Party. They all rely on highly respectable people, businessmen, judges, or lawyers to lead the social revolution. Many of them side step the economic crises of their time through donations of land from benevolent millionaires. They are generally hostile to the cooperative movement because it had insufficient "means and weapons"⁴⁸ to succeed against private capital. With the exception of the Garden of Eden, the situation of women and households remains the same. Even female suffrage is rarely mentioned. Generally, the Kerr utopias are set in Chicago, and so, above all, they are anti-anarchist. Riots, mobs, and revolutions became warnings of what might happen unless socialism is somehow introduced.

⁴⁷ Adams, p. 276.

⁴⁸ Zebina Forbush, The Co-opolitan, A Story of the Cooperative Commonwealth of Idaho (Chicago: Charles H. Kerr and Company, 1898), p. 4.

CHAPTER IX

WOMEN IN NINETEENTH CENTURY

UTOPIAN FICTION: CONTENT VS. FORM

Late nineteenth century utopian fiction directly addressed itself to the era's concern over the economic and political status of women. In the process, a significant discrepancy between the political content and literary form emerged. Although in the manifesto sections utopian authors seriously considered the economic, political, and, occasionally, social status of women, and often embodied the demands of the women's movement in constructing new societies, in the fable sections utopian authors adopted literary female stereotypes of the day. The implications of this discrepancy between fable and manifesto are crucial: the stereotyping of women had become so fixed that it could not be relaxed to portray women who were assertive, self-sufficient, and successful. While male and female authors allowed the political demands to seep through, they were unable to portray a liberated female character in fiction. Either the literary stereotypes were so entrenched that utopian authors did not recognize that there was a form-content war raging under their noses, or, they failed to understand that

political and economic equality would require new forms for female characters. In utopian fiction, character was harder to change than institutions.

By the late 1890s, there were two literary female models available which Caroline Ticknor portrays in a fictional interview between "The Steel Engraving Lady and the Gibson Girl," that appeared in The Atlantic in 1901. The "Steel Engraving Lady", the woman most often portrayed in magazine and book illustrations, is characteristically seated at her window, absorbed with thoughts of her lover. She is modest, idle, and self-contained. As Linda Morris suggests in an article on magazine illustrations of this era, for the Steel Engraving Lady, or the True Woman, "Her province is the domestic sphere; her world is well defined and enclosed. This is not to suggest that she is necessarily indifferent to life outside her home, but it does define the nature of her relationship to that life. While she may be curious about life outside, she is an observer only."¹

¹Linda Morris, "The Image of Women in Magazine Illustrations, 1880-1899" (unpublished manuscript, University of California at Berkeley, 1972), p. 8.

The Gibson Girl comes to interview the Lady for "a paper on Extinct Types," and in the exchange we realize that the Gibson Girl is arrogant, self-sufficient, involved in her career, and interested in pleasing no one but herself. She says the keynote of modern thought is not "what does man like?" but "what does woman prefer." She says, "You see, I've had a liberal education. I can do everything my brothers do, and do it rather better, I fancy. I am an athlete and a college graduate, with a wide and universal outlook. My point of view is free from narrow influences and quite outside of the home boundaries."² Ticknor clearly sides with the Steel-Engraving Lady, but acknowledges that the Gibson Girl is the woman of the future. Utopian novelists by contrast make no such acknowledgement.

For the most part, despite the True Woman's membership in a politically and economically egalitarian utopia, she preserves the traditional values of fragility and domesticity typified by Edith Leete in Looking Backward. The utopian heroine is modeled after the beauti-

²Caroline Ticknor, "The Steel Engraving Lady and the Gibson Girl," in The Atlantic (July, 1901), p. 106.

ful, educated, and subservient heroines in the American sentimental and domestic novels. Only in The Garden of Eden does the author, W. H. Bishop, fashion his utopian heroine after the progressive woman popularized by the illustrations of Charles Gibson.³ For example, the heroine in The Garden of Eden, Stella, represents idealized independence, vitality, and worldliness. She participates fully in the social, political, and military life of the utopia. She is confident, both in herself and her new society, and is an active propagandist for the new values. However, once Stella enters the action of the fable, she reverts to her True Womanhood, where her role is to inspire or reform men. Like the Steel-Engraving Lady, her telos is the altar. Like the Steel-Engraving Lady, she perpetuates the idealization of women through perfecting such female virtues as gentility, serenity, domesticity, and unselfishness.

Although progressive utopians advocate female equality, in the manifesto sections' women are only introduced

³W. H. Bishop, The Garden of Eden, USA, A Very Possible Story (Chicago: Charles Kerr and Company, 1894). See Chapter VIII on the Charles Kerr Company for further discussion of W. H. Bishop.

to decorate the political scene. They do not participate in the discussions, or act as guides. In the fable sections they do not particularize the political analysis through fictional representation. There are, however, five utopias which can be termed feminist utopias and which make significant contributions either in the area of content, i.e. the status of women in utopia, or form, i.e. the problem of embodying female equality in character and action. They are:

- Mary Lane - Mizora A Prophecy, 1889
- Henry Olerich - A Cityless and Countryless World, 1893
- W. H. Bishop - The Garden of Eden USA A Very Possible Story, 1894
- Albert Chavannes- In Brighter Climes or Life in Socio-land, A Realistic Novel, 1895
- A. O. Grigsby and Mary P. Lowe Jack Adams Nequa or The Problem of the Ages, 1900

Mizora by Mary Lane is an all female utopian society.⁴ The women occupy all the positions in the world of politics, science, and economics. Nonetheless, Lane is also incapable of solving the form-content dilemma. Lane idealizes the pursuits of politics and science, thereby mak-

⁴Mary Bradley Lane, Mizora, A Prophecy (New York: G. W. Dillingham, 1889).

ing them acceptable careers for women. Furthermore, by telling us that the change from capitalism to utopianism occurred 3000 years ago, she avoids showing us women actually leading a political revolution. Not only does Lane thereby avoid having to show us women characters acting in unladylike ways, like other utopian authors Lane ducks the issue of the process by which change should occur. By creating a society based on ideality, stasis, and scientific certainty, Lane denies the possibility for female anger, competitiveness, or sexuality. Elaborate patterns of timeless conformity eliminate the opportunity for female energy and individuality. It is impossible to distinguish between the characters because they all partake of the ideal. Lane assumes that the presence of an ideal model permits a generalized rather than particularized conception of female character. By contrast, Lane shows that the particularized world exists in America, where activity and individuality are described in sordid detail. Given the utopian assumption that a model or telos creates the proper stimulus for action, in Mizora there is only one path to happiness and perfection: to render permanent the values of the True Woman. Thus, despite her new vocation, the Mizoran woman has the same function as her American sister: to

bear and defend the moral values of society.

Mizora is the story of a Russian princess who denounces the murder of a Polish friend and is forced to flee in a small boat. But the princess is caught in a shipwreck on the Northern Seas, and, in a Vernean touch, her boat is sucked into a sea in the interior of the earth where she discovers the all female world of Mizora.

Although the Princess discovers that in Mizora women occupy every possible vocation, the Mizoran woman is characterized as the True Woman. As soon as her boat drifts into the Mizoran current, the Princess hears soft music and sees a bejewelled "noiseless" ship, shaped like a fish:

Its scales glittered like gems as it moved gracefully and noiselessly through the water. Its occupants were all young girls of the highest type of blonde beauty. It was their soft voices, accompanied by some peculiar stringed instruments they carried, that had produced the music I heard. ... No animals were visible, nor sound of any. No hum of life. All nature lay asleep on voluptuous beauty, veiled in a glorious atmosphere. ... upon the lawn directly before us, a number of most beautiful girls had disposed themselves at various occupations. Some were reading, some sketching, and some at various kinds of needlework. I noticed they were all blondes.⁵

⁵Lane, pp. 25-28.

This female world sounds like Yeats' Byzantium, a world of luxurious de-natured passivity. The princess learns that she has arrived at the College of Experimental Science, and that Mizora is a mechanized society, built by female scientists and run by female politicians. Nevertheless, all the women are inactive, beautiful, and blond. Like Tichnor's Steel Engraving Lady, they embroider, play stringed instruments, and speak in hushed voices. Furthermore, their beauty becomes indistinguishable from their Christian grace.

The Princess believes that Mizora synthesizes the spiritual domain of ideality and the phenomenal world of science. She thus provides a religious justification for the material satisfactions:

That wonderful civilization I met with in Mizora, I may not be able to more than faintly shadow forth here yet from it, the present age may form some idea of that grand, that ideal life, that is possible for our remote posterity. Again and again, has religious enthusiasm pictured a life to be eliminated from the grossness and imperfections of our material existence. The Spirit - the Mind - that mental gift, by or through which we think, reason, and suffer is by one tragic and awful struggle to free itself from temporal blemishes and difficulties and become spiritual and perfect. Yet who, sweeping the limitless fields of space with a telescope, glancing at myriads of worlds that a lifetime could not count,

or gazing through a microscope at a tiny world in a drop of water, has dreamed that patient Science, and practise could evolve for the living human race, the ideal life of exalted knowledge: the life I found in Mizora; that Science had made real and practicable.⁶

Through science, the Princess finds that heaven, the world of ideality, is available to her on earth. Science becomes a glib alternative to death and thus blurs the boundary between heavenly and earthly possibility. Science becomes endowed with spiritual significance. Religious experience is degraded by defining its benefits in terms of material satisfactions and earthly successes. Perfection becomes a worldly option.

According to the standards of the True Woman, physicality is debased and dirty. The Mizoran woman is sexless although highly maternal. One scientist has eight girl children. Female scientists in Mizora found the "Secret of Life" and although they still cannot create life, they can control cellular action so that reproduction can occur without a male contribution. Children are no longer "the offspring of lust."⁷ Instead, the college preceptress announces that "the moral life is the highest

⁶ Lane, p. 9.

⁷ Lane, p. 275.

development of Nature ... It's ultimate perfection will be the mind, where pleasure shall find fruition, and desire its ecstasy."⁸

George Santayana defined the Genteel Tradition as an ideology of success, civilization, and progress, which was rationalized by a fusion of evangelical Christianity and transcendentalism. Whatever is "becomes the will of God" because "whatever is" is God.⁹ As the famous Protestant theologian Henry Ward Beecher established in Norwood, the popular religious novel of the time, reality flows from God and reaches men through the doings of nature. The Preceptress in Mizora says that their temples of worship are the aurora Borealis and the National College for Education. When the Princess asks a Mizoran if she worships nature, the woman replies, "If we did, we should worship ourselves, for we are a part of Nature."¹⁰ She adds, "I am an atom of Nature..... Nature is God and God is nature."¹¹ Thus, by extension, I am God, which can become the ultimate rationalization for

⁸Lane, p. 22.

⁹George Santayana, "The Genteel Tradition in American Philosophy" in The Genteel Tradition (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1967), see pp. 38-64.

¹⁰Lane, p. 255.

¹¹Ibid.

any act or belief.

Unlike the anti-utopia ruled by women, The Isle of Feminine, by Charles Niswonger, in which the sex roles are reversed and men become slaves, in Mizora there are simply no men. This partly accounts for the lack of plot, because Mary Lane shares a world view in which only men are active and have adventures. Furthermore, since this world view assumes that upward mobility for women comes through marriage and upward mobility for men comes through work, it would be impossible for Lane to portray women working out their salvation.

Freedom for women in Mizora does not present the challenge to female characters that it does to Hawthorne's heroine Hester Prynne or Howells' heroine Annie Kilburn. Freedom for Mizoran women simply implies economic predictability, social status, sentimental piety, and a slightly relaxed etiquette. Among these identical characters there is no sense of inner freedom. Through vegetarianism, equal education, and sexual repression, the Mizoran women are programmed to exemplify the ideal.

The cult of ideality can be defined as the idealization of contemporary experiences to avoid dealing with the reality of ugliness, poverty, and rebellion. It is a selective method of perceiving reality in order to main-

tain the status quo. In Mizora, the cult of ideality preserves the nineteenth century assumption of the innate moral superiority of women. It holds that women are more pure, more religious, more peaceful, and more beautiful than men.

In contrast to the idealized present, the Princess learns that in the Mizoran past, the women were energetic, active, indeed militant, but this is narrated, not portrayed. When men ruled Mizora 3000 years before, "plots, intrigues, murders, and wars were the active employments of the very ancient rulers of our land."¹² Meanwhile, "woman was a beast of burden. She was regarded as inferior to man, mentally as well as physically."¹³ Although men held her in "chivalrous regard," women's work was more arduous than a man's, and her wages were lower.¹⁴ During a revolutionary uprising, women and children were forced to fill the places vacated by their "fallen fathers."¹⁵ With victory came the demand for political

¹²Lane, p. 118.

¹³Lane, p. 199.

¹⁴Lane, p. 200.

¹⁵Ibid.

equality. "It was granted, limiting its privileges to adult male citizens."¹⁶ The history of Mizora continues to parallel American history, even including a Civil War over the issue of slavery. As in America, the post war Mizoran presidents attempted to turn the republic into an empire. During this period of rebellion and lawlessness, the women organized for their mutual protection.¹⁷ They formed clubs which eventually united to develop military power against the "evils of anarchy."¹⁸ Eventually they formed a law and order government composed only of college educated women. They excluded men from all official affairs for a period of one hundred years. "At the end of that time not a representative of the sex was in existence."¹⁹

Although female dominance is achieved in Mizora, economic inequality and the class structure are maintained. Unlike the women in The Garden of Eden who resemble the Gibson Girl model, the Mizoran women are never seen at work. Although Lane describes Mizora as a land where

¹⁶ Lane, p. 201.

¹⁷ Lane, p. 210.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Lane, p. 214.

machines do all the work, there is no representation of factories, nor of women making or running the machines. Thus science is also idealized. The government is structured on the conservative laissez-faire model. It is small and "takes care of itself."²⁰ The only laws are for "the protection of property and to regulate public morals."²¹ The Mizoran aristocracy is a benevolent matriarchy. Lane posits a trickle-down theory of culture. "The distinction between the aristocracy and the lower class was similar to the relative position of teacher and pupil. I recognized in this social condition the great media of their marvelous approach to perfection. Their aristocracy was never arrogant, never supercilious, never aggressive. It was what the philosophers of our world are: tolerant, humane, sublime."²²

Mizora also maintains its stasis by eliminating minority races. The Preceptress of the College tells the princess that "we believe that the highest excellence of moral and mental character is alone attainable by a fair

²⁰Lane, p. 142.

²¹Lane, p. 147.

²²Lane, p. 133.

race. The elements of evil belong to the dark race."²³
 When the princess questions the history of "the dark
 complexions" (linguistically, the skin color becomes
 synonymous with the people), the Preceptress simply re-
 plies, "We eliminated them."²⁴

In the end the Princess feels compelled to leave
 Mizora because there are no men. Caroline Ticknor ends
 her article with the True Woman complaining, "Hail the
 new woman - behold she comes apace! WOMAN, ONCE MAN'S
 SUPERIOR, NOW HIS EQUAL!" When faced with the opportuni-
 ty of portraying real equality, if only in utopia, Mary
 Lane likewise felt unprepared to accept the ramifications
 of this demotion.

In Brighter Climes by Albert Chavannes tells the
 story of Mary and Charles Morrel who emigrate to Spencer,
 the capital of the Social Darwinist utopia Socioland, in
 order to escape the poverty and humiliation of unemployment
 in New York's slums. Without the pressures of economic
 determinism, in Socioland Mary and Charles can create
 lives which are compatible with their instinctively de-
 fined capacities. Mary is an orphaned sentimental heroine
 with keen sensibilities and refined ancestors. Her re-

²⁴ Ibid.

sponses are juxtaposed to those of Charles' lover, Rose Mansfield, the utopian "Gibson Girl". While Mary is defined by her maternalistic and nurturing instincts, and volunteers to work in the communal kitchen, Rose is described in terms usually reserved for male characters: bold, steady of purpose, dashing, and "utterly lacking in womanly softness."²⁵ Rose decides to become an engraver. Charles, meanwhile, follows the gifts of his ancestors and settles into farming.

Although Mary grows in political and economic consciousness in Spencer, her basic nature and her role remain maternal. In terms of literary structure, Mary represents the uninformed audience who needs to be convinced. When Charles patiently explains to her the advantages of public ownership:

Mary had nothing to answer. It was the first time that such ideas had been presented to her. As all good little girls in the United States she knew her catechism and could recite glibly many verses of the Bible, but had no idea of the relation between economic problems and the price of rent or the ability to find food or raiment. To her it was a question dependent upon the amount of wages which she received when she had to earn her own living, or that Charles was able to gain, after they were mar-

²⁵ Lane, p. 190.

ried and he became her protector.²⁶

In general, she depends on male characters for her opinions, information, and political indoctrination.

Mary becomes dedicated to the communal kitchen, where all the work is done by women, although she thoroughly enjoys the relief of free bread and public laundries as well. She discovers that she is intellectually stimulated by the free theater and the socialist newspapers, which lack scandals and advertisements. Nevertheless, she is unable to converse with Charles because she is simultaneously inferior and superior, but never equal to him. Politically and intellectually, Mary is less successful than Charles, and eventually learns that she is unfit for any job in Socioland other than housekeeping. At the same time, she is more refined than Charles. Mary feels that "there were depths in her character that he had never stirred and latent possibilities in her which he could not call forth."²⁷ Lane says that although Mary never repented marrying Charles yet "unconsciously she felt she was superior to him in many respects. ... since she left America her character had developed, she had

²⁶ Lane, p. 75.

²⁷ Lane, p. 116.

come in contact with persons of more culture and refinement, which made her more sensitive, so that Charles' words and actions would often jar upon her."²⁸ She is also repelled by his energetic hugs which she feels are animalistic. Charles conforms to the Victorian male stereotype. His main concerns are public and his energies are external: "his nature was different from Mary's. Manlike, if his mind and body were busy, his heart was easily satisfied."²⁹ Ultimately Mary's love is thus also prescribed by her maternalism. For Charles, she feels "the love of a mother for her child,"³⁰

The final proof of Mary's nature comes with the arrival of the attractive American minister, Mr. Proctor. When Proctor catches malaria, Mary quits her job in the kitchen in order to become his nurse, because "good nurses are born, not made, and Charles was not born that way, while Mary was naturally well qualified for the task."³¹ When Mary first meets Proctor, she is able to control the flirtation because it was only "the intel-

²⁸ Lane, p. 117.

²⁹ Lane, p. 52.

³⁰ Lane, p. 116.

³¹ Lane, p. 148.

lect and the aesthetic faculties which had been awakened." But as her patient, Proctor is irresistible. And if Charles calls her "my little woman", Proctor (a canting name for teacher), calls her "my child". He lectures her on the realities of marriage and tells her that her obligations must replace their adolescent love. He urges her to submit to her wifely role. Within pages, Mary is blissfully pregnant by Charles.

Charles, however, has met Rose Mansfield, the utopian Gibson Girl. Unlike Mary who is uncomfortable outdoors, Rose fishes, hikes, and hunts with Charles. Rose "came as near as possible, taking in consideration her size and age, to be a hail-fellow, well-met comrade, ready for any sport and never lacking in pluck or endurance."³² Rose has been raised in Socioland, where her athletic and energetic nature has been allowed to develop.

Rose has also been influenced by the unrestricted social institutions of Spencer. Her mother, Mrs. Mansfield, shares an apartment with a male companion although she never divorced Rose's father, her first husband. Unlike Proctor, Mrs. Mansfield tells Mary to avoid a love-

³²Lane, p. 96.

less marriage in which she would "work for him ... sleep with him ... bear his children ... feel all the time that he stands between you and happiness till you grow to hate him, that is slavery, Mary, not marriage."³³

In contrast to Mary's religious American upbringing, Rose has been given a thorough education in anatomy and physiology; she is not embarrassed by her own sexuality. As the years pass, while Mary becomes obsessed with her children and bores Charles with long descriptions of the babies' first tastes of jelly, Rose has gone to university and has become a skilled engraver. One summer Charles escapes Mary's domestic bliss and meets Rose at a resort. Like the other women at the resort, Rose is sexually experienced, and participates in their lovemaking passionately and without "sentimentality".

Rose's easiness results from the mingling of men and women at her school and work. Chavannes must have felt uncomfortable with his liberated heroine, however, for unlike all the other major characters, Rose never speaks. He also explains that economic and social equality for women in Socioland destroyed prostitution which

³³Lane, p. 99.

was "born from a one-sided application of the standard of sexual morality, and of woman's financial dependence."³⁴ With the new economic, and educational situation of women, prostitution and rape are unknown, and marriages are happier. At the same time, sexual relationships are formed which "strongly favored of polyandry and polygamy." He says that pre-marital sex does not dishonor women in Socioland in the same way it never dishonored men in previous societies.³⁵ He adds that marriage is not a religious ritual, but "a free contract between equals; to be entered into and broken at will." Chavannes mentions "safeguards against illegitimate births," which is the most explicit reference to birth control in American utopian fiction. After this theoretical-historical justification of responsible free sex, Chavannes returns to the fable and portrays the affair of Charles and Rose as joyful, playful, and passionate, but when Rose's vacation is over she easily returns to her career.

In the end, Mary and Charles buy a farm in a new rural development. Chavannes retreats from his description of free love, and conventionally justifies Charles' re-

³⁴Lane, p. 194.

³⁵Lane, p. 195.

lationship with Rose by Mary's coldness and indifference to all but her babies. When Mary discovers Charles and Rose's affair, she recognizes her past indifference to Charles. Mary becomes more responsive to her husband and thus has two more babies. To the end, Mary is loyal, domestic, maternal, but guilt-ridden about her cultural superiority to Charles. Charles finally becomes a successful rancher, but his consciousness never develops. He remains "the descendant of men who had kept women in practical subjection for centuries, he accepted unconsciously the double standard of morality which passes current in the civilized world."³⁶

Chavannes suggests that the personality of each character is pre-determined, but can only be fully realized when artificial social restraints are broken down. He was a strong believer in social evolution and wrote The Law of Environment, Heredity Crossbreeding, and Pre-natal Influence (1885-1902) along Darwinian lines. Given this background, it was easy for Chavannes to translate women's freedom into sexual terms. Although Mr. Proctor, Charles, and the other male ranchers are seen at work, Chavannes never portrays Rose as an engraver. She is only seen re-

³⁶ Lane, p. 219.

lating to Charles. Despite Chavannes' egalitarian assertions, civilization in Socioland is still a masculine achievement.

Although there is no fable in Henry Olerich's utopia A Cityless and Countryless World Olerich will be included in this discussion because he uses notions of individualism, competition, Social Darwinism to justify a utopia with unique patterns of relations between the sexes. A Martian named Midith is peddling the works of Herbert Spencer on earth because he is convinced that Darwinian ideas are "the only power that can move the psychical world in the right direction."³⁷ Midith comes to the idealized Uwin family to sell them Spencer's books; he stays to describe the Martian utopia built along the principles of Social Darwinism.

On Mars, he explains, all forms of collectivism, paternalism, and monopoly have disappeared. The political and social organization is based only on pure individualism. There are thus no homes or families. Large "dwellings", accomodating one thousand people, have re-

³⁷ Henry Olerich, A Cityless and Countryless World (Holstein, Iowa: Gilmore and Olerich, 1893), p. 39.

placed the house. In these vast structures each person, including each child, has his or her own apartment. The elimination of the family results in the elimination of the head of the household ("the boss"), and quarrelling, fighting, and murder have consequently disappeared.³⁸

The Martians have eliminated profit, but not competition. Everyone, including children in their own capacity, work and receive equal pay. Both the men and the women cook. Everything must be paid for from each individual's wages. Surnames are disdained as anti-individualistic because they are associated with family groups, and have therefore been replaced by numbers. In Mars a woman might be called Mary B4, 723, C84 of Goben, the numbers referring to her work and domicile. In this system women and children are thus not dependent on men either for their money or their identity. Olerich introduces the theory popularized by the nineteenth century economist, Charlotte Perkins Gilman, that housework is unpaid labor: "All such labor as the wife performs is as a rule considered worth little or nothing by the men because the man has so shaped his financial system that the woman cannot take in any of the money she earns by her domestic labor."³⁹ In America,

³⁸Olerich, p. 66.

³⁹Olerich, p. 214.

Midith notes, the man is a "monopolist" in the family, through the control of money. "It is generally expressed by you that the husband, the man, supports the wife and children, even if the wife labors twelve or fourteen hours a day, cooking, washing, cleaning, nursing, keeping house, darning, etc."⁴⁰

Along the lines of laissez-faire principles, Mars has a minimal government. Leaders, who are elected by "tacit ballot", automatically resign to people of superior ability.⁴¹ There are no political parties, elections, legislation, courts, or compulsory taxation, all of which might interfere with the rights of the individual. Each individual, each racial minority, and each community attends to its own business in a spirit of "non-aggressive competition".⁴² Midith claims that complete individual freedom has eliminated government by force. Instead every decision in Mars is based on "fitness", independence, freedom.

Those governing principles extend to the relations between the sexes. For example, motherhood, which limits

⁴⁰Olerich, p. 213.

⁴¹Olerich, p. 243.

⁴²Olerich, p. 254.

women's freedom, is never imposed upon them. In Mars, when a woman wants to become a mother, she solicits the love of a man. This places the control of motherhood in the hands of women. A man "sexually cooperates" only where his assistance is "agreeably solicited". There are no husbands or wives. There are no life long commitments because no one has any claim on anyone else. A woman must "be free and independent, socially, industrially, and sexually."⁴³

Although other utopian authors have suggested that women should be paid for bearing and nursing children, Olerich is unique in suggesting that it is the duty of every man to assist in child rearing. He says that in Mars it has even "become a pleasant, sportive exercise. And even if it were not so, a man who would be unwilling to do his fair share of it, would very likely not leave many descendants, for a woman when once free, is not likely to cooperate with a shirk."⁴⁴

Along with anonymity, non-commitment, and individualism, Olerich has a disengaged Puritanical attitude toward sex. He says that because sex expends vital energy, the

⁴³Olerich, p. 265.

⁴⁴Olerich, p. 266.

person who "exercises it only for reproduction is the most complete person sexually."⁴⁵ Animals, Midith notes, are chaste except for reproduction because the "sexual function" expends vital energy. Given the intense struggle for survival, those who spend their energies "licentious-ly" will perish.⁴⁶ A Martian man who has a more highly developed intellectual capacity than an American man, is "reluctant to work his animal forces in licentious acts which impair the physical and mental capacities after which he is seeking."⁴⁷ Midith claims that if women are given control of their economics, living arrangements, and maternal functions, sex will become "purer", i.e., less frequent. With a total misinterpretation of Darwinism, Olerich concludes that evolution encourages chastity.⁴⁸

Finally, Midith attacks marriage because it interferes with free competition between individuals for mates. He says that in the past man has been like a landlord who fences off vacant land. Both as a suitor and husband, man put woman under his possession and control. In Mars,

⁴⁵Olerich, p. 273.

⁴⁶Olerich, p. 274.

⁴⁷Olerich, p. 275.

⁴⁸Olerich, p. 274.

given the constant competition for sexual partners, people now are neat, kind, and creative instead: "The survival of the fittest with us is in full bloom; with you, in the human family, it is comparatively dead; because, if they are once married, they are bound to stay together, whether they are tidy or filthy and slovenly."⁴⁹

Olerich's Martian utopia would be fuel for anti-utopian indignation. Despite its appealing belief in female equality, the society is impersonal and transient. Olerich's utopian formulation posits competition while eliminating the drive for survival, the Darwinian motive for competition. Food and shelter are guaranteed by the egalitarian state. Thus, the individualistic and competitive human instincts emerge as drives toward anonymity and homogeneity. The biological model also fails to incorporate the distinctly human capacities for love and creativity.

Only one utopian writer creates female characters who might logically inhabit an egalitarian society. The characters Stella Vernon and Alice Hathaway in W. H. Bishop's utopia The Garden of Eden USA are outspoken feminists who resemble The Gibson Girl. Bishop's utopia is launched

⁴⁹Olerich, p. 292.

neither through evolution or revolution but by the beneficence of a millionaire, who buys a valley in North Carolina for "moral miners" and "genteel paupers". The fable follows two men, Wayne and Stanley, on their quest for their ideal women, who are found eventually in "The Garden of Eden". The story contains all the devices of sentimental fiction, including mistaken identities, coincidental encounters, and both men thinking that they are in love with the same girl.

Wayne and Stanley at first display pre-utopian attitudes toward women. They begin a quest that is "just as exciting a game as hunting for bear meat would have been in the days of savagery."⁵⁰ Women serve their competitive and possessive instincts. Wayne and Stanley objectify woman through their long list of requisite physical attributes. She must have, "Large, speaking eyes, a nose neither pug nor Roman, but a happy compromise between the two, a chin not too high in the air, lips - well, lips that would have tempted a saint, a forehead deep but well rounded and reasonably well stored with wisdom, a carriage like that of royalty, a step like that of a conqueror."⁵¹

⁵⁰Bishop. p. 10.

⁵¹Bishop. pp. 11-12.

When they see Stella Vernon on the street Wayne senses that she "has a yielding disposition ... I could mold her to my purposes quickly enough."⁵²

For a time the paths of the two heroes part, while each develops his career along the lines of his political inclinations. Stanley becomes a wealthy conservative lawyer serving corporate interests in New York; Wayne purchases a valley in North Carolina and proceeds, albeit autocratically, to construct an egalitarian and technologically progressive community. Eventually, Stanley agrees to visit Wayne's utopia when he hears that Stella Vernon has become a member. But Stanley discovers that in Eden the changed economic condition for women means that Stella does not have to marry him to obtain a household. Similarly, with centralized cooking and mechanical housekeeping, he realizes that men do not have to marry to obtain a housekeeper. Wayne's choice for the ideal woman goes along with his patronizing attitude toward the working class. He is looking for a Cinderella to elevate to Queen of his utopia, who will bring him into closer sympathy with the "toiling millions of men." His Cinderella is

⁵²Bishop, p. 20.

⁵³Bishop, p. 8.

Alice Hathaway, who is true to her sentimental mold. She is only temporarily poor, and, eventually reveals that she is the daughter of the wealthy plantation owner from whom Wayne bought the land for the Garden of Eden.

The domestic arrangements in the Garden of Eden are found in progressive utopias written in the late nineteenth century. Bishop's unique contribution is in the relationship between politics and female character and is found in the characters of Stella Vernon and Alice Hathaway. This can be seen both in the portrayal of their attitudes toward labor and their relationships with men. By working in Eden for \$1.50 per day as a weaver Alice recognizes that she is paying her way in the world. We actually see Alice and Stella at work in the textile factory and laundry. Alice rejects the notion that women are "butterflies" or "doll babies", and she says she really likes machinery: "I delight in the manifestation of power. I could stand and watch a drop hammer all day long, I believe. And the machinery that can almost think, and which has the soul of an artist concealed within its cogwheels, is an intoxication to me."⁵⁴

⁵⁴Bishop, p. 170.

In their relationships with men, Stella and Alice see themselves as equals. Stella surprises Stan by frankly expressing her admiration for him. He says "She was evidently not a coy maiden waiting to be won in the conventional, hide and seek way, and ready to die rather than reveal herself before the proper moment should arrive. It was not a pursuit, it seemed, but a battle, and one in which I would not be allowed to hold all the odds of the contest either."⁵⁵ Stella is well trained for the battle. Like every other Edenite woman she has learned to box because "in this age of the world the power of self defense, or of indignant protest, is more necessary to women than to men."⁵⁶

The Gibson Girl permanently ends Stan's desire for a True Woman when she takes him on a hike. Stella tells Stan "you will love me, ... while I shall love the mountains."⁵⁷ First she startles Stan by not taking along a chaperon. Next, annoyed that she has not felt free enough with him to wear her trousered gym suit, she complains, "as it is, I suppose that I must consent to be

⁵⁵ Bishop, p. 141.

⁵⁶ Bishop, p. 148.

⁵⁷ Bishop, pp. 263-264.

dragged and lifted upward like a New York belle in the Adirondacks, piloted by New York dudes who are only a little less weak than herself."⁵⁸ Stanley finally surrenders. "I did not want a toy wife. I had no dolls I wished to fill ... in my heart of hearts I honored her for the bold, aggressive stand which she was taking, and for the courage with which she was appealing to the better instincts within my own nature."⁵⁹ In reply, Stella takes off her skirt and flings it over the side of the mountain.

Although Bishop has taken an important step toward the portrayal of women as equals with men, he is obviously not completely comfortable with his boldness. In addition to working in the laundry, Stella leads classes in the social graces. And eventually Wayne admits to Stan that the women box "only with one another as a rule, more in bravado of conventional prejudices than anything else."⁶⁰

In conclusion, in the manifesto sections, utopian authors describe women as politically equal to men. Fur-

⁵⁸ Bishop, p. 266.

⁵⁹ Bishop, p. 270.

⁶⁰ Bishop, p. 198.

thermore, they suggest either mechanical or collective solutions to problems which were of utmost concern to the nineteenth century woman. They either propose public communal arrangements for child rearing, the buying and preparation of food and laundering clothes, or they rely on mechanical solutions by "inventing" sewing machines, electric cookers, refrigerators, electric washing machines, dishwashers, prepared foods, and ready made garments. However, a glance through the advertisements of the women's magazines of the decade indicates that nearly all these inventions were available by the mid 1890s. Rather than predicting new inventions along science fiction lines, utopian fiction incorporated and virtually advertised the existing technology. Nonetheless, it added the significant corollary that domestic technology should be freely available to all women. This focus on "household management", as housework was euphemistically called, suggests that utopian authors assumed that there was a large female readership of socialist literature.

Although progressive utopians live in apartment houses, the largest being Henry Olerich's Fourieristic houses for a thousand people, monogamy prevails and the conventional family is still the basic unit of civilization. Divorce is easy, but without the tension of money

or alcohol, unlikely. The utopian woman comes home to hubby to find real satisfaction. In fact, often through her career or political experiences the utopian woman discovers that real happiness only comes from emotional gratification rather than intellectual or physical achievements.

Most utopians are alert to the demand by nineteenth century feminists and doctors for fashion reforms. Although the socialist women in Bradford Peck's The World A Department Store (this may be tautological, given the title of the book) spend an inordinate amount of time planning their Victorian wardrobes, most utopian authors create comfortable and practical costumes for women and attack the late nineteenth century fashions which forced the body, by corsets, steel, and whalebone, into an eighteen inch waist that exaggerated both bustle and bosom.

Linda Morris has pointed out the genteel assumptions behind the nineteenth century fashions. A well dressed woman in the 1880s or 1890s could only perform two functions: ornamentation and enticement.⁶¹ The nineteenth century fashions accentuated women's sex, fragility, and dependence on men. In utopias, however, all women usu-

⁶¹Morris, p. 15.

ally dress alike in loose flowing robes described as togas. Thus, their costumes reflect the non-competitive, egalitarian attitudes of the culture.

With the exception of Rose Mansfield, Stella Vernon, and Alice Hathaway, woman, regardless of the politics of the utopia, is indistinguishable from the conservative model of the True Woman. Often this is justified by a Darwinian principle of the specialization of function. Love, sympathy, and motherhood are termed woman's natural instincts and despite technology and political equality, evolution has supposedly demonstrated that home is the domain which suits woman's nature. Utopian men retain a physical and psychological distance from the home. There is no suggestion in utopian fiction that this is a sphere in which it might be well for man to participate.

Like her capitalist sister, the utopian woman is responsible for the moral and spiritual well-being of the community. She transmits the traditional ideals of charity, gentleness, and beauty. She supports the institutions of music, literature, and art. She sings and her songs often have an inspirational or even propagandistic effect. She is still the religious enforcer. Thus, she is still the True Woman who ministers to the emotional, moral, and spiritual needs of her family, and, by extension, her civilization.

CHAPTER X

THE THEME OF REVOLUTION IN AMERICAN UTOPIAS

From Jonathan Edwards to Marge Piercy, we find in American literature the paired images of creation and catastrophe, destruction and millenium, Jerusalem and retribution. In American utopian fiction these sets of images become fused in the image of revolutions which define the limits and potential of social change. In this body of literature revolution becomes a two edged sword: destroying the ruling class with delicious violence on the one side, and destroying faith in human and technological potential on the other. Revolution in utopian fiction expresses the negation of the wish fulfillment aspects of utopianism. Portrayed as the workers' need for violent retribution, it shatters the utopian faith in human perfectibility. Revolution in utopian literature suggests that world destruction is imminent because society is incapable of peaceful reformation. When utopian authors add the rhetoric of Gothic violence to their futuristic technology, revolution, even when justified by the entrenched power of the plutocracy, becomes unthinkably horrible. The powerful pair of images of annihilation and rebirth become a caveat to the

reader to work out immediate reforms to forstall the deluge. In Caesar's Column, the chapter describing the revolution is entitled "Sheol", the Hebrew equivalent of hell.

Caesar's Column, by the Populist spokesman Ignatius Donnelly, is the story of a proletarian revolution which overthrows a cruel plutocracy, only to destroy itself in its own lawlessness and hatred.¹ The hero-narrator of Donnelly's tale is Gabriel Weltstein, a prosperous Swiss sheepherder who is from the agrarian state of Uganda.² He has come to New York in the year 1899 to try to break through the Wool Ring and sell his products directly to American manufacturers and retailers. Like Julian West in Boston, Gabriel discovers in New York a technologically advanced futuristic society, with central kitchens tele-vising their menus to the houses and hotels. Within a day of his arrival, however, Gabriel discovers that this industrial paradise is maintained by a conspiracy of

¹Ignatius Donnelly, Caesar's Column: A Story of the Twentieth Century, reprint (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1960).

²Gabriel, literally "man of God", is described in the New Testament as the herald of good tidings; he declares the coming of the Messiah. The critic Alexander Saxton points out that Gabriel's last name in translation is "world stone", and that "stone" in Christian iconography is Peter the Rock. However, our interest is not in Gabriel as Peter the answerer of questions but in Gabriel as Peter the founder of the true church and head of the apostolic band.

"plutocratic" leaders at the cost of great mass suffering. When he tries to prevent the driver of a bejewelled coach from beating a poor beggar, Gabriel becomes unwittingly involved in a fierce social struggle between the "Plutocracy" - the ruling class, and the Brotherhood of Destruction - a group which represents the urban proletariat, portrayed as a ruthless, albeit brutalized, mass of overworked and underfed laborers.

Gabriel becomes committed to the cause of the proletariat when he falls in love with Estella, a virgin who has been sold into the harem of the plutocratic Prince Cabano, and he joins the Brotherhood in plotting her escape.

In the end, Donnelly projects the consequences of social and economic dualism into a bloody cataclysm. Caesar Lomellini, a brutish giant, leads the working class revolt which overthrows the dictatorship and the enraged workers destroy everything in their quest for revenge. Gabriel and his friends escape the devastation and fly to Uganda, where they set up a tiny Populist republic from which base civilization may someday be restored. Donnelly is not advocating violent revolution. He is stating through vivid images of poverty and violence that life is a "dark and wretched failure for the great mass of mankind."³ Because of the oppres-

³Donnelly, p. 4.

sion of the poor by the rich, society has divided itself into two hostile camps. Unless a "reign of justice" obliterates oppression and divisiveness, "What is to arrest the flow of effect from cause? What is to prevent the coming of night if the earth continues to revolve on its axis? The fool may cry out: 'There shall be no night!' But the feet of the hours march unrelentingly toward the darkness."⁴ Donnelly is articulating a common fear of an impending apocalypse and warning his readers to take action to prevent it. In 1892 Donnelly wrote most of the new party's official platform which concludes with a theme from Caesar's Column: "A vast conspiracy against mankind has been organized on two continents, and it is rapidly taking possession of the world. If not met and overthrown at once it forbodes terrible social convulsions, the destruction of civilization, or the establishment of an absolute despotism."⁵ As we shall see, this view of history is easily embodied in the melodramatic structure of villains and redeemers.

⁴Ibid. See also pp. 171-174.

⁵Ignatius Donnelly, "Preamble to the Platform Acclaimed by the First National Convention of the People's Party," Omaha, Nebraska, 4 July 1892.

Unlike Bellamy, Donnelly does not believe that America can find salvation through technology. In Caesar's Column he portrays an anti-utopian attitude toward industry and science. He specifically attacks the Spencerian conception of futuristic New York at the efficient but depersonalized "Hotel Darwin". Although Gabriel discovers airships, immense public buildings, central kitchens, and smokeless public transport in New York, he sees that technology has created neither equality nor leisure. Instead, technological evolution has produced lethargy and conformism.⁶ Meanwhile, the Plutocracy has used the new technology to build a private military of "Demons", air ships which carry poison gas bombs.

However unlike the anti-utopians Anna Dodd and Richard Michaelis, Donnelly is not politically conservative. His view of progress is similar to that of the retrogressive utopians and the Populists. Because he sees urbanism and technology as welded to capitalism, Donnelly prefers a simplified decentralized model along Jeffersonian lines, and after the revolution he establishes a pastoral utopia. The form of the book itself contrasts

⁶Donnelly, Caesar's Column, pp. 15-16.

the progressive and pastoral worlds. Caesar's Column is a series of letters written by Gabriel to his brother Heinrich in Uganda, the new world where utopia will be built. Although Donnelly does not fully exploit this contrast, references in the letters to Heinrich's world establishes a contrast between the agrarian and the technological societies: "And so from all this glory and splendour I turn back to the old homestead, amid the high mountain valleys of Africa, to the primitive, simple shep-herd life ... This gorgeous, gilded room fades away and I see the leaning hills, the trickling streams, the deep gorges where our wooly thousands graze; and I hear once more the echoing Swiss horns of our herdsman reverberating from the snowtipped mountains."⁷

Known in the nineties as the "Great Apostle of Protest," Ignatius Donnelly held the common Populist view that all American history since the Civil War could be understood as a sustained conspiracy of the international money power.⁸ Contemporary exposés of political corruption such as the *Credit Mobilier* had the character of poli-

⁷Donnelly, p. 9.

⁸Donnelly, "Preamble".

tical conspiracies. In the speeches, party platform, and pamphlets, the Populists projected history as a schematized melodrama of the oppressors - a conspiracy of government, banks and railroads, attacking the oppressed - the mortgaged white farmer. The theories listed by the historian Leo Lowenthal and Norbert Guterman as typical of Populist thought include an obsessive concern with the luxuries of the plutocrats, the loss of faith in the two party system, the notion that the world is moving towards an immense apocalypse, the focus on the personal vices of aristocrats, the surfacing of xenophobia, and the appeal to native simplicity and "folk" virtues.⁹ To this list I would also add anti-urbanism, the view that the city is the center of dirt, intellectuals, immigrants, and industry. Larzer Ziff has noted that the political rhetoric of Populism recalls the sentimental language of the contemporary culture. "The familiar high flown changes in biblical rhetoric ... reassert the glory of patriotism in the romantic lyrics of the cardboard motto, written to be sung to the accompaniment of the

⁹ Leo Lowenthal and Norbert Guterman, Prophets of Deceit (New York: Harper, 1949).

melodeon."¹⁰

The conventions of the Gothic romance are the perfect vehicle for Donnelly's conception of history and change. Unlike most utopian fiction where the fable is the "sugar coating on the pill", the romance in Caesar's Column is tightly related to the manifesto. The Plutocrat becomes the Gothic villain, Prince Cabano. In rescuing Estella from him Gabriel relies on the wily servant Rudolph, overhears secret plans for the poison bombs, and presents Estella with a jewelled dagger to protect her life and/or virginity. Gabriel's friend Max, disguised as a reformable rake, rescues a pure peasant woman, Christina Jansen, from urban unemployment and urban lechery. Because of their peasant origins, the Jansen family, alone among the workers in that environment, remain uncorrupted, and Max sends them to farm in a nearby village. The conventional sentimental endings, including the return of Max's imprisoned father, the rise in fortunes of the orphan Estella, and the air-borne escape are also informed by Donnelly's political perspective. Through the fable, the reader identifies with working class struggles. The

¹⁰ Larzer Ziff, The American 1890s (New York: The Viking Press, 1968), pp. 81-82.

conflict between the shepherd and the Prince in the fable is welded through characters to the conflict between socialism and capitalism.

The fundamental organizing principle of Caesar's Column is Donnelly's political statement. After each adventure Max, the spokesman for the Brotherhood of Destruction, interrupts the action to lecture Gabriel on its political implications. For example when Gabriel rescues Max from Cabano's henchman, Max explains that he has no redress through the courts or press. Max uses conventional incidents from romance to demonstrate that revolution is inevitable. Gabriel in turn represents Donnelly's alternatives for peaceful reform. Similarly the exciting intrigue of Estella's escape from Prince Cabano's harem is interrupted by a chapter detailing the history of Cabano's Plutocracy. This projection of American history is then contrasted with Gabriel's idealized utopian history. Thus Donnelly appends specific political and historical significance to the action.

Donnelly's method of characterization also contributes to the process of organizing the reader's values toward both anti-capitalist and anti-revolutionary feelings. Each innocent waif, courageous widow, or scheming servant

is causally linked to the class struggle. Unlike other utopias the fable is not a huis clos world of sentimental romance where the villain is his own excuse for being. Caesar's Column represents an important link in the development of American realism. Unlike Theodore Dreiser or Jack London, Donnelly still uses two modes: the vernacular language of ordinary speech and the rhetoric of sentimental fiction. For example, when Gabriel visits the "domain of the poor" he observes that "both men and women were undersized, and that they; all very much resembled each other; as if similar circumstances had squeezed them into the same likeness.... The faces of the middle-aged men were haggard and wore a hopeless expression. Many of them scowled at us, with a look of hatred, as we passed by them in our carriage... street after street they unrolled before us ... they were all poorly clad, and many of them in rags."¹¹ However, when Gabriel secretly visits Estella at Cabano's palace he says "If they break in use your knife on the first man that touches you ... If they attempt to chloroform you, stop up the pipe with soap. If the worst comes to the worst, use the rope-

¹¹Donnelly, Caesar's Column, p. 39.

ladder. If you manage to get outside the garden gate, call a hack and drive to that address.' Here I have her your direction on a small piece of tissue paper. 'If you are about to be seized, chew up the paper and swallow it. Do not in any event destroy yourself,' I added, 'until the last desperate extremity is reached.'¹² Together both modes constitute a statement about political reality which exists external to the work itself. Unlike Susanah B. Warner or Maria Cummins, popular writers of sentimental fiction, Donnelly deliberately extends the conventions of popular literature to challenge preconceived ideas.

In addition to rescuing beggars and virgins, Gabriel's main function is to introduce Populist solutions as the alternative to both the plutocratic Cabal and the Brotherhood of Destruction. Spying on a meeting of the Cabal Gabriel hears plans to let the masses create a "rat-trap" of their own barricades and then bombard them with poison gas until ten million die.¹³ Overwhelmed, Gabriel crawls out of hiding to plead for mercy and paternalistic justice. He offers, as did the original Gabriel, to martyr him-

¹²Donnelly, p. 81.

¹³Donnelly, p. 136.

self if necessary to "reconcile the castes of this wretched society, and save civilization."¹⁴ The junta attempts to murder him in reply. Next, Gabriel interrupts a labor meeting which has denounced such Populist schemes as cooperatives and universal education as mere panaceas. Gabriel pleads with the workers to set aside class hatred and establish a Brotherhood of Justice. The worker replies: "what interest have we in the preservation of civilization? ... Our masters have educated us to understand that we have no interest in civilization or society. We are its victims, not its members ... If they have set love and justice adrift and depend only on force, why should we not have recourse to the force also?"¹⁵

Finally, Gabriel interrupts a sermon in a wealthy church, decorated with secularized statues of nude women. The pastor rationalizes the situation along Darwinian lines: "Are we better than Nature? Are we wiser? Shall we rebuke the great Mother by caring for those whom she has abandoned?" Gabriel responds with a Christian version of evolution: "If man rose from a brute form, then advanced to human and savage life, yet a robber and a murderer; then reached civility and culture and philanthropy; can you

¹⁴Donnelly, p. 138.

¹⁵Donnelly, p. 172.

not see that the fingerboard of God points forward, unerringly, along the whole track of the race; and that it is still pointing forward to stages, in the future, when men shall approximate the angels?"¹⁶ He is chased from the church with flying bibles and umbrellas.

Thus all segments of society are found wanting. New York is a world of negation in which there is no virtuous group left to undertake reform and reconstruction. As the critic Alexander Saxton suggests, Bellamy pressed his sense of the social doom into Julian's nightmare, and the suggestion of violence is essentially "an interior doom - a doubt authorized by the author, that qualifies his Christian optimism." Donnelly, however, boldly portrayed his view of the consequences of contemporary economic patterns. Because it is predicated on contemporary patterns, it is one of the most vivid and powerful representations of catastrophe in American literature. It is also one of the few fictive representations of an American proletarian revolution. The financial district is barricaded and attacked, the Demons have been bribed to change sides and bomb the Prince's mercenary army:

¹⁶Donnelly, p. 188.

And, oh, my God! what a scene below, in those closepacked streets, among those gaily dressed multitudes! The dreadful astonishment! The crash - the bang - the explosions; the uproar, the confusion; and, most horrible of all, the inevitable, invisible death by the poison.

The line of the barricade is alive with fire. With my glass I can almost see the dynamite bullets exploding in the soldiers, tearing them to pieces, like internal volcanoes.

An awful terror is upon them. They surge backward and forward; then they rush headlong down the streets. The farther barricades open upon them a hail of death; and the dark shadows above - so well named Demons - slide slowly after them; and drop, drop, drop, the deadly missiles fall again among them.

Back they surge. The poison is growing thicker. They scream for mercy; they throw away their guns; they are panic stricken. They break open the doors of houses and hide themselves. But even here the devilish plan of Prince Cabano is followed out to the very letter. The triumphant mob pour in through the back yards; and they bayonet the soldiers under beds, or in closets, or in cellars; or toss them, alive and shrieking from windows or roofs, down into the deadly gulf below.¹⁷

The aristocrats are murdered, their palaces are ransacked, and their political prisoners are released.

The American proletariat revolution fails because of the basic depravity of all people, "that swarming,

¹⁷Donnelly, p. 254.

writhing, crawling, contentious mass we call humanity."¹⁸ The mass of people is seen as bestial and inherently incapable of changing or forming a government: "a foul and brutal and ravenous multitude it was, dark with dust and sweat, armed with the weapons of civilization, but possessing only the instincts of wild beasts."¹⁹ The leader, Ceasar Lomelini, is drawn in fairy tale proportions: an evil giant, drunken and rapacious. When he sees one of the women from Cabano's harem, Caesar "pursued her, crashing through the shrubbery like an enraged Mammoth, and soon the cripple another Brotherhood leader laughed one of his dreadful laughs - for he saw the giant returning, dragging the fair girl after him, by the hair of her head, as we have seen in the pictures, ogres hauling off captured children to destruction."²⁰ Because of the mob's depravity, it apes the aristocrats it is overthrowing. Workers lose the distinction between good and evil. Donnelly says that because of mankind's depravity, civilization, defined in terms of its legal institutions, has collapsed. "Civilization is gone, and all the devils are

¹⁸Donnelly, p. 243.

¹⁹Donnelly, p. 256.

²⁰Donnelly, p. 263.

loose! No more courts, nor judges, nor constables, nor prisons! That which it took the world ten thousand years to create has gone in an hour."²¹ This explicit attack on anarchism would certainly recall Haymarket Square to the American reader. Working people, as seen by Donnelly are "omnipotent to destroy; they are powerless to create."²²

All that the revolution produces is the column ordered by Caesar Lomelini, for whom millions of bodies are packed in tiers in Union Square and covered with layers of concrete. This is all that remains of American civilization. In a cyclic view of history, progress and synthesis are impossibilities. In Donnelly's view American history ends in authoritarianism and negation. He claims that the history of the world will be slowly repeated. The boldest will soon become chief, and then king. People will then exchange liberty for protection. An aristocracy will arise which will establish culture, until "step by step, mankind will re-enact the great human drama, which begins always with a tragedy, runs

²¹Donnelly, p. 257.

²²Donnelly, p. 258.

through a comedy, and terminates in a catastrophe."²³
For Donnelly, "faith and civilization were incompatible.
Christ was only possible in a barefooted world."²⁴

In Socialism, Utopian and Scientific, Engels uses the term "historical materialism" to designate "that view of the course of history which seeks the ultimate cause and the great moving power of all important historic events in the economic development of society, in the changes in the modes of production and exchange, in the consequent division of society into distinct classes, and in the struggles of these classes against one another."²⁵

Although Donnelly gives the most vivid, if anti-working class, portrait of the realization of this struggle in American literature, the utopia he formulates does not resolve the conditions of the struggle he portrays. The heroes of the fable escape in a Demon to Gabriel's home in the Garden in the mountain where the class system is maintained. The government is organized into branches of workers, manufacturers, and intellectuals. Regarding

²³Donnelly, p. 291.

²⁴Donnelly, p. 295.

²⁵Engels, p. 17.

equal distribution, Gabriel observes: "We shall not seek to produce uniformity of recompense for all kinds of work; for we know that skilled labor is intrinsically worth more than unskilled; and that there are some forms of intellectual toil that are more valuable to the world than any muscular exertion."²⁶ A limited form of private ownership of land and money is decreed by the government. Donnelly's utopia maintains the same powerful organs of church, school, property, and non-representational government which explicitly created the oppression described in the rest of the book. Donnelly's "barefooted" arcadia is not a solution to the urban nightmare nor a useable appendage to his warning of the consequences of economic oppression. Instead, like progressive utopians, he creates a second frontier experience. In Africa there is merely a new world to conquer, to reproduce the cycle of the old. For the moment, it is pre-urban, pre-industrial, and pre-Darwin.

Caesar's Column was an important bestseller. Although originally it was refused publication by the A. C. McClurg Company because the Civil War veteran General McClurg

²⁶Engels, p. 307.

felt that it would incite the disaffected to revolution, it was finally published by a new firm headed by Frances J. Schulte, who agreed with Donnelly that the book was a warning against, rather than an incentive to, revolutionary violence. When it first appeared in 1890 the first 2000 copies were sold within weeks. By June, 1891, Caesar's Column was selling at the rate of 1,000 copies per week. That year 60,000 copies were sold in the U.S. In England, three editions were issued. Translations appeared in Sweden, Germany, and Norway. In addition to its popularity, Caesar's Column was well received by such diverse people as Julian Hawthorne, Francis Willard, and William Gladstone.

Ignatius Donnelly has been largely ignored by literary critics and often defamed by non-Populist historians as a "Prince of Cranks", despite his leadership in the abolitionist and Populist movements. Like Bellamy, Donnelly rejected his legal training and in 1856 emigrated to Minnesota, where he joined Nininger City, a cooperative town which lasted for one year, until the economic collapse of 1857. Donnelly turned from real estate promotion to anti-slavery politics and served three terms in Congress during and after the Civil War. During the seventies he led the Grangers of Minnesota in their war

on the railroads, and by the late 1880s, Donnelly was converted, along with many other farmers, to the principles of Populism. He was evidently a well known and entertaining orator who spoke for a wide variety of local causes. In 1890 the New York Sun remarked that a reform convention in Minnesota without Donnelly would have been "like catfish without waffles in Philadelphia."²⁷ Sympathetic historians such as John Hicks and Walter Rideout characterize Donnelly as a psychological maverick, headstrong, courageous, witty and impractical, with strong desires for social justice, who saw himself as Daniel battling Goliath.

Donnelly's first book, Atlantis: The Antedeluvian World, was a popular study which attempted to prove Plato's story of a sunken Atlantic continent. In an attitude toward history that recurs in Caesar's Column, Donnelly held that Atlantis was the Garden of Eden (the name of Gabriel's utopia) where civilization first developed. Before Atlantis was overwhelmed by a deluge and sunk into the sea its culture spread to other continents. As in Caesar's Column a few survivors escape the

²⁷ John D. Hicks, The Populist Revolt (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska, 1961), p. 163.

catastrophe. By 1890 Atlantis, The Antedeluvian World passed through twenty-three editions in the United States and twenty-six in England. If Atlantis describes a utopia, Ragnorak: The Age of Fire and Gravel, (1883), prefigures the cataclysm in Caesar's Column. Ragnorak is a pseudo-scientific explanation of popular myths of "earth catastrophe". Most of the myths which Donnelly explores reflect patterns of sin, catastrophe and judgement, followed by periods of cold and darkness. With the return of the sun comes the regeneration of mankind.

In 1888 Donnelly published The Great Cryptogram in which he set out to prove, by discovering a hidden cypher, that Francis Bacon wrote all the works previously attributed to Shakespeare, as well as Marlowe's plays, Montaigne's essays, and Burton's Anatomy of Melancholy. Although the book which was published by subscription did not sell well, it initiated a literary war which still provokes controversy.

Despite his literary success Donnelly never ceased to think of himself as an agrarian. In the 1890s he re-entered politics and became a prominent leader of the People's Party. In 1891 Donnelly managed to work out a skillful compromise between such diverse Populists as the Grangers, Prohibitionists, Greenbackers and unionists,

as well as between regional representatives from the Midwest and the South to form the National People's Party. The Populist demands are embodied in many progressive utopias. They include: the abolition of privately owned national banks, the establishment of postal savings banks, direct election of president and senators, universal suffrage, government regulation of railroads and telegraph companies, high income and inheritance taxes, and a national law for an eight hour day.

In 1892 Donnelly published his second utopian romance, The Golden Bottle or The Story of Ephraim Benezet of Kansas.²⁸ This utopia contains in its fable the plight of American farm people, and in its manifesto, most of the demands of the Populist Party. One senses from its preface statement that it is intended for a working class rather than an upper class readership. Although the fable establishes the necessity for Populism, certain fictional techniques render the novel politically useless: the story is only a dream and change comes through magic.

The Golden Bottle is the story of Ephraim Benezet, a scholarly farm boy whose family is to be evicted from

²⁸ Ignatius Donnelly, The Golden Bottle or The Story of Ephraim Benezet of Kansas (New York: D.D. Merrill Co., 1892).

their farm when their mortgage is foreclosed. In a dream an old man, "The Pity of God", gives Ephraim a flask with a liquid that can change iron into gold. Ephraim uses his fluid to secretly create enough gold to redeem all the mortgages for the people of his community who have been charged up to sixty percent interest. Meanwhile, Ephraim hears that his sweetheart, Sophie, who had been forced to move to the city, has been jailed for horse-whipping her employer, a sewing factory owner, when he tried to rape her. Reunited, Sophie and Ephraim form a Women's Cooperative Association through which products produced by women are sold directly to consumers without a middleman or boss absorbing the profits.

Ephraim soon realizes that his ability to create gold could destroy its own value and he appeals to Congress to issue Congressional land loans to farmers at two percent. He warns Congress of a cataclysm unless farmers are given help. Along the lines of Jackson Turner's argument, Ephraim says that the American yeomanry is disappearing because there are no more Americas for a new Columbus to discover. The American West "is the last camping ground of the human family."²⁹ Nevertheless, legislation embody-

²⁹Donnelly, Golden Bottle, p. 126.

ing Ephraim's suggestions is killed in the Senate: "Sixty-five million people on the one side and a small gang of knaves of the other and the knaves won."³⁰

In order to prevent violence Ephraim forms the Brotherhood of Justice, originally proposed by Gabriel in Caesar's Column. Ephraim symbolizes the Populists' ideal government. He creates wealth, redeems mortgages, and builds planned communities with free transport, power, and inexpensive housing. Ephraim is elected president and holds his power by purchasing all the major newspapers. Strikes are thus eliminated because people will not strike against themselves.

Although Americans avert class warfare through the magic bottle, revolution in Europe is inevitable. The clash between the landed aristocracy and the peasants of Europe becomes a Populist crusade justified in the conventional rhetoric of manifest destiny:

Is the mighty republic to stand trembling before the tinsel thrones and the pasteboard crowns, and the insolvent brutes and debauchers who wear them? (tremendous applause) No, no; our flag bears stars of hope for all the world, and its stripes are stripes of blood for the oppressors of humanity. (great cheering)

³⁰Donnelly, p. 147.

God Almighty did not intend that all the fulminations of the Declaration of Independence should be bounded on the east by the Atlantic Ocean and on the west by the Pacific Ocean (cheers) ... There can be no peace so long as a single toiler is denied the fruits of his own industry (thundering cheers) For the first time, the great republic cries out to the humble of all the world: 'The blessings we enjoy should be yours,'³¹

Thus, God has fore-ordained that Russia must fall to the American Populist Republic, "built without hands, save only the hands of the Almighty."³² During the revolution the Russians are "hewn down for God and church," to say nothing of the working class.³³

In America, by contrast, in addition to Ephraim's magic bottle change comes through the innate superiority of the American female: "The race rose with the elevation of the matrix of the race; for the river of humanity cannot ascend above the level of its fountain - women." Although Sophie leads the battle against the Russian aristocracy, her ability to inspire the soldiers depends on her intui-

³¹Donnelly, pp. 204-205.

³²Donnelly, p. 253.

³³Donnelly, p. 201.

tive, emotional, non-rational appeal, all attributes of the conventional sentimental heroine: "there are great influences which cannot be tabulated, which do not appear in your census-tables, with the wheat, the pork, the corn, the dollars, the bonds, but which yet, in the affairs of this world, count for more than all these things put together. They touch, as it were, the female side of the universal nature; men do not think them, they feel them; and when they move through the consciences of a race, they overwhelm nations and overthrow dynasties."³⁴

Three other works of late nineteenth century fiction use vivid descriptions of revolutionary change as warnings of the consequences of continuing the economic and political status quo in America. Like Donnelly, Frank Rosewater also embodies much of the justification for revolution in a Gothic sentimentalized fable. The narrator in A Romance of Utopia (1894), takes a balloon trip to Africa under the influence of a time hallucinogen, "Dr. Ginnewig's Shampoo", where he "discovers" Tsor, a land of impoverished workers and evil aristocrats.³⁵

³⁴Donnelly, p. 108.

³⁵Frank Rosewater, A Romance of Utopia (Omaha, Nebraska: The Utopian Company, 1893).

The narrator, Ross Allison, and his partner, Dr. Ginnewig, discover that the center of the community is the vile debtors' prison, the Kar Tuki. When a prisoner is released from the Kar Tuki, all he can do is join the "kneelers" in the Tok Yim Square who perennially beg for work. Plans for a revolution begin when an ex-prisoner Zuzo exposes the autocratic Prince Urg forrigging an election. In response, Urg captures Zuzo's daughter Meta and locks her in a room filled with venomous serpents. Urg holds Meta for ransom for Zuzo's documents, but Meta kills herself to preserve her virginity. Enraged, Urg hires a snake charmer to poison Meta's mother, who dies appropriately wailing and foaming. While Doctor Ginnewig and Ross escape Tsor and flee to the neighboring utopia of Tismoul, built along Populist lines, the enraged Zuzo organizes a rebellion in the debtor's prison.

The revolution which follows is motivated by Zuzo's revenge on Prince Urg. He urges "a crazed and rampant mob,"³⁶ to burn the churches and government buildings, destroy the prison and vandalize the wealthy. The author, Rosewater, observes, "The terrible reign of inhumanity

³⁶Rosewater, p. 229.

that darkened the city for many days thereafter was but the extension of the rule that had preceded. It was the outgrowth of a society cemented only by force and forced beliefs - a mock realm whose rocks were tinsel and whose truths refused to face scrutiny."³⁷ Hearing of the revolution, Ross returns to Tsor, where he finds a grisly scene of destruction. He sees piles of bodies, "mountains of ruby and vales of ashy darkness, spires of purple and silver seas; there were crimson crags rising up like monster crystals; there were lakes of red that looked like frozen blood and in their bosoms clasped were blackened bodies lying stark and stiff like huge logs sunk there forever."³⁸

The scene of annihilation is followed by a chapter called "The Revelation". In a trance, Ross visits the old prison and sees a charred figure return to life. The spirit is the Wandering Jew, who bears "but tales of woe and sounds of agony."³⁹ Christ appears in the sky and invites the Jew into his "temple of the Ideal". Christ

³⁷ Rosewater, p. 234.

³⁸ Rosewater, p. 241.

³⁹ Rosewater, p. 245.

tells the Jew that "out of the whole again the whole appears - a round continuous - a growth perpetual - the constant resurrection."⁴⁰

The revolution thus is more than a warning. Like Donnelly, Rosewater cannot sustain the image in political terms. Rosewater returns to familiar apocalyptic language of destruction and resurrection to solve the political predicament. Revolution becomes Armageddon. The new life is the eternal life.⁴¹ In the end the neighboring Utopians arrive with food, medical supplies, and an "army of peace" to establish a "utopian dictatorship".⁴² The people of Tsor ultimately choose to unite with the model utopians of Tismoul and Ross awakens from his trip on Dr. Ginnewig's shampoo.

Although Morrison Swift and Harry Salisbury also portray revolutions as warnings of what will happen unless reforms are made, neither author resorts to the conventional terrors of Gothic fiction or evil princes to portray their attitudes toward capitalism or revolution. In

⁴⁰Rosewater, p. 251.

⁴¹Rosewater, pp. 252-253.

⁴²Rosewater, p. 231.

Morrison Swift's A League of Justice (the title recalls Donnelly's "Brotherhood of Justice") is subtitled Is It Right to Rob Robbers?⁴³ Four clerks of wealthy commercial houses decide to steal money from their companies and distribute it to unions. With the help of the Robin Hoods, strikes are won, cooperatives are formed, and fifty new communities are established. Some of the League's money is used to provide free newspapers which carry exposes of malfeasance in religious organizations, educational institutions, political parties, and the judicial system. A League member goes insane and reveals the League's presence to the Army and police who arrest 250,000 people. In an attempt to avert a bloody revolution and avoid the arrests of innocent people, one League member surrenders.

At his trial, he announces that he personally has embezzled \$14 million in his fourteen years. He says that as a whole the League has embezzled several hundred millions of dollars, which, due to the high profit of American corporations, have never been missed. He explains that the League saw their theft as a tax on capitalism.

⁴³ Morrison Swift, A League of Justice or Is It Right to Rob Robbers (Boston: The Commonwealth Society, 1893).

The League member takes the opportunity of his well-publicized trial to appeal to the capitalists for charity and voluntary sharing, in order to avoid revolution. He says that he is not a robber but an agent for the rightful owners.

When the League member is sentenced to life imprisonment and the League's presses and schools are confiscated, violence breaks out. The police accept the League's offer of double pay and join with the people, while the capitalists barricade themselves inside their banks and newspaper buildings. The author asserts that this was not a "play" revolution. The workers have been educated through the efforts of the League and they are now capable of leadership. In panic the capitalists resign, and the original League members are chosen as the political leaders of a new democratic state.

In Miss Worden's Hero Henry Barnard Salisbury portrays scenes of slum life in realistic detail to explain the origins of a proletariat revolution.⁴⁴ Although the vivid language of suffering and poverty is in the tradition of Elizabeth S. Phelps and Rebecca Harding Davis,

⁴⁴Henry B. Salisbury, Miss Worden's Hero or The Birth of Freedom, A Novel (New York: Dillingham Publishers, 1891).

Salisbury's fictional structure is similar to that of W. D. Howells in A Hazard of New Fortunes, wherein the slums are seen through the eyes of wealthy people. Here the protagonist, a prosperous journalist Cecil Lord, takes the wealthy Miss Worden on a tour of the slums, guided by his socialist friends. This upper class perspective has two effects. It validates the horror of the viewers because they are upper class and respectable. Second, it distances the impoverished people. They are the "other", the object to be viewed and analyzed. This perspective assumes a readership which is unfamiliar with slums. This sense of otherness is increased through the language. Slum dwellers speak in heavy foreign dialect, while Mr. Lord and Miss Worden speak in literary prose. The working class socialists whose ideas Salisbury advocates speak in standard English.

As in Caesar's Column, the images of potential violence are linked to descriptions of poverty. Like Gabriel, Cecil Lord attacks revolution as a solution. For example, he sees a poor girl carrying wood and learns that her mother is an invalid, her father is an unemployed dock worker, her sister is a prostitute. When Lord suggests that poor people must themselves "begin the march toward the promised better social system" his guide,

Mason, replies, "I think the Red Sea business, the swallowing up of plutocrats and man starvers, will be about the first notice that the march has begun." Lord responds, "There must be no violence ... it will only delay the final triumph. Besides, show the disinherited that there is a future for their children, and they will endure present discomfort."⁴⁵

Cecil Lord's and Miss Warden's tour continues in the marketplace where they see the sale of rancid food, children eating scraps, a poor huckster urgently beating an old horse, and a Christian doss house turning away old men. The socialists tell Lord that religion is no solution as long as wealthy churches establish slum missions which preach the "gospel of contentment". The socialists also attack the party system which creates sham fights to prevent the working people from building a real people's party. Finally, they show that capitalists have opened rum shops which also keep the working class contented.

After the tour, Lord is invited to attend a secret "radical" meeting in which alternative proposals of patience, violence, rent strikes or an organized general

⁴⁵Salisbury, pp. 127-128.

strike are debated. Lord pleads with the men to utilize education instead of force. He urges them to agitate, and suggests that seventy million educated workers "who have been robbed of their rightful inheritance" can easily outweigh one hundred thousand millionaires. If at that point the capitalists continue to use violence, then their position of revolution would be justified. Salisbury is appealing both to the left and the right.

While the leaders are debating, government spies give the secret signal to start an attack. The workers are unorganized and the leaders are taken by surprise. The violence is vicious and total. When Lord hears that a prominent socialist has been arrested, to prevent further violence he tries to negotiate for his release. Lord is himself arrested, tortured, and exiled to the mines of Alaska, while a capitalist military dictatorship takes over America.

In Alaska, Lord, now only known as prisoner #912, loses his faculty of speech. His mind gives way and #912 goes mad. After many years, a strange vessel arrives to release the exiles and establish cooperatives for those who wish to remain. Lord stays in Alaska, slowly recovering his mental and physical strength. After thirty years he becomes the manager of a salmon canning factory.

One day he is recognized by an old socialist friend who returns him to America, now called "Uncle Sam's Farm", a modernized technological egalitarian utopia.

Thus, the plans for a socialist revolution paradoxically result in a brutal military dictatorship. As an alternative to revolution, Salisbury outlines the fall of the dictatorship:

Selfishness always defeats itself. In the greedy race for wealth they [capitalists] trampled down so many that formerly stood with them, and reduced their numbers so effectually by the process of 'big fish eating little ones', that they became frightened at their own weakness, and thousands of them accepted the new order as inevitable. The people finally rose en masse, and all who were willing to recognize the new system became equal with all other citizens, while those who refused were banished the country, and have scattered through the wild and uncivilized portions of the globe. The millionaire has ceased to exist in modern civilization.⁴⁶

This is an argument for stasis. Paradoxically an egalitarian state emerges from the continuation of the competitive and privatistic patterns of capitalism. Miss Worden's Hero provides no positive model for social change. Its function is to warn the working classes that a violent revolution would be brutally defeated.

⁴⁶Salisbury, p. 131.

I have found only one American author who claims that revolution is a necessary phase in political evolution. In an eclectic and at times contradictory vision, Albert A. Merrill in The Great Awakening justifies revolution on the grounds that capitalists use technology to control masses of people.⁴⁷ When the capitalists launch flying machines which carry gun powder bombs, the "slaughter" of the upper classes becomes a pre-requisite for social change.

This then is not an economically determined situation, but rather, a result of the militaristic trends of industrial technology. Merrill announces that he is not a socialist, his policies in fact are consistent with the tenets of "laissez-faire". Borrowing an argument from Adam Smith, he denounces plans for government ownership, claiming that prosperity requires conditions in which industry is free from government interference. Revolution also violates the principles of laissez-faire which assert that stability is necessary for the greatest production of wealth.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ Albert A. Merrill, The Great Awakening: The Story of the Twenty-Second Century (Boston: George Book Publishing Co., 1899).

⁴⁸ Merrill, pp. 206-209.

Merrill's pre-revolutionary state attempts a balance of laissez-faire and the equal distribution of wealth which he terms a "pure democracy". This contradictory amalgam state developed through a Darwinistic rationale: it "had a place in evolution, and that so long as people thought it a just system, just so long as those people were unfit to live in a better civilization."⁴⁹ Nonetheless, it had to be maintained by a vast corps of aerial policemen.

Capitalism, according to Merrill, gave mankind technology and leisure; it led to increased knowledge, which led to increased aspirations. Through these expansionist tendencies, capitalism eventually occupied the entire globe. When there was no longer any place to escape capitalism the ruling class had to be overthrown. Ironically the revolution begins when the masses obtain the flying machine for themselves. It ends, paradoxically, with a return to expansionist principles. Russia falls to the American revolutionaries, the Chinese are annihilated, "the Anglo Saxon race quickly overspread the earth, and war ceased forever."⁵⁰

⁴⁹Merrill, p. 252.

⁵⁰Merrill, p. 338.

Avoiding political and economic concerns, Mrs. C. H. Stone portrays a post-utopian revolution in One of Berrian's Novels to attack the notion that utopia necessitates "great monotony of character and incident, and a lack of all incentive to action."⁵¹ She assumes the role of the utopian novelist "Berrian" in the world of Looking Backward to show, "such a state of society as Mr. B. portrays would never be achieved without such strength of character as would of itself make monotony impossible."⁵² Mrs. Stone introduces a revolutionary conspiracy to solve the problems of plot and characterization in a world of equality and uniformity. Revolution is used to activate the utopian novel. For Mrs. Stone, revolutionary desire is also a manifestation of latent individualism which challenges the required conformism of a utopian collective. Ultimately, the atavistic male revolutionary assumes ~~on~~ the qualities of a Gothic villain and is destroyed; the rebellious female gratefully submits to the utopian norms.

Mrs. C. H. Stone follows the fictional paradigm blatantly represented in the very popular domestic novel

⁵¹Mrs. C. H. Stone, One of Berrian's Novels, preface.

⁵²Ibid.

Tempest and Sunshine. One of Berrian's Novels is the story of two women, Fleur de Lys and Theo. Lys works at the College for Psychical Regeneration, a psychological retraining center where characters who show rebellious or individualistic tendencies are taught to conform and are restored "to their rightful equality."⁵³ Lys learns to reject her non-conformist patient Cesco Arles, and to overcome her drive to "answer incomprehensible questions."⁵⁴ In the end she marries the representative of utopian normalcy, the hero Regnier. Theo, in contrast to Lys, has black hair, dark eyes, and a working class ancestry that fought "its way up in the sultry march of earlier ages."⁵⁵ "Her dark eyes were an unuttered prayer, which her lips disclaimed always, with a proud smile of unvarying determinism to conquer fate itself."⁵⁶ The blond Lys is seen as the sun who achieves success, while Theo is the night whose ideal has always vanished in the distance.

Like Theo, Cesco Arles suffers a "psychic incapacity".

⁵³ Stone, p. 39.

⁵⁴ Stone, p. 92.

⁵⁵ Stone, p. 50.

⁵⁶ Stone, p. 51.

Cesco's illness is repeatedly seen in his attempts to assert his individuality: "No," he declared, "I have no interest in Professor Hartz's last lecture. Why should I be interested in having it proved that only our subconsciousness has become sufficiently identified with our individuality to survive after death. My conscious self is all that interests me. If that is to fade away into nothingness, what use have I for anything else?"⁵⁷ Cesco is "the handsome animal", the natural man, impetuous, passionate, even cruel, happiest playing with children and animals. He has genetically inherited the vices and weaknesses of physicality. Cesco has passion whereas Lys has "supremacy of Ego" and "a pale ghost of a power to know what love is."⁵⁸ Like Theo, Cesco will ultimately be unable to break his hereditary bonds and advance toward an inorganic sentient universe predicted by the utopian scientist Prof. Hartz.

A nineteenth century library which has just been opened to the utopian public has become a Pandora's box of theories of individualism, competition, and romanticism.

⁵⁷ Stone, p. 98.

⁵⁸ Stone, p. 108.

One woman discovers a love song there, "an ecstatic flight of passion, whose irresistable poison crazes the brain and saps all high energy."⁵⁹ The old books reveal to the utopians that "there was really a time when humanity believed that their crude fancies could surpass the realities of this veritable fairyland of Life and Law, and dreaded to enter its white, strong light lest they should find it too practical; as though it were not the practical alone that makes the grand poem of the universe possible; as though Romance itself could be truly romantic, unless it conformed in every respect to the practical."⁶⁰ The utopian society forbids authors to read fiction, suggesting that the strength of imaginative projection is more powerful than the rhetoric of political theory. Novelists must rely solely on the "alphabet of existence", and construct new fictive combinations from the "laws" of environment.

Cesco joins a revolutionary conspiracy, which is plotted in a secret room of the old library. The plan

⁵⁹ Stone, p. 133.

⁶⁰ Stone, p. 152.

is to destroy the city and assassinate the heads of government. The conspirators abhor social and sexual equality, regulation of activity, and the insignificance of physicality. They attack their utopia's premise that freedom represents the transcendence of physical needs. The conspirators want to escape from a life of sentience and spiritualism, which is seen as the pre-determined course of evolutionary tendencies. Stone asserts that the revolutionaries are trying to arrest the laws of evolution through individual strength.

As in the other works of utopian fiction, the urban revolution takes its form from the Gothic novel. Cesco escapes from the institute and hides in a stairway in the library on the night of insurrection. Disguised as a messenger Cesco captures Lys and says that his true revolutionary motive is to possess her. Lys escapes and sends a note to Regnier, which she ties to his dog with a lock of her hair. Cesco recaptures her and imprisons her in the library. Regnier and Theo rescue Lys from Cesco ("the treachery of all his Italian ancestry glared out of his eyes") who stabs Theo by mistake. In repentance, Cesco kills himself and Regnier swears, in the finest sentimental rhetoric, "Oh! shame upon the manhood that knows not how to keep the serpent out of his Eden,

or to protect the woman who makes his happiness her life, as I shall henceforth protect you, my darling!"⁶¹ Without Cesco the revolution in St. Louis of 1997 fails. The novel ends, abruptly, with Lys announcing her acceptance of Regnier and his world.

That Mrs. C. H. Stone is forced to return to Gothic devices for her revolution is necessitated by the basic pre-conceptions of utopian socialism. The problems of boredom, cerebralism, and stasis which she describes result from the utopian assumption that socialism is the end of history, the end of material change. However, her portrayal of the scientist Prof. Hartz who invents a giant aolian harp played by the psychic energies of the entire city of St. Louis, or of Deane Standish, Lys' brother who is continuously trying to improve his electric car, shows, ~~however~~, that the material world of science and art is limitless. Stone is unable to synthesize her view of politics, which is terminal with her view of technology, which is progressive. Utopian socialism fails to recognize that future conditions will lead to future goals.

⁶¹ Stone, p. 208.

For Mrs. Stone, in the attainment of outward good, utopia represents suffocation, pacification, and stasis; there is nothing left to desire. This poses serious consequences for utopian art. The frustration which creates the artistic energy is absent. Furthermore art is an expression of the economic and political schema and an instrument for encouraging change or maintaining oppression. Utopia, however is flat, egalitarian, and permanent. There are no oppressors and no oppressed. Whence art? In 1884 William James wrote in "The Dilemma of Determination": "Everyone must at some time have wondered at that strange paradox of our moral nature, that, though the pursuit of outward good is the breath of its nostrils, the attainment of outward good would seem to be its suffocation and death. Why does the painting of any paradise or utopia in heaven or on earth, awaken such yawnings for nirvana and escape."

The utopian response is limited by nineteenth century definition of acceptable topics for art and by the utopian attitude toward history and change. In Looking Backward Bellamy saw this dilemma but found no conclusion. Julian writes in his diary: "I sat up in my room that night reading Penthesilia, [a novel written in "utopian" times] ... The story writers of my day would have deemed

the making of bricks without straw a light task compared with the construction of a romance from which should be excluded all effects drawn from the contrasts of wealth and poverty, education and ignorance, coarseness and refinement, high and low, all motives drawn from social pride and ambition the desire of being richer or the fear of being poorer ... a romance in which there should indeed be love galore, but love unfretted by artificial barriers created by differences of station or possessions."⁶²

For Bellamy, like Mrs. C. H. Stone, fiction is romance in its most literal sense; love. Bellamy proceeds on the nineteenth century assumption that fiction represents a social rather than psychological environment. Aside from "love galore" Bellamy gives no indication of the internal content or conflict in Penthesilia.

The literary theoretician Ernst Fischer has demonstrated that in a class society various classes have tried to recruit art, "that powerful voice of the collective", to serve their particular purposes. The fable sections of utopian fiction are based on the domestic novel, and advocate the goals of wealth, status, and

⁶²Stone, p. 122.

female subservience. Fischer suggests that from the time of the division of labor, the function of the artist was "to guide individual life back into collective life, the personal into the universal; to restore the lost unity of man ... The feeling that was present from the outset and came up again and again during the process of differentiation and class division was the fear of hubris, the belief that man had lost all balance and measure and that the birth of individuality inevitably led to tragic guilt."⁶³ Mrs. C. H. Stone leads her utopian heroine Lys back to the shared values of the collective and destroys Cesco Arles for his prideful individuality.

Before Stone reduces Cesco to a Gothic villain, she touches on a problem of socialist art which absorbed Russian artists in the 1930s and Chinese artists in the 1940s and 50s. Despite the utopian assumption of human perfectibility, character developed in bourgeoisie or aristocratic societies will not be automatically transformed by the succeeding presence of an egalitarian system. Because Stone accepts the utopian attitude toward change, which is change by fiat, she cannot show characters participating in the transformation of reality,

⁶³ Stone, p. 43.

which, as Georg Lukacs suggests, leads to the real transformation of character. Rather than representing a real struggle between representatives of different systems, Stone blames bourgeois ideas on uneven genetic development in certain atavistic characters. This ratifies, through characterization, her assertion that her particular brand of utopian socialism is pre-determined. Thus, Lys' conversion need not be explained.

Stone's problem in defining a socialist "incentive to action" arises from her attitude toward freedom. Cesco explains to Lys that their freedom from a life devoted to physical survival has developed into a freedom from all physicality. Stone assumes that freedom in utopia will allow for the evolutionary development of a physical cerebral "Egos". Although they could not embody it in action a few utopians, such as W. H. Bishop in The Garden of Eden or Bellamy in Looking Backward, have shown in their manifesto sections that freedom from a life organized for mere survival permits opportunities for work and leisure which are personally fulfilling. They assume that humanity is not only perfectable, but also creative. By resorting to a literary formula which requires a certain ending Stone never resolves the serious issues of utopianism raised by Cesco.

The villain is stabbed but not defeated. Both politically and artistically, her revolution becomes an illegitimate simplification of the problems of art, activity, and change in utopian societies. Stone's resolution, "the attainment of outward good", is analogous to the position of utopian socialism itself: the resolution is non-dialectical and premature.

Revolutions in utopian fiction mirror the situation of utopias in capitalism. They both reflect and transcend the culture from which they arise. Ultimately their traditional sources negate their radical potential. The pseudo-scientific nature of nineteenth century American utopias, like the revolutions they portray, undermines the positive contribution of utopianism: the critique of American monopoly capitalism through the fictional crystallization of an egalitarian future. Both phenomena, the utopias and their premature revolutions, are constructed from contemporary fears and wishes, but the futuristic visions which embody them are, paradoxically, modelled on fantasies of the American past.

The movement of American utopian fiction arose from the disharmony and dislocation of political capitalism. It offered a model for the transformation of society before the reality counterpart of its solutions existed.

Both the literary and political structures are, in the final analysis, traditional, although the tendencies and energies for the fantasies were prompted by the activities of labor, farmers, and women. The crystallization of the utopian dream likewise shared their fate, becoming victim to the powerful realities of capitalism and imperialism. In one sense the movement of utopian literature masked the agony of the times from which it arose, while it explicitly attacked the repressive institutions of existing society. By concretizing the unrealized and unfulfilled egalitarian tendencies of the nineteenth century, utopian fiction encouraged the American tradition of possibility, design, and struggle.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. Utopian Fiction in America 1880-1900

- Adams, Frederick Upham. President John Smith; The Story of A Peaceful Revolution. Chicago: Charles H. Kerr Company, 1897.
- Allen, Henry Francis. The Key of Industrial Cooperative Government, by "Pruning Knife". St. Louis: Published by author, 1886.
- Allen, Henry Francis. Strange Voyage. (pseud. Pruning Knife). St. Louis, Missouri: The Monitor Publishing Company, 1891.
- Anon. The Beginning, A Romance of Chicago As It Might Be. Chicago: Charles H. Kerr Company, Volume 6 of The Library of Progress, 1893.
- Anon. Man or Dollar, Which? A Novel By A Newspaper Man. Chicago: Charles H. Kerr Company, 1896.
- Astor, John Jacob. A Journey in Other Worlds: A Romance of the Future. New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1894.
- Bachelor, John. A.D. 2050. Electrical Development at Atlantis by a Former Resident of the Hub. San Francisco: The Bancroft Co., 1890.
- Badger, Joseph E. Jr. The Lost City. Boston: Dana, Estes and Co., 1898.
- Ballou, William Hosea. The Bachelor Girl: A Novel of 1400. New York: Lovell Publishing Co., 1890.
- Bartlett, J. W. B. A New Aristocracy, by Birch Arnold. Detroit, Michigan: The Bartlett Publishing Co., 1891.
- Bayne, Charles J. The Face of Utopia. Boston: Eastern Publishing Company, no date.
- Bellamy, Charles Joseph. An Experiment in Marriage. Albany, New York: Albany Book Co., 1889.

- Bellamy, Edward. Equality. New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1897.
- Bellamy, Edward. Looking Backward: 2000-1887. Boston: Ticknor and Co., 1888.
- Bird, Arthur. Looking Forward, A Dream of the United States of the Americas in 1999. 1899 reprint. New York: Arno Press and New York Times, 1973.
- Bishop, William H. The Garden of Eden, USA, A Very Possible Story. Chicago: Charles H. Kerr Company, 1895.
- Bouve, Edward T. Centuries Apart. Boston: Little Brown and Co., 1894.
- Bradshaw, William R. The Goddess of Atvatabar. New York: J. F. Douthitt Co., 1892.
- Braine, Robert D. Messages from Mars; by Aid of the Telescope Planet. New York: J. S. Ogilvie, 1892.
- Brooks, Byron A. Earth Revisited. Boston: Arena Publishing Co., 1894.
- Browne, Walter. 2894; or, The Fossil Man: A Midwinter's Night Dream. New York: Dillingham Co., 1894.
- Call, Henry L. The Coming Revolution. Boston: Arena Publishing Co., 1895.
- Caryl, Charles W. New Era; Presenting the Plans for the New Era Union to Help Develop and Utilize the Best Skill There Is Available to realize the Highest Degree of Prosperity that is Possible for all who will Help to attain It - Based on Practical and Successful Business Methods. Denver, Colorado: The New Era Union, 1897.
- Casey, James. A New Moral World, and a New State of Society. Providence, Rhode Island: Published by the author, 1885.
- Caswell, Edward A. Toil and Self, by Myself and Another. Chicago: Rand, McNalley and Co., 1900.

- Centennius, Ralph. The Dominion in 1983. Peterborough, Canada: Tober and Co., 1883.
- Chamberlain, Henry R. 6000 Tons of Gold. Meadville, Pa.: Flood and Vincent, 1894.
- Chambers, Julius. "In Sargasso" Missing. New York: The Trans-Atlantic Publishing Co., 1896.
- Chambers, Robert W. The Maker of Moons. New York: Putnams, 1896.
- Chavannes, Albert. The Future Commonwealth, or What Samuel Balcom Saw in Socioland. New York: True Nationalist Publishing Co., 1892.
- Chavannes, Albert. In Brighter Climes, or Life in Socioland, A Realistic Novel. Knoxville, Tennessee: Chavannes and Co., 1895.
- Child, William Stanley. The Legal Revolution of 1902. Reprint, 1898. New York: Arno Press and New York Times, 1973.
- Clarke, F. H. The Co-opolitan, 1898.
- Colburn, Frona E. W. Yermah, the Dorado. The Story of A Lost Race. San Francisco: W. Doxey, 1897.
- Cole, Cyprus. The Aurorophone. Chicago: Charles H. Kerr Company, 1890.
- Coste, F. H. P. Towards Utopia. Frank Hill Perry, 1894.
- Cowan, James. Daybreak. A Romance of An Old World. New York: George H. Richmond and Co., 1896.
- Craig, Alexander. Ionia, Land of Wise Men and Fair Women. Chicago: E. A. Weeks Co., 1898.
- Cridge, Alfred Denton. Utopia; or, The History of an Extinct Planet. Oakland, California: Winchester and Pew Printers, 1884.
- Crocker, Samuel. That Island. A Political Romance by Theodore Oceanic Islet. Oklahoma City: C. E. Streeter and Co., 1892.

- Daniel, Charles. Ai. A Social Vision. Philadelphia: Miller Publication Co., 1892.
- Dodd, Anna Bowman. The Republic of the Future, or Socialism a Reality. New York: Cassell and Co., 1887.
- Donnelly, Ignatius. Caesar's Column, by Edmond Boisgibert. Chicago: F. J. Schulte and Co., 1890. Reprint. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1960.
- Donnelly, Ignatius. The Golden Bottle, or The Story of Ephraim Benezet of Kansas. New York and St. Paul: D. D. Merrill and Co., 1892.
- Dooner. Pierton W. The Last Days of the Republic. San Francisco: Alta California Publishing Co., 1880.
- Doughty, Francis W. Mirrikh, or a Woman From Mars. New York: Burleigh and Johnston, 1892.
- Edson, Milan C. Solaris Farm: A Story of the Twentieth Century. Washington, D.C.: published by the author, 1900.
- Emmens, Stephen H. The Sixteenth Amendment: A Plain Citizen. New York: 1896.
- Everett, Henry L. The People's Program; The Twentieth Century is Theirs. A Romance of the Expectations of the Present Generations. New York: Workmen's Publishing Co., 1892.
- Farnell, George. Rev. Josiah Hilton, The Apostle of the New Age. Providence, R.I.: Journal of Commerce Co., no date.
- Fiske, Amos K. Beyond the Bourne: Reports of a Traveler Returned from the Undiscovered Country, Submitted to the World. New York: Fords, Howard and Hulbert, 1891.
- Fitch, Thomas and Anna M. Better Days; or A Millionaire of To-morrow. New ed. rev. Chicago: F. J. Schulte and Company, 1892.
- Flower, Benjamin O. Equality of Brotherhood. Boston: 1897.

- Forbush, Zebina. The Co-opolitan; A Story of the Cooperative Commonwealth of Idaho. Chicago: Charles H. Kerr Co., 1898.
- Fuller, Alvarado M. A.D. 2000. Chicago: Laird and Lee, 1890.
- Galloway, James. M. John Harvey, A Tale of the Twentieth Century by Anon Moore. Chicago: Charles H. Kerr Co., 1897.
- Gaston, Henry A. Mars Revealed; or Seven Days in the Spirit World. San Francisco: A. L. Bancroft and Co., 1880.
- Geissler, Ludwig A. Looking Beyond: A Sequel to Looking Backward and an Answer to Looking Forward. New Orleans: L. Graham and Sons, 1891.
- Giles, Fayette Stratton. Shadows Before, or A Century Onward. New York: Humbolt Publishing Co., 1894.
- Griffin, Crawford S. Nationalism. Boston: published by author, 1889.
- Grigsby, Alcanoan Q. Negua, or The Problem of the Ages, by Jack Adams. Topeka, Kansas: Equity Publishing Co., 1900.
- Hale, Edward Everett. How They Lived in Hampton, A Study of Practical Christianity Applied in the Manufacture of Woolens. Boston: J. S. Smith and Co., 1888.
- Harben, William N. The Land of the Changing Sun. New York: The Merriam Co., 1894.
- Harben, William. "In the Year 10,000!" The Arena, 1892.
- Harris, George. Inequality and Progress. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1897.
- Harris, Thomas Lake. The New Republic, A Discourse of the Prospects, Dangers, Duties and Safeties of the Times. Santa Rosa, Calif.: Fountaingrove Press, 1891.

Hawthorne, Julian. "June, 1993", 1893.

Hertzka, Theodor. Freeland; a Social Anticipation.
Translated by Arthur Ransom. New York: D. Appleton
and Co., 1891.

Heywood, D. Herbert. The Twentieth Century. A Prophecy
of the Coming Age. Boston: no publisher given, 1890.

Holford, Castello N. Aristopia. Boston: Arena Publish-
ing Co., 1895.

Howard, Albert W. M. Auburre Hovorre The Milltillionaire.
Boston: No publisher given, 1895.

Howells, William D. A Traveller From Altruria. New York:
Harper's, 1894, reprinted in Howells, William Dean.
The Altrurian Romances. Bloomington, Indiana:
Indiana University Press, 1968.

Howells, William Dean. Through the Eye of the Needle.
Reprinted in The Altrurian Romances. Bloomington,
Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1968.

Lane, Mary E. Mizora: a Prophecy. A Manuscript found
among the private papers of the Princess Vera Fara-
vitch: being a true and faithful account of her
journey to the interior of the earth with a care-
description of the country and its inhabitants,
their customs, manners, and government. New York:
G. W. Dillingham, 1889.

Leggett, M. D. A Dream of a Modest Prophet. Philadel-
phia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1890.

Lockwood, Ingersoll. 1900, or the Last President. New
York: The American News Co., 1896.

Lockwood, John. Hi-Li, the Moon Man. Brooklyn: No
publisher given, 1896.

Lloyd, John Uri. Editorpha. Second edition. Cincinna-
ti: The Robert Clarke Co., 1896.

Macnie, John. The Diothas; or, A Look Far Ahead, by Is-
mar Thiussen. New York: G. P. Putnams, 1883.

- McDougall, Walter H. The Hidden City. New York: Cassell Publishing Co., 1891.
- Mason, Caroline A. A Woman of Yesterday. New York: Doubleday, Page, and Co., 1900.
- Mendes, H. Pereira. Looking Ahead, Twentieth Century Happenings. 1899 reprint. New York: Arno Press and New York Times, 1973.
- Merrill, Albert Adams. The Great Awakening. The Story of the Twenty-Second Century. Boston: George Book Publishing Co., 1899.
- Michaelis, Richard. Looking Further Forward: A Sequel to Looking Backward. Chicago: Rand, McNally and Co., 1890.
- Miller, Joaquin. The Building of the City Beautiful. Cambridge and Chicago: Stone and Kimball, 1894.
- Mitchell, John Ames. The Last American. No publishing date or publisher given, 1889.
- Mitchell, Willis. The Inhabitants of Mars, Their Manners and Advancement in Civilization and Their Opinion of Us. Malden, Mass.: C. E. Spofford and Co., 1895.
- Moore, M. Louise. Al-Modad, or Life Scenes beyond the Polar Circumflex, by An Untrammelled Free-Thinker. Cameron Parish, Louisiana: published by the author, 1892.
- Mundo, Oto. The Recovered Continent; A Tale of the Chinese Invasion. Columbus, Ohio: Harper-Osgood, 1898.
- Niswonger, Charles E. The Isle of Feminine. Little Rock, Arkansas: Brown Printing Co., 1894.
- Oberholtzer, Ellis Paxson. The New Man. Philadelphia: Levytype Co., 1897.
- Olerich, Henry. A Cityless and Countryless World; an Outline of Practical Co-operative Individualism. Holstein, Iowa: published by the author, 1893.

- Peck, Bradford. The World A Department Store. A Story of Life Under the Cooperative System. Lewiston, Maine: published by the author, 1900.
- Phelps, Corwin. An Ideal Republic, or The One Way Out of the Fog. Chicago: no publisher given, 1896.
- Phelps, E. S. Beyond the Gates. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1883.
- Persinger, Charles Edward. Letters from New America: or, An Attempt at Practical Socialism. Chicago: Charles H. Kerr Company, 1900.
- Rehm, Warren S. The Practical City. A Future City Romance; or a Study in Environment, by Owen Nemo. Lancaster, Pa.: The Lancaster County Magazine, 1898.
- Reynolds, Thomas. Prefaces and Notes Illustrative, Explanatory, Demonstrative, Argumentative and Expostulatory to Edward Bellamy's Book Looking Backward. London: Thomas Reynolds Co., 1890.
- Roberts, J. W. Looking Within. The Misleading Tendencies of "Looking Backward" Made Manifest. New York: A. S. Barnes and Co., 1893.
- Rosewater, Frank. '96; A Romance of Utopia. Omaha: The Utopia Co., 1894.
- Russell, Addison Peale. Sub-Coelum. A Sky-Built Human World. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1893.
- Salisbury, Henry Barnard. The Birth of Freedom or Miss Worden's Hero. New York: Humboldt Publishing Co., 1894.
- Sanders, George A. Reality, or Law and Order vs. Anarchy and Socialism: A Reply to Edward Bellamy's Looking Backward and Equality, A Collection of Indignant Essays. No publisher given, 1887.
- Satterlee, W. W. Looking Backward and What I Saw. Reprint, Second edition, 1890. New York: Arno Press and New York Times, 1973.

- Schindler, Solomon. Young West. A Sequel to Edward Bellamy's Celebrated Novel "Looking Backward". Boston: Arena Publishing Co., 1894.
- Sheldon, Charles M. In His Steps, "What Would Jesus Do?" Chicago: Advance Publishing Co., 1896.
- Simpson, William. The Man From Mars, His Morals, Politics and Religion, by Thomas Blot. San Francisco: Bacon and Co., 1891.
- Smith, Titus K. Altruria. 1895 reprint. New York: Arno Press and New York Times, 1973.
- Smythe, Alfred. Van Hoff; or The New Planet. New York: American Publishers, 1897.
- Stone, Mrs. C. H. One of Berrian's Novels. New York: Welch, Fracker, Co., 1890.
- Swift, Morrison I. A League of Justice, or Is It Right to Rob Robbers? Boston: The Commonwealth Society, 1893.
- Tincker, Mary Agnes. San Salvador. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1892.
- Thomas, Chauncey M. The Crystal Button, or The Adventure of Paul Prognosis in the Forty-Ninth Century. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1891.
- Twain, Mark. "The Curious Republic of Gondour". Atlantic Monthly 36, October, 1875, pp. 461-463.
- ["Two Women of the West"] "Unveiling A Parallel." Boston: Arena Publishing Co., 1893.
- Vinton, Arthur Dudley. Looking Further Backward, Being a Series of Lectures Delivered to the Freshman Class at Shawmut College by Professor Wong Lung Li. Albany: The Albany Book Co., 1890.
- Waterloo, Stanley. Armageddon. A Tale of Love, War, and Invention. Chicago: Rand, McNalley and Co., 1898.
- Welcome, S. Byron. From Earth's Center. A Polar Gateway Message. Chicago: Charles H. Kerr Co., 1894.

Wellman, B. J. The Legal Revolution of 1902, by A Law-Abiding Revolutionist. Chicago: Charles H. Kerr Co., 1898.

Wheeler, David H. Our Industrial Utopia and Its Unhappy Citizens. Chicago: A. C. McClurg and Co., 1895.

Wilbrandt, Conrad. Mr. East's Experiences in Mr. Bellamy's World. Records of the Years 2001-2002. Translated from German by Mary Joanna Safford. New York: Harpers, 1891.

Windsor, William. Loma; A Citizen of Venus. St. Paul, Minnesota: Windsor and Lewis, 1897.

Worley, Frederick U. Three Thousand Dollars a Year: Moving Forward or How We Got There, by Benefice. Washington, D.C.: J. P. Wright, Printer, 1890.

II. A Partial List of Works of American Utopian Fiction Exclusive of Decades 1880-1900

A. American utopian fiction published 1670-1880

1670 Denton, Daniel. A Brief Description of New York: Formerly Called New Netherlands.

1819 Clopper, Jonas. Fragments of the History of Bawlfiedonia: Containing an Account of the Discovery, and Settlement of the Great Southern Continent; and of the Formation and Progress of the Bawlfiedonian Commonwealth. By Herman Thawackius pseud Translated from the original Bawlfiedonian manuscript into the French language by M. Traducteur and rendered into English by a citizen of America [Baltimore?].

1824 Sedgwick, Catharine. Redwood: A Tale.

1827 [Tucker, George.] A Voyage to the Moon: with some account of the Manners and Customs, Science and Philosophy of the People of Morosofia, and other Lunarians By Joseph Atterley.

1828 Sanford, Ezekiel. The Humors of Eutopia; A Tale of Colonial Times By a Eutopian.

- 1833 Hawthorne, Nathaniel. "Canterbury Pilgrims" in The Token and Atlantic Souvenir.
- 1836 Griffith, Mary. "Three Hundred Years Hence" in Camperdown; or News from our Neighborhood.
- 1840 Cabet, Etienne. The Voyage and Adventures of Lord William Carisdale in Icaria.
- 1845 Judd, Sylvester. Margaret: A Tale of the Real and the Ideal.
- 1846 Melville, Herman. Typee.
- 1849 Melville, Herman. Mardi.
- 1847 Cooper, James Fenimore. The Crater; or Vulcan's Peak. A Tale of the Pacific.
- 1850 Judd, Sylvester. Richard Edney and the Governor's Family - An Urban Tale.
- 1852 Hawthorne, Nathaniel. The Blithedale Romance.
- 1856 Moore, David A. The Age of Progress.
- 1860 Lookup, Alexander. The Road Made Plain to Fortune for the Millions: or, The Popular Pioneer to Universal Prosperity.
- 1860 Lookup, Alexander. Excelsior, or The Heir Apparent.
- 1863 Lum, Dyer D. Equality; or, a history of Lithconia.
- 1864 Blanchard, Calvin. The Art of Real Pleasure.
- 1866 Davis, Rebecca Harding. "The Harmonists".
- 1868 Freelance, Radical Esq. (Pseud.) The Philosophers of Foufouville.
- 1869 Hale, Edward Everett. Sybaris and other Homes.
- 1874 Howland, Marie. Papa's Own Girl.

- 1876 Collens, T. Wharton. The Eden of Labor; or, The Christian Utopia.
- 1869 Phelps, E. S. The Gates Ajar.
- 1870 Anon. Lifting the Veil.
- 1870 Hale, Edward Everett. Ten Times One is Ten, The Possible Reformation, by Colonel Frederic Ingham.
- 1870 Holcombe, W. H. In Both Worlds.
- 1874 Trammell, William D. Ca Ira.
- 1876 Collens, T. Wharton. The Eden of Labor.
- IIB. American Utopian Fiction Published 1900-1946
- 1901 Taylor, William Alex. Intermero.
- 1901 McGrady, Thomas. Beyond the Black Ocean.
- 1901 Frisbie, Henry S. Prophet of the Kingdom.
- 1901 Bennet, Robert Ames. Thyra, A Romance of the Polar Pit.
- 1902 Wooldridge, C. W. Perfecting the Earth.
- 1902 Devinne, Paul. The Day of Prosperity: A Vision of the Century to Come.
- 1903 Noto, Cosimo. The Ideal City.
- 1904 Davis, Nathan (Capt.) Beulah; or a Parable of Social Regeneration.
- 1905 Harris, W. S. Life in a Thousand Worlds.
- 1906 Parry, David M. The Scarlet Empire.
- 1908 Hatfield, Richard. Geyserland.
- 1908 Steere, C. A. When Things Were Doing.

- 1909 Teed, Cyrus R. (Lord Chester pseud.) The Great Red Dragon or the Flaming Devil.
- 1909 Phelps, George H. (P. Q. Tangent pseud.) The New Columbia; or the Re-united States.
- 1909 Kirwan, Thomas. (William Wonder pseud.) Reciprocity in the 30th Century.
- 1909 Brant, John Ira. The New Regime A.D. 2202.
- 1911 Schuette, H. George. Anthonia, or the Original 400.
- 1911 Gilman, Charlotte Perkins. Moving the Mountain.
- 1911 Swift, Morrison I. Horroboos.
- 1911 Anon. Our Sister Republic.
- 1911 Horner, Jacob W. (Dr. W. H. Sensey pseud.) Military Socialism.
- 1912 Brinsmade, Herman Hine. Utopia Achieved: A Novel of the Future.
- 1912 House, Edward M. Philip Dru: Administrator; a Story of Tomorrow.
- 1913 Hayes, Jeff W. Paradise on Earth A.D. 1999.
- 1915 Stauffer, Mack. Humanity and the Mysterious Knight.
- 1915 Henry, Walter O. Equitania, or the Land of Equity.
- 1919 Marshall, James and Scott, Margaret. 1960 A Retrospect.
- 1919 Fairfield, Fred P. Story of the City of Works.
- 1920 Shanks, Edward. The People of the Ruins; a Story of the English Revolution and After.
- 1921 Bruce, Stewart E. The World 1931.
- 1922 Kayser, Martha. The Aerial Flight to the Realm of Peace.

- 1923 Clough, Fred. The Golden Age or the Depth of Time.
- 1923 Paner, Louis. The Day of Judgement and the Celestial Missionaries of Life.
- 1924 Harvey, William H. Paul's School of Statesmanship.
- 1925 Willoughby, Frank. Through the Needle's Eye.
- 1928 Chase, Stuart. "A Very Private Utopia".
- 1929 Hodgson, John L. The Time Journey of Dr. Barton Egginton.
- 1930 Schinagel, Geza M. D. Possibilities.
- 1931 Wilkins, Hilliard. Altrurian Farms.
- 1931 Schuette, H. George. The Grand Mysterious Marriage.
- 1932 Martin, Prestonia Mann. Prohibiting Poverty: Being Suggestions for a Method of Obtaining Economic Security.
- 1932 Blanchard, Charles Elton M.D. A New Day Dawns (Brief History of Altruistic Era 1930-2162 A.D.)
- 1933 Sinclair, Upton B. I, Governor of California, and How I Ended Poverty; a True Story of the Future.
- 1934 Reitmeister, Louis Aaron. If Tomorrow Comes.
- 1935 Sinclair, Upton B. I, Candidate for Governor, and How I Got Licked.
- 1935 Long, Huey Pierce. My First Days in the White House.
- 1936 Sinclair, Upton B. Co-op - a Novel of Living Together.
- 1939 Churchill, A.T. The New Industrial Dawn.
- 1940 Hicks, Granville and Bennett, Richard. The First To Awaken.
- 1942 Wright, Austin Tappan. Islandia.

III. Historical Background

- Beard, Charles A. and Beard, Mary R. The Rise of American Civilization. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1930.
- Bebel, August. A Woman in the Past, Present, and Future. Translated by H. B. Adams Walther. London: no publisher or publishing date given.
- Beer, Max. Social Struggles and Socialist Forerunners. London: L. Parsons, 1924.
- Bestor, Arthur Eugene. Backwoods Utopias: The Sectarian and Owenite Phases of Communitarian Socialism in America, 1663-1829.
- Boorstin, Daniel J. The Americans, The National Experience. New York: Vintage Books, 1965.
- Boyer, Richard O. and Morais, Herbert M. Labor's Untold Story. New York: United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America, 1955.
- Calverton, Victor. Where Angels Dared to Tread. New York: no publisher given, 1941.
- Curti, Merle. The Growth of American Thought. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1951.
- Destley, Chester M. American Radicalism 1865-1901; Essays and Documents. New London: Connecticut College Bookshop, 1946.
- Firestone, Shulamith. The Dialectic of Sex. New York: Bantam Books, 1971.
- Flexnor, Eleanor. Century of Struggle: The Women's Rights Movement in the United States. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1959.
- Flower, B. O. Progressive Men, Women and Movements of the Past Twenty-five Years. Boston: The New Arena Publishing Co., 1914.
- Gilman, Charlotte Perkins. Women and Economics: A Study of the Economic Relation Between Men and Women as a Factor in Social Evolution. Reprint. New York:

- Harper and Row, 1966.
- Hicks, John D. The American Nation 1865 to the Present. New York: Houghton, Mifflin Co., 1955.
- Hicks, John H. The Populist Revolt, A History of the Farmers Alliance and People's Party. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1931.
- Hillquit, Morris. History of Socialism in the United States. Fourth edition. New York and London: Funk and Wagnalls, 1906.
- Hillquit, Morris. History of Socialism in U.S. New York and London: Funk and Wagnalls Co., 1903.
- Hofstadter, Richard. Social Darwinism in American Thought. Boston: The Beacon Press, 1962.
- Hofstadter, Richard. The Age of Reform, From Bryan to FDR. New York: Vintage Books, 1955.
- Holbrook, Stewart H. Lost Men of American History. New York: The MacMillan Co., 1946.
- Infield, Henrik. Cooperative Communities at Work. New York: The Dryden Press, 1945.
- Jacobsen, Julius. The Negro and the American Labor Movement. Garden City, New York: Anchor Books, 1968.
- Kolko, Gabriel. The Triumph of Conservatism: A Re-interpretation of American History, 1900-1916. Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1963.
- Lacy, Dan. The White Use of Blacks in America. New York: Atheneum, 1972.
- Laidler, Harry W. History of Socialism. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1934.
- Laidler, Harry W. Social-Economic Movements; an Historical and Comparative Survey of Socialism, Communism, Cooperation, Utopianism, and Other Systems of Reform and Reconstruction. London: Routledge and K. Paul, 1949.

- Lasch, Christopher. The New Radicalism in America 1889-1963: The Intellectual as a Social Type. New York: Knopf, 1965.
- Logan, Rayford W. The Negro in the United States. Vol. I. New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold Co., 1970.
- Lowenthal, Leo and Guterman, Norbert. Prophets of Deceit; A Study of the Techniques of the American Agitator. New York: Harper, 1949.
- Marx, Karl and Engels, Frederick. Selected Correspondence 1846-1895. New York: International Publishers, 1942.
- Nordhoff, Charles. The Communistic Societies of the United States from Personal Visit and Observation. London: John Murray, 1875.
- Noyes, John Humphrey. History of American Socialism. 1870 Reprint. New York: Hilary House, 1901.
- O'Neill, William. Everyone Was Brave: A History of Feminism in America. Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1969.
- Pollack, Norman ed. The Populist Mind. New York: Bobbs Merrill, 1967.
- Seager, Allen. They Worked For A Better World. New York: MacMillan Co., 1939.
- Wiebe, Robert. The Search for Order 1877-1920. New York: Hill and Wang, 1967.
- Williams, William Appleman. The Contours of American History. Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1966.
- Williams, William Appleman. The Roots of Modern American Empire: A Study of the Growth and Shaping of Social Consciousness in a Marketplace Society. New York: Random House, 1969.

IV. General Works on Utopianism

A. Books

Armytage, W. H. G. Yesterday's Tomorrows; a Historical Survey of Future Societies. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968.

Bernerri, Marie Louise. 1918-1949. Journey through Utopia. Boston: Beacon Press, 1950.

Bailey, J. O. Pilgrims Through Space and Time: Trends and Patterns in Science and Utopian Fiction. New York: Argus Books Inc., 1947.

Bloch, Ernst. A Philosophy of the Future. Translated by John Cumming. New York: Herder and Herder, 1970.

Bloomfield, Paul. Imaginary Worlds, or the Evolution of Utopia. London: Hamilton, 1932.

Brisbane, Albert. Social Destiny of Man, or Association and Re-organization of Industry. Philadelphia: C. F. Stollmeyer, 1840.

Buber, Martin. Paths in Utopia. Translated by R.F.C. Hull. Introduction by Ephraim Fischhoff. Boston: Beacon Paperback, 1958.

Clarke, Ignatius Frederick. Tale of the Future, from the beginning to the present day; a check-list of those satire, ideal states, political warnings, and forecasts, interplanetary voyages and scientific romances .. that have been published in the United Kingdom between 1664 and 1960. London: Library Association, 1961.

Davenport, Basil. Inquiry Into Science Fiction. New York: Longmans Green, 1955.

DeCamp, L. Sprague. Science Fiction Handbook, The Writing of Imaginative Fiction. New York: Hermitage House, 1953.

Dombrowski, James. The Early Days of Christian Socialism in America. New York: Columbia Press, 1936.

- Elliott, Robert C. The Shape of Utopia: Studies in a Literary Genre. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1970.
- Engels, Frederick. Socialism: Utopian and Scientific. Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1970.
- Franklin, H. Bruce. American Science Fiction of the Nineteenth Century. New York: Oxford University Press, 1966.
- Garrett, John Charles. Utopias in Literature Since the Romantic Period. Christchurch, New Zealand: University of Canterbury, 1968.
- George, Henry. Progress and Poverty; an Inquiry into the Causes of Industrial Depressions and of Increase of Want with Increase of Wealth - The Remedy. San Francisco: William Hinton and Co., 1879.
- Goodman, Paul and Percival. Communitas. New York: Vintage Books, 1960.
- Goodman, Paul. Utopian Essays and Critical Proposals. New York: Vintage Books, 1964.
- Gronlund, Laurence. The Cooperative Commonwealth. London: LeBas and Lowry, 1886.
- Hertzler, Joyce O. The History of Utopian Thought. New York: Cooper Square Publishers, Inc., 1965.
- Hillegas, Mark R. The Future As Nightmare, H. G. Wells and the Anti-Utopians. New York: Oxford University Press, 1967.
- Infield, Henrik F. Utopia and Experiment; Essays in the Sociology of Cooperation. New York: I. A. Praeger, 1955.
- Kateb, George. Utopia and Its Enemies. New York: Achoc-ken Books, 1963.
- Kerr, Charles H. What Socialism Is. Chicago: Charles H. Kerr Co., no date.
- Knight, Damon. In Search of Wonder, Essays on Modern Science Fiction. Chicago: Advent Publishers, 1956.
- Lewis, Arthur O. ed. American Utopias, Selected Short

- Fiction. New York: Arno Press and the New York Times, 1971.
- Mannheim, Karl. Ideology and Utopia: An Introduction to the Sociology of Knowledge. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1952.
- Mannin, Ethel. Bread and Roses: A Utopian Survey and Blue-print. London: MacDonal'd and Co., Ltd., 1944.
- Manuel, Frank. Utopias and Utopian Thought: A Timely Appraisal. Boston: Beacon Press, 1966.
- Marbury, M. M. Splendid Poseur: The Story of a Fabulous Humbug. London: Frederick Miller Ltd., 1954.
- Marcuse, Herbert. An Essay on Liberation. Boston: Beacon Press, 1969.
- Masso, Gildo. Education in Utopias. New York: Columbia University Press, 1927.
- Molnar, Thomas. Utopia, The Perennial Heresy. New York: Sheed and Ward, 1967.
- Morton, Arthur Leslie. The English Utopia. London: Laurence and Wishart, 1952.
- Moskowitz, Samuel. Explorers of the Infinite; Shapers of Science Fiction. Cleveland: World Publishing Co., 1963.
- Moskowitz, Samuel. Science Fiction By Gaslight: A History and Anthology of Science Fiction in the Popular Magazines, 1891-1911. Cleveland: The World Publishing Co., 1968.
- Mumford, Lewis. The Story of Utopias. New York: Boni and Liveright, 1922.
- Negley, Glenn R. The Quest for Utopia; an Anthology of Imaginary Societies. New York: Schuman, 1952.
- Nisbet, Robert. The Quest for Community, A Study in the Ethics of Order and Freedom. New York: Oxford University Press, 1953.

- Parrington, Vernon Jr. American Dreams, A Study of American Utopias. New York: Russell and Russell, Inc., 1964.
- Polak, Frederick L. The Image of the Future. Translated by E. Boulding. New York: Oceana Publications, 1961.
- Rose, Lois and Stephen. The Shattered Ring: Science Fiction and the Quest for Meaning. Virginia: John Knox Press, 1970.
- Rhodes, Harold V. Utopia in American Political Thought. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1967.
- Ross, Harry. Utopias Old and New. London: Ivor Nicholson and Watson, 1938.
- Russell, Frances Theresa. Touring Utopia, The Realm of Constructive Humanism. New York: Dial Press, 1932.
- Shklar, Judith M. After Utopia: The Decline of Political Faith. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1957.
- Wagenknecht, Edward. Utopia Americana. Seattle: University of Washington Bookstore, 1929.
- Walsh, Chad. From Utopia to Nightmare. New York: Harper and Row, 1962.

IV.B. Articles on Utopianism

- Beauchamp, Gorman. "Future Words: Language and the Dystopian Novel." Style, 8, Fall, 1974.
- Carlson, W. A. "Professor Macnie as a Novelist." The Alumni Review of the University of North Dakota, December, 1934, p. 4.
- Clareson, T. D. "The Scientist as Hero in American Science Fiction 1880-1920." Extrapolation, 7, pp. 18-28.
- Clarke, I. F. "The Nineteenth Century Utopia." The Quarterly Review, January, 1958, p. 80.

Dodge, David. "The Utopian Pointer." Century Magazine, 41, March, 1891, pp. 730-732.

Flower, Benjamin O. "The Latest Social Vision." Arena, 18 October 1897, pp. 517-534.

Forbes, Allyn B. "The Literary Quest for Utopia." Social Forces, 6, December, 1927, pp. 179-188.

Frazer, Ray. "Looking Backward: Books in the '80s." Claremont Quarterly, Spring, 1963, pp. 29-33.

Gilman, Nicholas P. "The Way to Utopia." Unitarian Review, 34, July, 1890, pp. 48-66.

Gronlund, Lawrence. "Our Destiny." The Nationalist, published serially, March to September, 1890.

Hamilton, John B. "Notes Toward Definition of Science Fiction." Extrapolations, 1962.

Hawthorne, Julian. "A Popular Topic." Lippincott's Magazine, June, 1890. pp. 883-888.

Hicks, John D. "The Political Career of Ignatius Donnelly." Mississippi Valley Historical Review, 8, June - September, 1921, pp. 80-132.

Hillegas, Mark R. "Dystopian Science Fiction: New Index to the Human Situation." New Mexico Quarterly, 31, Autumn, 1961.

Kerr, Charles H. "American Socialist Literature." International Socialist Review, 2, #7, January, 1902.

Kerr, Charles H. "Publishers Department." International Socialist Review, Vol. 5, 1904-1905, pp. 62-63, 317-318, 761; Vol. 9, 1908, p. 79.

Laveleye, Fmine de. "Two New Utopias." Contemporary Review, 5, January, 1890, pp. 1-19.

Lokke, Virgil. "The American Utopian Anti-Novel." Frontiers of American Culture, ed. Ray B. Browne et al. Indiana: Purdue University Press, 1968.

Maher, P. E. "Laurence Gronlund: Contributions to American Socialism." Western Political Quarterly,

- 15, December, 1962, pp. 618-624.
- Merriam, Alexander. "Some Literary Utopias." Hartford Seminary Record, 8, May, 1898, pp. 203-226.
- Mott, F. L. "The Magazine Revolution and Popular Ideas in the 90s." Proceedings of American Antiquarian Society, 64, pp. 195-214.
- Mumford, Lewis. "Fashions Change in Utopia." New Republic, 48, 18 June 1926, pp. 114-115.
- The Nationalist, Boston; I-III; May, 1889 to May, 1891.
- The New Nation, Boston; I-II; January, 1891 to December, 1892.
- The Penny News, edited and published by Edward and Charles Bellamy, beginning 24 February 1880. No copies available between issues of 20 March 1880 and 24 September 1880. Became Springfield Daily News during this period. Edward Bellamy's connection with the paper extended from the first issue to about the end of 1880.
- Pollack, Norman. "Ignatius Donnelly on Human Rights: A Study of Two Novels." Mid America, an Historical Review, 47, April, 1965, pp. 99-112.
- Riesman, David. "Observations on Community Plans." Yale Law Journal, 57, 1947, reprinted in Individualism Reconsidered, Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1954.
- Ridge, Martin. "The Humor of Ignatius Donnelly." Minnesota Historian, 33, 1953, pp. 326-330.
- Sanford, Charles. "Classics of American Reform Literature." American Quarterly, 10, Fall, 1958, pp. 295-311.
- Saxton, Alexander. "Caesar's Column: Dialogue of Utopia and Catastrophe." American Quarterly, 19, pp. 224-238.
- Sempers, C. T. "Utopian Dreams of Literary Men." Harvard Monthly, 3, December, 1886, pp. 95-104.

Sinclair, Upton. "A Utopian Bookshelf." The Saturday Review, 7 December 1946.

Solomon, Maynard. "Marx and Bloch: Reflection on Utopia and Art." Telos, 13, Fall, 1972, pp. 68-85.

Springfield Daily Union. Bellamy's editorials and book reviews appear from August 1872 to December 1877.

Shurter, Robert L. "The Utopian Novel in America 1888-1900." South Atlantic Quarterly, 34, 1935, pp. 137-144.

Smith, Goldwin. "Prophets of Unrest." Forum, 9, August, 1890, pp. 599-614.

Sparks, E. E. "Seeking Utopia in America." Chatauquan, 31 May 1900, pp. 151-161.

Stern, Herman I. "Who Are the Utopians?" Nationalist, 3, October 1890, pp. 165-171.

Suvin, Darko. "The Riverside Trees, or SF and Utopia: Degrees of Kinship." The Minnesota Review, 2-3, 1974.

Wheatley, Richard. "Ideal Commonwealths." Methodist Review, 75, July, 1893, pp. 581-597.

Wild, Paul. "Teaching Utopia." English Journal, 55, March, 1966, pp. 335-375.

"William Harben." Library of Southern Literature, Vol. V. Atlanta, Georgia: Martin and Hoyt Co., 1907.

IV.C. Dissertations on Utopianism

Bleich, David. Utopia: A Psychology of a Cultural Fantasy. Unpublished dissertation: New York University, 1968.

Flory, Claude. Economic Criticism in American Fiction 1792-1900. Unpublished dissertation: University of Pennsylvania, 1936.

Shurter, Robert LeFerre. The Utopian Novel In America 1865-1900. Unpublished dissertation, Western Reserve University, 1936.

Thal-Larsen, Margaret Wilson. Political and Economic Ideas in American Utopian Fiction, 1868-1914. Unpublished dissertation in political science, University of California at Berkeley, 1941.

IV.D. Bibliographies on Utopianism

Adams, Raymond. A Booklist of American Communities, in mimeographed form, Chapel Hill, 1935.

Bentley, Wilder. The Communication of Utopian Thought: The Bibliography. San Francisco: Published by author, 1959.

Bleiler, Everett Franklin. The Checklist of Fantastic Literature: A Bibliography of Fantasy, Weird and Science Fiction Books Published in the English Language. Chicago: Shasta Publishers, 1948.

Catalogue of Books on Socialism, Free Thought, Economics, History, Hypnotism, Hygiene, and American Fiction. Chicago: Charles H. Kerr Company, 1900.

Clareson, Thomas. Science Fiction Criticism, An Annotated Check List. Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1972.

Forbes, Allen. "Bibliography of American Utopias 1884-1900." Social Forces, 6, pp. 188-189.

Gallagher, Buell G. Utopias: a Bibliography. Mimeographed list: dated as 13 April 1946.

Lewis, Arthur O. "The Anti-Utopian Novel: Preliminary Notes and Checklist." Extrapolation, 2, May, 1961.

Meyer, H. H. B., Chief Bibliographer, U.S. Library of Congress. List of References on Utopias. Washington, D.C., 1922.

Rose, Lisle Abbot. A Descriptive Catalogue of Economic and Politico-Economic Fiction in the U.S. Unpublished dissertation of University of Chicago, 1936.

Wright, Lyle H. American Fiction 1876-1900: A Contribution Toward a Bibliography. San Marino, Calif.: Huntingdon Library, 1966.

V. Selected Works of Literary Criticism

Aaron, Daniel. Men of Good Hope: A Story of American Progressives. London: Oxford University Press, 1951.

Aaron, Daniel. Writers on the Left: Episodes in American Literary Communism. New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1961.

Adams, Frederick B., Jr. Radical Literature in America. Stamford, Conn.: The Overbrook Press, 1939.

Ahrebrink, Lois. The Beginnings of Naturalism in American Fiction 1891-1903. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1950.

Brooks, Van Wyck. America's Coming of Age. New York: B. W. Huebsch, 1915.

Brown, Herbert Ross. The Sentimental Novel in America 1789-1860. New York: Pageant Books Inc., 1959.

Calverton, V. F. The Liberation of American Literature. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1932.

Cargill, Oscar. The Social Revolt: American Literature from 1888-1914. New York: MacMillan, 1948.

Caudwell, Christopher. Studies and Further Studies in A Dying Culture. New York: Modern Reader, 1971.

Ellman, Mary. Thinking About Women. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., 1968.

Ferguson, Mary Anne. Images of Women in Literature. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1973.

Fischer, Ernst. The Necessity of Art: A Marxist Approach. Translated Anna Bostock. Baltimore, Maryland: Penguin Books, 1963.

- Frye, Northrup. Anatomy of Criticism; Four Essays. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1957.
- Hart, James D. The Popular Book: A History of America's Literary Taste. Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1963.
- Hicks, Granville. The Great Tradition; An Interpretation of American Literature Since the Civil War. New York: MacMillan Co., 1935.
- Johnson, Jean. The American Political Novel in the Nineteenth Century. Boston University unpublished dissertation, 1958.
- Kaul, A. N. The American Vision; Actual and Ideal Society in Nineteenth Century Fiction. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963.
- Kerr, Charles H. The Story of A Socialist Publishing House. Chicago: Charles H. Kerr Co., 1912.
- Lukacs, Georg. Realism in Our Time: Literature and the Class Struggle. Translated by John and Necke Mander. New York: Harper and Row, 1964.
- Lukacs, Georg. Writer and Critic and Other Essays. Translated by Arthur Kahn. London: Merlin Press, 1970.
- Marcuse, Herbert. An Essay on Liberation. Boston: Beacon Press, 1969.
- Martin, Jay. Harvests of Change: American Literature 1865-1914. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1967.
- Marx, Leo. The Machine in the Garden Technology and the Pastoral Ideal in America. New York: Oxford University Press, 1964.
- Matthiessen, F. O. American Renaissance: Art and Expression in the Age of Emerson. London: Oxford University Press, 1968.

- Milne, Gordon. The American Political Novel. Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1966.
- Morris, Linda. "The Image of Women in Magazine Illustrations, 1880-1899." Unpublished manuscript, University of California at Berkeley, 1972.
- Mott, Frank Luther. A History of American Magazines. Volume IV, 1885-1905. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1938.
- Mumford, Lewis. The Brown Decades: A Study of the Arts in America 1865-1895. New York: Harcourt Brace and Co., 1931.
- Parrington, Vernon Louis. The Beginnings of Critical Realism in America 1860-1920, Main Currents in American Thought, Vol. III. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1930.
- Rideout, Walter B. The Radical Novel in the United States 1900-1954. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1956.
- Ridge, Martin. Ignatius Donnelly; the Portrait of a Politician. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962.
- Sacks, Sheldon. Fiction and the Shape of Belief. Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1966.
- Santayana, George. "The Genteel Tradition in American Philosophy", The Genteel Tradition. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1967, pp. 38-64.
- Sheehan, Donald. This Was Publishing: A Chronicle of the Book Trade in the Gilded Age. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1952.
- Slotkin, Richard. Regeneration Through Violence: The Mythology of the American Frontier. Middleton, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1973.
- Smith, Henry Nash. Popular Culture and Industrialism 1865-1890. New York: New York University Press, 1967.

- Spiller, Robert E. Literary History of the United States. New York: MacMillan and Co., 1963.
- Stern, Madeline. Imprints on History, Book Publishers and American Frontiers. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1956.
- Taylor, Walter Fuller. The Economic Novel in America. Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 1942.
- Ticknor, Caroline. Glimpses of Authors. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1922.
- Ticknor, Caroline. "The Steel Engraving Lady and the Gibson Girl." The Atlantic, July, 1901.
- Parrington, Vernon Louis Jr. American Dreams: A Study of American Utopias. Providence: Brown University, 1947.
- Pizer, Donald. Realism and Naturalism in Nineteenth Century American Literature. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1966.
- Tuveson, Ernest Lee. Millenium and Utopia: A Study in the Background of the Idea of Progress. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1949.
- Venable, Vernon. Human Nature: The Marxian View. Cleveland: The World Publishing Co., 1966.
- Wasserstrom, William. Heiress of All the Ages; Sex and Sentiment in the Genteel Tradition. Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1959.
- Williams, Raymond. Culture and Society 1780-1950. New York: Harper and Row, 1963.
- Williams, Raymond. The Long Revolution. London: Pelican Books, 1961.
- Ziff, Larzer. The American 1890s, Life and Times of a Lost Generation. New York: Viking Press, 1966.

VI. Edward Bellamy

A. Works of Edward Bellamy

Blindman's World, The, and Other Stories, with a Prefatory Sketch by W. D. Howells. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1898.

"Christmas in the Year 2000." The Ladies' Home Journal, Vol. 12, No. 2, January, 1895.

"Cold Snap, The." Scribners Monthly, Vol. 10, September, 1875. Republished in The Blindman's World.

"Deserted." Lippincott's Magazine, Vol. 22, November, 1878. Republished in The Blindman's World.

Dr. Heidenhoff's Process. New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1880.

Duke of Stockbridge The. New York: Silver Burdett and Co., no date.

"Echo of Antietam, An." Century Magazine, Vol. 38, July, 1889. Republished in The Blindman's World.

Edward Bellamy Speaks Again. Kansas City: The Peerage Press, 1937.

Equality. New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1897.

"First Steps toward Nationalism." The Forum, Vol. 10, October, 1890. Republished in Edward Bellamy Speaks Again.

"Hooking Watermelons." Scribners Magazine, 14 September 1877. Republished in The Blindman's World.

"How I Came to Write Looking Backward." The Nationalist, Vol. 1, No. 1, May, 1889. Republished in Edward Bellamy Speaks Again.

"How I Wrote Looking Backward." The Ladies Home Journal, Vol. 11, No. 5, April, 1884.

(Works of Edward Bellamy)

"Looking Backward Again." North American Review, Vol. 150, No. 400, March, 1890. Republished in Edward Bellamy Speaks Again.

Looking Backward 2000-1887. New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1898.

"Looking Forward." The Nationalist, Vol. 2, No. 1, December, 1889. Republished in Edward Bellamy Speaks Again.

"Love Story Reversed, A." Republished in The Blindman's World.

Miss Ludington's Sister. Boston: James R. Osgood and Co., 1884.

"Old Folk's Party." Scribner's Magazine, Vol. II, March, 1876. Republished in The Blindman's World.

"Outcome of the Battle of Standards, The." Boston Globe, 16 July 1893. Republished in Edward Bellamy Speaks Again.

Plutocracy or Nationalism, Which? Address at Tremont Temple, 31 May 1889, published in pamphlet form by the Nationalist Club of Boston. Also published as No. 18 of Pocket Library of Socialism. Chicago: Kerr and Co. Republished in Edward Bellamy Speaks Again.

"Positive Romance, A." Century Magazine, Vol. 38, August, 1889. Republished in The Blindman's World.

"Potts's Painless Cure." Scribner's Monthly, Vol. 17, February, 1879. Republished in The Blindman's World.

"Programme of the Nationalists, The." The Forum, Vol. 17, March, 1894. Republished in Edward Bellamy Speaks Again.

"Progress of Nationalism in the United States." North American Review. Vol. 154, June, 1892. Republished in Edward Bellamy Speaks Again.

(Works of Edward Bellamy)

Religion of Solidarity, The. Yellow Springs, Ohio:
Antioch Bookplate Co., 1940.

Selected Writings on Religion and Society, edited with an
introduction by Joseph Schiffman. New York: Liberal
Arts Press, 1955.

Six to One; a Nantucket Idyll. New York: Putnam, 1878.
Published Anonymously.

"Summer Evening's Dream, A." Lippincott's Magazine, Vol.
20, September, 1877. Republished in The Blindman's
World.

Talks on Nationalism. Chicago: Peerage Press, 1938.

"To Whom This May Come." Harper's Monthly, Vol. 78,
February, 1889. Republished in The Blindman's World.

"Two Days' Solitary Imprisonment." Republished in The
Blindman's World.

"Vital Domestic Problem, A - Household Service Reform."
Good Housekeeping, Vol. 10, No. 4, 21 December 1889.

VI.B. Books on Edward Bellamy: Biography and Criticism

Bowman, Sylvia. Edward Bellamy Abroad: An American Pro-
phets Influence. New York: Twayne Publishers, 1962.

Bowman, Sylvia. The Year 2000: A Critical Biography of
Edward Bellamy. New York: Bookman Associates, 1958.

Earnshaw, Marion Bellamy. Edward Bellamy Today. Kansas
City: The Peerage Press, 1936.

Green, Mason A. Edward Bellamy; a Biography (unpublished).
With Bellamy source material in Harvard College
Library, Library of Congress, Huntington and Antioch.

MacNair, Everett. Edward Bellamy and the Nationalist
Movement 1889-1894. Milwaukee: Fitzgerald Publishers,
1957.

Morgan, Arthur E. Edward Bellamy. New York: Columbia University Press, 1944.

Morgan, Arthur E. Nowhere Was Somewhere; An Exploration of the Utopian Tradition, with a Discussion of Thomas More and the Inca Civilization.

Morgan, Arthur E. The Philosophy of Edward Bellamy. New York: Kings Crown Press, 1945.

Morgan, Arthur E. Plagiarism in Utopia; a Study of the Continuity of the Utopian Tradition, with Special Reference to Edward Bellamy's Looking Backward. Yellow Springs, Ohio: published by the author, 1944.

Shipley, Marie A. B. The True Author of "Looking Backward". New York: John B. Alden, 1890.

VI.C. Articles on Edward Bellamy: Biography and Criticism

Austin, H. "Edward Bellamy." National Magazine, 9, October, 1898, pp. 69-72.

Aaron, Daniel. "Bellamy-Utopian Conservative." in Edward Bellamy Novelist and Reformer. Schenectady, New York: Union College, 1968.

Baxter, Sylvester. "The Author of Looking Backward." The New England Magazine, I, September, 1889, pp. 92-98.

Baxter, Sylvester. "Edward Bellamy's New Book of the New Democracy." American Monthly Review of Reviews, 16, July, 1897.

Baxter, Sylvester. "What is Nationalism?" The Nationalist, 1, No. 1, May 1889.

Becker, George. "Edward Bellamy's Utopia, The American Plan." Antioch Review, 14, pp. 181-194.

Bell, Fred W. "Edward Bellamy and 'The Bellamy Plan'." The Theosophist, 55, August 1934.

- Biscoe, J. Foster. "Attitude of the Press." Nationalist, 6, October, 1889.
- Blau, Joseph. "Bellamy's Religious Motivation for Social Reform, A Review Article." The Review of Religion, 21, March, 1957, p. 156.
- Bleich, David. "Eros and Bellamy." American Quarterly, 16, Fall, 1964.
- Boggs, W. A. "Looking Backward at the Utopian Novel." New York Public Library Bulletin, 64, 1960, pp. 329-336.
- Bowman, Sylvia. "Bellamy's Missing Chapter." New England Quarterly, 31, March, 1958, pp. 47-65.
- Bowman, Sylvia. "Edward Bellamy." American Literary Realism, 1, pp. 7-12.
- Dawes, Anna L. "Mr. Bellamy and Christianity." The And-over Review: a Religious and Theological Monthly, 15 April 1891.
- Dewey, John. "A Great American Prophet." Common Sense, 3, No. 4, April, 1934, p. 7.
- "Edward Bellamy." Good Housekeeping, 10, 21 December 1889.
- Flower, B. O. "The Latest Social Vision: a Review of Equality." The Arena, Vol. 18, 1894. Reprinted in pamphlet form by the Arena Publishing Co., Boston, 1897.
- Franklin, John H. "Edward Bellamy and the Nationalist Movement." New England Quarterly, 11, 1938, pp. 739-772.
- Fuson, Ben W. "A Poetic Precursor of Bellamy's Looking Backward." Extrapolation, 5, pp. 31-36.
- Garrison, William Lloyd. "The Mask of Tyranny." Arena, 1, April, 1890.
- Gilman, Nicholas P. "Bellamy's Equality." The Quarterly Journal of Economics, XII, October, 1897, pp. 76-82.

- Gilman, Nicholas P. "Nationalism in the United States." The Quarterly Journal of Economics, IV, October, 1889, pp. 50-76.
- Gronland, Laurence. "Nationalism." The Arena, I, January 1890, pp. 153-165.
- Gutele, G. "Analysis of Formal Education in Edward Bellamy's Looking Backward." History of Education Quarterly, 4, December 1964, pp. 251-263.
- Harris, W. T. "Edward Bellamy's Vision." The Forum, 8, October, 1889, pp. 199-208.
- Hawthorne, Julian. "A Popular Topic." Lippincott's Magazine, 45, June 1890, pp. 883-888.
- Higgenson, Thomas. "Edward Bellamy's Nationalism." Our Day, 5, April, 1890.
- Higgs, William. "Some Objections to Mr. Bellamy's Utopia." New Englander and Yale Review, Vol. 240, March, 1890.
- Howells, William Dean. "Editor's Study." Harper's Monthly, June 1888, pp. 154-155.
- Howells, William Dean. "Edward Bellamy." Atlantic Monthly, 82, August 1898, pp. 253-256.
- "Late Mr. Bellamy, The." The Critic, Vol. 32, No. 849, 28 May 1898.
- Levi, Albert W. "Edward Bellamy, Utopian." Ethics, 60, 1945, pp. 131-144.
- Levin, Harry. "Some Paradoxes of Utopia." In Edward Bellamy, Novelist and Reformer. Schenectady, New York: Union College, 1968.
- Madison, Charles A. "Edward Bellamy Social Dreamer." New England Quarterly, 15, 1942, pp. 444-466.
- Peebles, H. P. "The Utopias of the Past Compared with the Theories of Bellamy." The Overland Monthly, second series, 15, June, 1890, pp. 574-577.

- Quint, Howard. "Gaylord Wilshire and Socialism's First Congressional Campaign." Pacific Historical Review, 26, 1951, pp. 327-340.
- Sadler, Elizabeth. "One Book's Influence, Edward Bellamy's Looking Backward." New England Quarterly, 17, 1944, pp. 530-555.
- Schiffman, Joseph. "Edward Bellamy's Altruistic Man." American Quarterly, 6, pp. 195-209.
- Schiffman, Joseph. "Edward Bellamy's Religious Thought." PMLA, 68, September, 1953, pp. 716-732.
- Schiffman, Joseph. "Mutual Indebtedness: Unpublished Letters of Edward Bellamy to William Dean Howells." Harvard Library Bulletin, 12, pp. 363-374.
- Schindler, Solomon. "What Is Nationalism?" New England Magazine, Vol. 7, September, 1892.
- Shipley, Marie A. "Bebel's Bricks or Bellamy's?" Liberty, Vol. 7, No. 4, 21 June 1890.
- Shurter, Robert L. "The Literary Work of Edward Bellamy." American Literature, 5, November 1933, pp. 229-234.
- Shurter, Robert L. "The Writing of Looking Backward." South Atlantic Quarterly, 38, 1939, pp. 255-261.
- Smith, Goldwin. "Prophets of Unrest." The Forum. 9 August 1890, pp. 599-614.
- Walker, Frances A. "Mr. Bellamy and the New Nationalist Party." Atlantic Monthly, 65, February, 1890, pp. 248-262.
- Walker, Robert H. "The Poet and the Robber Baron." American Quarterly, 13, Winter, 1961, pp. 447-465.
- Warner, Charles Dudley. "Editor's Study." Harpers, October, 1897.
- Willard, Frances E. "An Interview with Edward Bellamy." Our Day, 4, No. 22, 10 October 1889.
- Zornow, William Frank. "Bellamy's Nationalism in Ohio 1891-1896." Ohio State Architectural and Historical Quarterly, 58, p. 2.

VI.D. Selected Reviews of Edward Bellamy

"Bellamy's Utopia." The Nation. Vol. 65, No. 1678,
26 August 1897.

Ford, Mary H. The Nationalist, November 1889, pp. 352-
357.

Harris, W. T. "Edward Bellamy's Vision." Forum, 2, Octo-
ber, 1889.

Higgs, William. "Review of Looking Backward." New
Englander and Yale Review, 2, March, 1890, pp. 231-
239.

Howells, William Dean. "Review of Miss Ludington's Sis-
ter." Century Magazine, 28, August, 1884.

Howells, William Dean. "Review of Looking Backward."
Harpers Magazine, 77, June, 1888.

"Looking Backward." (review), Atlantic Monthly, 61, June,
1888.

"Looking Backward." (review), The Los Angeles Times, 18
March 1894.

"Looking Backward." (review), The Nation, 46, No. 1187,
29 March 1888.

"Looking Backward." (review), The Saturday Review, 24
March 1888.

"Looking Backward." (review), Science, 20 July 1888.

Morris, W. "Looking Backward." (review), Commonweal,
5, 180, June 22, 1889, p. 194.

"New Utopia, A." (Review of Looking Backward). New York
Tribune, 5 February 1888.

VII. William Dean Howells

A. Selected Works of William Dean Howells

"Edward Bellamy." Atlantic Monthly, LXXXII, August, 1898,

(Works of William Dean Howells)

p. 254.

"Editor's Study." Harpers New Monthly Magazine, 77, June to November 1888.

Life in Letters of William Dean Howells, The. Editor, Mildred Howells. 2 volumes. Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Doran and Co., 1928.

"Mr. Howells on Mr. Bellamy." The Critic, XXIX new series, XXXII old series, June, 1898.

My Literary Passions. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1895.

"Preface" to Edward Bellamy Blindman's World and Other Stories. Boston: Houghton Mifflin and Co., 1898.

Through the Eye of the Needle in The Altrurian Romances. Definitive Edition, Clara and Rudolf Kirk, Bloomington and London: Indiana University Press, 1968.

Traveller from Altruria, A in The Altrurian Romances. Definitive Edition. Edited by Clara and Rudolf Kirk. Bloomington and London: Indiana University Press, 1968.

VII.B. Selected Criticism of William Dean Howells

Arms, George. "Further Inquiry Into Howells' Socialism." Science and Society, 3, Spring 1939, pp. 245-248.

Arms, George. "Howells Unpublished Prefaces." New England Quarterly, 17, 1944, pp. 580-591.

Arms, George. "The Literary Background of Howells' Social Criticism." American Literature, November, 1942, pp. 260-276.

Arvin, Newton. "The Useableness of Howells." The New Republic, 30 June 1937.

Bennett, George N. The Realism of William Dean Howells, 1889-1920. Nashville, Tennessee: Vanderbilt University Press, 1973.

- Brooks, Van Wyck. Howells, His Life and World. New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., 1959.
- Cady, Edwin. The Realist at War; The Mature Years of William Dean Howells, 1885-1920. New York: Syracuse University Press, 1958.
- Carrington, George C. The Immense Complex Drama: The World and Art of the Howells Novel. Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State University Press, 1966.
- Carter, Everett. Howells and the Age of Realism. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1950.
- Cooke, Delmar Cross. William Dean Howells: A Critical Study. New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., 1922.
- Cooperman, Stanley. "Utopian Realism: The Futurist Novels of Bellamy and Howells." College English, 24, March 1963, pp. 464-467.
- Eble, Kenneth E. ed. Howells, A Century of Criticism. Dallas, Texas: Southern Methodist University Press, 1962.
- Firkins, Oscar W. William Dean Howells; a Study. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1924.
- Fox, Arnold B. "Howells' Doctrine of Complicity." Modern Language Quarterly, 13 March 1952, pp. 56-60.
- Getzels, Jacob Warren. "William Dean Howells and Socialism." Science and Society, 2, Summer 1938, pp. 376-386.
- Gibson, William M. William Dean Howells. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1967.
- Grattan, C. Hartley. "Howells: Ten Years After." The American Mercury, 20, May 1930, pp. 42-50.
- Hough, Robert L. The Quiet Rebel, William Dean Howells as Social Commentator. Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1959.

- Kirk, Clara Marburg. William Dean Howells and Art in His Time. New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1965.
- Lynn, Kenneth. William Dean Howells: An American Life. New York: Harcourt Brace, 1971.
- Taylor, Walter Fuller. "On the Origin of Howells' Interest in Economic Reform." American Literature, 2, March, 1930, pp. 3-14.
- Wagenknecht, Edward. William Dean Howells, The Friendly Eye. New York: Oxford University Press, 1969.
- Wright, Conrad. "The Sources of Mr. Howells' Socialism." Science and Society, 2, Fall 1938, pp. 514-517.
- Vanderbilt, Kermit. The Achievement of William Dean Howells, a Re-interpretation. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1968.
- VII.C. Selected Reviews of William Dean Howells' Utopian Fiction
- Bellamy, Edward. "Review." New Nation, 2, 1892, pp. 701-702.
- Bellamy, Edward. "Review." New Nation, 3, 1893, p. 458.
- Kirk, S. "America, Altruria, and the Coast of Bohemia." Atlantic Monthly, 74, 1894, pp. 701-704.
- "Review of A Traveller from Altruria." Athenaeum, 7 July 1894, p. 29.
- "Review of A Traveller from Altruria." The Critic, 21, 1894, p. 434.
- "Review of A Traveller from Altruria." Dial, 12, 1894, p. 154.
- "Review of A Traveller from Altruria." Harper's Bazaar, 27, 1894, p. 475.

"Review of A Traveller from Altruria." Nation, 59, 1894,
p. 107.

"Review of A Traveller from Altruria." New York Daily Herald, 23 September 1894, Sixth Section, p. 14.

"Review of A Traveller from Altruria." New York Daily Tribune, 30 September 1894, p. 14.