

LATE VICTORIAN UTOPIAS: A PROSPECTUS

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Edited by: Gregory Claeys

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GENERAL INTRODUCTION: THE RESHAPING OF THE UTOPIAN GENRE IN BRITAIN, c. 1870– 1900

Scholarly analysis of late Victorian utopianism has traditionally focused on three texts: first, and primarily, William Morris's elegant and compelling portrayal of the ideal socialist future, *News from Nowhere* (1890); second, Samuel Butler's highly successful satire on late Victorian values and mores, *Erewhon* (1872); and finally, Edward Bulwer-Lytton's techno-centric utopia, *The Coming Race* (1873).¹ Butler's *Erewhon*, which commenced as an article entitled 'Darwin and the Machines', uses the device of a newly discovered Antipodean region to satirize utopian aspirations, with the intent of criticizing Darwinism and mechanistic materialist philosophy generally, as well as Britain's obsession with technological advancement as the solution to all evils. Though the society described is imperfect, and flawed like Britain in both its religion and educational systems, being thus neither utopia nor dystopia per se, Butler clearly sides with an ideal of physical health through manual labour, combined with a purified Christianity, akin to what he had witnessed himself in part in New Zealand.² Bulwer-Lytton's *The Coming Race* discovers a society inside the earth which is based on a quasi-electric potent energy called 'vril', which enables the manipulation of mental states and physical substances, facilitating the abolition of destructiveness, poverty, flesh-eating³ and crime, and the establishment of a stable society based upon order and authority, and combining inequality of wealth with equality of rank.⁴ Finally, Morris's *News from Nowhere* offers an imagined vision of a transformed London in the twenty-first century, in which a socialist aesthetic vision of a life defined by artistic creativity is united with a small-scale, ecologically-friendly, democratic social ideal.⁵ Both *Erewhon* and *The Coming Race*, then, are notable for taking up Darwinian themes in the wake of the publication of *Origin of Species* in 1859, while *News from Nowhere* is the most powerful literary expression of the revived socialist movement of the 1890s, though its romanticized, medievalist nostalgia was in some respects out of kilter with more modernist socialist trends in the period.

These three texts indicate a marked, definitive trend towards the utopian encounter with both Darwinism and socialism, which will be explored below in detail. The extraordinary expansion in utopian writing in both Britain and the United States in the closing decades of the century was also fuelled by other factors: technological discoveries, a growing apprehensiveness over international tensions, the extension of European empires, and the emergence of a number of powerful social reform movements, notably for women's suffrage. The purpose of the present collection of sixteen texts is to encourage the consultation of this wider genre. In this introduction I will survey the leading themes uniting the genre, giving priority to the two most important innovations within it in this period, the discussion of Social Darwinist and eugenic themes, and the debate over the promise or threat presented by the socialist movement. As in previous collections,⁶ I here presume the utopian genre to consist not only of literary texts strictly speaking, but of varied strands of imaginative thought, generally directed at fundamental rather than incremental social and political reform. The literary genre itself, moreover, is held to consist of satires and anti-utopias as well as positive images of a greatly improved (but rarely 'perfect') society, usually set in the future.

In this introduction I will contend that a reappraisal of the wider utopian genre in this period helps us to see that the commonly accepted view of a turn from utopianism and towards dystopianism between c. 1870 and 1950, as expressed notably by Aldous Huxley's eugenicist work, *Brave New World* (1932), and George Orwell's satire on totalitarianism, *Nineteen Eighty-Four* (1948), is highly misleading. Indeed, we will see that both of these sub-genres, the eugenicist utopia/dystopia and the socialist dystopia, emerge in the closing decades of the nineteenth century, and moreover in an intimate relationship with one another which has not been explored previously. Each is linked to the theme of corruption and degeneration, both of individual and national character, which I have elsewhere argued was crucial to utopian writing from the early eighteenth century until the period under consideration, here united to a 'fin de siècle' sense of decadence and emotional and intellectual insecurity which came widely to pervade the arts, philosophy, literature and science alike,⁷ and which looms centrally in later Victorian texts.⁸ In order to examine the effects these movements had on utopian writing, we will need to consider briefly the origin and development of each.

Socialism

From the late 1870s socialism became a significant rival to liberalism and conservatism, and began to attract substantial support among both the working classes and intellectuals. Early socialism, in Britain chiefly identified with Robert

Owen and his supporters in the 1820s to 1840s, spawned little utopian literature, but much utopian thought.⁹ Despite a fleeting moment in the mid-1830s which witnessed an engagement between Owenism and the trades' union movement, at the point at which the Grand National Consolidated Trades Union was formed (1833–4), Owenism remained relatively small in numbers. The chief mass movement of the period, Chartism, generated little utopian thought as such, though its occasional romanticized images of the pre-capitalist past contain a utopian component, which was echoed in part in the failed scheme of the Land Plan, which aimed to recreate a society of independent peasant-proprietors. After a long hiatus, from mid-century until the late 1870s, there was no large-scale social reform movement, and correspondingly relatively little utopian writing as such. This altered dramatically at the end of the 1870s, one cause being the steady advancement of Marxian revolutionary socialism, which in Britain in the 1880s and 1890s was led by H. M. Hyndman (1842–1921), founder of the Social Democratic Federation, but which soon found competition from other groups of socialists and anarchists, notably the Fabian Society and the Independent Labour Party. The key reason for this was economic: an agricultural downturn in the 1870s was followed by a commercial and industrial crisis in the 1880s. Britain now found herself contending with newly-emerging industrial powers like Germany, the United States and Japan. Poverty reached horrific depths as 'Outcast London' and the slums of other cities slipped deeper into decline, and the working classes began in larger numbers to reject the existing capitalist system. Socialism – but we should emphasize the plurality of visions the term implied – provided the chief alternative. Marxian socialism, in particular, proffered a compelling account of the awful inevitability of recurrent capitalist crises, in each of which the rich would grow richer and the poor poorer, until a final great cataclysm demolished the old world and ushered in the new. More than in any preceding historical period, the future of European, even world, history was now severely contested. More than ever before, technological innovation and growing wealth promised an extension of life and plenitude for all; and yet by the century's end some 40 per cent of the population lived in squalid, mostly urban, poverty.

While there has been a substantial debate about how 'utopian' Marxism itself was – Marx and Engels having fobbed the label itself upon their socialist predecessors by way of elevating their own 'scientific' brand based upon the 'materialist conception of history' as alone credible, parallels between Marxism and classical utopianism are inevitable. Like his most important French socialist predecessor, Charles Fourier, Marx envisioned the future communist society as having abolished the narrow division of labour prevailing in capitalism, and saw the working day in terms of the performance of a variety of tasks. Communist society would be defined by the collective ownership of property, the doctrine

which, from Thomas More's *Utopia* (1516) onwards, was most frequently associated with the utopian tradition. As importantly, Marx seemingly relied upon a substantial improvement in human behaviour, even a renovated human nature, reforged in the white heat of revolutionary ferment and in the sweeping away of the rotten and immoral capitalist system, as a precondition for the success of the communist ideal. Crucially, for his opponents at least, he presumed a degree of centralized state administration and efficiency greater than any ever attempted before. His critics thus greatly feared the possibility that the process of construction of such a system, during what Marx termed the interim period of the 'dictatorship of the proletariat', might collapse into a more traditional form of dictatorship, but on an even larger scale, as the French Revolution had degenerated into the Terror and Napoleonic dictatorship.

Although Marxism was to become the most important and characteristic form assumed by utopianism in the twentieth century, the near-eclipse of other socialist and anarchist alternatives did not occur until the 1930s. In this period a rich variety of socialist ideals contended for public support, more or less centralized, more or less democratic, more or less militant in their approach to revolution, ranging from more orthodox varieties of Marxism through the more decentralized, populist-democratic ideas of Morris, to the advocacy of a 'simplification of life'¹⁰ in the socialism of Edward Carpenter, and the anarchism of Kropotkin, Bakunin and others.

The growth of revolutionary socialism from the mid-1880s clearly promoted the emergence of a new major sub-genre of the literary utopia: the anti-socialist dystopia, which paralleled the attack upon 'collectivism' by Herbert Spencer, amongst others, and the efforts of organizations like the Liberty and Property Defence League to portray the future as a stark alternative between 'individualism' and 'collectivism'.¹¹ Typically this dystopian genre portrays a revolution gone awry, resulting in the imposition of dictatorship, one of the earliest examples of which is Percy Clarke's *The Valley Council; or, Leaves from the Journal of Thomas Bateman of Canbelego Station, N.S.W.* (1891). Sometimes the failure of socialism induces a return to feudalism, as in Alfred Morris's anonymously-published *Looking Ahead! A Tale of Adventure* (1892), where a socialist revolution produces dictatorship and a decline in population. A common theme in such works is that 'Competition, which they had so vehemently denounced, had been the source of wealth for most, and prosperity for all'.¹² Sometimes such prophetic warnings are interwoven with eugenicist themes. In *Red England. A Tale of the Socialist Horror* (1909), for instance, close regulation of marriage follows the revolution, with three doctors approving all marriages, and all children being removed from their parents' care at the age of one month in order to be raised by the state. Typically universal compulsory labour is introduced, with shirkers and the idle being sent to penal colonies, as in Henry Lazarus's *The English Revolution*

of the Twentieth Century; a Prospective History (1894). In 'England's Downfall' or, *The Last Great Revolution* (1893), by 'An Ex-Revolutionist', post-revolutionary Britain sinks into decline through a lack of managerial expertise. In Charles Fairfield's anonymous *The Socialist Revolution of 1888* (1884), which takes up Hyndman's doctrines of nationalization, the revolution eventually results in a lowering of wages and the ruthless destruction of individualism. Luxuries are expropriated, with every man receiving a quart of champagne four times a year (but women, evidently less needy or desirous, get only a pint). In *A Radical Nightmare; or, England Forty Years Hence* (1885) by 'An Ex-M.P.', similarly, Britain has collapsed after a revolution, poverty is widespread, and the secret police prevent free discussion. Often revolutions are described as introducing greater social inequality or no improvement, despite the notional abolition of classes, as in W. A. Watlock's *The Next 'Ninety-Three or Crown, Commune, and Colony* (1886). In *James Ingleton: The History of a Social State A.D. 2000* (1893) a collectivist revolution which destroys individualism is overthrown, but the individualist counter-revolution concedes that the state should indeed care for the aged, the infirm and the young.¹³ Some satires also attacked the democratic movement as such, as well as its collectivist implications, such as Edgar Welch's anonymous *The Monster Municipality; or, Gog and Magog Reformed. A Dream* (1882).

Yet beside such works we need to recall that there were of course a notable number of pro-socialist British utopias set in this period, besides Morris's *News from Nowhere*. John Petzler's *Life in Utopia* (1890) is an extraordinarily elaborate detailing of the reordering of every aspect of life in the ideal future. A similar effort is William Thomson's *A Prospectus of Socialism; or, A Glimpse of the Millenium* (1894), in which Britain is reorganized into 139 cities each containing 18 communal 'palaces', the details of life in which are explored even to the crucial household issue of who washes the dishes. Frederick W. Hayes's *The Great Revolution of 1905; or, The Story of the Phalanx* (1893)¹⁴ describes a successful revolution which introduces a system of 'State Industrialism' to promote national welfare and abolish idleness. Such an increase of social efficiency is characteristic of such works. Indeed, socialist utopias are if anything considerably harsher on idleness than were contemporary social theorists generally, and to some will appear dystopian as a consequence. In 1891, Percy Clarke's *The Valley Council; or, Leaves from the Journal of Thomas Bateman of Canbelego Station, N.S.W.* (1891), for instance, those who have not found gainful employment by the age of thirty are put to death. Similarly in *Etymonia* (1875), we are told that

Allowance is made for everything, excepting mere idleness, and for this the remedy is stern ... If a man does not create what we will call his *economic counterpoise*, he must starve in Etymonia. If he is inclined to rebel, and to satisfy his wants by appropriat-

ing, or by plucking from out the fields, the wherewith to content his hunger, then he is regarded as having taken that for which he has given no equivalent. To violence is opposed violence; to licence, restraint. Such a one would be confined to a strong room, where he would be supplied with work.¹⁵

Other aspects of the socialist programme depicted in utopian form include the reduction of the working day, at least to eight and sometimes as little as six hours.¹⁶ Health-care is usually provided; a pill 'better than Holloway's' cure-all nostrum is nationalized in one text.¹⁷ The standard of living of the working class is everywhere dramatically raised. In some texts a technological vision of expansion makes the abolition of poverty possible for first time, even after dispensing with steam-power: electricity for factories is produced by windmill in one case;¹⁸ while in another it is by hydroelectric power.¹⁹ One text assumes future progress to be based upon the nationalization of the railways.²⁰ Another depicts new energy sources being used to bring back the dead of all ages, back to Adam; this author, at least, did not suffer from Malthusian angst.²¹ Government is usually decentralized and based upon direct participatory democracy, as in Morris's *News from Nowhere*, where tolerance of minority views is emphasized, and as described in chapter 27 of Petzler's *Life in Utopia*.

Similar trends are also evident in works published outside of Britain. In the most influential technologically-based utopia of the period, Edward Bellamy's *Looking Backward* (1888), probably the most widely-read American novel since *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852), one great corporation, the state, organizes industry, regulates trade and the labour supply, and guarantees security, comfort and prosperity for all. On the Continent works like Theodore Hertzka's *Freeland. A Social Anticipation* (1890) envisioned the abolition of poverty through socialist engineering. United to the great technological innovations of the period, such promises seemed less utopian, and more realistic, than in any preceding period. And utopia itself was based less on the restraint of need, and more on the satisfaction of desire, than ever before.

Social Darwinism

The second force to lend an impetus to utopian thinking in this period was provided by the theory of evolution associated primarily with Charles Darwin, but also with the work of another naturalist, Alfred Russel Wallace, and of the foremost sociologist and social theorist of the 1860s to 1880s, Herbert Spencer. The social and intellectual impact of Darwinism can scarcely be overstated.²² Evolutionism offered a positive vision of universal history as a comprehensible process in which mankind was situated firmly in the natural world, evolving from a primitive anthropoid state to the present rather than being specially created by the divinity. The agnostic conclusions often deduced from

this account, notably by Darwin's 'bulldog', T. H. Huxley, were not inevitable, but became increasingly widespread, and in most developed nations Darwinism fostered a large-scale crisis of religious conscience. In one post-Darwinian utopia, thus, priests are simply 'improved out of existence'.²³ Many utopias of the period assume the onward progress of rationalism, though in some works a more enlightened Christianity regains influence.²⁴ Another common variant is some form of a positivist 'religion of humanity', drawing on the ideas of Auguste Comte and his extraordinarily active group of British followers.²⁵ The chief utopian component to be developed from Darwinism, however, was derived not from the inevitability of the struggle for the means of subsistence, which would notionally result in the 'survival of the fittest', in the most popular rendering of evolutionary theory. Instead, it was the voluntarist strand of evolutionary theory developed by Darwin's cousin, Francis Galton (1822–1911), whose dual assessment of the negative degeneration of the species and the positive capacity of humanity to foster species improvement by selective breeding was to prove enormously influential over a century-long period. From the time his first chief work, *Hereditary Genius* (1869), was published, Galton plotted the development of what he termed 'eugenics' in 1883, 'the science which deals with all influences that improve the inborn qualities of a race; also with those that develop them to the utmost advantage'.²⁶ Chief amongst the causes of species degeneration for Galton was the fact that urban life depleted physical strength, willpower and the willingness to labour, and substituted bohemianism, dissoluteness and complacency. The great danger to civilization was 'the exhaustive drain upon the rural districts to supply large towns. Those who come up to the towns may produce large families, but there is much reason to believe that these dwindle away in subsequent generations. In short, the towns sterilise rural vigour. And he feared that 'a considerable part of the population has already become bearers of germs of degeneracy'.²⁷ At the same time, the notion that a 'higher' human type could be promoted by selective interbreeding indicated a 'positive' eugenic ideal.

Galton himself wrote a utopia, *Kantsaywhere*, which is largely concerned with the detailed mechanics of the testing process, for example the ascertaining of ancestry and measurement of skull size, prior to obtaining the prized 'eugenic certificate', for leave to procreate. Those who fail the examination, the 'unclassified', are treated kindly so long as they have no children; if they do, 'kindness was changed into sharp severity'. The 'very weakly' live in not-too-onerous labour colonies in a condition of celibacy. Where defective children are born to normal parents, they are not destroyed, but may not procreate. Those who 'fail to pass the Poll examination in Eugenics' are treated as 'undesirable as individuals, and dangerous to the community, owing to the practical certainty that they will propagate their kind if unchecked. They are subjected to surveillance ... [if] they refuse to emigrate'.²⁸ The antidote to degeneration was for Galton the selective

production of a higher class of the 'naturally gifted' who would intermarry and promote a 'sentiment of caste' amongst themselves in order to avoid any impure admixture. Such a group, he thought, characterized by 'more vigour, more ability, and more consistency of purpose',²⁹ might achieve some 'moderate social favour and influence, including a system of national registration of remarkable persons'. It might eventually result in a separatist development of the gifted caste, which might reside in co-operative associations in the countryside. Similar themes would also emerge prominently in the proposal for a 'samurai' caste of leaders in H. G. Wells's *A Modern Utopia* (1905), while the bid for combining a purer moral environment with 'greener' cities was prominent in Ebenezer Howard's Garden City movement.³⁰

Such themes, of course, are readily identifiable with the utopian tradition itself: in Plato's *Republic* (inspired by Plutarch's account of Sparta), the first priority of the ruling guardians is described as maintaining 'the purity of the race' and avoiding the mixing of superior and inferior types. Community of women and children results for the highest, guardian class of men, with state regulation of marriage, and the secret disposal of inferior offspring.³¹ And in More's *Utopia*, we recall, engaged couples view one another naked in order to avoid bodily defects. Amongst later writers, Fourier imagined the future biological mutation of humans, while Godwin envisioned perfectibility in terms of the prolongation of life. Utopias have thus commonly stressed the physical improvable of human stock as a key goal, usually through the promotion of a healthier life, and from the Renaissance increasingly through scientific advancement.³² The improvement of health would also be a central theme in other utopias of this period, notably Benjamin Ward Richardson's *Hygenia: A City of Health* (1876). And, albeit under different guise, the development of eugenics remains directly relevant to present debates over cloning and genetic modification in order to promote physical improvement of type. What was novel in the 1890s, in Britain and elsewhere, was the emergence of a much larger-scale debate about 'negative' eugenics.³³ This involved proposals to interfere with behaviour to prevent the degeneration of the species through insanity, criminality, alcoholism, racial intermarriage and the vastly larger birth rate amongst the poor than the more fortunate, which increasingly threatened to dilute the pool of characteristics transmittable to offspring.

At various points eugenicist and socialist thought overlapped in the last two decades of the nineteenth century. Galton's communitarianism implied that eugenics as such tended politically in a collectivist direction. His chief lieutenant, Karl Pearson, notably, felt that eugenics was most closely aligned with socialism, because the latter recognized 'that social progress has depended on an organization of society checking very largely the individual struggle for existence within the group', that socialism would make the most efficient use of existing resources,

and that the 'wish of Darwin that the superior and not the inferior members of the group should be the parents of the future, is far more likely to be realised in a socialistic than in an individualistic state'.³⁴ Eugenics thus clearly pointed to the deduction, termed by Pearson 'Socialist', 'that the direct object of government is to form a stable society; that all real legislation, that all foreign action must ultimately be guided by the aim of increasing national welfare'.³⁵ This was not as such for Pearson a 'class-conscious' ideal (it was also explicitly anti-revolutionary), for he regarded all forms of labour as equally honourable. But he did wish to abolish parasitism and exploitation. The future society thus 'ought to be one vast guild of labourers – workers with the head and workers with the hand – and so organised that there would be no place in it for those who merely live on the labour of others. In a political or social system based upon labour it would be the mere possessor of wealth who would have no power'.³⁶

Many socialists contended that their schemes were best suited to minimize the otherwise destructive tendencies of species evolution.³⁷ They were lent great support by the conversion to socialism in 1890 of the co-discoverer of the theory of natural selection, Alfred Russel Wallace. By this time there was an increasing propensity to see both socialism and evolutionism as complementary. Some socialists confronted the relationship between both movements positively and directly; Eden Paul's *Socialism and Eugenics* (1911), for instance, proclaimed the 'reciprocal necessity of the two movements', both being 'complementary parts of the great modern movement known as Humanism'.³⁸ Some Fabians certainly developed eugenist themes,³⁹ and the Society took an official interest in explaining the declining birth rate and the hypothesis of 'race suicide'.⁴⁰ George Bernard Shaw, whose *Man and Superman* (1903) popularized positive eugenics, and Caleb Saleeby, another Fabian, wrote much on the subject.⁴¹ Shaw pointed to the apparent success of the well-known American community at Oneida founded and governed by John Humphrey Noyes from 1869 until 1878, where 'stirpiculture', or the pairing of the most 'robust' couples together (Noyes held his own robustness in no small estimation), was designed to promote physical evolution.⁴² Socialists like William Morris linked urban development to the idea of physical degeneration.⁴³ Others, like Edward Aveling, contended that the mentally deficient ought not to marry.⁴⁴ But others were sceptical that society could ever 'adopt the Platonic stirpiculture of the "Republic"', as another Fabian, William Clarke, put it.⁴⁵ Nonetheless official pronouncements by socialist bodies in this period, while they stress the need to liberalize marriage relations and make divorce easily accessible, rarely discuss any regulation of either marriage or procreation.⁴⁶

Socialism, Eugenics and Utopia

Let us now consider some of the ways in which these themes were recrafted and popularized in the utopian literary genre of the period. In *Pyrna: A Commune; or, Under the Ice* (1875) a new society is discovered beneath a Swiss glacier where there is perfect equality, fraternal love, and community of property and children. But no sub-normal children are allowed to live, 'every form of life but that which is natural, healthy, and likely to grow up capable of taking its place in our community on an equal footing with its brethren' is exterminated.⁴⁷ In William Hay's *Three Hundred Years Hence; or, A Voice from Posterity* (1881), overpopulation at the end of the nineteenth century has produced a cataclysmic race war in which the Caucasian race, which 'Nature has selected to rule and populate the globe', faces inferior races whose 'gradual extinction' is described as natural. The result is that 'Mongol and Negro, the Inferior Races, [become] entirely things of the past, with their lands settled by whites.'⁴⁸ Similarly, in Standish James O'Grady's anonymous *The Queen of the World or, Under the Tyranny* (1900), for instance, it is the English and Chinese who engage in a colossal struggle in the twenty-first century. Predictably, the 'Anglo-Saxon' peoples are often portrayed as conquering the globe – after all, Europeans had nearly done so! – as in Robert William Cole's *The Struggle for Empire: A Story of the Year 2236* (1900), where London becomes the capital of the 'solar system'. But occasionally the scenario is inverted: in Ernest George Henham's *The Reign of the Saints* (1911), for instance, racial intermarriage results in whites becoming a minority race, who moreover succumb to 'want of staying power, love of unwholesome food, excitement, fantastic pleasures, fondness of rapid motion, and the adoption of what was known as the strenuous life, which compelled the continual overtaking of mind and body in a struggle to acquire wealth or political advantage.'⁴⁹ Eventually Britain is conquered by the Japanese empire. Other utopias handled the complex issue of race much more tolerantly: in Robert Desborough's *State Contentment: An Allegory* (1870), for example, there is community of property and no poverty, and not only are the races harmoniously mixed, but national pride and prejudice have been eliminated (unhealthy children of any race are put to death at birth, however).

Amongst other utopian works to take up such themes, Henry Wright's *Depopulation: A Romance of the Unlikely* (1899)⁵⁰ commences with Galton's assumption of a decline in marriage and family size among the cultured classes. Wright's *Mental Travel in Imagined Lands* (1878)⁵¹ envisions science being used to promote the best qualities in human nature, such as generosity and nobility of character, which had often been eliminated during the struggle for the 'survival of the fittest'. Anthony Trollope's *The Fixed Period* (1882) has as its central theme the ideal of terminating life at sixty-five in order to free scarce resources

for the more productive. Set in a British colony called Britannula in 1980, the novel introduces the notion of a 'fixed period', or euthanasia at 65, to save the expense of some £50 a year for each person departed. A revolt overthrows this system, but the narrator nonetheless insists its basic ideas are sound. In Walter Besant's *The Inner House* (1888), scientific discoveries have arrested the process of natural decay and crime, while pain and anxiety have been abolished, and there is a debate as to whether these advantages should be only for 'the flower of mankind, for the men strong in intellect and endowed above the common herd'.⁵² Infanticide to curtail congenital deformities is practised in Robert Ellis Dudgeon's anonymous *Colymbia* (1873). In Alex Newton's anonymous *Posterity: Its Verdicts and Its Methods; or Democracy A.D. 2100* (1897), no-one is admitted to citizenship without a medical examination for organic diseases, and the 'morally unsound and the mentally diseased' are prevented 'from leaving progeny'.⁵³ A marriage bureau similarly regulates the choice of spouses in G. Read Murphy's *Beyond the Ice: Being a Story of the Newly Discovered Region Round the North Pole* ([1894]).⁵⁴ Euthanasia is the norm in Andrew Acworth's *A New Eden* (1896),⁵⁵ where family size is restricted to two children because women, having become equal, do not want more. Euthanasia for the insane and those who wish to commit suicide is also the norm in Percy Greg's *Across the Zodiac: The Story of a Wrecked Record* (1880). In Kenneth Follingsby's *Meda. A Tale of the Future* (1892), the chief theme of work is overpopulation in the late nineteenth century as a result of indiscriminate births. But in the world of 5575 births are regulated, and marriage is according to 'educational equality'.⁵⁶

The notion that utopia could involve the creation or discovery of a 'higher' or superior race is also explored in various ways in utopias, for example in Greg's *Across the Zodiac*, where Martians play this role. In *A Thousand Years Hence. Being Personal Reminiscences* (1882), by 'Nunsowe Green',⁵⁷ a 'natural nobility' is gradually created from the most perfect physical and intellectual specimens of mankind. *What Will Mrs. Grundy Say? Or, A Calamity on Two Legs* (1891), by 'Michael Rustoff', describes 'the coarser-grained labouring classes' as having 'multiplied like rabbits in a warren. It began to be apparent that the families of gentle blood were gradually dying off, crowded out of existence and swamped by the teeming multitudes of children of the lower orders'.⁵⁸ A State Matrimonial Bureau is thus set up which regulates marriages and creates a new class of nobility. Amongst lower orders these regulations are even stricter: no one may marry without a license, 'not merely specifying whom it is he wishes to marry, but how many children he is entitled to have. The number of licences is strictly regulated by the national requirements; no one can marry until he proves his ability to make provision for his wife and children'.⁵⁹ A new class of nobility is thus sought:

Special attention was given to the proper blending of family characteristics; those, for instance, who had great warriors among their ancestry were mated to those who had been pre-eminently distinguished in the arts of peace; descendants of famous philosophers or freethinkers were wedded to the stock of eminent divines; scientists mingled their blood with poets, and artists with mathematicians. Peculiarities of form, figure, complexion, were carefully observed, and marriages were arranged accordingly. By this process of intelligent sexual selection, spread over the compass of several centuries, we have at last succeeded in fashioning a race of nobles which is absolutely peerless in the universe.⁶⁰

Those who disobey are banished to distant communities where sexes are separated; thus 'the coarser elements of our national life are kept in proper restraint and subordination, and even our lower orders are at least three grades higher in the scale of civilisation than when we began our matrimonial arrangements'.⁶¹ Finally, the maximum age for women is fixed at forty, and men at fifty-five, and enforced by voluntary euthanasia, in order to prevent the social and political predominance of the old over the young. (The royal family, clerics and generals are the first objects of this policy.)

Such themes were naturally prone to satire. In one of the bluntest anti-Darwinian satires, monkeys take over Britain.⁶² In another portrayal of such themes, *Spring, Summer. Backwards and Forwards* (1905), we find that the regulation of marriage by a socialist government results in dark men having fair wives, tall men short wives, fat men thin wives, and ugly men pretty wives, in order to promote equality. (Socialism is finally condemned here as a form of slavery.) In E. A. Abbott's *Flatland* (1884), we are told that 'Any Female, duly certified to be suffering from St. Vitus's Dance, fits, chronic cold accompanied by violent sneezing, or any disease necessitating involuntary motions, shall be instantly destroyed'.⁶³ Sometimes the marriage examination was also extended to include male proficiency in a trade or profession, and female capacity to cook, as well as a physiological investigation.⁶⁴ We cannot always tell, however, whether a given text is satirical or not in its treatment of such themes as poverty and idleness or congenital physical defects. (At their borders these sub-genres are often closely proximate.) *In the Future: A Sketch in Ten Chapters* (1875), for instance, describes the poor as living in 'the new Laboratories, each a combination of asylum and manufactory' where all are classified and numbered and subject to 'never-sleeping supervision'.⁶⁵ But it is by no means clear that the author finds this distasteful or unduly oppressive.

The intellectual force of Darwinism gave increasing prominence to women's responsibilities in ensuring the future progress of the species at the very moment, from the late 1860s onwards, when demands for female suffrage were growing swiftly. The regulation of offspring had a liberating capacity, particularly in so far as women ideally wielded the ultimate decision in the choice of their mates.

Although Oneida was an exceptional experiment, it is quite evident that the eugenic turn in social thought generally in this period encouraged greater sexual freedom, and at a time when birth control was finally emerging from its taboo status to become an issue of scientific urgency. Karl Pearson, again, outspokenly contended that ‘free sexual union seems to me the ideal of the future, the outcome of Socialism as applied to sex ... *Children apart*, it is unbearable that church or society should in any official form interfere with lovers.’⁶⁶ Many utopian and dystopian writings in this period discuss the ‘women’s question’ either positively or satirically; some regard it as the basis for any discussion of future progress.⁶⁷ Equality for women is a leading theme in *A Thousand Years Hence*, in Sir Julius Vogel’s *Anno Domini 2000; or, Women’s Destiny* (1889), in Henry Dalton’s *Lesbia Newman* (1889) and in Alice C. Glyn’s *A Woman of Tomorrow: A Tale of the Twentieth Century* (1896). Amongst other works, Edward Heneage Dering’s anonymous *In the Light of the Twentieth Century* (1886) contains an extended discussion of women’s rights, such as to divorce, while *The New Democracy; a Fragment of Caucasian History* (1885) describes the achievement of equality for women under a despotic government. George Noyes Miller’s *After the Strike of a Sex; or, Zugassent’s Discovery with the Oneida Community and the Perfectionists of Oneida and Wallingford* (1891) popularizes the Oneida experiment in group marriage and birth control. In positive utopias marriage has typically become a mere civil contract, sometimes for a limited period: in Joseph Carne-Ross, *Quintura: Its Singular People and Remarkable Customs*,⁶⁸ for example, it is three years, while all children become the property of the state. In Elizabeth Corbett’s *New Amazonia: A Foretaste of the Future* (1889) men are prohibited from holding any office of substance (and again, a system of eugenics certificates regulates marriage). In some instances sexual equality is combined with ideals of free love.⁶⁹

Many of these themes were united at the end of the century in the writings of the foremost utopian writer of the period, H. G. Wells.⁷⁰ After writing a series of satires and dystopias, notably *The Time Machine* (1895) and *When the Sleeper Awakes* (1899), illustrating the evils of the existing society without proposing their solution, Wells began to explore the possibility of creating a voluntary, superior caste of leaders in his first positive utopian work, *Anticipations of the Reaction of Mechanical and Scientific Progress upon Human Life* (1901). This ideal was at times termed a ‘new republicanism’, but Wells eventually opted for ‘The Great State’ rather than ‘socialism’, which concept he regarded by 1915 as too ambiguous.⁷¹ In *Anticipations* Wells assailed inefficiency and idleness amongst the wealthy and poor alike, insisting that there were two adversaries to genuine progress: the ‘people of the abyss’ and the ‘incompetent rich’. In a remarkable passage describing the possible outcomes of international competition in the coming century, Wells stressed that

The nation that produces in the near future the largest proportional development of educated and intelligent engineers and agriculturists, of doctors, schoolmasters, professional soldiers, and intellectually active people of all sorts; the nation that most resolutely picks over, educates, sterilizes, exports, or poisons its People of the Abyss; the nation that succeeds most subtly in checking gambling and the moral decay of women and homes that gambling inevitably entails; the nation that by wise interventions, death duties and the like, contrives to expropriate and extinguish incompetent rich families while leaving individual ambitions free; the nation, in a word, that turns the greatest proportion of its irresponsible adiposity into social muscle, will certainly be the nation that will be the most powerful in warfare as in peace, will certainly be the ascendant or dominant nation before the year 2000.⁷²

Here the central determinant in population planning was 'the new needs of efficiency', which dictated that it was the lot of those who failed 'to develop sane, vigorous, and distinctive personalities for the great world of the future ... to die out and disappear.'⁷³ Yet Wells, evidently after a thoughtful scrutiny of the scientific evidence, then backed away rapidly from this concept of eugenics. By 1903, writing on 'The Problem of the Birth Supply', he agreed with Graham Wallas that the state should not promote any specific system of selective breeding, concluding that 'I can only reiterate my conviction that nothing really effective can be organized in these matters until we are much clearer than we are at present in our ideas about them.'⁷⁴ Famously, in *A Modern Utopia* (1905), Wells explored the notion of a 'voluntary nobility', the Platonic 'samurai', who manage the state and take vows of self-restraint. But this group, while enjoined to marry among equals, are specifically described as 'not hereditary classes, nor is there any attempt to develop any class by special breeding, simply because the intricate interplay of heredity is untraceable and incalculable.'⁷⁵ Wells did acknowledge that doubtless 'these marriage limitations tend to make the *samurai* something of an hereditary class. Their children, as a rule become *samurai*. But this is not an exclusive caste.'⁷⁶ But the tendency of the caste was supposed to be to increase relative to the total population.

Moreover, Wells in *A Modern Utopia* was scathing about the fact that 'the social and political followers of Darwin have fallen into an obvious confusion between race and nationality, and into the natural trap of patriotic conceit', which had engendered 'a sort of delirium about race and race struggle'. This had been used to excuse the massacre of Africans by Belgians in the Congo, and of Chinese by Europeans during the Boxer Rebellion.⁷⁷ Abjuring any ideal of racial 'purity', Wells clearly distanced himself from the most malevolent prejudice of the age, declaring that he was 'inclined to discount all adverse judgments and all statements of insurmountable differences between race and race'. Society ought not to produce 'inferior types'. But any modern utopia would decently feed, house and employ the poor (including guaranteed state employment where necessary) at a reasonable minimum wage. Lunatics and those afflicted with 'certain

foul and transmissible diseases' would not be killed (though deformed infants might be). Persistent criminals would be exiled to island prisons.⁷⁸ But race presented no special case for the application of these rules, and, sceptical that any 'all-round inferior race' existed, Wells by 1905 had moved a considerable distance from the positions assumed in *Anticipations*, though eugenics remained essential to his thinking.

If we consider such themes in utopian thought more generally, it is also worth noting the contribution of the pioneering sociologist Jane Hume Clapperton, the author of *Scientific Meliorism and the Evolution of Happiness* (1885) and *A Vision of the Future* (1904).⁷⁹ In *Scientific Meliorism*, Clapperton accepted, following Mill, Spencer and others, that, given the application of evolutionary theory to society, it should be possible to avoid the worst excesses of the 'survival of the fittest', namely poverty, child labour and excessive competition. Using Galton, Malthus and Darwin, she argued for 'Neo-Malthusian' 'artificial checks to reproduction' and a Spartan emphasis on the importance of rearing healthy children as 'the *only possible method* by which society can reach to the foundation of its miseries.'⁸⁰ Clapperton combined the liberation of women, a struggle against conventionalism and social experimentation (echoing Mill's *On Liberty*) on co-operative and communitarian lines, towards an increasing communism, indicating that evolution could consciously move towards union, even towards shared domestic arrangements and a superior politics. She also echoed Galton's concern for the decline of the 'white races,' but rejected the notion that voluntary celibacy, with its interference in the natural passion of love, could assist in 'race regeneration', preferring instead 'artificial birth control'.⁸¹

While *A Vision of the Future* covered much the same ground, Clapperton's physiological interests here received even higher priority. Her economics now became more clearly New Liberal and Fabian, and 'scientific meliorism' was described as contrary to *laissez-faire* in principle.⁸² But socialism was now clearly seen as an outgrowth of that sympathy which permitted the supersession of the old law of the 'survival of the fittest', despite the fact that philanthropy 'tends to a lowering of the level of average health and a gradual *degenerating of the race* through selection of the unfit, and through the power of hereditary transmission.'⁸³ The population problem remained unsolved, but 'immense strides' had been made since 1884 towards the acceptance of heredity, and towards the notion, *contra* Darwin, that population control did not mean impeding the beneficial effects of natural selection. Galton's advocacy of celibacy was again condemned for its interference with human happiness. Clapperton, instead, was now more daring about marriage, suggesting that the Nair system of complex marriage might be favourably contrasted with European monogamy. In 'conscious evolution sexual functions are no longer regarded as essentially allied with propagation',⁸⁴ though dissolute habits are to be avoided. Clapperton's 'vision'

thus involved substantial domestic transformation as an aspect of social reform and 'conscious evolution' towards the highest ethical state of justice and equality. Nonetheless reform would not be applied equally to all classes:

In the lower social strata where any reconstruction of family life is not yet possible, what is immediately required is a gradual rise of wages with steady improvement in all the conditions of industrial labour. Society also must relinquish such patronage of the poor as fosters their too rapid increase, undermines their self-dependence and tends generally to deterioration of race. Parental responsibility must be strongly inculcated and strictly upheld. Public teaching should be given in all natural laws affecting society, especially the laws of health, increase, and heredity; and, under conditions respectful to human dignity, Malthusian doctrine should be taught, and a knowledge of neo-Malthusian method very carefully imparted.⁸⁵

Ultimately, then, 'society will have no class distinctions of the present order, no idlers or parasites, no poor and no coercive government.'⁸⁶ The old dream of socialists and liberals alike, the abolition of unproductive labour and social parasitism, was finally to be realized.

Such works clearly indicate that the relationship between eugenics and utopia spanned a series of genres ranging from fictional representation through social forecasting to eugenicist works which push in utopian directions. A good example of the latter is Frank Perry Coste's *Towards Utopia (Being Speculations in Social Evolution)* (1894), which grappled not with delineations of the completed utopian state, but with the natural path by which it might be created: through a reduction of family size, the extension of household arrangements to permit joint-family occupancy (with a concomitant saving in servants' costs!), reducing waste and increasing leisure, utilizing resources more efficiently, disdaining merely fashionable luxuries (substituting *vin ordinaire* for champagne, for instance), and minimizing the number of unproductive labourers and 'superfluities' in general. Like mainstream socialist writing in this period, then, the luxury of the rich was often assumed to be, as a leading socialist writer, Robert Blatchford, put it, 'a direct cause of the misery of the poor.'⁸⁷

Conclusion: The Utopian Genre at the Commencement of the Twentieth Century

The influence of both socialism and Darwinism on the utopian genre highlights a classic tension running throughout utopian thought generally, particularly in the modern period: the use of fictional devices to imagine societies in which greater liberty prevails, at least for the majority, than is possessed by them in the society in which the text is written, versus those in which – pace More himself – a much greater stress is given to order and organization. The shift in utopian thought towards both eugenics and socialism clearly supported the theme of

order rather than that of increasing liberty.⁸⁸ But it should be stressed that the utopian embrace of eugenics themes was overwhelmingly viewed as a positive, progressive development. To take such utopian imagery in Wells and Morris and then to juxtapose this, by way of asserting a shift from utopian to dystopian writing, with the later work of Aldous Huxley and George Orwell, is fundamentally to misunderstand how this shift was conceived in the late nineteenth century, and to misapprehend its largely optimistic significance for the vast majority of those writing on the subject. Here is one of the leading British Social Darwinists, Benjamin Kidd:

If the old view is correct, and the effects of use and education are transmitted by inheritance, then the Utopian dreams of philosophy in the past are undoubtedly possible of realisation. If we tend to inherit in our own persons the result of the education and mental and moral culture of past generations, then we may venture to anticipate a future society which will not deteriorate, but which may continue to make progress, even though the struggle for existence be suspended, the population regulated exactly to the means of subsistence, and the antagonism between the individual and the social organism extinguished.⁸⁹

Moreover, as we have seen, the emergence of the anti-socialist dystopia occurs within the period we have considered here, and enjoyed a healthy development in the new century in such works as *What Might Have Been, the Story of a Social War* (1907), Horace Newte's *The Master Beast, being the True Account of the Ruthless Tyranny Inflicted on the British People by Socialism A.D. 1898–2020* (1907), J. D. Mayne's *The Triumph of Socialism, and how it Succeeded* (1908), William LeQueux's *The Unknown Tomorrow, how the Rich Fared at the Hands of the Poor, together with a Full Account of the Social Revolution in England* (1910) and *Wake Up, England, being the Amazing Story of John Bull, Socialist* (1910), by 'Prince Edward'.

Yet as we have seen, there were other factors besides socialism and Darwinism feeding the fin de siècle sense of both progressive optimism and degenerative pessimism which found their way into utopian tracts, and which also helped to redefine utopian thought in the late nineteenth century. Amongst the most important of these were gender relations, science, and nostalgia for the past and for a simpler life. The extension of the franchise for men, and, as the century ended, also women, presented a democratic prospect which implied profound social changes, most importantly, perhaps, in the relationship between men and women, and the refinement of marital and familial relations. Equality of women would continue to be portrayed positively in the utopias of the first years of the new century,⁹⁰ but would also be satirized as a response to male fears of the growing social prominence of women.⁹¹ The growth of the British empire, and proposals for reorganizing it, were treated centrally in several texts.⁹² Technological innovation induced fantasies of new forms of power⁹³ and modes and

destinations of travel, giving rise to the most enduring modern sub-genre of utopian thought, science fiction, which was popularized greatly in Britain by H.G. Wells and by Jules Verne and others elsewhere. The cataclysmic power of the new weapons of war – guns, ships, submarines and aeroplanes – was also united to growing fears of worldwide wars both for racial and territorial supremacy. Nostalgia for the past, notably the medieval era, which had underpinned the social theory of Thomas Carlyle and John Ruskin, was continued as the new century commenced in G. K. Chesterton's *The Napoleon of Notting Hill* (1904). Nor should we ignore the enduring theme of utopia as the return to a simpler life, most often associated with Morris's *News from Nowhere* in this period. As in the frontier or colonial fantasies of the earlier nineteenth century (for example the 1820 *New Britain ... Discovered in the Vast Plain of the Missouri*),⁹⁴ the association of the ideal society with a condition of more primitive virtue and order retained its significance even as the trend in both society generally and in utopian writing in particular ran towards collectivist reorganization on a grand scale and the use of all the apparatus of modern technology, as in Bellamy's compelling vision of social and economic development. Nostalgia for a rapidly disappearing society based on small peasant proprietorship and village life is evident in Revd W. Tuckwell's *The New Utopia, or England in 1985* (1885). Many of the positive utopias set in a colonial context, not unsurprisingly, have a primitivist element, such as Horace Tucker's *The New Arcadia: An Australian Story* (1894). Even H. G. Wells flirted with such themes occasionally, notably in *Men Like Gods* (1923). Primitivism was sometimes combined with accounts of catastrophic degeneration, notably in Richard Jefferies *After London; or, Wild England* (1885), which helped inspire *News from Nowhere*. And there are Arcadian elements in other early twentieth-century utopias, such as Robert Blatchford's *The Sorcery Shop* (1909), whose socialist society is replete with forests and gardens, flowers and fruit trees. Nostalgia for an autarkic 'Little England' defined by relative social equality and agricultural self-sufficiency continued well into the new century.

We should not underestimate the degree to which, as the old century closed, utopian thought came to reflect a growing concern with the protection and enhancement of the individual which could provide a counterbalance to authoritarian strands within socialism even in writings by socialists themselves, as well as a response to the anti-socialist dystopias of the period. As H. G. Wells noted in *A Modern Utopia*,

Compared with the older writers Bellamy and Morris have a vivid sense of individual separation, and their departure from the old homogeneity is sufficiently marked to justify a doubt whether there will be any more thoroughly communistic Utopias for ever.⁹⁵

This conception of utopia as embodying the promise of a higher, more refined individuality harkens back to the efforts of J. S. Mill, in particular, to break from the restrictive horizons of liberal political economy to posit a qualitatively progressive social state in which priority was given to cultural and intellectual over economic development. But it serves also to remind us of the quasi-anarchist strand present from Godwin through Carpenter and Morris, and usually allied to primitivism, which to a degree counterbalances the more collectivist trends in utopian thought in this period.⁹⁶ This could assume non-socialist forms, as it does in 'Cassius Minor's *The Finding of Mercia* (1909) and *The Ingathering: A Fiction of Social Economy* (1891), which combines proto-feudal and democratic themes. In Andrew Acworth's *The New Eden* (1894) the need to regenerate society by restoring individualism after the degeneration of the species is also a central theme.

At the dawn of the twentieth century, then, the utopian genre was more popular than at any preceding period in its history. Coupled with an increasing desire for social and political reform, it could spawn mass movements, like Belamy's Nationalist clubs, serve to popularize the various socialist trends, as well as, in satire and dystopia, to show up their potential deficiencies, and to warn, ominously, of the gathering clouds of a European war which seemed ever more likely after Prussia's triumph over France in 1870–1. Where science, technology and the conscious guiding of evolutionary strategy were concerned, the utopian genre offered, as it had always done, an imaginative space in which to think through the implications of scientific theories and their application to social policy. In an age of great hope and expectation, but also of mounting anxiety, the function of utopia in redefining the boundaries between the possible and the impossible was more widely acknowledged than ever.

Notes

1. See, for example, A. L. Morton, *The English Utopia* (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1969). Both of the latter works were first published anonymously; Lytton's authorship was revealed only after his death. A recent account of the fictional ideal societies of the period is M. Beaumont, *Utopia Ltd. Ideologies of Social Dreaming in England 1870–1900* (Leiden: Brill, 2005). Some of the links to science fiction are explored in D. Seed (ed.), *Anticipations: Essays on Early Science Fiction and Its Precursors* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1995). There are also useful comments in S. Ingle, *Socialist Thought in Imaginative Literature* (Totowa, NJ: Rowman & Littlefield, 1979).
2. *Erewhon* was followed by a sequel, *Erewhon Revisited*, in 1901. For details on the composition of the texts, see H. F. Jones, *Samuel Butler, Author of Erewhon (1835–1902). A Memoir*, 2 vols (London: Macmillan, 1919).
3. Other vegetarian utopias of the period include R. Blatchford's *The Sorcery Shop* (1909), and *A Man from the Moon* (1870).
4. A later imitator is X.Y.Z., *The Vrill Staff* (1891).

5. The secondary literature on Morris is extensive, but a good collection of recent essays is S. Coleman and P. O'Sullivan (eds), *William Morris and News from Nowhere: A Vision for Our Time* (Bideford, Devon: Green Books, 1990).
6. See my edition of *Modern British Utopias*, 8 vols (London: Pickering and Chatto, 1997).
7. The classic contemporary study is M. Nordau, *Degeneration* (London: William Heinemann, 1913).
8. See especially my *Utopias of the British Enlightenment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), introduction. J. M. Morgan's *Hampden in the Nineteenth Century*, 2 vols (1834) also might be considered as falling under the genre.
9. See, for example, J. F. Bray, 'A Voyage from Utopia' (1842), in *Modern British Utopias*, vol. 7, pp. 349–486.
10. E. Carpenter, *England's Ideal* (1910), p. 105.
11. Notably the essay 'The Coming Slavery', reprinted in H. Spencer, *The Man Versus the State* (s.l.: Williams & Norgate, 1881), pp. 18–43. For a representative view of the League's outlook, see, for example, B. Smith, *Liberty and Liberalism: A Protest against the Growing Tendency Toward Undue Interference by the State with Individual Liberty, Private Enterprise and the Rights of Property* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1887).
12. [A. Newton], *Posterity: Its Verdicts and Its Methods; or Democracy A.D. 2100* (1897), p. 33.
13. 'Mr. Dick'. James Ingleton. *The History of a Social State A.D. 2000* (1893), p. 436.
14. Reprinted in Volume 4 of the present edition.
15. Reprinted in the present edition, see this volume, pp. 169–70.
16. H. L'Estrange, *Platonia; a Tale of Other Worlds* (1893), p. 102.
17. *Darkness and Dawn: The Peaceful Birth of a New Age* (1884), p. 105.
18. E. W[aterhouse], *The Island of Anarchy. A Fragment of History in the 20th Century* (1887).
19. L'Estrange, *Platonia* (1893).
20. *The Famous Victory* (1880).
21. J. S. L. Strachey, *The Great Bread Riots, or What Came of Fair Trade* (1889).
22. For a recent survey, see P. Dickens, *Social Darwinism* (Buckingham: Open University Press, 2000).
23. *A Man From the Moon* (1870), p. 15.
24. E.g., [Newton], *Posterity*, p. 17.
25. E.g., Petzler. *Life in Utopia*, ch. 19. See generally T. W. Wright, *The Religion of Humanity: The Impact of Comtean Positivism on Victorian Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).
26. F. Galton, *Essays in Eugenics* (London: Eugenics Education Society, 1909), p. 35.
27. K. Pearson, *The Life, Letters and Labours of Francis Galton*, 4 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1914–30), vol. 3A, p. 366.
28. See G. Claeys and L. T. Sargent, (eds), 'Francis Galton, "Kantsaywhere" and "The Donoghues of Dunno Weir"', *Utopian Studies*, 12:2 (2001), pp. 188–233.
29. Galton, *Essays in Eugenics*, pp. 37–8.
30. See H. G. Wells, *A Modern Utopia* (London: Collins, n.d.), pp. 179–220; E. Howard, *Garden Cities of Tomorrow*, 2nd edn (London: S. Sonnenschein & Co., Ltd, 1902).
31. Plato, *Republic*, 460c–461c.

32. Introductory accounts of the eugenics movement make little of its utopian connection, however. See, for example, L. A. Farrall, *The Origins and Growth of the English Eugenics Movement 1865–1925* (New York: Garland Publishing Inc., 1985). On the later period, see G. R. Searle's brief but useful *Eugenics and Politics in Britain 1900–1914* (Leyden: Noordhoff International Publishing, 1976).
33. While most accounts distinguish between these two main forms of eugenics, some authors discuss three forms, e.g., C. W. Saleeby, who analyses 'Positive Eugenics, the encouragement of worthy parenthood; Negative Eugenics, the discouragement of unworthy parenthood; Preventive Eugenics, the protection of parenthood from the racial poisons'. See *The Eugenic Prospect: National and Racial* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1921), p. 30.
34. K. Pearson, *The Chances of Death and Other Studies in Evolution*, 2 vols (London: Edward Arnold, 1897), vol. 1, p. 138.
35. K. Pearson, *Social Problems: Their Treatment, Past, Present, and Future* (London: Dulau & Co., 1912), p. 12.
36. K. Pearson, *Socialism in Theory and Practice*, 2nd edn (London: W. Reeves, 1887), p. 14.
37. E.g., L. Small, *Darwinism and Socialism* (London: Independent Labour Party, 1906), pp. 5–6.
38. E. Paul, *Socialism and Eugenics* (Manchester: National Labour Press, 1911), p. 11.
39. See, for example, B. Shaw, *Everybody's Political What's What*, 2nd edn (London: Constable, 1945), ch. 10: 'The State and the Children'. Shaw elsewhere notes that 'It is one of the troubles of our present civilization that the inferior stocks are outbreeding the superior ones. But the inferior stocks are really starved stocks, slum stocks, stocks not merely uncultivated but degraded by their wretched circumstances. By getting rid of poverty we should get rid of these circumstances and of the inferior stocks they produce; and it is not at all unlikely that in doing so we should get rid of the exaggerated fertility by which Nature tries to set off the terrible infant mortality among them' (*The Intelligent Woman's Guide to Socialism and Capitalism* (London: Constable and Company, 1928), p. 90, and generally pp. 53–7).
40. See E. Pease, *The History of the Fabian Society*, 2nd edn (London: Fabian Society, 1925), pp. 160–2. Fabian Tract 131, by Sidney Webb, addressed 'The Decline of the Birth-Rate'.
41. There are useful comments on these developments in R. A. Soloway, *Demography and Degeneration: Eugenics and the Declining Birth Rate in Twentieth-Century Britain* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1995), pp. 18–55.
42. See G. B. Shaw, *Man and Superman* (London: Constable, 1931), pp. 179–81.
43. See, for example, J. E. Morgan, *The Danger of Degeneration of Race from the too Rapid Increase of Great Cities* (London: Longmans, Green, 1866).
44. E. Aveling, *Darwinism and Small Families* (London: Annie Besant and Charles Bradlaugh, 1882).
45. W. Clarke, *A Collection of His Writings* (London: S. Sonnenschein, 1908), p. 410.
46. E.g., E. B. Bax and H. Quelch, *A New Catechism of Socialism*, 5th edn (London: Twentieth Century Press, Ltd., 1907), p. 39.
47. Reprinted in the present edition, see this volume, p. 50.
48. W. D. Hay, *Three Hundred Years Hence; or, A Voice from Posterity* (1881), p. 257. For a later instance, see S. N. Sedwick, *The Last Persecution* (1909), in which the 'yellow races' dominate Europe.

49. John Trevena (pseud. for E. G. Henham), *The Reign of the Saints* (1911), p. 13.
50. Reprinted in the present edition, see Volume 6.
51. Reprinted in the present edition, see Volume 2.
52. W. Besant, *The Inner House* (1888), p. 28.
53. [Newton], *Posterity*, p. 14.
54. Reprinted in the present edition, see Volume 5.
55. Reprinted in the present edition, see Volume 6.
56. K. Folingsby, *Meda. A Tale of the Future* (1892), p. 141.
57. Reprinted in the present edition, see Volume 2.
58. Reprinted in the present edition, see Volume 3, p. 242.
59. See Volume 3, p. 243.
60. See Volume 3, p. 243.
61. See Volume 3, p. 243.
62. [A. Brookfield], *Simiocracy; a Fragment from Future History* (1884).
63. E. A. Abbott, *Flatland* (1884), p. 13.
64. [Newton], *Posterity*, p. 71.
65. Reprinted in the present edition, see this volume, p. 71.
66. K. Pearson, *The Ethic of Freethought and Other Addresses and Essays*, 2nd edn (London: Black, 1901), p. 427.
67. See, for example, R. Blatchford, *The Sorcery Shop* (1909), p. 44.
68. Reprinted in the present edition, see Volume 3.
69. E.g., W. Middleton, *An Account of an Extraordinary Living Hidden City in Central Africa and Gatherings from South Africa* (1891).
70. See generally J. S. Partington, *Building Cosmopolis: The Political Thought of H. G. Wells* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003).
71. See H. G. Wells, *First and Last Things* (London: Cassell & Co., 1917) and *An Englishman Looks at the World* (London: Cassell & Co., 1914).
72. H. G. Wells, *Anticipations* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1901), p. 212.
73. *Ibid.*, p. 317.
74. H. G. Wells, *Mankind in the Making* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1903), p. 66.
75. Wells, *A Modern Utopia*, p. 184.
76. *Ibid.*, p. 207.
77. *Ibid.*, pp. 227–8.
78. *Ibid.*, p. 94–101.
79. Clapperton was also the author of *Margaret Dunmore: or a Socialist Home* (1888), which describes a successful commune.
80. J. H. Clapperton, *Scientific Meliorism and the Evolution of Happiness* (London: K. Paul, Trench & Co., 1885), p. 95.
81. *Ibid.*, p. 338.
82. 'Scientific meliorism, however, does not imply anarchy or the absence of governing law. Its methods repudiate the *laissez-faire* principle in every department of life, for this reason: Our developed faculties and accumulated knowledge make untenable the negative or inert position. We are impelled in an epoch of conscious evolution to take positive action favourable to progress' (J. H. Clapperton, *A Vision of the Future based on the Application of Ethical Principles* (London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 1904), p. 166).
83. *Ibid.*, p. 83.
84. *Ibid.*, p. 333.
85. *Ibid.*, p. 332.

86. Ibid., p. 339.
87. R. Blatchford, *Merrie England* (London: Clarion Office, 1894), p. 172.
88. Again, thus, Morris is the exception rather than the rule.
89. B. Kidd, *Social Evolution* (London: Macmillan, 1894), pp. 191–2.
90. See, for example, *Star of the Morning. A Chronicle of Karyl the Great and the Revolt of 1920–22* (1906), and C. Minett, *The Day After Tomorrow* (1911). For a consideration of these and other themes in the early decades of the century, see R. Gerber, *Utopian Fantasy: A Study of English Utopian Fiction since the End of the Nineteenth Century* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1955).
91. For a slightly later example, see F. E. Young's *The War of the Sexes* (1905), in which all the men of England except one are exterminated.
92. E.g., An Octogenarian, *The British Federal Empire. A Speech Delivered in a Certain Year of the Twentieth Century, in a Certain City of the Empire* (1872); A. Bennett. *The Dream of an Englishman* (1893).
93. E.g., C. Regnas, *The Land of Nison* (1906).
94. Reprinted in *Modern British Utopias*, vol. 6, pp. 149–307.
95. Wells, *A Modern Utopia*, p. 87. I develop this theme with respect to William Morris in 'Individualist Socialism? A Reassessment of the Sources and Classification of Morris's Socialism', in B. Laurent (ed.), *Essays on William Morris's News from Nowhere* (forthcoming).
96. Carpenter stressed repeatedly that 'the difference between Anarchism and Socialism is not so much a matter of the *form* of social organisation as of the degree in which it is *voluntary* and not forced', and hoped that 'non-governmental society' would secure a decline in 'authoritative regulation ... leaving such arrangements largely to custom and spontaneous initiative' (E. Carpenter, 'Transitions to Freedom', in A. R. Wallace et al., *Forecasts of the Coming Century* (Manchester: Labour Press, 1897), pp. 174–92, on pp. 191, 174).

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