Notes

Introduction

1 According to James Harrington, ‘Here lieth the whole difficulty: such things as, try them never so often, they cannot make hang together, they will yet have to be practicable’, while the imagined solution, however good, was dismissed as impractical. His answer was that his reader should imaginatively experience a different and better order through the medium of narrative fiction. See J.G.A. Pocock, The Political Works of James Harrington (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), pp. 662–3

Chapter 1 Systemic Remedies for Systemic Ills: The Political Thought of More’s Utopia


5 Terence Cave (ed.), Thomas More’s ‘Utopia’ in Early Modern Europe: Paratexts and Contexts (Manchester/New York: Manchester University Press, 2008), p. 6


7 Hexter, More’s ‘Utopia’, p. 28; see also CW 4: xxvii–xli


10 See the entry for him in the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography


13 On this point, see *CCTM*, p. 55 and n. 27; p. 158 and n. 37

14 Later in the sixteenth century, Raphael Holinshed’s *Chronicles* recorded that 72,000 thieves and vagabonds were hanged in the reign of Henry VIII alone (*Holinshed’s Chronicles [of] England, Scotland, and Ireland*, 6 vols (1807; reprinted New York: AMS Press, 1965), 1:314)


16 In the *Republic*, only the ruling class – the Guardians – is communized, but in his last political work, the *Laws*, Plato declares that the best commonwealth would be communistic across the board. The metaphor of the statesman-physician is also employed – in a way that is in fact closer to More’s use of it than is Plato’s – in another Greek work that had an impact on *Utopia*, Plutarch’s idealized biography of Lycurgus, the legendary lawgiver of Sparta. See ‘Lycurgus’ V.2

17 See *CU*, pp. xviii–xxvi. The clearest indication of More’s debt to Plato and Aristotle, and to ancient Greek political theory and practice in general, is found in the many striking resemblances between Utopia and classical Greek city-states both real and ideal (the latter in Plato’s and Aristotle’s treatments of the ideal commonwealth and in the idealized Sparta of Plutarch’s ‘Lycurgus’). In religion, the Utopians lack Christian revelation (until knowledge of it is brought to them by Hythloday and his companions), and their religious principles are limited to those that, according to Thomas Aquinas, can be derived from unassisted reason (see *CU*, p. 66 and n. 65). That Utopia is not Christian means, of course, that it is not simply More’s ideal commonwealth. Among many other things, it embodies his musings on the topic – much discussed by both scholastics and humanists – of the degree of compatibility between reason and revelation. For the best discussion of the general topic of *Utopia* and Greek political theory, see Eric Nelson, *The Greek Tradition in Republican Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 19–48


Chapter 2 More’s *Utopia*: Colonialists, Refugees and the Nature of Sufficiency

1 George M. Logan and Robert M. Adams (eds), *Thomas More: Utopia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 55–6. Page references to this edition will be given in parentheses throughout the text of this essay

2 Peter Kosminsky, ‘The Promise’, Channel 4


5 Thomas Betteridge, *Borders and Travellers in Early Modern Europe* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 6–7
Chapter 3 Goodbye to Utopia: Thomas More’s Utopian Conclusion

1 George M. Logan and Robert M. Adams (eds), Thomas More: Utopia (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 110–11. Page references to this edition will be given in parentheses throughout the text of this essay
3 On their ‘imperialism’, see Chapter 2 above
4 Compare Aristotle, Politics (II. i–v)
5 On these themes see J.C. Davis, ‘Thomas More’s Utopia: Sources, Legacy and Interpretation’, in The Cambridge Companion to Utopian Literature, Gregory Claeys (ed.) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 28–50
6 The printing in Basel of the March 1518 edition was held up for this letter
7 Act 5: 1–11
8 For other vindications of utopian practice as more akin to proper Christian conduct, see pp. 109, 127, 130
9 For the virtue of plain speaking, see pp. 5, 36, 37
10 For the theatre as a key theme in Utopia, see Davis, ‘Thomas More’s Utopia’
11 John 20: 24–9

Chapter 4 So Close, So Far: The Puzzle of Antangil

1 Histoire du grand et admirable royaume d’Antangil. Incogneu jusques à présent à tous Historiens et Cosmographes: composé de six vingts Provinces très belles


4 Consarelli, ‘Libero pensiero’ e Utopia nel ‘Grand Siecle’, p. 13


6 Geographical and cartographic aspects are studied in: Olivier Leplatre, ‘Déplier l’utopie (Histoire du grand et admirable Royaume d’Antangil, 1616)’, Teximage, n°2: Cartes et plans (été 2008), pp. 1–30

7 ‘Arts and sciences are acquired only through books and practice; yet, to succeed, one needs to be taught by good teachers. Being aware of this, the wise architects who founded this state wanted to introduce, among their most attractive decrees, a rule that the children of the nobility and of the richest members of the society with a good natural disposition, be trained freely in all civil and military disciplines, an academy or facility being built for such purpose ... in an airy, elevated and open location’

8 ‘Considering that a republic in which only men are learned and wise cannot be perfect: the Senate ordered that the girls be educated by the parishes in the same way as the boys’

Chapter 5  Microcosm, Macrocosm and ‘Practical Science’ in Andreae’s *Christianopolis*

2 Donald Dickson, *The Tessera of Antilia* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), ch. 2 and 3
3 Claus Bernet ‘Johann Valentin Andreaes *Christianopolis* as Himmlisches Jerusalem’, *Zeitschrift für Württembergische Landesgeschichte* (2007), pp. 147–82
5 J.V. Andreae, *Christianae societatis imago* (Strasbourg, 1619)
6 J.V. Andreae, *Mythologiae Christianae, sive Virtutum & vitiorum vitae humanae imaginum* (Strasbourg: Zetzner, 1619), Book 1, Manipulus I, ch. 32
9 Andreae, *Christianopolis*, ch. 49
10 Hartlib Papers 31/1/56B (Beale to Hartlib, 15 September 1657)
11 Andreae, *Collectaneorum*, Plate 36
12 J.V. Andreae, *Turris Babel, sive Judiciorum de Fraternitate Rosaeæ Crucis Chaos* (Strasbourg: Zetzner, 1619), ch. 5
13 Andreae, *Mythologiae* Book 1, Manipulus I, ch. 32
14 J.V. Andreae, *Verae Unionis in Christo Jesu Specimen*, (n.p., 1628), introduction
15 Andreae, *Christianæ Societatis imago*, p.3

Chapter 6  Tommaso Campanella, *The City of the Sun* and the Protective Celestial Bodies

1 The translation into English of this essay originally written in Italian has been possible due to the funds of the academic project *El Tiempo de los Derechos*, Programa Consolider-Ingenio 2010, CSD 2008-00007
2 Tomasso Campanella, *The City of the Sun: A Poetical Dialogue*, trans., introduction and notes Daniel J. Donno (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), p. 86. Page references to this edition will be given in parentheses throughout the text of this essay
4 Claudio Tolomeo, *Le previsioni astrologiche* (Tetrabiblos), a cura di S. Feraboli (Milan: Mondadori 1998), p. 15
NOTES

5 Tolomeo, *Le previsioni astrologiche* (*Tetrabiblos*), p. 31
6 Tolomeo, *Le previsioni astrologiche* (*Tetrabiblos*), p. 83
7 Thomas More, *Utopia*, eds George M. Logan and Robert M. Adams (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 67. Thomas More makes a distinction between astronomy and astrology, raising the first to the dignity of a science (which allows one to profitably comprehend the signs of nature) and confining the second to the role of vain superstition
8 Tomasso Campanella, ‘Come evitare il fato astrale’, in *Opuscoli astrologici*, a cura di G. Ernst (Milan: Rizzoli, 2003), p. 65
9 Tomasso Campanella, *Il senso delle cose e la magia*, a cura di A. Bruers (Bari: Laterza, 1925), p. 315
10 ‘[T]he human mind is far superior and beyond the heavens. Therefore, the heavens only exert influence on the mind of man by accident. Whilst it may alter the body and the vegetative soul and the senses, over the human intellect, it has an indirect influence, as stated by St. Thomas regarding its operations on the body and senses’ (Tomasso Campanella, ‘Disputa sulle bolle dei ss. Pontefici Sisto V e Urbano VIII contro gli astrologi’, in *Opuscoli astrologici*, p. 193)

**Chapter 7 ‘A Dark Light’: Spectacle and Secrecy in Francis Bacon’s *New Atlantis***

1 Francis Bacon, ‘New Atlantis’, in Susan Bruce (ed.), *Three Early Modern Utopias* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 177. Page references to this edition will be given in parentheses throughout the text of this essay
2 For *New Atlantis*’s use of the travel narrative genre, see Paul Salzman, ‘Narrative contexts for Bacon’s *New Atlantis*’, in Bronwen Price (ed.), *Francis Bacon’s New Atlantis* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), pp. 30–8
3 See, for example, Brian Vickers, *Francis Bacon* (Harlow: Longman, 1978), pp. 28–9
6 Bruce, *Three Early Modern Utopias*, p. 235, fn. 165. Bacon often uses the spelling ‘Salomon’ for Solomon in other works
8 Warhaft, *Francis Bacon*, p. 337
9 Warhaft, *Francis Bacon*, pp. 300–1
10 ‘Ethics and Politics in the *New Atlantis*’, in Price (ed.), *Francis Bacon’s New Atlantis*, p. 62
12 Warhaft, *Francis Bacon*, p. 323
16 See Price, ‘Introduction’, pp. 12–13, for further detail about this feature
Chapter 8 Gerrard Winstanley’s *The Law Of Freedom: Context and Continuity*

1 Gerrard Winstanley, *The Law of Freedom in a Platform: Or, True Magistracy Restored* (1652): prefatory address to Oliver Cromwell
5 Gurney, *Brave Community*, pp. 98–104, 126, 176–9
6 Gurney, *Brave Community*, p. 102
7 Davis, *Utopia*, pp. 182, 190–202
8 Hugh Peter, *Good Work for a Good Magistrate: Or, A Short Cut to Great Quiet* (1651)
11 Gurney, *Brave Community*, p. 214
12 Peter, *Good Work*, pp. 27–8
13 Peter, *Good Work*, pp. 27–57
14 Peter, *Good Work*, pp. 18–23, 57
16 *Works*, 2, pp. 282, 333, 369; Peter, *Good Work*, p. 35; Robinson, *Certain Considerations*, epistle dedicatory
20 Winstanley, unlike Nedham, did not take from Penington the latter’s clear distinction between executive and legislative powers
Chapter 9  ‘De Te Fabula Narratur’: Oceana and James Harrington’s Narrative Constitutionalism

1 J.G.A. Pocock (ed.), Harrington: The Commonwealth of Oceana and a System of Politics (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 1. (Page references to this edition will be given in parentheses throughout the rest of the text of this essay.) This epigraph, which appears on the title page of the first printings of Oceana, is taken from Horace, Satires, I, pp. i, 68–70 and may be translated as: ‘Tantalus, thirsting forever, keeps straining to taste the retreating waters forever eluding his lips. Why do you laugh? Change the names and the story is told about you.’ I have here adapted the translation of H. Rushton Fairclough (trans. and ed.), Horace: Satires, Epistles and Ars Poetica (London: Heinemann, 1955), pp. 9–10


3 See J.C. Davis, ‘The Prose Romance of the 1650s as a context for Oceana’, forthcoming

4 There is a more detailed discussion of this in J.C. Davis, “‘De te Fabula narratur”: Narrative Constitutionalism and the Kinetics of James Harrington’s Oceana”, forthcoming


Chapter 10 An Island with Potential: Henry Neville’s The Isle Of Pines


3 Although the date on the pamphlet is 27 June, the Stationer’s Register has 4 July. The ‘Letter’ was published as A New and further Discovery of The Isle of Pines in A Letter from Cornelius Van Sloetten a Dutch-man ... to a Friend of his in London (London, 1668)


8 Harrington, ‘Oceana’, p. 75


Chapter 11 The Persian Moment in Denis Veiras’s History of the Sevarambians

1 Denis Veiras, The History of the Sevarambians, eds J.C. Laursen and C. Masroori (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2006), p. 203. Page references to this edition will be given in parentheses throughout the text of this essay
For a brief biography of the author and more information about the text, see the introduction to Veiras, *The History of the Sevarambians*, pp. vii–xxvii

Veiras, *The History of the Sevarambians*, p. 90; cf. p. 66


For example, Plutarch, *Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romans* and Quintus Curtius, *The Life of Alexander*

‘We revere Mithra (heavenly light) ruler of all countries, whom Ahura Mazda has created full of luster’ (*Khordeh Avesta: Zoroastrian Prayer Book, with Prayers in Roman Script and Translation in English*, trans. T.R. Sethna (n.p., n.p.: 1975), p. 45 (also see pp. 19 and 41))

‘We revere the shining sun, eternal brilliant and emitting strong (light). We revere Mithra (heavenly light)’ (*Khordeh Avesta*, trans. Sethna, 45)


Justin, *The First Apology*, ch. 66


Butler, ‘Introduction’, p. 15

Butler, ‘Introduction’, p. 19


Chapter 12 Nature and Utopia in Morelly’s *Code De La Nature*


5 Morelly, *Essai sur l’esprit humain*, p. 3


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**Chapter 13  *Sinapia*, A Political Journey to the Antipodes of Spain**

1 Anónimo, *Descripción de la Sinapia, Península en la Tierra Austral* [no date]. References to *Sinapia* contain two page numbers divided by a forward slash. The first refers to Miguel Avilés’ edition of *Sinapia (Sinapia. Una utopía Española del Siglo de las Luces)* (Madrid: Editorial Nacional, 1976); the second one to the paragraph of the facsimile edition included in Stelio Cro, *Descripción de la Sinapia, Península en la Tierra Austral. A Classical Utopia of Spain* (Hamilton: Mac Master University, 1975)

2 See Susan Bruce’s chapter in this book. Examples like this can be found throughout the text of *Sinapia*


4 See George M. Logan’s chapter in this book

5 See J. C. Davis and John Gurney’s chapters in this book


7 The project was set in motion in July 1767 once the *Fuero de población* (which until 1835 regulated the social, economic and political life of the founded settlements) was passed (Pedro Ruiz Torres, *Reformismo e Ilustración* (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2010), p. 419)

8 ‘We made no inquiries, however, about monsters, which are the routine of travellers’ tales. Scyllas, ravenous Celaenos, and man-eating Lestrygonians and that sort of monstruosity you can hardly avoid, but to find governments wisely established and sensibly ruled is not so easy’ (Thomas More, *Utopia*, eds George M. Logan and Robert M. Adams (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 12)

10 Sebold, ‘Introducción’, p. 39
11 Sebold, ‘Introducción’, p. 41
13 Abel Jansszoan Tasman (1603–59) who appears in the republic of Sinapia – ‘I do not know how some notes that Abel Tasman had written of his journey came to my hands’ (69/1) – was a sailor working for the Netherlands East India Company. Moreover, the animal life and flora described belong to the American continent, not to the Australasian one (Cro, *Descripción de la Sinapia*, p. 75, n. 23)
16 Moylan, *Science Fiction*, p. 40
18 See Cyrus Masroori and John Christian Laursen’s chapter in this book
22 Eliav-Feldon, *Realistic Utopias*, p. 9
23 Ruiz Torres, *Reformismo e Ilustración*, p. 435
24 See Sebold, ‘Introducción’, p. 50

Chapter 14 Condorcet’s Utopianism: Faith in Science and Reason

6 See the articles in *Condorcet: Homme des Lumières et de la Révolution*, texts réunis par Anne-Marie Chouillet et Pierre Crepel (Fontenay/Saint-Cloud: ENS

7 Condorcet, Esquisse d’un tableau historique des progrès de l'esprit humain, t. 6, p. 13

8 Condorcet, Esquisse d’un tableau historique des progrès de l'esprit humain, p. 237

9 Quoted by Paul Cheney, Revolutionary Commerce: Globalization and the French Monarchy (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2010), p. 147. Cheney contrasts this ‘scientism’ of the Physiocrats with the comparative historical approach of other economic thinkers of the era, strongly influenced by Montesquieu


12 Condorcet, ‘Fragment de justification’, Oeuvres de Condorcet, t. 1, (juillet 1793), p. 574


15 It comes as no surprise that Condorcet believed that ‘the modern form of knowledge’ would emphasize the study of the sciences as ‘the most certain means of developing the intellectual faculties, learning to reason correctly, [and] analyzing ideas well’. These quotes from Condorcet’s Rapport sur l’organisation générale de l’instruction publique (1792); cited by Josiane Boulad-Ayoub, ‘Le moyen le plus sûr … ou les parti-pris de Condorcet, Président du premier comité révolutionnaire d’instruction publique’, in Condorcet: Homme des Lumières et de la Révolution, pp. 109–19; these quotes, pp. 109–10. In one of his last writings, Condorcet outlined an ambitious plan for the creation of an organization devoted to the direction and coordination of science – it was to be independent of politics, and would be a key element for human progress. See ‘Fragment sur l’Atlantide, ou efforts combinés de l’espèce humaine pour le progrès des sciences’, Oeuvres de Condorcet, t. 6, pp. 597–660

16 Baker, Condorcet: From Natural Philosophy to Social Mathematics, p. 57

17 Condorcet, Esquisse d’un tableau historique des progrès de l’esprit humain, this phrase, p. 92

18 Condorcet, Esquisse d’un tableau historique des progrès de l’esprit humain, p. 595
Chapter 15 Women’s Rights and Women’s Liberation in Charles Fourier’s Early Writings


2 Charles Fourier, ‘Le Sphinx sans Oedipe, ou l’énigme des quatre mouvements’, *La Phalange*, IX (1849), p. 197; and Brunot-Labbe, bookseller, to Fourier, 14 January 1809, Archives Nationales 10AS 25 (2)


4 *Bulletin de Lyon*, 11 Frimaire, Year XII (3 December 1803): PM I: OC 10:52–3

5 OC 1:7


7 OC 1:130

8 OC 1:150


11 OC 1:132–3. Fourier’s italics

12 OC 1:89

13 OC 12:622. Manuscript dating from around 1806

14 OC 1:117–30, 133–44

15 Henri Brun to Fourier, 9 May 1808, Archives Nationales 10AS 25 (3bis)


17 OC 7:439–45

18 Thanks to the heroic editorial work of Simone Debout-Oleskiewcz, *Le Nouveau monde amoureux* appeared as volume VII of *Oeuvres complètes de Charles Fourier* published by the Editions Anthropos in 1967

19 Long ago Marguérête Thibert posed the crucial questions with regard to Clarisse Vigoureux (1789–1865), one of Fourier’s very first disciples and a woman known for her ‘grande pureté de moeurs’. How could she reconcile Fourier’s amoralism and his unlimited sexual curiosity with her own natural modesty and prudishness? And how could she be seized by a ‘religious’ enthusiasm in reading *Quatre mouvements*? The answer, it seems, is that Clarisse Vigoureux believed sincerely that if women were completely free to follow their natural instincts, they would spontaneously follow a law of modesty and fidelity. Thibert, *Le Féminisme*, p. 132. This, of course, was far from Fourier’s view.
Chapter 16 A Tale of Two Cities: Robert Owen and the Search for Utopia, 1815–17


2 The ‘religion of charity’ is discussed in ‘Peace on Earth – Good Will towards Men! Development of the Plan for the Relief of the Poor and the Emancipation of Mankind’ in Selected Works, vol. 1 (1817), p. 4

3 The word had been invented by Coleridge to denote a society equally governed by all its members. Owen had actually met Coleridge in the mid-1790s, but this does not appear to have been amongst the topics they discussed (Owen, ‘The Life of Robert Owen’, Selected Works, vol. 4, p. 88)

4 Owen, ‘The Life of Robert Owen’, p. 283, which describes Spence as the ‘advocate of an equal division of land’ – nothing like Owen’s own plan, in short

5 Their relations are discussed in Geoffrey Carnall, Robert Southey and His Age (London: Clarendon Press, 1960), pp. 153–5

6 The tract is reprinted in Restoration and Augustan British Utopias, ed. G. Claeys (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2000), pp. 188–205


8 Sargent stresses that Owen ‘was become a fanatic’ in 1817 in order to explain his assumption of a prophet-like role (Robert Owen and His Social Philosophy, 1860, p. 123). He also explains Owen’s adoption of socialism in terms of a desire to ‘extend to the world at large, the benefits he had undoubtedly conferred on the people of New Lanark’ (p. xix)

9 For the wider context of these efforts, see Gareth Stedman Jones, ‘Religion and the Origins of Socialism’, in Ira Katznelson and Gareth Stedman Jones (eds), Religion and the Political Imagination (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 171–89


12 Owen, Selected Works, vol. 1, p. 112

13 William Hazlitt, Political Essays, With Sketches of Public Characters (1819), pp. 97–104


17 The Life and Correspondence of Robert Southey, vol. 4, p. 384. This was also William Wilberforce’s main objection to Owen (*The Life of William Wilberforce*, 5 vols, vol. 5 (London: John Murray, 1844), p. 46)


19 The classic account of the original scheme is James Robertson McGillivray, *The Pantisocracy Scheme and Its Immediate Background* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1931)


21 Owen, *Selected Works*, vol. 1, p. 167

22 Podmore, *Owen*, p. 237

23 Owen, *Selected Works*, vol. 4, p. 185

24 Podmore, *Owen*, pp. 228–9

Chapter 17 How to Change the World: Claude-Henri de Rouvroy, comte de Saint-Simon


5 The use of the term *avant-garde* in this passage has attracted a good deal of comment; see *Dreams of Happiness*, p. 46, n. 40 for a critique of these interpretations

6 The Artist: ‘None of us, gentlemen, is happy with his position. Well! It is within our power to change it; to succeed, we have only to give a new direction to our labours, and change the nature of the relations that exist between us’ (*Dreams of Happiness*, p. 332)

7 Claiming that the change they wish to bring about represents a ‘moral insurrection’, the artist argues that all three are sincere in their respect for royalty and will provide more effective support than is offered by the crown’s current alliance with the aristocracy and catholic church. This qualification may simply be dictated by prudence in the restrictive atmosphere prevailing under Charles X

8 See, for example, Anne Vincent-Buffault, *Histoire des larmes: XVIIIe-XIXe siècles* (Paris: Payot, 2001)
Chapter 18 The Utopian Organization of Work in Icaria

1 See Voyage en Icarie, 60/51. Page references to Voyage en Icarie will be given in parentheses throughout the text of this essay. References to Cabet’s novel contain two page numbers divided by a forward slash. The first refers to Étienne Cabet, Voyage en Icarie, 3rd edition (Paris: Bureau de Populaire, 1845); the second refers to the English translation (of Part One only), Étienne Cabet, Travels in Icaria, trans. Leslie J. Roberts, intro. Robert Sutton (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2003)


3 Cabet knew Buonarroti, lodged in London with the Jacobin socialist Berrier-Fontaine, and his unpublished manuscripts confirm his interest in the ‘Conjuration des Égaux’ (see items 75–80 of the Étienne Cabet papers held in the International Institute of Social History (IISG) in Amsterdam). For scepticism about Owen’s influence, see Jules Prudhommeaux, Icarie et son Fondateur Étienne Cabet (Paris: Edouard Cornely, 1907), p. 137f

4 Johnson, Utopian Communism, p. 185

5 Cabet’s Vrai Christianisme suivant Jésus Christ (1846) was proscribed by Pope Pius IX in 1848

6 The 600 francs required to join the émigrés was equivalent to the annual wage of an unskilled labourer


8 Piotrowski completely ignores its literary form owing to its ‘sociological’ irrelevance. See Sylvester A. Piotrowski, Étienne Cabet and the Voyage en Icarie (Washington DC: The Catholic University of America, 1935), p. 73 n. 27

9 See Cabet, Icarie, ch. 33


**Chapter 19 The Horror of Strangeness: Edward Bellamy’s *Looking Backward***


8 Kumar, *Utopia and Anti-Utopia*, p. 151

9 Edward Bellamy, *Miss Ludington’s Sister* (London: Reeves, 1893), pp. 96, 98


15 Edward Bellamy, ‘The Old Folks’ Party’, in *Apparitions of Things to Come*, p. 54

16 Bellamy, ‘The Old Folks’ Party’, p. 62


**Chapter 20 ‘The Incompatibility I Could Not Resolve’: Ambivalence in H.G. Wells’s *A Modern Utopia***


This point is also stressed by Deery, ‘H. G. Wells: *A Modern Utopia*’, p. 36 ff., and Quamen, ‘Unnatural Interbreeding’, 74 f


Wells’s essay ‘Scepticism of the Instrument’ was first published in 1903; it is included in Kumar’s edition of 1994, which has been used for this essay

A ‘new aristocracy’ had already been called for by Thomas Carlyle. The idea was further developed by the followers of Friedrich Nietzsche, by the members of the Fabian Society and many others


Chapter 21 Utopian Journeying: Ursula K. Le Guin’s *The Dispossessed*


See on this point Antonis Liakos, ‘Utopian and Historical Thinking: Interplays and Transferences’, *Historein*, 7 (2007), p. 28


Le Guin, ‘Non-Euclidean View’, p. 98


Jennifer Rodgers, ‘Fulfillment as a Function of Time, or the Ambiguous Process of Utopia’, in *New Utopian Politics*, pp. 181–2

Conclusion


4 Owen, *A New View of Society*, p. 34. Original emphasis
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