

**Socialist and feminist dream-narratives
of solidarity at the end of 19th century
(Morris and Corbett)***

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Abstract

The Victorian *fin de siècle* exhibits not only a double quality but also the ambivalence of modernity with the appearance of ‘new’ ideas in the ‘old’ age. The unique perspective is especially evident in the so-called ‘dream-narratives’ written in the last decades of the 19th century, for instance, in Edward Bellamy’s *Looking Backward 2000-1887* (1888) and William Morris’s *News from Nowhere* (1890). In my paper, I will juxtapose the Morrisian British socialist utopia and Elizabeth Corbett’s feminist utopia, *New Amazonia* (1889), focusing on communal solidarity, emancipation and gender equality in the works. I will also highlight the importance of the ideal reader who is effectively addressed in both utopias.

Key words

dream, socialism, feminism, hope, community

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Socjalistyczne i feministyczne narracje oniryczne o solidarności z końca dziewiętnastego wieku (Morris i Corbett)

Abstrakt

Wiktoriański *fin de siècle* wykazuje nie tylko podwójną przynależność, ale również ambiwalencję współczesności wraz z pojawianiem się ‘nowych’ idei w odchodzącym w przeszłość (‘starym’) wieku. Unikatowa perspektywa jest szczególnie wyraźna w tzw. onirycznych narracjach pisanych w ostatnich dekadach XIX wieku, na przykład, w powieści Edwarda Bellamy’ego *Looking Backward 2000-1887* (1888) i w *News from Nowhere* (1890) Williama Morrisa. W artykule przeciwstawiam Morrisowską brytyjską utopię socjalistyczną feministycznej utopii Elizabeth Corbett pt. *New Amazonia* (1889), koncentrując się na problematyce społecznej solidarności, emancypacji oraz równości płci w obu utworach, podkreślając także istotną rolę idealnego czytelnika, do którego adresowane są obie utopie.

Słowa kluczowe

sen, socjalizm, feminizm, nadzieja, społeczność

When Adam delved and Eve span,
who was then the gentleman?
(John Ball)¹

The context of the present paper is provided by my research on the philosophy of female education and the questions of female *Bildung* in the 18th and 19th centuries. I have been studying not only works of educational and philosophical concern (for instance, Mary Wollstonecraft’s and John Stuart Mill’s writ-

¹ The 14th century rebellious priest John Ball, who was a Lollard, is said to utter this question. I quote here the modernised version of the statement as to show that it speaks of not only social but also of gender equality. The historical character is also important for Morris since in his *The Dream of John Ball* (1888) the medieval and “proto-socialist” priest time travels and faces the situation in the 19th century England.

ings), but also literary works such as the *Bildungsromans* written in the related period. Utopias are significant, and though, as Mathew Beaumont claims, the genre “remained the almost exclusive preserve of male authors” till the late-Victorian period (Beaumont 2009: 106), female, or rather feminist utopias appeared from the 1870s. Besides Elizabeth Corbett’s *New Amazonia* (1889), we can mention such socialist-feminist works as Jane Hume Clapperton’s *Margaret Dunmore, or, A Socialist Home* (1888), Lady Florence Dixie’s *Gloriana* (1890), Isabella Ford’s *On the Threshold* (1895), and Olive Schreiner’s *Dreams* (1890). While the novels of upbringing display the process of individual development, female utopias are to show the possibility of social development, being strongly contextualised in their historical present.²

In the transitional age of the late Victorian period, while “the dialectic between de- and regeneration was played out on a broad scale” (Ledger and Luckhurst 2000: xxiii), strong utopianism could not escape the expectancy and the frustration which had become dominant characteristics. Matthew Beaumont, in his remarkable *Utopia Ltd.*, convincingly analyses the complexity of the *fin de siècle* utopian praxis, emphasising the importance of the apprehension of perspective: “Utopian fiction attempted to historicise the present from the perspective of a fantastical future. [...] Utopia provides [...] a meta-perspective – from which the present appears in its approximate proportions” (Beaumont 2009: 33). The meta-perspective is especially emphatic in the so-called “dream-narratives” written in the last decades of the 19th century; such works as Edward Bellamy’s *Looking Backward 2000-1887*, William Morris’s *News from Nowhere* (1890) or William Henry Hudson’s *The Crystal Age* (1887). Not only male writers published “romances

² Sally Ledger, in her thorough work titled *The New Woman: Fiction and Feminism at the Fin de Siècle*, surveys the political and literary tendencies of the period, paying special attention to the changing of the meanings of the utopian concept, “the New Woman” itself. I greatly rely on her rather politico-feminist chapter, “The New Woman and Socialism” (1997: 35-61). Unfortunately, she does not analyse Corbett’s utopia in her study.

of the future” but also female authors were concerned about “social dreaming” (Sargent 1994: 4).

Having given the intellectual framework of the period, I will analyse the Morrisian British socialist ‘pastoral’ utopia and Corbett’s feminist utopia, *New Amazonia* (1889), focusing on the issues of communal solidarity, gender roles and emancipation. I will also put special emphasis on the importance of the implied reader, whose solidarity is to be evoked and counted on in both utopias. Beaumont even calls Corbett’s writing a “meta-utopia” (2009: 125), a protest of a strong voice, since the future world in *New Amazonia* itself presents the hope of human regeneration that is to be achieved by solidary and active female communities. Meanwhile, Morris’s Guest also believes that his narrative (as a meta-narrative) promises the victory of socialist solidarity being heralded in his dream vision. Morris’s novel is a “utopian romance” as the second subtitle informs; the first one is “An epoch of rest”.

Bellamy’s American romance had an immense influence in the decades following its publication: *Looking Backward* was a best-seller (while *Equality* was less widely known and discussed). Bellamy societies and clubs were established worldwide, and the novel contributed to the extension of the Nationalist Movement; however, *Looking Backward* was also harshly criticised and mocked, for instance, in William Morris’s *News from Nowhere*. The overtly socialist Morris was greatly disappointed, having read Bellamy’s work, and he published a review in the English *Commonweal* in 1889. Here, he mainly attacks the author’s “middle-class” socialism, the evolutionary process of national centralisation, and the machinery of the industrial army. He thinks that Bellamy’s Utopia should be regarded as “the expression of the temperament of the author”, and he contends that “this [temperament] may be called the unmixed modern one, unhistoric and unartistic” (Morris 2004: 354). If the twenty-first-century Boston is regarded as the prototype of the industrial urban utopia, Morris’s version of London in 2102 is, *par excellence*, the pastoral, the heavenly gar-

den on earth (Jameson 2005:143). The narrator, named William Guest, also awakes from a long sleep but he is easily able to get accustomed to the changes. The most important difference is that while Bellamy's narrator, West, joins the future world, Guest returns to the nineteenth century, as his vision of the future London turns out to be a dream. As he himself thinks, he has a mission, since he "was sent back" by the future comrades, his "neighbours", to "be happier for having seen [them], for having added a little hope to [the] struggle" (Morris 2004: 227).

However, the Morrisian utopia is not a straightforward 19th-century re-writing of More's humanistic work, and it offers more than advertising its author's socialist views. *News from Nowhere* presents us "our first Ecotopia" (Kumar 1993: 143). In the future England – more in the meaning of *now-here*, less of *no-where* – man lives in harmony with nature, there is no air pollution, the rivers are rich in fish (which makes one think of the dead Thames of the 19th century), and gardens and fields are fertile. For Morris, the utopia-to-come, his socialist welfare state, gives the promise of the nostalgic home-coming. As Ernst Bloch says, "utopia refers to what is missing" in our life, implying our faith and hope of its realization, which is, however, not without risk and dangers (Bloch 1988: 16).³ In *Nowhere*, a true socialist utopia is depicted as a society devoid of class, racial or gender inequality. People live happily in the countryside, in the green valley of the Thames, without electricity, cars, money, factories, or any political organisation. In the "epoch of rest", the Nowherians are to pursue artistic pleasures in their activities, even in work, and enjoy making, or more precisely, creating their own utensils, clothes and other objects (Morris 2004: 160).

Herbert George Wells, the father of English science-fiction, tends to cynically criticise Morris's utopia, recalling the nostal-

³ It is said by Ernst Bloch in a conversation with Adorno titled "Something's missing" in his 1988 essay collection published in English (*The Utopian Function of Art and Literature*).

gic and artistic vision of Nowhere and gladly stressing its futility; meanwhile, Wells is likely to mock Bellamy's metropolis as well. In *The Time Machine*, the Time Traveller, with the help of a fantastic and scientific equipment, 'lands' in the far away future, in the incredible year of 802,701, by when the Thames has turned into a rich garden, and people regressed to stupid and happy children. The description of the luxuriant beauty of the natural landscape and of man's careless idleness recalls the images of the lost golden age of mankind and incites the reader to ponder on "social paradise" and "Communism" (Wells 1980: 38, 35). It is rather easy to see elements of the Morissian vision in the decadently frail humanity – the Eloi who, being projected into the future, give Wells a chance to remind the readers of misleading utopian "wishful thinking". Contrasted with Morris's optimism, Wells, being influenced by Darwin's evolutionist ideas and Malthus's warning of overpopulation, displays "the sunset of mankind" (Wells 1980: 37): "For the first time I began to realize an odd consequence of the social effort in which we are at present engaged. [...] Strength is the outcome of need: security sets a premium on feebleness. [...] Things that are now mere dreams had become projects deliberately put in hand and carried forward" (Wells 1980: 37).⁴

Notwithstanding, Morris's *News from Nowhere* presents the reader with several, still current, problems: environmental pollution and protection, slow life, designing living spaces, human relationships, gender roles, child-rearing, communal and cooperative planning, and, quoting one of his favourite phrases, the contrast of "work" done with pleasure and dolorous "toil" (Preston 2010: 275-8). Morris really believed that sensible activity, that is, creative work, would shape the worker's mind, altering one's way of thinking. It is questionable whether in the future Nowhere, 150 years after the socialist revolution dated (and forecasted) to 1952, humanity will have been able to change so radically in body and in mind. Regarding the biolog-

⁴ In his other novel, *A Modern Utopia*, Wells also overtly criticises Morris's utopian dream-vision.

ical and genetic alterations, Morris approached Darwin's and Malthus's notions with some doubts; generally, he was influenced by the French Lamarck, who thought that our environment has a great role in evolution, since a living being could change its characteristics, adaptively reacting to its surrounding, and then pass those to the offspring. As Piers J. Hale sees Morris's Neo-Lamarckianism:

[...] we might also re-interpret [t]his enthusiasm [...] 'lifestylism' as a concerted effort to provide a cultural environment within which men and women could exercise their social(ist) faculties – mentally and spiritually – as well as engage in healthy and vigorous physical exercise – qualities that were slowly but surely being squeezed out of them by capitalist labour on the one hand and the commercialization of leisure on the other. (Hale 2010: 121)

Moreover, in the novel, there is a strong interrelatedness between healthy, life-promoting environment and pleasurable human well-being: the two mutually support each other. Sensible and artistic pleasures give satisfaction to people who strive to live in harmony with their surroundings, which makes them happy – it is Morris's aestheticised interpretation of the evolutionist and Lamarckian notions.

Perhaps, the reader may find that the Morrisian Nowhere is like a still picture, as if it existed in an eternal present, not having a future. The recurrent thoughts in the characters' conversations convivially frame Guest's excursions, or accompany the friends to their feast, sailing up the Thames. In accordance with the slow rhythm of the work, the reader is likely to sense that their optimistically satisfied accounts of the past lack dynamism; more exactly, they are without fervour that characterised the past efforts, being aimed at changing – at reaching freedom and equality to have Nowhere realised. Besides the good and smart personages, such as Clara, Dick, Annie, and Bob, Guest meets two subtle figures: the aged and relatively disappointed Hammond and the unique woman, Ellen. Hammond is a living memento of the past and its strug-

gles, while Ellen can be taken as the old man's spiritual successor who surprises Guest with her clever insights. When they are discussing the taste of the rich classes in the previous centuries, Ellen claims "that they were ugly in their life because they liked to be, and could have had beautiful things about them if they had chosen", adding, "just as a man or a body of men now may, if they please, make things more or less beautiful" (Morris 2004: 212).

The hope of future achievements and the potentiality of revival are attributed to the progressive thinking Ellen, while Old Hammond stands for the 'living' connection with the past, history of the country.⁵ Ellen is energetic, self-assured and strong, just like the other female characters in Morris's utopia, namely, Clara the adulteress, who is planning to be re-united with her husband, Dick, and Philippa, the head stone carver and a single mother. In *News from Nowhere*, we can find some radical moments about the declaration of free love-choice and free occupation-choice offered to women. As Old Hammond, the wise aged man, explains, all sentiments are real and universal in the future and "men have no longer any opportunity of tyrannizing over the women, or the women over the men; both of which things took place in those old times" (Morris 2004: 93). And he adds, "women do what they can do best, and what they like best, and the men are neither jealous of it or injured by it" (Morris 2004: 93).⁶

The character of Mistress Philippa's character appears in the last addition of the book, in the extra 26th chapter, titled "The obstinate refusers", which was added in 1891 and was

⁵ While Raymond Williams and Perry Anderson emphasise the nostalgic, dreaming quality of Morris's socialism, Tony Pinkney labels the Morissian Nowhere archaic, where, in order to live in "a relaxed, spacious, green garden-city", modern sciences, travelling, research, and technology should be sacrificed (2010: 105).

⁶ Although Sally Ledger welcomes Morris's "sexual politics" (Clara's infidelity is forgiven, not condemned), she criticises William Guest's "male gaze" and Hammond's "masculine account" (1997: 51). Well, we cannot forget that *Nowhere*, however far it is projected into the future, was written in the 1890s.

dedicated to John Ruskin. She is an ardent artist and the centre of the creative energy of the book. However, Philippa is not concerned with the visitor's questions; she is presented stone-carving and she "would not turn away from her beloved work" (Morris 2004: 197). Thus, *still*, Ellen is the intellectual centre of the novel and she shows better understanding of solidarity in the present society. She discerns that the striving for common well-being of the collective connects the people living after the Equality of Life (cf. the turning point in their history). She thinks that the knowledge of history is important, and she has a different sense of time as if she had an eye not only for the past but also for the future and its possibilities: "happy as we are, times may alter; we may be bitten with some impulse towards change, and many things may seem too wonderful for us to resist, too exciting not to catch at, if we do not know that they are but phases of what has been before; and withal ruinous, deceitful, and sordid" (Morris 2004: 214).

Returning to the concept of the well-being of the community, in the very last, really famous scene of *News from Nowhere*, when Guest finds himself lying in his bed back in the 19th century and meditating upon the message of his dream-vision, the final words are put in the mouth of the clever future-woman, Ellen:

No, it will not do; you cannot be of us; you belong so entirely to the unhappiness of the past that our happiness even would weary you. Go back again, now you have seen us, and your outward eyes have learned that in spite of all the infallible maxims of your day there is yet a time of rest in store for the world, when mastery has changed into fellowship – but not before. Go back again, then, and while you live you will see all round you people engaged in making others live lives which are not their own, while they themselves care nothing for their own real lives – men who hate life though they fear death. Go back and be the happier for having seen us, for having added a little hope to your struggle. Go on living while you may, striving, with whatsoever pain and labour needs must be, to build up little by little the new day of fellowship, and rest, and happiness. (Morris 2004: 228)

In Morris's utopia this "new day of fellowship" means solidarity that is being searched together with the apt readers. Ellen's prophetic words are projected by the narrator's wish (in his reading of her "mournful" facial expression), and his very last sentence – "Yes, surely! and if others can see it as I have seen it, then it may be called a vision rather than a dream" – underlines the importance of "real fellowship" of would-be, future readers (Latham 2010: 204-5). The question of emancipation is to be placed in the framework of Morris's ideas on education, since the author took the mission of liberating and educating all the working class – both men and women. Morris's main aim was to "produce workers who could not only bring socialism about, but live as equals within a socialist society once it was established" (Coleman 1994: 55). Meanwhile, his "education of desire", to quote E.P. Thompson's famous term, was not simply utopian, but "as a subversive educational device", showed the way for "its readers to cultivate their own imaginative resources". Indeed, he encouraged artistic activities in his works (Coleman 1994: 56).

The wishful thinking about the solidary readers who are able to promote utopian dreams is even more explicit in Elizabeth Corbett's *New Amazonia* (1889). As Matthew Beaumont points out, the female utopias are destined to "display the unconscious aspiration of all utopian fiction", as in these works, instead of "the abstract utopian hope for a perfect egalitarian society [...] the more concrete utopian hope [is] invested in an ideal fellowship of women readers" (Beaumont 2009: 91). Here, a female writer and a suffragist imagines an ideal world visited by a 19th century woman, our narrator, and a "hasheesh" taking man. Before their falling asleep and the 'actual' descriptions of their adventures in the future world of New Amazonia, we can read a political and critical prologue, attacking a group of Corbett's contemporary female-fellows who argued against the importance of getting the right to vote. Corbett mentions three "divisions" within "the feminine genus *homo*" (Corbett

2014: 28): there are the *ladies*, whose life is supported by their gentleman husbands; the middle-class, quite independent and self-conscious *women* and the poor working ones, the *slaves*. She thinks that the rich ladies – in their articles published in the *Nineteenth Century* – betray and work against the efforts of the strong-headed women and the rebellious slaves. Fortunately, another journal, the *Fortnightly Review* gives opportunities to the counter-protest initiated not only by women but also men – MEN, written in capital letters by Corbett, who attempts to mark thereby the signs of solidarity in both sexes, living in the same society (Corbett 2014: 31-2). The figure of the New Woman, articulated in the second half of the 19th century, “is a feminist in search of New Women” and believes in the “inter-subjective solidarity of the ideal collective” (Beaumont 2009: 97-8); consequently, she/it is strongly utopian (while the anti-feminist and sexist reactions are dystopian and satirical).⁷

In her slumber, the narrator / Corbett envisions New Amazonia, where the women are tall, strong, healthy-looking, and clever. In this place of “*amazement*”, “purity, peace, health, harmony, and comfort reigned [...], and presented a picture such as I had never hoped to gaze upon in this world” (Corbett 2014: 100). The petticoat government of women control the country that was originally Ireland, having colonised by the female. Due to the usage of electricity, healthy diet (they are vegetarian) and natural living, the citizens live longer and happier. And if they feel, they can have a rejuvenation which means that with the help of animalistic energy their strength and life-span is prolonged. Men also live a complete life in New Amazonia, though the high administrative offices are given to women as “masculine government has always held openings

⁷ Besides the list of already mentioned feminist utopias, we can mention men’s counter-action since Walter Besant not only wrote a utopia titled *The Rebel Queen* (1893) but also published a dystopia, *The Revolt of Man* (1882), discussing the future of feminism, while William Soleman satirized the possibilities of future female government in his *Caxtonia’s Cabinet* (1876). Quoting Gilbert and Gubar’s statement: “masculinist dystopias fuel feminist utopias” – and *vice versa* (Beaumont 2009: 111).

for the admission of corruption, injustice, immorality, and narrow-minded, self-glorifying bigotry”, while “the purity and wisdom of New Amazonian Government is proverbial” (Corbett 2014: 112). A woman can decide whether to have a family or dedicate herself to her profession; both ways are welcome. The narrator/Corbett meets a feminist man, Mr. Saville, who tends to lecture 19th century people on social equality of the sexes (169). While the female narrator/Corbett shows her talent as a speaker and as a writer, her companion, the man Augustus Fitz-Musicus behaves like a counterpart, the boasting male caricature, or “the embodiment of effete masculine decadence” (Lothian 2014: 14), who presents the 19th century social norms.

If we regard the ways of education and childrearing, we can say that, to some extent, it follows, or rather recalls More’s *Utopia*: in New Amazonia, all children belong to the State. The healthy body – either male or female – is well-built, exercised and sun tanned. The ideas of physical education and spending free time outdoors are shared with Morris as the people living in *Nowhere* are strong and natural looking. In Corbett’s dream, till the age of ten, the child should have a strict diet and receive only physical education (swimming, running, dancing, gymnastics) so as “to build up a perfect system” (Corbett 2014: 73). Moreover, (and rather in Swiftian manner) the crippled and malformed infants are not permitted to live so that the perfection of the race should be preserved in this eugenic ‘dystopia’, while Malthusian doctrines are also applied to devoid over-population. Corbett’s dream-world is “a eugenicist fantasy and a feminist one” (Corbett 2014: 124) though it is not gynocratic as sexual equality is advertised – ironically, in all fields, except in politics.

Let me quote again a famous exclamation from the book: in this place of “amazement”, “purity, peace, health, harmony, and comfort reigned [...], and presented a picture such as I had never hoped to gaze upon in this world” (Corbett 2014: 100). Interestingly enough, in the home of the Savilles, the

narrator looks at pictures on the walls and finds that somehow all are “out of perspective” and none of the images are “painted aright” (Corbett 2014: 151-2). The *futuristic* paintings show movements of animals, the living in motion, as if, says the narrator, the flying moments of life were captured in the style of Eadweard Muybridge, who made the very first “motion pictures” with his *zoopraxiscope*. The narrator gets used to “these pictorial oddities” and thinks that she may “introduce some of these notions” back in her 19th century context. The questions of ‘scope’, perspective and time shifts are very well presented in this episode. The frozen moments of the descriptions – in the paintings and in the novel – tend to come alive in the reaction and interpretation of the readers and this way present, past and future are connected in this virtual, filmlike ‘reality’.

By the 1870s, feminist utopias with their “gynotopic impulse” emerged as a new genre which blended “feminist and historical perspectives into entirely new forms of social interactions and gender relationships” (Beaumont 2009: 107), being stamped by the quest for solidary readership and fellowship in their historical context. As Florence S. Boos and William Boos claim, in his *News from Nowhere*, Morris got connected to the socialist debates about “the Woman Question” (which involved, for instance, Friedrich Engels, Eleanor Marx, Edward Aveling, August Bebel), even though his female characters did not discuss the issues of childrearing, distribution of female and male tasks, education, or gender norms. His future Ellen is to present women’s self-consciousness desired by the socialist-feminist ideal: “she *does* embody something of its *inner* consciousness [viz. of this ideal], that sense of harmony with nature and the cycles of life which evokes humankind’s deepest sense of recurrence and rebirth” (Boos 1990: 27). Moreover, with her love of nature – with “the passionate love of the earth” (Morris 2004: 225), being shared by all the members of the community, she also presents the new, global meaning of solidarity which is nowadays formulated in bioethics and ecofeminism.

Ernst Bloch says that beyond “wishful thinking”, “the utopian function is the unimpaired reason of a militant optimism” and its “imaginative gaze [is] loaded with hope” (Bloch 1988: 106-7). The utopian function is positively represented in ideas and “the *human culture in respect to its concrete utopian horizon*” (Bloch 1988: 107, italics in the original). Ruth Levitas also calls our attention to the “educative aspect” of utopia Bloch emphasises here. Utopia teaches us solidarity, and it is the genre that “enables people to work towards an understanding of what is necessary for human fulfilment, a broadening, deepening and raising of aspirations in terms quite different from those of their everyday life” (Levitas 1990: 122). Corbett’s utopia displays “the bifocal vision” of utopian feminism of the *fin de siècle* as it focuses “on personal change in the short term and social change in the long term” (Beaumont 2009: 103). And exactly, this question of focality and the duplicity – or rather the complexity – of the perspectives (here and now, in the 21st century) makes the 19th century dream-narratives rather performative and interactive. As Beaumont says about the meta-narrative feature of *New Amazonia*, it “dramatises a dream of social fellowship whose embryonic form is expressed in the bonds forged between writer, reader and a wider audience” (Beaumont 2009: 127). It is dedicated to the solidary readers of its own context in the present (now in the past) and tends to create a community in the future and this future can be our wishful thinking in the present – (a) still about the future.

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